



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

SAHIFEH-YE IMAM

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

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Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ, ع	a, 'a, (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Persian Letters

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

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

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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Speech

Time/Date: Morning, July 7, 1979 [Tir 17, 1358 AHS / Shaban 13, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The role of reform and self-purification in training and education

Audience: Students of Ahwaz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity of fulfillment of the Islamic Republic's profile

I hope that as our country is now an Islamic one; the Islamic Republic is our form of government; the *taghut*² regime has vanished; and the hands of the traitors and oppressors have been curtailed (from our country); all of us and you honorable students, these students, our sisters, and all of us, should try hard to act the way we must and the way that is necessary in an Islamic Republic. It should not be such that we claim being an Islamic Republic only in words but neither our universities, our colleges, our courts of law, our Revolutionary Guards, nor our revolutionary committees would mean what they must really mean in an Islamic context. If, God forbid, it is such that we only voted for the Islamic Republic but do not nurture the thought that this Islamic Republic should be Islamic in its fullest sense; not that it is Islamic Republic in words but un-Islamic in content. And this depends on the way we all act, in particular the university students population, the members of university faculties, the college instructors, and those young generation who look after teaching and learning, the students who want to be useful for their country in the future. There are many individuals who are educated—intellectuals indeed—but since they lack an Islamic training, they are often harmful for both the country and Islam. The difference here is not whether they are educated in the traditional knowledge or modern knowledge; or, whether the learned men of Islam and the clergies. Or, whether it is you university students and the universities or other classes who intend to enter the arena of teaching and learning content. This depends on the way we all act, in particular the university students population, the members of university faculties, the college instructors, and those young generation who

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it has been dated as Tir 16, 1358 AHS.

² *Taghut*: one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself whether explicitly or implicitly.

look after training and education, the students who want to be useful for their country in the future.

Training and education

If you are only after learning and this learning does not accompany a correct nurturing and the purification of one's soul, and taking steps in a correct manner, is only storage of knowledge. Or, in Sadi's¹ words being an interpretation of the Quran, "*The likeness of those who are entrusted with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books,*"² he is one who learns but his learning is a mere accumulation of learning without putting it into use and thus is not following a human way of learning. In the exegesis of the Holy Quran, the receiver of such learning is likened to an animal, a donkey, which is laden with books. Now, it would not make a difference whether or not these books are loaded on someone's back, or, whether they are in his mind and thought. Rather, he who has books in his mind and thought and has knowledge in his mind and thought, but has not acquired this learning in a humane way, that learning will be harmful for the society—it would not make a difference whether this happens on your part or ours—whether it happens to the Islamic sciences and the divine philosophy or whether it is natural sciences or anything related to the nature. If these are not accompanied by teaching of knowledge and are not accompanied by the acquisition of knowledge and a humane training, in this case a human being is likened to an animal that is storage of knowledge. In fact, he is literally an animal who has a lot of knowledge, and not a human being who has the knowledge.

The dangers of knowledge void of self-purification and training

At times the harm inflicted on Islam and on the country by this social stratum is greater than that inflicted by other strata. Most of those false

¹ Shaykh Muslih ad-Din Sadi (1184-1283) was one of the greatest Persian poets. Born in Shiraz, he studied Sufi mysticism at the Nizamiyyah *madrasah* at Baghdad, with Shaykh Abdul-Qadir al-Jilani and with Shahab ad-Din Suhrawardi. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca many times and traveled to Central Asia, India, the Seljuq territories in Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, Arabai, Yemen, Abyssinia, and Morocco. His best known works are *Bustan* [Garden] and *Golestan* [Rose-Garden], also known as *Sadi-Nameh*. The former is a collection of poems on ethical subjects while the latter is a collection of moral stories in prose. He also wrote a number of odes, and collections of poems known as *Pleasantries*, *Jests* and *Obscenities*. His influence on Persian, Turkish and Indian literatures has been very considerable, and his works were often translated into European languages from the 17th century onwards.

² *Surah al-Jumah* 62:5.

religions that have been fabricated, they have been fabricated by the learned men. No other than learned men have fabricated any religion. It is the learned men who have been fabricating religions. And most of these betrays of our country, comes from this very educated ones. It was the educated that helped the regime and then you had the “doctors,” and the like. They were the ones who helped the regime and destroyed our country. If the universities are not improved and our schools are not improved, there is no hope that we will find an Islamic Republic. If these two strata are educated in a way that Islam wants it; if they are educated in a humane way, then on the one hand our country will become safe from the possession of the evils and it will revolve round her own pivot and without being dependent on the foreigners and without the domestic treasons. And progress will result for you as well. The importance about being a university student, an associate professor, a full professor and a pupil—in both education and science—is that there exists a proper way that accompanies the science and education; the learned man who is educated in a humane way which is the same as Islamic teaching. Any step that you take for the sake of knowledge, for an outward deed or the inwardly deeds, to create piety, perseverance and trust in you, so that when you leave the university, be a human being who is both educated and who is a trustee, God willing. As for your education, you should both act as a trustee and have a purified soul; then you have leashed your ego. Human’s soul is mutinous and that mutiny will overthrow the man. In the same way that when a person rides an obstinate horse and it is unleashed, such mutinous horse will cause the death of man. Man’s ego is worse than any mutinous creature. The mutiny of the ego will cause the death of man. Any step that you take in the course of education, take a parallel step for taming of your ego from this mutiny it has and the freedom from being leashed that it assumes for itself. You leash your ego. Should such a teaching-learning system exists in a country, that country could be independent; it can be free; it can secure its economy; it can rectify its culture; and it can set straight everything else. In such a country, the head of the state cannot be a crooked; its army cannot be a bully; its gendarmerie cannot infringe on the rights of the citizens; its police cannot do wrong. Most important of all it is for these universities—whether the universities of the new sciences or the universities of the old sciences both of which have the destiny of the country in their hands—will produce human beings, not a quadruped with some books laden on its back. It should not be mere acquisition of knowledge where you are on the side of natural sciences and the other group on the side of divine sciences. Scrutinize the sciences. However, stay away from the egoistic mutiny. If you neglect, every

step that you take in (acquiring) knowledge, you stay away from humanity; and away yet. Humanity is on a straight course. If someone steps in that path, they are considered crooked and against humanity. Should you step in the other direction, it is the wrong way. And he who chose to be crooked and deviated from the straight path, the farther they go the farther they move away from the path of humanity. It is as if you draw a straight line—two lines like this—the more this line moves forward, the more it is removed from the straight path.

The necessity of purifying the ego

The more you all study and we all study, if we do not follow the straight path and do not control our knowledge and do not leash our ego, and do not kill our ego in this course, the more educated we are the farther we get from humanity and from the human beings. Thus, it gets more difficult for the humankind to restore to his previous quality.

You who are now in your youthful years, thanks to God, you possess the youth potency and are not afflicted by the frailty of old age; you are able to quickly improve yourselves. Do not ever think of repentance as belonging to the last years of your life. Repentance is not possible in the last years of one's life. If one does not follow the issue and does not build himself from the beginning of his life; one cannot do this in the last years of his life; Satanic forces are rooted in man and are strengthened while man's (physical) strength is weakened; his will is weakened and not much would come from him.

A recommendation for the young generation

The youth must be aware of the value of their young age and spend it in the acquisition of knowledge and in piety and in strengthening their own creativity so that they can become trustworthy and pious individuals. The country will be able to stay independent by having trustworthy individuals. The reason we were that dependent on the foreign lands was because we lacked pious statesmen; and if we had any pious statesmen, they were on the sideline—they were put aside. And those who were in the arena were not pious. There were even scientists among them, but were not pious statesmen and were not competent enough to serve the country. It was they who made us dependent on the foreign countries. The foreigners pocketed our country's revenues and they did to us what we see now; we do not have anything left. You are the only resources of this country: you youth, you university students. You are the resources of this country. Act in such a way that these

resources become beneficial to your country. Improve yourselves so that, as committed and honest individuals, you run your country, God willing. No one will be able to (make you crooked). Those individuals, who are crooked, are not trustworthy; they are not competent.

May God, keep all of you—sisters and brothers, all of whom are dear and are the resources of this country, safe, God willing. May God guide us all to the right path.

Speech

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 17, 1358 AHS / Shaban 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of rectification of the constitution; election of the President

Audience: University students, employees of Shiraz University, and traditional medical physicians

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

General struggle in solving the country's fundamental problems

We face certain fundamental issues and we have to think about those fundamental issues. At a time when such fundamental issues are under consideration, it is wrong to bring up other issues. I have repeatedly said that should there be an earthquake and ruins some houses and some people remain under the debris, would you allow yourselves to sit down and talk about medical issues or mathematical issues or study other issues? Or, should you all rush over and take the people out? We now have a country that has some fundamental destruction. We are now entangled with some issues, issues that are the basic foundation of our country. Now it is time to lay the foundation of these fundamental issues and all of us to follow up on these fundamental issues. Once we have corrected and established the foundation of the country, then you can go after traditional medicine, and others can go after imported medicine. Today is not a day to spend all your energy on such matters as to which one to follow: the Islamic medicine, as you put it, the traditional Abu Ali's¹ medicine, the Razi's² medicine, or other medicines.

¹ Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Abdullah ibn Sina, or Avicenna, entitled *al-Shaykh al-Rais*, or *Hujjat al-Haqq* by his compatriots, simply *Shaykh* by his disciples, and the *Prince of Physicians* in the occidental world, was born near Bukhara in the year 370 AH/980 CE. When Ibn Sina was five years old he and his family moved to the city of Bukhara, where the young boy had a greater opportunity to study. At the age of ten he already knew grammar, literature, and theology as well as the whole of the Quran. When the famous mathematician, Abu Abdullah an-Natili, came to Bukhara, he was invited to stay at the house of Ibn Sina in order to teach him mathematics. Under his tutelage Ibn Sina mastered the *Almagest*, the *Elements of Euclid* and some logic, all of which he soon knew better than his teacher. Having mastered mathematics, he then turned his attention to physics, metaphysics, and medicine. By the time he was sixteen Ibn Sina had mastered all the sciences of his day and was well known as a physician. In another two years, thanks to the commentary of al-Farabi, he was also to complete his understanding of Aristotle's metaphysics which at first had presented considerable difficulty for him. Despite the loss in part or *in toto* of several of his major works, such as the twenty-volume *Kitab al-Insaf* on the arbitration of Eastern and Western philosophy and the *Lisan al-Arab* in ten volumes, over two-hundred and fifty books, treatises, and letters of Ibn Sina have survived. They range from the voluminous *Kitab ash-Shifa* and *Al-Qanun fit-Tibb* to treatises of only a few pages like *Risalat al-Fil wal-Infial* and *Risalah fis-Sirr al-Qadar*. His books can be roughly divided into four separate groups: the philosophical, religious, cosmological and physical, and finally the symbolical and metaphysical narratives. *Kitab ash-Shifa*, a vast philosophical and scientific encyclopedia, is probably the largest work of its kind ever written by one man. *Al-Qanun fit-Tibb* is the most famous single book in the history of medicine in both the East and West. In the West, this book became the only medical authority for several centuries and Ibn Sina enjoyed an undisputed place of honor. In the East his dominating influence in medicine, philosophy and theology has lasted over the ages and is still alive within the circles of Islamic thought.

² Muhammad ibn Zakariyya ar-Razi: the great Iranian physician, chemist and author of the popular book, *al-Hawi* in medicine. Ar-Razi was also the discoverer of alcohol.

This should not be brought up now. At the present time you have another situation and that is between the country's existence and its non-existence; between the existence of the religion, i.e., Islam and its non-existence. You are on a crossroad. It is wrong to assume that now that you have pushed back the former regime, all the issues are being solved. At the moment you notice that there are still some mainsprings from that very old regime that are at work. Certain individuals have come from abroad under the disguise of different names and are busy with their own activities. They are trying to prevent this country's new regime be get established. They opposed referendums in the past; then they opposed the (country's) constitution, and finally they oppose any issues that you bring up. They are a part of the foreigners who express their opposition. On a day when we face the opposing parties regarding the foundation of the religion and that of the country, at such a moment, we should direct our attention to this very point. How was it that when you were determined to expel that regime you were not bringing up anything of your own issues and problems. Although you also had your problems then, but since you had noticed that it was not a time for bringing them up. Now, the same condition exists. Now it is not time for bringing up the condition of the universities and how they are or how the traditional medicine or the new medicine is. Or, take the other things that we need to repair and all the ruined conditions that they left behind for us and left themselves. So, now it is not the time for brining up these issues. Those have their own time. Now we have an unstable transitional government. However, it is not stabilized yet. Our government is not stabilized yet. We need a constitution, for the foundation of a country is based upon its laws. Then, we need a president that is not there yet. Next, we need a Majlis that becomes a reality by the votes of the people. After the Majlis becomes a reality and the

presidency becomes a reality and a government becomes a reality, that is, an established government, and after their (the foreigners') hands and their greed were curtailed from this country, then it will be the time for me to tell my own version of problems. You have your own problems; the clerics have their own problems. It is not that we are not aware that there exist lots of problems.

Getting rid of the cultural domination of the West

It is as if we do not know that the plots caused the sciences that we possessed in the East to be withdrawn and to be replaced with the Western sciences—the sciences that existed in the East and were emulated by Europe. Certain hands appeared and withdrew those sciences but took their content from us. Our present situation is such that makes us imagine that whatever there is, it is in the West and we do not possess anything. They took away our very essence, i.e. they brainwashed us and in lieu of our own brain, they implanted a different brain, one that is nourished by the West. This is an important issue of which this country should gradually get rid off. One of the other issues is the very issue of the traditional medicine. They were treating all the ills that now exist with the help of those very herbal medicines and such treatments were fundamental treatments; Europe was using Avicenna's medicine up to the very recent times. Avicenna's book¹ was, until recently, the focus of their attention and perhaps it is at this very moment as well, although they do not reveal it. It is not that I am not aware of these issues; problems are abundant. But everything is just like that. All the issues are such that they have made us perceive that we are naught and they are everything. They wanted to expel us from the scene of mankind and declare that we do not possess anything. But even right now you see that we do have physicians and therapists. However, the moment someone contracts a disease, they go to England; they go to America. They go there while they can be treated in this very country. After sometime, they realize that they could not treat them there either—sometimes they do. This is due to the fact that they have raised us in such a way that we get the impression that save there, there is nothing existing. Whereas, that is not true and there are things here, too. Anyhow, we are aware of all the existing problems, but those take time. At the moment, you should exert all your efforts on this point and to pass these stages that we have, and they are opposing them.

¹ It refers to Ibn Sinas *Al-Qanun fit-Tibb*.

The establishment of the Council of Experts

We now have a need for our constitution to be reviewed and ratified. A number of knowledgeable and informed people should get together and establish the Council of Experts (for the constitution). You should alert the public opinion to the fact that you should decide on the individuals who are truthful, Muslims and committed to Islam; who believe in the fact that it is this school [of Islam] that is able to make us independent. Decide on this kind of people so that they can go to the Majlis and do whatever is needed with the constitution, following which there will be a referendum and for us to go through this stage, God willing. At this very juncture where we are, there are those who oppose us. Now, my guess is that the very words that you speak have been uttered by someone in your ear without you yourself being attentive to. You said: "Listen! Our medicine has been destroyed; let's go there and lay it out." But now it is not a time for laying something like that out. Now it is not a time for us to sit down and say what condition our medicine is in or what condition our universities are in. They all have their problems. Or, to say what condition our [implementation of] justice is in. All of these should undergo reform. But the time for these is when we find a right government; a time when we can say to the world that this is the country of ours, this is the system of ours, this is the law of ours, this is the president of ours, and this is the Majlis of ours. It is only then that other nations and the whole world will recognize us as a bona fide system. After that is accomplished, then we can delve into these sundries and see to it and what has happened; see what backwardness we have and what hardships that sinister regime of the past has created for us; they created a hodge-podge and then just walked away.

May God assist you all and may you become attentive to your duty at hand, God willing. And you the academicians, and those advocates of the traditional medicine and others; all these respected sisters, and you brethren all over Iran, all should in unison pay attention to this very course on which our movement revolves. You should all keep this movement alive until all these issues have ceased to exist. If you act sluggishly and attend to other tasks; if in the midst of the way, one would say, "I lack a dwelling house," another would say, "My healthcare is such and such," another would say, "My university is this and that," I am afraid all of a sudden there will emerge a barrier and all that you said turns to naught! Then it will be the end of everything and we undergo the same old issues. May God protect you all, God willing.

Speech

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 17, 1358 AHS / Shaban 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The prophets' objective: establishment of a just system

Audience: Students and inhabitants of Shiraz; workers of Islamic Assembly of the Ministry of Economy and Finance

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The main objective of the prophets

The objective behind the efforts made by the prophets and the battles they fought with the opponents of the path of the truth and in particular the battles of the early period of Islam were not for the sake of fighting. Nor was it to conquest. The objective has been to have a system of justice where justice and God's decrees would prevail.

The prophets went through all that trouble not merely to expel their adversaries and to take over the battlefield. Rather, the main objective had been to save the humankind from the claws of those men who lacked humanity and who were following the path of falsehood. The prophets would see this path as the path of wrongdoing, the path of atrocity, the path of darkness, a path that will lead people to atrocity in this world and to destruction in the next. The prophets were commissioned in behalf of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to deliver mankind. If they had left the people to themselves, they would be no more than an animal that could understand nothing but eating, sleeping and carnal desires, and act upon them accordingly, since the metaphysics is hidden from the public. What the people do know is this very universe—the nature universe—and those who are more knowledgeable, they understand the nature's characteristics. However, all of this is that they benefit from the nature and are attentive to the nature. They also know man by the very natural aspect and trouble themselves for this same natural aspect of mankind.

The materialists' efforts in the recognition of nature

All the efforts of the materialists that are unrelated to the divine school [*maktab*] are spent on perceiving nature and the characteristics that are (attached) to the nature and the use of nature, and that is, the nature of mankind from among the whole universe's natures. Whatever great and modern civilizations and humanity's great advancements you look at, all of it

is related to this very nature and the human being's benefiting from nature, that is, the use by natural human of the nature's universe. Beyond the nature's universe, these natural creatures cannot understand. Hence, they do not have access to the other world but through the revelation [*wahi*] that has the entire universe under its domination. And since this human is not like other animals—which are the same natural and worldly—rather, humankind is created in such a manner that, in addition to natural life, it also possesses a metaphysical life. That metaphysical life is man's true life. Here, it is the very animal life. Thus, people are destitute to receive reports in finding the right path through revelation. And God, the Blessed and Exalted, made mankind obligated and sent on missions the prophets in order to show the way to them (people).

The objective of the prophets' teachings

All of the prophets' teachings are meant to show the path leading to the destination which humankind has no choice but to pass through. Humankind is compelled to pass through this world to another world. If he is wayward, he is but an animal that passes from this world to the other world. And if he follows the path of the prophets, his humanity becomes complete and the more he obeys, the more his humanity grows. All the prophets' efforts have been to mold the humankind, modify him and change the natural human to a divine human so that he is a divine human even in this very world. The prophets' view of this world is different from that of ordinary people. The prophets aim at divinizing this world. In other words, they want it to be such that whatever they look at, they see a sign of divinity in it. Other strata, whether philosophers or other learned men—especially the natural scientists, all of them are of the opinion to discover the traces of nature and take advantage of nature. The prophets recognize the nature; however, they check the nature in such a way that it is controlled under the domain of divinity. In other words, it is under the control of the higher world. We—who are not knowledgeable about those realities—take the same advantage of this world of nature. An individual, who is aware of what is going on outside the nature's sphere, takes the same advantage. The only difference is that the one who does take such an advantage is focusing his intention on this very nature. And he, who does take such an advantage, considers the nature the traces of the other world and witnesses God, the Exalted, in the nature. All of those battles that have taken place in Islam and the troubles that the *awliya*¹

¹ The word *awliya* has been retained here because of the depth of its meaning. Normally translated as helpers, friends, guardians, administrators, Hamid Algar in his book *Islam and Revolution*, p. 361, n. 2, informs us that the word *awliya* also refers to those who possess the quality of intrinsic *wilayah* i.e. governance. In Shii belief, they are the foremost among the prophets and the Twelve Imams who succeeded Prophet Muhammad (s). The word *awliya* indicates primarily their spiritual rank, whereas the word Imam designates their function of leadership. According to some theologians, the *awliya* are those whose belief is sound, who perform their religious duties and who as a result have attained proximity to God. In the general sense that can be deduced from the Quran, 10:62-63: "Verily the friends [awliya] of God—those who believe and guard against evil—shall suffer no fear nor shall they grieve," it means "friends."

of God have gone through have been for the sake of Islam's survival and the implementation of Islamic decrees. All of this is meant to guide the human beings to the realities of which they are not aware and the paths they do not know. They (the divine guides) know how to traverse the path.

The nation's objective behind the Islamic movement

Up until this moment, all of you went through the trouble and all the nation's strata became united, and through sacrificing of their blood and suffering persecution eliminated the obstacles and cast their votes for the Islamic Republic. This was not just to give ground to the adversary and occupy his seat. It was to change a corrupt regime with a proper regime, a just one, for when a just regime is materialized, and the Islamic decrees are enforced in their fullest sense, then if they are practiced by the people, they will find the right path to reality. If the regime is also Islamic and the way it acts is Islamic, and the entire system is Islamic, [then there is] a just system where no one's right is infringed upon; if you see Islam in whatever government offices you walk in or you see the same in whatever agency you walk in; and the one who governs, governs according to Islam and there is no non-Islamic doings. Up until this time we have not reached this. It is true; we cast our votes for the Republic to be Islamic. And now the system is indeed Islamic Republic. But, it is not true that after we cast our votes, the Islamic Republic is now an Islamic Republic. The only thing that is Islamic Republic is the system and the entire world has also recognized the government of Iran as an Islamic Republic. But this is not what Islam was after, i.e. that we cast a vote and claim an Islamic Republic. What Islam has been after is the establishment of a system in which wherever you set foot, you see the Islamic decrees govern, and nothing be different. If after all that toils and all that sacrificing of bloods we reached a point where there is an Islamic Republic and abandon it again, all we have done will be undone. In other words, it does not matter who is the real *taghut*; Muhammad Rida, I, or you. The only thing that would be different is the scope of the radius of

operations. There is a time when someone is *taghut* in his own household; one is *taghut* for his own self and for his neighbors; one is *taghut* in his neighborhood; one in a city; another in a province and yet another one in countrywide. There is no difference in being a *taghut*; the difference is in the radius of operations. The same *taghut* who is a *taghut* in his own household, should he sees it fit, he will act as a *taghut* of a whole community; if he sees it fit, he will be a *taghut* on the whole country. This is because when he is a *taghut* by his nature, then the magnitude of the radius of operations makes no difference to him. It is beyond his reach; otherwise, if he is in the position to do so, this same person will do whatever Muhammad Rida was doing. Unless there are Islamic and humane teachings and one is influenced by the teachings of the prophets, one is in the position to do so. Otherwise, if it is within his reach, he will do all those things and then he thinks, in his own imagination, that he does not. Someone who is oppressive in his own household will infringe upon the rights of his own offspring, his own children, and his servants. Now, if this man's servants are increased, his offspring are increased, and there is an increase in his dependents, parallel to those increases, his extent of oppression increases. This is due to the fact that he is an oppressive person. If there were ten people under the domination of an oppressor, his oppression would equal that of ten people; if there is a population of thirty-five million people, his oppression would equal that of thirty-five million people. This person is the very same person; for he has not become human; he is a *taghuti* and a wicked creature. If this *taghuti* wicked creature does not undergo the prophets' domination, and is not influenced by the teachings of the prophets, there is no difference between the mentalities of this individual and that of the one who is plundering a whole world. However, there is a difference in the ways the two act, in the sense that the former has it beyond his reach but the latter is able to do so. For instance, those who had dominated Iran—Muhammad Rida for one—if their domination had extended to Iraq, they would have committed there all the oppressions that they had committed here. If he had extended his domination to all the Muslim countries, he would have done everywhere else all the things that he would do here. If he had extended his domination to the whole world, it would have been the same. You can see how these superpowers have extended their plundering hands everywhere. The person, whose scope of plundering was limited to a specific domain, will find a bit of wider range when he is raised to a top position; he will do the same things there. Do not you imagine that you and I would not do the same if we found ourselves in a position to do it? Unless we become human beings, it is the same story.

Everybody's efforts in the Islamization of the system

We should all think about the point of making our system of government an Islamic one. For a system of government to be Islamic, it means that the individuals who are in its helm and the individuals who are in the helm of that system—suppose that they are serving the nation—all the civil servants, wherever they work, their work should be Islamic work. They should not harbor the mentalities that now that such and such department is corrupt in one part; let other parts be corrupt as well! Or, now that such and such person is violating the law in that place, let him do the same in this place as well. We are all duty bound; all of us. If the whole world is violating the law, a person who is trained in the school of the prophets, will not do wrong. If the whole world falls apart, and there is oppression everywhere, Hadrat¹ Musa (Moses) will not do wrong. “Now that everyone is plundering, I should follow suit,” does not have a place in the prophets’ training. For Ali ibn Abi Talib (a),² it would not make a difference if all the world population would become infidels. It would have made him grief over why those people do

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

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

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

wrong, but it would not have changed his policy. There was a time when he was sitting in his home and there was a time when he was in charge of a caliphate with such a vastness that Iran was a part of it, extending to Egypt and Hijaz¹ and all these places were under his domination; even a part of Europe. All this would not make a change in his state of mind; he would not subscribe to the thinking that “Now that I have my hands over such a thing, I should do this and that.” Not a bit. It did not have any effect on his state of mind, for his spirit was a divine spirit. And for one with a divine spirit, it makes no difference whether he has under his charge a small population or the whole world; it would not make a difference in his state of mind. He is duty bound to do justice; he can do justice with four and if he was capable, he would extend his justice everywhere.

Now that all of us call ourselves the Islamic Republic and, thanks to God, we expelled the old regime out of the country and buried it there and it will not return to life again, God willing, all of us are duty bound to make this regime that we claim it has materialized, to materialize in reality; to go from word to action and to go beyond a mere voting and reach the boundary of deed. Those of you who represent a certain government ministry should act in the same way as those of you who belong to another ministry. You all should act in an Islamic way. Each individual should feel bound by duty to do justice to the task, however trivial, which is assigned to him or her who occupies a position of responsibility. They should not wait until a time when the minister is just. Whether the minister is just or not, you should act with justice; whether the prime minister is just or not, and whether that is good or bad, it is his own business; that is quite a different issue. So is yours. His account with God is a separate one. His is also a separate account with the nation. You who are assigned with a trivial task or as an errand boy who is running a trivial chore should all do justice to the duty assigned to you. The head of a department who is sitting behind a desk should do justice to what is assigned to him; he should not wait till everyone else is just in order for him to follow suit. This is likened to my waiting for everyone else to perform his or her prayers so that I do mine. Or, I wait until everyone else has his or her lunch so that I have mine! How can one perform his normal duties in such a manner? Everyone should perform his normal duty in his own personal way. Have you ever waited for someone else to breathe so you follow suit? Or, for others to view (something) so you do the same? This does not make any sense at all. Everyone performs his normal duties in his personal way. The divine duties are the same. In the same way that you perform the normal

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

duties, you are bound to perform the divine duties. Moreover, you are duty bound to urge everyone else to do just the same. You are not bound to make others to look, but you are bound to change others for the better and teach others.

Performance of duty

Each one of us is bound to act ourselves. We are also bound to make others to act. If there is found such morale among the nation and I hope it does, God willing. How good it was if there existed a spiritual morale of cooperation similar to the financial one that existed during the days of the Revolution. Of course, this did demonstrate itself in a sense: those who took to the street for demonstrations were offered drinking water and food by the inhabitants; people would help and assist them. Now if there is found a sense of spiritual assistance in the humankind, and everyone would see himself or herself duty bound and beyond his inclination to do justice, when he is behind his desk and what he does is based on duty and not on material expectation; nor based on fear. Rather, it is based on duty in the same way that one performs his personal task: He sees as a duty to provide his children's clothing; this is done out of one's duty and not out of any fear or greed. If a human being—one who in charge of a task—sees it as his duty that he is paid a salary in order to perform his duty. Even if he is not paid, he should feel that it is his humanitarian duty and his Islamic duty to perform whatever duty has been assigned to him and there are people who depend on him to act upon what they need. "I should not postpone the assigned tasks; I should perform according to the best of my abilities and not to postpone or expedite a task based on connection or favoritism, and not to do injustice. If I do expedite or postpone, this is what the *taghut* did. It is the *taghut* style in a lesser degree; in a shorter radius. (How I wish) every one of us pays attention to this very interpretation and everyone would be attentive in them, and correct themselves. For instance, there is five hundred staff in a department. If each staff does what is assigned to him or her, and minds his or her own business, that department will get back on track; that is also true of a ministry and of the rest and of the whole country. If such a thing is found in a country that country is advanced; an advanced country is not merely one that has the kind of cinemas and the kind of hanky panky that was going on before. Nor is an advanced country one where brothels and alcohol drinking are that abundant; this is decadence.

The criterion for a country to be considered advanced

An advanced country is one whose people are advanced. An advanced person is one who is dutiful both in his professional duties and the divine duties. If a human being is dutiful, he is considered an advanced human being and is a just human. If by the will of God we succeed and you succeed and everyone else would succeed in terms of becoming dutiful people in this country and the republic becomes Islamic [...] Islamic Republic is one whose finance department is Islamic, too. It is one whose justice department is also Islamic. Change should take place; change in the system; change in the individuals who want to drive this system forward. It makes no sense if there is change in the system but not in the individuals. Suppose that someone created a change in the system tomorrow it is these individuals who want to move the system forward and this same individuals are able to distort things and do wrong to the system. Thus, it makes no sense if there is no change in the individuals.

The importance of individuals' mental change

Change in the individuals and in their spirits work as a regulator. This depends on the men to make it a habit to perform their works according to their duties. They should view themselves in an Islamic Republic and imagine that they are in a country whose head, the Imam of the Time (may God's peace be upon him),¹ is watching them attentively; he has secret agents; the angels act as his agents. They should imagine themselves under surveillance. Remind them of the fact that now we have a country that has an infallible observer and we are all under his observation. Thus, our deeds should be such that, if brought to his attention, he will be pleased with us. Wherever you work, you are going to serve the Muslims.

The government is a server and not a commander

The governments are servers of their people and not their commanders. It is in a *taghut* regime that, for instance, its prime minister or its president is apt to command. This is what *taghut* is. Of course, giving orders to a certain

¹ It refers to Imam Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mahdi, the Twelfth and Last Imam from the Prophet's Holy Progeny who is presently in the state of major occultation and will appear on the appointed time in the future to fill the world with truth, justice and faith after being engulfed by falsehood, injustice and unbelief. For further information on the Islamic belief on the Mahdi, see Ayatullah Ibrahim Amini, *Imam Mahdi: Just Leader of Humanity*, <http://www.al-islam.org/mahdi/nontl/index.htm>; Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir aS-Sadr and Ayatullah Murtada Mutahhari, *Awaited Savior*, <http://www.al-islam.org/awaited/index.htm>.

degree is considered the government's duty and it is duty bound to exert that. But if it wants to command in excess and take advantage of its newly acquired position, this is the same as being a *taghuti* regime. Now, either it cannot lay its hands on more; or it is scared of the people to create difficulty for it. If its hands can reach more, it may do whatever Muhammad Rida was doing; if things are in my reach, perhaps I will do the same thing. Unless the training is a sound one, nothing would work.

And I hope that you gentlemen, you, your friends, others, everyone else make recommendations: Tell everyone that we now have reached a point that we can claim that we are Islamic. You are now an Islamic group. If one can be Islamic merely by claiming it, then the entire world can have the same claim. Was it not that Muhammad Rida also claimed, "I am a Muslim"? He was also printing Quran; he was going on pilgrimage to the shrine of Hadrat Rida¹ where he would stand and others would recite prayers that are said at the time of performing a pilgrimage; he was also performing prayer. He was doing all those things but they were not genuine. If we want our system to be an Islamic one, claim that we are Muslims, are advocates of Islam and are supporters of the Islamic system, we should take these steps, the most important one being that the contents of a country should be Islamic. Anywhere we set foot, we see ourselves in an Islamic country. Not that if we go to the bazaar, we see the bazaar being that same bazaar and in it the same things as usury, unfairness, unwarranted overcharging, and all the rest. And then they cry Islam! And then decorate everywhere with lights! They are under the impression that they can deceive the Imam of the Time with those things. No, they cannot. Unless a light is found in our hearts, there is no use acting this way. Whatever of these deeds we do, it is only a deed; everyone can do those deeds; these deeds should be performed. It is not that these deeds should not be performed; let them be performed. But let them have a link with our hearts; let's do something with our hearts; let it be our hearts that perform that deed.

¹ Imam 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 bin 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 ar-Rida (a) and the Heir Apparentcy," *At-Tawhid Journal*, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/heir.htm>.

Social justice, the objective of the Islamic Republic

In any event, we are in a republic that is literally Islamic; it is not Islamic Republic. This republic is the design of republicanism. Now the design exists. Even the design is not fully spread out yet. Our country would be an Islamic republic only when everything in it is Islamic. If there is a deficiency, we would have a deficient Islamic republic. But now we have a literal Islamic republic. If four of our government departments are in order, it will be a deficient Islamic Republic. It is only that much Islamic. If it becomes fully Islamic, then we can claim that, God willing. The claim would be Islamic Republic. Only then our claim would be right and everyone will accept it. And this, too, should not be such that one person would say, let someone else becomes (Islamic) and then I will also become (Islamic). Anyone who does something should do it right. You should have observed the old passion plays. In those passion plays that they performed, a good Shimr¹ was one who could be a perfect Shimr! If that Shimr was supposed to perform an act that the Doyen of the Martyrs² was supposed to perform, this Shimr would not be a good Shimr! The Doyen of the Martyrs was one who, though in a passion play, should play his role properly. If he does play his role well, he is a good passion player. Every one of us should play a role given us properly and refrain from checking others to see what they are doing and how. Do not interfere with others' doings. You are responsible to perform what is assigned to you in a proper way. Even if your brother was going to perform and you noticed that he did a faux pas, tell him, "Our republic is Islamic." What the Islamic Republic means is that there is justice. What justice means is this: If a person who needs me is on his way from out

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

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

of town, has come from a remote area, and needs this department, his need should be taken care of right away. It should not be such that we take care of a client's transaction just because he is our acquaintance to the expense of postponing the transaction of a stranger whom we do not know. Think of the things that you are aware they were done; from now on, do not let those things that were done be repeated.

May God protect you all and make you succeed and I hope that we can altogether establish an Islamic republic.

Speech

Time/Date: Afternoon, July 8, 1979 [Tir 17, 1358 AHS / Shaban 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Warning about the plot of the American agents under the guise of leftist groups

Audience: The members of the Qum's *Jihad* for Reconstruction [*Jihad-e Sazandegi*]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

[God willing,] you will be rewarded by God, the Blessed and Exalted. Note that the Islamic tasks should be taken care of with utmost attention so that they are done one hundred percent Islamic.

Lackeys of America as the enemies of the people

You are nowadays going to the villages. It is possible that in those places—in the villages—there are non-Islamic elements; guide them. Do not allow them to engage in illegal acts or practice illegal propagation. Of course, this should be just limited to asking them such questions as the following: Well, what do you want? You say that you want to do something for the people, for the masses, for the nation. Well, is setting the farming on fire a real service to the nation? Formerly, this group would go to the villages and prevent the farmers from doing their farming; then this group would prevent them from reaping their harvest. Later, when the farmers did reap the harvest and yielded the crop, the group set the crop on fire! Well! Who is pocketing the profits from such doing? Let's do a calculation. In trying to figure this out, suppose that we want to recognize the elements of a system. We should start with finding out who is to pocket the profit from what this system is doing? That system is a servant to whoever pockets that profit. And America pockets that profit. If we do not have agriculture; if we do not have wheat; if we lack everything else, these are going to be imported from nowhere else but America. It is the most important exporter of those items. The Soviet Union is not going to supply us with wheat; they are themselves in need of it and import it from America. Now, the profit of all this is directly pocketed by America.

Thus, when we were saying that those who acted in the name of "leftists" and others were the elements of America—some of them may not even be aware of this themselves—that was because the practice was that of America! It is done in order that there is no wheat available; in order for us

not to have our own agriculture. And they who have agricultural products—and occasionally set theirs on fire or dump them in the sea—why do not they give them to us for its worth of money? Or, you who claim to be sympathetic to the public, and aim at working for the people, why do not you help in order for wheat to increase? Why do not you join these workers and reap their harvest; go and pick up the grains; go and refine the farm products so that people could benefit from it? Now, if what is done is contrary to what was recommended above, and what is done ended up in commotion and creating confusion, one should see who is benefiting most from this. Well, that one is the one who makes you to do such a thing and we see that America is profiting the most, for America was defeated the most in this defeat. Its profit from Iran was more (than anyone else) and so were its defeat; its disturbances and its conspiracy.

The founder of the Tudeh Party

You should consider guiding these individuals. Most of these youth have been deceived; they do not know what to do. As a matter of fact, I know the primary instigator: the “Tudeh [Masses] Party”. The person, who founded the Tudeh Party, was my companion to Mecca. What I want to say is that there was not such a thing as Tudeh Party; the then Tudeh thing was the thing that was imported from the Soviet Union! This Sulayman Mirza¹ was my companion to Mecca. He was a sanctimonious man and was accompanied by two or three other persons. He was childless and had adopted someone whom he had also brought to Mecca. He himself was performing prayers. At some time, when in certain poems, Sulayman, the prayer-performer,² was accused of heresy, someone had defended him saying that while he was performing prayers, why he was being accused of heresy?! The Tudeh Party was founded by Sulayman the prayer-performer and a devoted worshipper and a Mecca pilgrim! This was directly from the British; it wasn't the doing of the Tudeh Party of the Soviet Union; it was the doing of the British Tudeh Party! The British were then influential here; now it is the Americans. Among these very communists there were servers in Muhammad Rida Khan's court! These were the very heads of communists. The issue is not that we imagine that these are communists; they are not communists; at least not communists in the sense of what they claim to be the supporters of the weak and the

¹ Sulayman Mirza: one of the pioneering founders of communist parties in Iran.

² In spite of the fact that Sulayman Mirza considered himself a communist, he use to pray, fast and as indicated by the Imam, went to pilgrimage also! It is for this account that he was labeled “Sulayman the Prayer-Performer”.

oppressed, and want the latter to have a comfortable life; No, these are not the ones. These are the supporters of the capitalists and the ruffians; they want us to become destitute for their help and import the wheat we need from them and pay for it and for them to come and take our oil away.

Guide them; do not let them penetrate in the villages. When you go to the villages, if one of them appeared, one of you should raise and talk; narrate stories. If you explain to them correctly what I am now saying to you, they will leave those villages; they will go and find some other place.

May God approve you all. I wish you success. May you be assisted and continue offering your service.

Message

Date: July 9, 1979 [Tir 18, 1358 AHS / Shaban 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Seven recommendations to the government and the nation

Occasion: The 15th of Shaban, the auspicious birthday of Hadrat Qaim (the 12th Imam) (may Allah expedite his advent)

Addressees: The nation of Iran, Muslims, and the oppressed

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I do extend my congratulations on the occasion of the glorious birthday of the Imam of the *ummah*,¹ the essence of the creation and the inheritor of the prophethood, the Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent) to all the Muslims and the oppressed people. Last year, during such a time and on the occasion of the afflicted calamities to Islam and the Muslims, the blessed festivity was made a holiday. However, the agents of the monarchial regime tried to stop the people from observing the Islamic ceremonies in the name of Islamic interests. Thanks to God, they did not succeed. But this year, the joint celebrations were observed with utmost glory and the grand religious ceremonies were a devastating blow on the face of the malevolent and with such a historical epic disappointed the scum of the previous regime and the agents of the East and West, and proved invalid their spider web plans. These rotten roots should know that their desperate moves would result in nothing but their own infamy and that of their criminal lords. And it was our epic-making nation, which with bare hands and their only power of faith, buried the satanic powers and will bury those rotten roots. I warn those perverts, who have face-to-face confrontation with the nation and are engaged in destructive moves in favor of the foreigners in different shapes and forms. Before it is too late and their crimes and treasons are proved, rank with the dense lines of people. Fear His Most Exalted's day of revenge that will be carried on at the potent hands of the nation.

I now express my gratitude for the high ambitions of the great nation of Iran from the beginning of the great Islamic movement to the glorious observance of the blessed celebration of the auspicious birthday anniversary of the Eminent *Wali Allah* (may our souls be ransomed for him). I deem it necessary, by way of reminding, to point out the following:

¹ *Ummah*: the entire Islamic community without territorial or ethnic distinction.

1. Time and again I have reminded that we must build an Iran that is able, with no dependence on America, the Soviet Union and Britain—these international world devourers—to take into its own hands its political, military, cultural and economic independence, and be self-sufficient and show its genuine identity. Alas! There are still some intellectuals who are unable to abandon the East and the West and have set these two as their sources of imitation. We hope that, with the dominated Islamic cultural change, this self-preoccupied group, which has renounced old friends, will come to its sense and perceive its origin and rid itself of dependency.

2. All those who have been accused of wrongdoings in the previous regime will be forgiven. This will exclude those who have committed murder, have ordered such a murder, or have tortured our revolutionary prisoners. The recognition of the abovementioned crimes should be undertaken by a group of individuals faithful to the Islamic Revolution.

3. The protection of the independence and security as well as the survival of the political, social and economic aspects of any nation are dependent, directly or indirectly, on its forces of law and order, to include its army, gendarmerie and police. In our country that is in a state of revolution, beside the forces of law and order, the (Revolutionary) Guards exist and are protecting the Revolution. The respected nation should, with its full force, protect this active security force and not withhold its protection, for this force is in the service of Islam and is counted as one of the Islamic armies. Concerning them, our Master the Commander of the Faithful, stated: “The armies are, by the commands of Allah, a fortress and stronghold to guard and defend the subjects and the State. They are the ornaments of the ruler and the country. They provide power and protection to the religion. They propagate and preserve peace among mankind. In fact, they are the real guardians of peace and through them good internal administration can be maintained.”¹

And since this security force—that is in the service of the Creator and the creation—should live on with a strong soldierly morale, and since under their present situation, they are considered the soldiers of Islam, they are subject to the favor of the Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his advent); the three branches of the government are subject to pardon, and I and the honorable nation of Iran have hereby pardoned them—of course, the exceptions under Article 2 are applicable here as well. However, unless their crime is proven by religious rules and injunctions, no one has the right to disturb them. Those accused of the crimes not pardoned should be handed to the revolutionary

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53.

court through the army, gendarmerie or the police with others having no right whatsoever to disturb the accused.

4. Since the combatant nation has already found the secret of victory and has, through its alertness, perceived that general mobilization began from the divine strongholds of mosques, the pulpits, and other religious centers, it is essential to safeguard the Islamic strongholds and during this critical and decisive juncture, which also coincides with the holy month of Ramadan, the gatherings in the mosques and other religious centers should be assembled on a wider scale and more gloriously. And the people of the pulpit and the esteemed orators are to raise creativeness and bring to light and neutralize the plots of the traitors and the cronies of the foreigners and protect the great Islamic movement and move forward. And through their gatherings the honorable people are to act upon the curtailment of the greedy and sponging foreigners.

5. It is essential for the nation to know that we are halfway on the road to victory and the final victory would be at a time when the rotten roots of the previous regime and its supporters are uprooted and the covetous claws of the plunderers are pulled out of the country. And the Islamic Republic will be realized only when its contents are hundred percent Islamic, the decrees of the Quran and those of Almighty God's are enforced across the country to be completely void of the *taghuti*-deviated laws, and the perverted elements are made despondent to pursue their conspiracy. By the will of God Almighty and the high aspiration of the people, this will be fulfilled and God Almighty is on your side.

6. Among the things that are probable to be a conspiracy for weakening the Islamic government are the written works that are distributed to the people and later appear in the media. These cover improper criticisms of the government and try to give the nation a bad picture of the government. Our friends are ignorant of such conspiracy while our enemies wait in ambush. I am not saying that the government is a successful government one hundred percent. What I do say is that the government is willing to serve and tries to render service. But the acts of sabotage are so abundant that they are not repairable instantaneously. Inappropriate criticisms are an abuse of freedom. Those who have an interest in the country and Islam are to guide the government on proper instances and give it their support. They should not be influenced by the enemies' propaganda and not to weaken the Islamic serving government.

7. What worries me is the fact that our nation is like a victorious army that is full of pride following a victory and starts to rotten and faces discord

from within. And our adversary is like a defeated army, that is calculatedly and through conspiracy, consistently mobilizing its forces. This is contrary to the situation before our victory and is eventually going to be shocking. I strongly and humbly want all the religious and national strata, the Islam-lovers, the nation, and the country, to return to the kind of steadfastness that they enjoyed prior to the victory and refrain from (sowing) discord and divide into rival groups themselves at this critical moment. Such discords are suicidal and could, God forbid, push the movement backward.

My dear friends! Today, all that we have are in danger; they are in danger because of our ignorance and divisive friends who act on behalf of conspiratorial enemies. Wake up! The preservation of victory and the movement is more critical than its origin. I pray to the Almighty God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims.

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

Speech

Time/Date: 2 pm, July 9, 1979 [Tir 18, 1358 AHS / Shaban 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Solving of problems through strong faith and morale

Occasion: The birthday of Hadrat Mahdi (may Allah expedite his advent)

Audience: Twenty-six inhabitants of Tehran¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Working for God

If you traverse this path for the sake of God; if you pass this path for the sake of God, do not be sorrowed if you are not being paid attention to. Almighty God has you under His patronage. Try to make the path you are walking through to be that of God's. Try to close your eyes on the creation and all else but God. If you do a service for God, do not expect people to come to you and salute you for that. You are the type of youth who toiled during this time; you suffered for God; you performed good deeds for God. Now you have gone a long way for God and are here to talk to us, to express your grievances. A service that is done for God, God will be attentive to; and if it is not for God, it will be naught no matter if the whole world pays attention to it.

The difficulties of the Revolution

I, too, know that difficulties are abundant; the discords are plenty; and the hardships of all strata of the nation are plenty. But you also know what kind of difficulties they created for this country; the things they created could not be corrected too soon; the corruption that they did for fifty years, the kind of corrupt education they imposed on our youth for fifty years, the brothels they erected for them and made centers of prostitution everywhere. Movie theaters that should have been educational centers for our youth were practically places of immorality and centers of moral corruption. They did not allow the schools to be centers of creativity, as they ought to be. The young generation of a country is considered its (human) resources and is supposed to take charge of the helm of that country. But they did not allow for that generation to receive the right education for the job. Presently you

¹ Visitors from Tehran arrived in Qum at 2 pm following a four-day hike and a great number of the people of Qum welcomed them.

are in the post-revolutionary period but practically you are still in the period of revolution; it is not yet post-revolution. At the moment, you are in the period of revolution. All across the world, the period of a revolution and post-revolutionary periods are a time of disturbance. Thanks to God, Iran's situation was not disturbing, either during or after revolution. If you delve in the world's great revolutions, the corruptions that came about in these revolutions, the manslaughters that happened during their revolutions, the hardships that were there after their revolutions are not comparable with the situation here. The reason is that the revolution here was an Islamic revolution. In an Islamic revolution there is no room for the corruption that you see in other revolutions. But we all know, you know, we know, the government knows and the people know that disturbances are abundant. Also at the present, difficulties are also abundant. And there are wicked hands in the work of conspiracy; they do not like to see our movement reach final fruition. We are now confronted with serious issues that need to be addressed. We should attend to those issues in order to find ourselves an established government, a Majlis, a president and a constitution. After we have acquired all this, then it would be time for constructiveness. It is not that the government is not willing to do all this; they are working around the clock for that. The problem is that there are plenty of disturbances. I myself here am almost day and night confronted with such problems. It is not you alone who have problems; those who are coming from every corner of Iran also have a lot of difficulties. Incidentally, any group that is coming over claims its difficulties to be heavier than any other group; they claim their bad state of affairs to be worse than that in any other place; people coming from Bakhtiyari say the same thing; people from Ahwaz say the same thing; no matter where they are coming from, it is the same claim.

We should not lose our morale in confronting the difficulties. With you youth's high morale, and with your attention to God, you were able to uproot and eliminate the huge problem which was the corrupt regime. Preserve that morale; preserve that high morale. God is with you. When God is with someone everything will be all right. Of course, any revolution is followed by plenty of difficulties. But, those who have faith in this revolution, and those who have faith in this movement along with your high morale and unwavering faith and your attention to Almighty High God pushed you forward. As long as this morale is preserved, you will move forward. Now, obviously the pace is at times fast and sometimes slow and it has its own difficulties; difficulties are components of the path of truth. Any path to the truth has its own difficulties. Satan is sitting on the path to truth in order to

mislead the people. This is not something new; it was the same during the Prophet's time with the exception that the Prophet's difficulties were greater than those of ours. The difficulties of the Commander of the Faithful (may God's peace be upon him) were more extensive than those of ours. They, too, were subject to their friends' opposition; the group that revolted in Siffin¹ and rose against and drew their swords on Hadrat Amir, they were indeed friends of the Hadrat; they were the Hadrat's "truly yours". The Hadrat's problems with his devoted friends were perhaps more extensive than the problems created by others. Imam Hasan (may God's peace be upon him) did not have as many problems with others as he had with his devoted friends. The companions who did not have any sense of understanding as to what plans the Imam of their time is following, they, with their narrow-mindedness and defective thoughts, resisted against him and plundered him and inconvenienced and, let me add that they defeated him. They concluded a treaty with his enemies and played a thousand other tricks upon him. Do not ever think that difficulties are only for us; the more the difficulties, the higher the reward and the more its divineness. It is not a great deal if people are attracted to Islam in their state of being wealthy and having fun and pleasure; everyone will show up at a time of fruition. The day when Islam is in trouble and has nothing to offer but difficulties and toil; the day that Islam needs blood-giving; the day it is suffering; the day that people are confronted with lances; the day they are confronting tanks and gun-barrels; that is the day when cowards and dastards are distinguished from those real gentlemen and Muslims are distinguished from non-Muslims; that is the day of reward; the day when Almighty God paid special attention to this nation.

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

Faith in God is the key to victory

The secret that made you victorious was your faith in God and your attention to God, and that I see in your features; do preserve that. Do not complain of others; you are doing these for God. Also do your best to save those who are sick; if you are unable to do that, you are excused before God. We should do whatever are in our power, to give someone a leg up, especially those who are down.

The necessity of saving the addicts

Those who are addicted to those narcotics, those are our brethren and we have a duty to save them and treat them as our fathers, our brothers, and guide them and save them. We should try to save this population and the nation. You have come a long way here on foot with a firm determination and that power of faith; the sisters up there have come on foot. I am ashamed of all these emotions. I am ashamed of sitting here and my friends wander through the deserts (to get here). I pray for you. May God protect you, God willing. You are the resources of Islam. Your youth are the resources of this nation. It was this kind of emotions that made you victorious.

Spiritual change among the youth

The spiritual change, the change that was found in our youth, was indeed made by the hands of God. No man could influence the people's spirits in this manner. That is only God Who is close to the hearts and Who has all the hearts in His hands; He transforms; He strengthens the weak hearts. The heart that was scared of a bobby, is now confronting tanks and gun-barrels; he is going out welcoming death and martyrdom. This was God's doing. One should see God in these affairs. Put your trust in God; pay attention to God, no matter if the creation accepted it from you or not. That is nothing to be worried about; you do your efforts to save your brethren, to save your nation. All our efforts should be to establish Islam in this country—the way Islam is—and the way that has been ordained by God, the Blessed and Exalted; to establish it in Iran in those ways.

It is a long way. You should be strong and powerful; you should have a strong will. God willing, these luminous faces are there for Islam, and may this period end with the advent of Mahdi (may God's peace be upon him).¹

¹ The 12th Imam.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, July 10, 1979 [Tir 19, 1358 AHS / Shaban 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Independence of the country and the role of the army

Audience: Personnel of the Air and Ground Forces; various strata of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I would like to express my congratulations to the noble people of Iran on the occasion of the birth anniversary of the Imam of the Age, the redeemer of the oppressed; the destroyer of the oppressors and the savior of mankind.

The difference between pre-Revolution and post-Revolution period

There are many differences between last year and this year. Last year, on such a date, we were drowned in sorrow; various kinds of sorrows, mass killings, problems with foreigners and traitors. Because of these great sorrows, the feast [*id*] was forsaken. But this year, praise is to Allah, they have reemerged from all the internal and external bondages. The hands of all traitors and criminals—both internal and external—have been amputated; and this year, the government is from the people, and the people are for the government. Last year, the disciplinary forces were alienated from us and behaved like the enemy of the nation; and if there were individuals in their midst who supported the nation, they did not dare to expose themselves. Whereas today, the disciplinary forces, the army, the gendarmerie forces and the city police are in the fold of the nation. The people are of them; they are of the people. They serve Iran with sincerity and they serve Islam; they serve the Islamic Republic; and they serve the people while the people also support them wholeheartedly. Today, like at the time of the dawn of Islam when the soldiers of Islam were of the people and were in the fold of the people, the Islamic army is also in the fold of the people and is of the people themselves. They must support Iran, Islam and the nation while the nation must also support them fully.

Role of the army in the independence of the country

The independence of the country is based on the army, on the ground and air forces; but on an army that relies on the nation; an army that is of the people themselves. In ungodly and non-Islamic regimes, the government is

alienated from the people; the army is alienated from the people; and with the alienation of the military from the nation and the government from the people and the administration from the people; the regimes become unstable and cannot sustain their independence and can thus not resist the foreigners. Whereas a government that relies on the people and armed forces that relies on the people can safeguard their independence; they are able to rise against the foreigners. As you witnessed and we witnessed too, our great nation with the cooperation of the armed forces that had returned to the embrace of the nation, triumphed over the satanic forces; and the satanic forces were unable to prop up the former regime; and they will not be able to reinstate the likes of those regimes.

Today, our nation, our government and our armed forces are united. They all work together for the good of Islam and for the good of the Islamic country. This regime, this nation, this government and the government machinery are role models for the entire country. They should be aware of the benefits and advantages they and their nation can derive from the solidarity between the government and the people; the armed forces and the people; the gendarmerie and the people. Governments that come to power must learn lessons from a government that is Islamic; and from armed forces that are Islamic; and they should learn how to deal with the people.

Observing the chain of command in the military and disciplinary forces

Today, our disciplinary forces are of the people, and the people must support them wholeheartedly; and there must be fraternal ties and unity between them and the disciplinary forces and they must preserve the chain of command. If the armed forces do not uphold the chain of command, it will be in disarray and this is a betrayal to Islam and a betrayal to the Islamic Republic. The military must be strong; it must have self-confidence; and by the will of Allah, it is so. We and the entire nation support them; and I pray for the people; I pray for the armed forces and I pray for all levels of the government and the strata of people.

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

Speech

Date: July 10, 1979 [Tir 19, 1358 AHS / Shaban 15, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The chaos after the culmination of the Revolution and the need to remedy the situation

Occasion: Birth anniversary of Hadrat Mahdi (may Allah expedite his glorious advent)

Audience: Employees of Tabriz Oil Refinery

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The chaos that follows revolutions

We must reflect upon what we have accomplished and thereafter what we have to accomplish and then what our duty is. What our nation has achieved is a miracle that could not have taken place on the basis of natural theories and principles. For, it was a nation that lived in fear of the secret police organization and its likes such that the very mention of the name of the organization (SAVAK)² would cause every individual to shudder; and secondly, it had nothing in its possession to confront with the great power. Nevertheless, it was transformed spiritually into another creature—a

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Tir 20, 1358 AHS but based on the press report dated Tir 20, 1358 AHS, the same has been dated Tir 19, 1358 AHS.

² 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.

cowardly creature into a courageous one. A creature that was afraid of the shadow of the secret police was transformed into a creature that fought against the Shah and threw him out of the country. Thirdly, it had nothing in its armory while they had everything; and yet they accomplished a great feat. Well, now you have staged a revolution and achieved a great victory. After every revolution, there is a lot of chaos; and, praise be to Allah, the disorders present in our Revolution are very few although in itself, it is a lot. But when we compare them with the chaos that has followed revolutions in other countries all over the world, they are relatively few. Following this Revolution and any revolution that takes place, these chaos and turmoil are inevitable especially in relation to our Revolution and considering the destructions that they caused and the huge debts that they left behind and we inherited. They restricted the growth of our human resources; they bankrupted our economy; the armed forces emerged as a different entity; all the centers of power and organizations were in total disarray; while all the ministries were in a very sorry state.

The need for time to rebuild the country

And now that the Revolution has emerged victorious, you want that everything should be transformed instantaneously. It is not possible to transform everything all at once. For example, suppose we want to change all the existing ministries because all the current employees working there are of the previous *taghuti* regime and need to replace all of them by other individuals. These people worked for fifty years so that we would not have a single useful person to employ! Now the government faces the problem of what to do; it turns this side and that side, dismisses one, appoints another; if it decides to ask all of them to leave at once, there will be chaos; so they are taking steps one by one. The government is working hard day and night; it is sincere and hardworking; but this is an issue that must be rectified gradually. We must not expect everything to be resolved in such a short span of time and immediately after a regime has left destroying everything in the process and leaving behind a mountain of debts for the country! However, those who have set their greedy eyes on this country will not leave so soon; they hatch conspiracies; they furnish the means of corruption; they create the grounds for disorder and discontent; they prevent the tilling of the soil; they prevent harvesting of the produce; they burn the harvests. All these are issues that are present after every revolution. You must not allow your faith to be shaken; you must be strong; you have emerged triumphant; these people too are on their way out. But tolerance requires forbearance. You suffered oppression

for fifty years and did not speak out; in fact, you did not dare to speak out because you could not speak out. For fifty years we all suffered at the hands of the city police and the armed forces and the gendarmerie forces and especially from the Organization.¹ We all suffered; your friends were imprisoned; your friends were tortured. It lasted for fifty years. Now, for fifty years these things were being done and you never demanded why they were happening. Whereas now it is five months—not even fifty months—since they have gone away and that too they went away after destroying so much. You must move ahead with the divine power and strength that God has granted to you. On one side the government, on one side all of you and on one side we all must hand-in-hand carry this movement forward; and if Allah wills, everything will be alright and these queries shall be answered. All the problems are acknowledged but they need time.

Characteristics of the members of the Council of Experts

Now is the time to devote all your energies for drafting the constitution which is the foundation of the country. The foundation takes precedence over such issues. Now is the time to draft the constitution.

Think on which individuals to elect; they must be untainted individuals; individuals that are neither in favor of the East nor the West; who believe in the Islamic Republic system; who have faith in God; who are men of learning and so forth. If Allah wills, when the Council of Experts is formed, the constitution is drafted and the president elected, then all those issues will also be gradually resolved. Now the power is in your hands; and these remnants (from the previous regime) are not the sort of persons who can do anything. May God protect all of you and may you be successful.

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

¹ It refers to the SAVAK.

Speech

Date: July 10, 1979 [Tir 19, 1358 AHS / Shaban 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Secret behind the victory of Muslims at the dawn of Islam and the current problems of the Muslims

Audience: Ibrahim Yazdi (Minister of Foreign Affairs); representatives from Jordan and the Sudan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muslims at the dawn of Islam

At the beginning I would like to thank the gentlemen who have come here; and I also thank their parties.

Next we must see how was it that Islam, at the very beginning with a small population and bare hands—they had no weapons and armaments—managed to conquer those territories within half a century; and how is it that later on with very large populations, armaments and being rich from the point of view of wealth, have lost everything. What happened that they are in that situation and we in this situation? The reason is that at the dawn of Islam, those individuals that swore allegiance to the Noble Messenger (s) although they were few in number, they were devoted in their faith and believed in Islam. It was not important for them to live anyhow and with any sort of suffering and toil; they regarded martyrdom to be salvation for themselves; and this spirit that was present in them enabled them to defeat Byzantium and Persia—two very great empires—which were stronger than the present two superpowers. Later on the Muslims gradually lost that power of faith and succumbed to the realm of the material world and attachment to the same materialism. Those who used to sit and discuss—and now that we have gathered here and are speaking—these are numerical discussions; they are not discussions that are constructive. In these Muslim countries that are very large and are also powerful, when one sees them one notices that matters of poetic verse, speeches and philosophy, and in cases that are more advanced, mysticism and the likes are of importance, while that thing which was the secret of their victory at the dawn of Islam was totally put aside. If one-tenth of that thing which was present among the companions of the Messenger of God (s) and the soldiers of Islam was present in these Muslim countries, they would have been a power which would be stronger than all the superpowers; but they totally lost that spirit of faith so that the person who was very pious

would at the most go to the mosque and return home from there and recite supplications at home. Those aspects that were important at the dawn of Islam were not at all important among the Muslim countries. Now, too, they are not important.

The blight of preaching without practicing

Now, too, when meetings are arranged to see what must be done, it is not evident whether they go beyond speeches—and who gives a better speech! It is not like they really examine why we are backward and find the solutions as to what are the things that can rescue us from this backwardness and follow them up and take action. Not that every year or every few years we hold a meeting where people from every place come, give a few speeches, recite verses of poetry and a little about Islamic issues and the needs of the Muslims and after departing from the meeting everything basically remains the same and neglected as before. We must admit that the enemies of Islam and the countries that came to dominate Islam and the Muslims were men of action and not words while the Muslims after the dawn of Islam were men of words and not action. They would recite poetry very well; they would deliver good speeches; and when they would put forward the problems, they would also propose them very well; but they would not go beyond words; they would not reach to action. If they would go beyond words, then one would not have to believe that more than one-hundred million Arabs could be so helpless in relation to Israel. One cannot believe that despite having everything and the dependence of the West in many instances on Muslim countries, they are under the latter's domination although they have huge populations and resources. It is not other than the fact that we have lost that spirit that was present at the dawn of Islam and which was the source of our victory. A case in point where such morale can triumph over the difficulties is the instance of Iran. If in Iran also like in bygone days, all the problems would be discussed at length and no action would be taken; they would mention the afflictions and then go home and sleep, if it was such then we would still have been under the subjugation of that same regime and facing the same problems. But God willed that this nation should go beyond words and reach the stage of action; and the spirit that was present among the Muslims at the dawn of Islam surfaced to some extent in this nation. Thus, the same secret of victory of a bunch of people short of everything over a great satanic power; that same spirit that was present at the dawn of Islam when Muslims would pursue martyrdom and go to battle, came into being to some extent in Iran such that the zealous youth who were and are in the prime of their youth,

whether at the time when I was in Najaf¹ and whether now that I am in Iran, and whether before the Revolution or after, they ask me to pray for their martyrdom; and they seriously seek my prayers while some of them deeply regret not being martyred.

The need for transformation in the morale of the Muslims

Unless this spirit is not created in the Muslims, they will remain as they are. Meetings are ineffective; gatherings are ineffective; conferences organized by various governments and their gatherings are ineffective—they are words. Being happy with these things have resulted and shall result in our transformation. Muslims should find a way to bring about this transformation; transformation from fear to bravery; transformation from focusing on material world to belief in God. The source of all victories is this single word. We should be transformed to Islamic creatures—a human being with a faith that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has wanted from us; otherwise you will come here and speak with us and we will speak with you; we shall mention the pains while the remedy is also mentioned at times; but when you leave, and we are here, nobody thinks anymore of taking a single action.

Muslim governments are the source of many of the afflictions

In addition to all these problems is the issue of the Muslim governments. Many of the afflictions of the Muslims spring from their governments. Muslim governments that must speak with one voice, think alike. They are of a single religion; they have one Book yet everybody sees that others are exploiting the differences that exist among them. However, nobody goes after the remedy; rather every day their differences become greater and their division also becomes greater. The superpowers also say the same thing that we should be alienated from each other and even be the enemies of one another and be preoccupied with each other so that they benefit from it.

Muslims must think seriously for themselves and so must the Muslim governments. They should not think that since they are in power for a short while they should live in comfort and dominate their own country. They should remedy this disease of discord themselves otherwise there is no other cure involved; and they shall have no parliament and no conference and no gathering. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to awaken the Muslims in general and the Muslim governments in particular; and to enable them to overcome their problems and thus Islam is realized in the Muslim countries

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.

in the manner that it exists—in the manner that it existed at the dawn of Islam.

The unpopularity of the Muslim governments

Yes, one of the problems that once again plague the Muslims is the problem of the government and the people; and the governments—to the extent of our knowledge and your knowledge—are governments that have no understanding with their nation. The governments' dealing with the nations is that of an enemy toward another. The people turn their back on the government while the government wants to impose its will on the people. For this reason, the nations do not support the governments; rather they enter into a contract with the enemy—and these results in the weakness of the governments. We saw that the father and son who ruled over Iran—a despotic rule—during the rule of the father the nation turned its back on him that when the Allied Forces came and our country was in danger, when Rida Shah left, the country rejoiced and celebrated his defeat in the war because they regarded him as an enemy, too. When Muhammad Rida was overthrown with the power of the people, the people celebrated his departure like they were celebrating a feast and they rejoiced; and this is an issue that is present in the majority—if not all—of the Muslim governments, which is that the Muslim regimes have no understanding with their nations; it is a dealing of an enemy toward another; the nations run away from them. They want to impose their will upon the people. This is a problem that also exists in our country. Perhaps there is no quick solution to it. At present we have a government that is compatible with the people; now the demonstrations in the streets are in favor of it; at the same time that it is not able to do anything substantial for the country so far, yet the people support it; they approve of their government; they back it. In other words, it is a national government; meaning a government behind which is a nation. But if you take into account the other countries, in most cases—if not all of them—it is not so. People do not support them willingly; they, too, do not work for the interest of the people and pursue their own interests. So long as this problem exists, we shall continue to remain in this condition. Once again, I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to resolve this difficulty.

The secret behind the triumph of the people of Iran over the *taghuti* regime

Governments should take note of what happened—that this satanic power was destroyed and our people emerged victorious. This happened

because when his (the Shah's) military saw the nation united in its struggle, it turned its back on him; his own forces turned their backs on him because they saw the people were all going in one direction. They turned their backs on him; his very armed forces turned their backs on him because they saw the nation follow a single path that was opposed to their path. For this reason, they triumphed. Should the governments have understanding with the people and be at the service of the people, then the people shall support them, and there is no defeat for them. But unfortunately, neither the foreign hands nor their own lack of development allow them so.

Speech

Date: July 11, 1979 [Tir 20, 1358 AHS / Shaban 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Priority of drafting the constitution over all affairs

Audience: A group of workers of the manufacturing and industrial units

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Negligence of the main tasks

Some gentlemen have been appointed to study the constitution; now is the time for this task. If we get preoccupied with those secondary tasks now, we shall neglect these tasks that are basic and on which hinge the destiny of our country. Put aside those tasks for now and after the main problems have been set right then come forward and we shall discuss them.

[One person among the audience: “If the workers councils are not set up now within the Ministry of Labor, there is the plan to establish workers’ syndicates. Workers’ syndicate is what the communists are demanding. These missionaries are bringing the workers under their own influence and are organizing the syndicates.”]

Nevertheless, if you get preoccupied with these secondary problems, you shall forget the main problems; at present this problem takes precedence.

[One among the audience: “At present another problem is being put forth. We request the Imam to take an appropriate stand vis-à-vis the Islamic personality of the late Shariati¹ in order to prevent deviant clashes and creating sensitivity in the educated Muslim youth and also to prevent the sowing of discord by individuals who do not comprehend the post-revolutionary situation.”]

¹ Dr. Ali Shariati was someone who was very active in Husayniyyah Irshad (an institution of religious learning in Tehran) from 1971-1976 (1350-1355 AHS), and whose speeches and books were widely published. Certain *ulama* and clergymen objected to the views and beliefs held by this man. The younger members of the society who thought highly of this person could not tolerate opposition to his views, hence much controversy and debate arose with regard to 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, before the victory of the Revolution, the SAVAK benefited to the full from this embroilment. This controversy continues after the Revolution.

The enemy's exploitation of the differences

I shall not reply to this. This same problem is one of creating differences. This very problem results in you becoming one group and they becoming another group; you preoccupy yourself with one task while they also do their own job which is what is present right now in Tehran, in Mashhad and in Isfahan. They are busily engaged in sowing discord between you and the clergy so that you are preoccupied with another task while they are busy with the main issue. See what the main issue is; this matter of knowing about the stance of Dr. Shariati and what type of person he was should be set aside for another time. Both you and the other party will be neglectful. Now, if you get preoccupied with this issue, it will increase in extent and will engulf the whole country. You will fight each other over an issue that has no truth to it while being neglectful of the main issue. They are busy exploiting the situation while you are busy quarreling.

The blight of differences

What I am saying to you is that today differences between you the youth of the country results in not focusing on the main issue that we all have and which is the foundation of the country; to focus on other things that are not relevant to the country is for them to take away the fundamental thing from your grasp. If they succeed in taking away the fundamental issue, then neither you nor the other party will be given another opportunity. Now is not the time to air differences; differences over nothing! Any person who wants to create differences is either an individual who is doing it according to a plan which has been handed to him by foreigners or is an ignorant person. You the youth should beware; today is not the day for us to fight each other while the others exploit the situation. Put aside these secondary issues about what are the contents of the book of such and such person. We shall discuss later what this book has achieved. Do not talk about it now, for the present preoccupies you with the study of the constitution; write about its shortcomings; write down your proposals and ideas; present them before it is late. For later on, search to find good and righteous individuals; introduce them; nominate them; so that at least the constitution—which is in agreement with the interests of the nation and the interests of Islam—is prepared. Following it the other problems shall be resolved. Later on is the time to discuss who is better and who is worse! There is a lot of time for that; now is not the time for it; now is the time for that task; do not focus on any other task. Focus only on that task for which the time now is ripe. May God grant success to all of you.

Speech

Date: July 11, 1979 [Tir 20, 1358 AHS / Shaban 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance of the noble job of Guard Corps

Audience: Members of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of “Sepiddasht”

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to make you, the brethren of the Guard Corps who have arrived from Sepiddasht, to be of the guided ones in the presence of God. May, by the will of God, we all accomplish in this movement a task that will enable us to be of the guided ones in the presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted.

Safeguarding the Revolution is the duty of all

Today you are aware that there are weak but troublesome mutterings present at every place and the Guard Corps, by the grace of God, are powerful everywhere and sagaciously prevent these decayed roots who are everywhere making attempts to hatch conspiracies. We thank you for your sagacious efforts and hope that these services that are a service to Islam and the Imam of the Time (a) will be carried by you and by us to their final objective and that we reach to this destination together. May, by the will of God, the trustees who are appointed are experts in the field (of drafting the constitution), are upright individuals and who know the law well in a manner that is in keeping with the interests of Islam and the Muslims and that they review and, by the will of God, ratify it. The foundation of a country that consists of its laws should be drafted and in this period this law must be ratified and next the president should be elected and the Consultative Assembly is to be ascertained—these are sensitive instances which need the protection of you gentlemen. All of us must be on guard; but there is a guarding duty that requires the strength of the youth while there is one guarding that must be performed by us through speech. I implore Allah to make you, by His will, the guards of the Imam of the Time (a) in a manner that befits a member of the Guard Corps and this noble task in which you are engaged. May God protect you and grant you happiness, strength and ability; and may all of you follow this same path of the movement and safeguard this movement and not permit differences to crop up.

The crucial duty of the guards [*pasdaran*]

While the job of the revolutionary guards [*pasdaran*] is very noble, the responsibilities are also immense. Let not some ignorant individuals do something that causes the people to question the very essence of the guards. You yourselves must prevent those individuals that are, for example, a little too young and therefore somewhat extreme in their behavior or sometimes show ignorance. Do not allow a guard member to indulge in, for example, an unlawful act so that it results in the people to comment that the Islamic Revolutionary Guards are such and such. This is an important matter which you should carry on your shoulders; and I hope that from now onward your guarding duty too is performed sincerely and for the sake of Islam; and may you all move forward together and be successful and prosperous. I hope that these youngsters, who have come and recited verses of poetry for us, also become the guards of Islam and join you later in the duty of safeguarding the Revolution and are brought up well and study hard. May God protect all of you, by His will, and I will pray for all of you and am at the service of all of you. Peace be upon all of you; may, by the will of God, you all be of the successful and of the guided.

Decree

Date: July 12, 1979 [Tir 21, 1358 AHS / Shaban 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Organizing the radio-television programs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khuiniha

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Muhammad Musawi—may his graces last:

I request your honorable self to join the radio-television broadcasting and with the cooperation of Mr. Qutbzadeh organize the programs and affairs there so that it does not result in complaints from the people. However, you are aware that this organization is Islamic and must seriously avoid broadcasting decadent programs. I pray for the success of Your Eminence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 12, 1979 [Tir 21, 1358 AHS / Shaban 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to a message of condolence

Occasion: Demise of Mr. Mahdawi

Addressee: Ali Tawhidi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shahrud

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Ali Tawhidi—may his blessings last:

The telegram of condolence of the eminent theologians of Shahrud for the demise of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mahdawi was received and acknowledged. Convey my sorrow and condolence to the respected gentlemen and the bereaved family. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your health and success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 17, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: July 12, 1979 [Tir 21, 1358 AHS / Shaban 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Progressive teachings of Islam

Audience: Residents of Marivan, Sanandaj and personnel of the 62nd Battalion

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The enemies' fear of Islam

Now because it is past time, I shall state a few words to you:

You know that it is a sensitive period now so that we must move this process forward and we must in these initial stages when we have the constitution, the Council of Experts, the National Consultative Assembly, the presidential elections and these things that are the foundations of a country, we have these ahead of us now and all the brothers must be united and move these issues forward. At such a sensitive juncture, your enemies and our enemies are aiming not to allow these stages to move forward; and therefore, you saw that they created a disturbance at the referendum and now also they want to create disturbances, preventing Islamic issues from moving forward. They fear Islam because Islam is a religion of equality and fraternity and race is of no consequence in it. Kurds and Fars, Turks and Arabs are absolutely unimportant; what are of importance in Islam are piety, sincerity, brotherhood, and equality. They know that if Islam is realized in this country in the manner that it is, their hands will be severed.

They want to either continue or cause a return to the same hegemony and bullying of the past; the same plundering that they would indulge in; and it is only Islam that can prevent these things. For this reason, they want to create disturbances, to create certain differences, to sow discord so that these initial stages are not overcome, and to say abroad that Iran is not capable of governing itself. The propaganda that they have engaged in beyond the borders and also to some extent inside the country saying that we have no maturity; that Iran does not have the maturity to govern itself and is in need of someone, a custodian, to come and run the affairs! And they want a return to those same problems.

Efforts to install an Islamic government

Today is the day that we, all the brothers; the brothers residing in the border areas and at the center, to carry this movement forward together in the same way that you were united at the start of the movement and carried this movement forward together, from now on too so that an Islamic government is installed. Now it is an interim government that must transfer power to an established Islamic government that is based on the laws of Islam. Only then will the world and you understand that a regime which breeds equality; a regime that gives more status to the peasant than to the upper echelons is the government of Islam. That regime in which factions and languages are not at all important is Islam. We must strive to prove this matter to the world that our country is a country that has undergone a transformation from a *taghuti* (satanic) regime to an Islamic-humanitarian one and that it has changed essentially from within; its reality has changed and the true upheaval was not only in name that we should call it Islamic Republic'. No, we want that all the Islamic tenets be realized in Iran in the same way that it existed at the dawn of Islam so that we can present it to the world and say that this is Islam; this is the progressive Islam; these are the progressive tenets of Islam; that which places greater emphasis on the condition of the poor and weaker sections than on that of others; that which sides with the weak; that regime which wants to liberate the weak from the bondage of those sufferings—that is Islam; for which it is absolutely inconsequential whether he is a resident of far-flung border areas or resident of the capital; whether he resides in an affluent or poor neighborhood—that is Islam. It is whose head of government such as the Messenger of Allah (s) who although being the leader; although being the leader governing a country, yet when they would come to a gathering in which he and his companions were seated, one could not distinguish who was higher and who was lower. They would come and ask which one was the Prophet! The fact that he and his companions would sit in a circle, all would sit together around each other so that there was no higher or lower or that one should have a mat or cushion placed underneath him and so forth on the same ground; and if at all there was a mat, it was for the mosque; they would sit around each other on that mat in the mosque and from that very mosque they would strengthen and arm themselves and conquer countries. One such government is what we want; it should be such that these various strata out of whom a section is plunderers should not be present; and the affairs of these peasants are to be looked after; these weaker sections; these slum-dwellers need to be taken care of. You should know that in this very Tehran, now there are slum-dwellers whose likes you will not see

in Kurdistan province; you will not see their likes in your surroundings. They are so wretchedly poor—and all of them were created by the deposed Shah. In the name of “land reforms” he brought about all these miseries for the poor.

Unity of expression in Islam

I hope that after, let us assume, the way it has been so far, now we maintain our tight rows; you who are residents of the border areas safeguard the borders with strength, while we who are here all have a single uniform expression—and that is, Islam, Islamic Republic and return to the principles at the advent of Islam. When we have this instituted, then these problems will automatically be solved. When the laws of Islam come into force they will be resolved and there shall not be the problems that those people want to create. All those powers shall be destroyed. The power is the power of Islam; it is the power of the Islamic nation.

I ask all of you and all the friends who are here, to safeguard unity and to safeguard this powerful determination and decision; and with your powerful arms, check these remnants of the previous regime. May, God willing, your country remain for yourselves, and all of these people who wanted and want to subjugate the likes of you—all of them—shall be destroyed.

Speech

Date: July 12, 1979 [Tir 21, 1358 AHS / Shaban 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance of the constitution and the characteristics of members of the Council of Experts

Audience: Representatives of the employees of the *Jumhuri-ye Islami* newspaper

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Let me mention in advance a story that perhaps none of you remember. During the Second World War, which Hitler began and in which he occupied France and many other places and attacked the Soviet Union and so forth, the British statesman Winston Churchill went to the British parliament and began talking of their weaknesses; the problems they were facing; in which sectors they had been defeated and lost territory; how they were managing the war; what would be the destiny of the country; what would happen to their lifestyle and that they were being devastated—he complained at length that they were facing destruction. But at the end of his speech he spoke one sentence, “However, victory belongs to the one who rides over the waves of oil.” He had guessed right; and victory was theirs who took away our oil. I too would like to say that now after the culmination of the Revolution—and in all revolutions there are lots of chaos and confusions—we too are struck with the affliction of chaos. Moreover, if not in the course of 2,500 years of monarchy then at least to the extent that we witnessed in the course of fifty years of reign of the Pahlavi dynasty, efforts were made to push back the progress of our country from every aspect.

State of human resources in the regime of the Shah

From the viewpoint of human resources which is topmost, you must now search in the population of thirty-five million people here and there to find a few individuals to form a government. To find a person to become president, you have to hold a lighted candle and search all over. They did not totally waste away the manpower; they corrupted them. In one instance, manpower is wasted, while in another instance they have created a power that is in conflict with manpower! In other words, an individual who must rely on himself; lean on his people; lean on his own beliefs was transformed into a power that relied on the West; into a power that had no confidence in himself and in his own evaluation was worthless and only regarded the foreigners to

be everything. Not that we have lost manpower; only that manpower that is in conflict with the power that we must have has replaced that power. They transformed precisely that individual who must rely on himself and on his own culture and on his own government into a person who was distrustful of his own culture; of the power of his own nation; who was cynical about all these things; who had lost his own bearings so that instead of being an Eastern individual, he has become a Westernized one. The problem here is that it will require long years to cause these Westernized individuals revert to their state of nature—not to the state of progressive individuals—to the state of a worthless individual who wants to start all over again. This is a very long process and requires this nation to be brain-washed meaning that those who were in the helm of these affairs revert to their original state—before becoming Westernized. This is a problem which is perhaps greater than all our problems; and we face many such problems.

But we also utter the words resembling that of Churchill, saying: “We do not depend on crude oil; we lean on the statement that victory belongs to the one with which the nation is in agreement; and the nation is in agreement with Islam, Islamic happiness and the Islamic Republic.” Therefore, we have no fear of these remnants who are now engaging in revolts; however, if there is any fear, it is because they create anarchy; they create disturbances; they cause anxiety for the nation; otherwise, they are not something that we can say are a problem that we cannot solve.

Solving the problems by forming the Consultative Assembly

What I would like to say is that the basic concept of these issues; the reformation of these issues is, in my opinion, quite easy, which is in us having a parliament. If the Consultative Assembly is national and Islamic in the manner that we want it to be, all these publications will be reformed; all these radio-television broadcasts will be reformed; all these imports will be refined; the whole nation must refine them through the individuals that they send to the assembly. God willing, as opposed to the previous terms—maybe one or two terms after the constitutional crises until now—or from the time of Rida Shah until now—it will not be in the manner that it was that according to Muhammad Rida, a person should send a list from the embassies and we are delegated to implement them! He openly admitted to this matter although he wanted to praise himself that now we are not that way anymore! He denied his father and himself prior to this time: this time too he was lying! God willing, we hope that there are no more lists at work where an individual would hand a list and you would be obliged to implement it.

Yes, hand a list to guide the nation and tell them that these are the right individuals; but compel the nation either to elect them or have nothing to do with the nation and themselves appoint them and places them in the assembly as it would happen on several occasions—these things will not happen again. God willing, when a national-Islamic assembly is formed by the will of the people, these problems related to a minor chaos and misuse of this freedom will be restricted and the assembly will improve this situation. Now, if you wish to harp on these issues; as I am seeing now at the time for drafting the constitution, many proposals are put forth again and again, most of them are revolutionary but many are chaotic and disorderly and are against the formation of the assembly. In these very recent days when the talk is of the constitution, the largest crowd swarm to this place. They mention their problems; I also accept that those problems do exist. They come from the surrounding areas and talk about their problems and I also give all of them the same advice that I am now going to say to you which is that we are faced with a basic problem right now which is that the constitution has been drafted and they have also circulated it and an opinion must be given on it. Now is the time for all of us to use our energies to give suggestions... If we have reservations about the constitution, we must air our criticism and then present it to the senate so that later the experts would come and give their opinions.

Characteristics of the members of the Council of Experts

More important than that is to use all of our energies in electing the right individuals; individuals that are not inclined toward the West such that later on they pull us toward the West; they should not be inclined toward the East either such that they pull us in that direction; they should follow the straight path of Islam and be Muslims and pious and be aware of the contemporary situation of the world in relation to Islam; and I also say that they should be reliable in their jobs. This is how it should be. Such individuals must be appointed by the will of all strata of the people so that this constitution is studied and analyzed and I should say that if it has any defect it should be corrected; if something must be added to it, it be added; if something must be eliminated, it be eliminated. Later it should be placed within the reach of the people and the nation should review it and give its vote—either yes or no. Only then shall one of the foundations of our country been laid; that foundation is the constitution. Two more pillars remain; which is that the Consultative Assembly must be appointed by the people themselves. The legislators also must, as I mentioned, be pro-nation; legislators whom the people of the region from which they hail know them as being virtuous

individuals; as being Islamic individuals; as not having any inclination toward the East nor the West; as not being inclined toward decadent doctrines—they should appoint these individuals. We should have a consultative assembly and then the president shall also, God willing, be appointed so that our country will have a formally installed government with a constitution that incorporates those aspects that are fundamental issues. Next, we should solve the issue related to the media that we know are not right. The radio-television network has flaws; let me say that the administrative machinery is flawed; there are flaws in the ministries; there are many flaws in the bazaar. But now if we want to pursue those secondary problems; it is possible that they are designed to divert our attention toward them while we ourselves are not aware that our minds are being directed toward another issue such that we who want to get results stand to lose while they obtain the result that they want—meaning that they give the draft proposal for the constitution. I have told various individuals who are prominent men of learning in the country who have come here that they should not sit back and allow the enemy to present the draft proposals; they should themselves prepare the draft; they should themselves speak up; they should not come to me and ask me to write a draft for them to hand over to where they must be reviewed; and then it is you, the people themselves who must elect the individuals. However, an introduction on behalf of persons that are knowledgeable of the situation and informed about the individuals will also be made; but the people themselves must give their opinion.

Criticism for disregarding the fundamental and main problems

We are now apprehensive that at this time when it is the time to obtain results from this movement and we must be serious to set right the basis, they want to divert our minds from this issue to certain problems which are all justified—all of them are problems—to divert our minds from them while they themselves take over those main issues. For this reason, it appears to me that we must in the same way that at least all of you from the time that you opened your eyes and found awareness, you faced difficulties and were oppressed. I should say that deviations have existed; you must bear for another one or two months, another two or three months and focus your attention on this main issue so that it is moved forward step by step. A person must pay attention to that issue for which there is time. These issues are secondary issues and these secondary issues shall, God willing, be resolved; and God willing, the matter of the publications shall be resolved; but I would like to mention this point time and again because it is a pain that must be said

and one must not be afraid to say it again and again. Should a person who has a headache at once say that his stomach is also aching in order that he does not have to repeat it?! Well, since he has a headache, should he be afraid to repeat it! To the physician who comes to treat him he must say that he has a headache. If another physician comes to treat him he should tell him that he has a stomach ache simply because he does not want to repeat himself this time and thus say he has a headache! No, now we have a headache; whomsoever we see we must lament about our condition and tell him that we have a headache. Whoever we see we must tell them, "Sir! Now is the time to give our opinion about this step that is ahead of us and on the draft proposal that is present and about the legislators that we want to appoint and the individuals that we want to appoint and who are the experts on the issue." We should open our eyes so that undeserving individuals do not enter and create problems; they are not able to do anything improper; they are not able to create problems, controversies and institutions for us.

God willing, I am optimistic that all the problems—through faith in God, preserving unity, safeguarding this revolution that has occurred in the spirit, for it has converted a spirit into a right Islamic one—will be resolved with your own strength, and God willing, shall be solved.

Speech

Date: July 12, 1979 [Tir 21, 1358 AHS / Shaban 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance and necessity of the constitution and the Council of Experts

Audience: Representatives of the Committee for Guild Affairs and representatives of the guilds of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Priority of the task of constitution

Your statements were composed of two parts: one was about the commercial affairs and the bazaar, and the conversion of the bazaar into an Islamic one so that individuals that go against the standards are prevented from doing so. The other one was about the constitution and the status of the constitution.

In my opinion, we should exercise a little bit of patience regarding the first part; and speak about the second part which now has priority, and then take action on it.

What are important now are the fundamental of Islam and the fundamental of religion that is based on it; and that is the constitution of the country. In the constitution of the country, one argument is what you mentioned that it should be based on the tenets of religion. There is no doubt about it. But you should study this same constitution that has been drafted and give your opinions wherever you have one, or write down your opinion on instances where the experts have opinionated and hand it over to the Senate where all the viewpoints are to be gathered, so that God willing, the experts who go there, discuss them and make improvements.

Importance of the Council of Experts

Yet another issue that is important is that of the experts. The issue of the experts is of utmost importance because it is possible that if we and you all become negligent or sluggish or focus our views on another problem and get preoccupied with other problems, then individuals that are opposed to your way send a few individuals to the Assembly and thereby cause trouble. For this reason, at this juncture, all must focus on these two issues: one, the drafting of the constitution, i.e. giving opinion on the draft proposals, so that whoever among you is an expert should give his opinion. The other is to elect those individuals that must be elected; individuals who are pious; individuals

who are experts in their field; who are neither Eastern nor Western-oriented and whom the society trusts. They must be like these few individuals that have been elected in Tehran. Of course, the experts will give their opinions about them later. In any case, mentioning all other things right now—because there are many proposals coming forward—is somewhat off target. Those things must be solved step by step; in other words, each thing at its own opportune moment. There are certain issues for which the time is ripe now. There are issues that are to be pursued later; and there are issues that are to be tackled much later.

The danger of being negligent in the matter of the constitution

What are important now are those things that are the fundamentals of government. If in the basis of the constitution there is a flaw, a mistake—either deliberate or accidental—it can change the destiny of a whole nation. Therefore, now it is a bit early to put forward the matter of the guilds and their problems and the things that take place in the bazaar. This matter about the constitution must be put forward and all must give their opinions about it; utilize your energies for this issue. Now, our need is for this matter; our need is not for the bazaar. We all have needs. Well, our educational system has deficiencies that must be removed; our universities have problems; our judiciary system too has flaws; all of these must be removed. But if we take our hands off these issues that are now fundamental for us and pursue those matters, then God forbid, they shall penetrate and influence this fundamental issue. Later on, if, God forbid, they triumph, then there shall be no bazaar remaining for you or schools for us. Thus, now, it is the time for those two issues; the other two issues are to be handled after these two which are: one is the elections to the assembly and the other is the presidential elections. It is the election to the Consultative Assembly; this year it is different from the previous years; it is apart from the previous terms. Previously, they were by appointment. None of you would know who would become the legislator and when he would be appointed—it would take place whether you wanted it or not. But now it is not so; you must elect them yourselves. The next step must be taken too and you must give your opinions about the legislators that are elected there; and after this matter has been settled and a government has been installed, then these other matters must be investigated meticulously. Therefore, now neither I should look into my needs nor you look into your needs. Assume that for another one or two years this government is, God forbid, the former regime. It is only a few months old. God willing, in a

couple of months this matter will be over; and you can add these few months to those long years that have passed.

Creating differences is an obstacle to attaining objectives of the movement

It is important for them to create certain differences now. In other words, there are individuals who wish to prevent this movement from attaining its objectives. You have undertaken a movement and defeated a big power; but the objective was not only that the power should go. If, instead of that power another similar power takes over, well then it would be as before. Thus, the main thing is that after the departure of that power we obtain the result that Islam wants; a result that is for the good of the Muslims. In the meantime that we are preoccupied with examining and taking action for obtaining result, there are hands both inside and outside the country that are busy in creating differences—differences among the people for various reasons, in different names. Pay careful attention to this fact; and after conveying my greetings to your friends and the businessmen of the bazaar, tell them to pay full attention to this fact that whoever wants to create difference is an ignorant person who has been influenced; or is a satanic person who wants to prevent this movement from its right course. For, now, do not dispute over anything. In those lengthy speeches that I made I counseled them on this issue. You too—your friends and companions—should pay attention to this fact that no differences are created now. Differences now will cause us to be unable to take this step that is now necessary to take.

Creation of deprivation in the name of “Great Civilization”

Therefore, the first problem of yours shall, God willing, be resolved after some time when a government has been installed and stabilized. This shortcoming and many other shortcomings that number not just one or two are a legacy of fifty years—at least fifty odd years—and go back to more than 2,500 years of monarchy during which they attempted to destroy. They made no effort for development. But one individual would destroy and not say that he was developing while this Muhammad Rida would destroy and holler that he wanted to reach the goal of a “great civilization”! They pushed us back. Now our culture is backward; our economy is not healthy. God willing, they will be set right. All our things are impaired. Everywhere is ruin. They repeatedly gave empty promises! Now, from all over Iran they come here to meet with us. Almost every few days a group comes from nearby regions and all of them complain that they have nothing; neither

healthcare, nor asphalted roads and so forth. Sometimes I tell them not to think that only you have nothing; even Tehran has nothing. Go and visit the slums in Tehran and you shall know that they too have nothing; only a part of Tehran has all amenities; whereas these miserable and poor people who are now camped on the outskirts of Tehran, and I do not know whether they even have tents—they too have absolutely nothing. Those people made efforts to ensure that this country did not develop. In the name of wanting to build a “great civilization”, they totally ruined everything. God willing, after the fundamental matter has been resolved, these problems shall be addressed.

Warning and advice to the profiteers

One issue that is related to the bazaar that well, now, it is being spoken about is the matter of excessive profiteering. Those that are engaging in extortion, engaging in profiteering, do not think about these miserable souls, these barefooted people who demonstrated in the streets and gave their blood, now they are dealing with them in such a manner that a person who has nothing is unable to buy a watermelon; and in summer, a poor who has several children is not able to buy a watermelon! He is not able to buy a fruit for his wife and children because it is expensive and we do not know what we must do. Is it possible for a benevolent person in the bazaar to open a shop for the general public and sell at a more reasonable price so that profiteering comes to an end? For now, I do not know. Nevertheless, may God bless all of you and may you succeed in creating an Islamic bazaar; an Islamic nation that shall, God willing, be a model for all places.

Statements

Date: July 12, 1979 [Tir 21, 1358 AHS / Shaban 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Informing the people of the services rendered by the government authorities

Audience: Board of directors of the Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution

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

Inform the people of the jobs that have been accomplished because from the viewpoint of information, we are weak and the people are unaware of what you are doing. They think that nothing has been done.

Letter

Date: July 13, 1979 [Tir 22, 1358 AHS / Shaban 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Prevention of wasteful spending at the Iranian Cultural House

Addressee: Mustafa Atri-Nezhad – Karachi, Pakistan

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 18, 1399 AH

Honorable Mr. Mustafa Atri-Nezhad—may he always succeed:

I received your letter and have noted its contents. With regard to the Cultural House and the wasteful spending that is taking place under this name, the Foreign Ministry has been informed about it to take relevant steps. Regarding the person about whom you had written in the postscript of the letter, such a person has no representation on my behalf. Inform your brothers in faith also of the instance. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of all of you. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: July 13, 1979 [Tir 22, 1358 AHS / Shaban 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission in financial affairs and collection of religious funds

Addressee: Ali Akbar Ashtiyani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Ali Akbar Ashtiyani—may his graces last—has been granted permission on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs and collect religious funds and apportion the Share of the *Sadat* [descendants of the Prophet]; and to use one-third of the sum as the blessed Share of the Imam (*a*) for his own expenses and for propagation of the sacred laws; and to remit another one-third of the amount to this humble expenses for expenses of the blessed seminaries, may God Almighty protect them from incidents.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.”

May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 18, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: July 13, 1979 [Tir 22, 1358 AHS / Shaban 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity to maintain composure and avoid tension

Audience: Various strata of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The objective of the enemy is to create anarchy

I see conspiracies at work on the threshold of reviewing the constitution, on the threshold of appointing the experts for reviewing the constitution, on the threshold of determining the destiny of our nation and the destiny of Islam and on the threshold of the destiny of the independence of Iran. This moment is more sensitive than all other moments and the destiny of our nation must be determined at this moment and the basis of our country must be ascertained. There are conspiracies at work. O people, beware!

Direct assaults on some of the tenets of Islam; attacks on me; insults directed at me are meant to create anarchy.

I warn the people of Iran and stress that should any person in any position insult me at this critical juncture and wants to sow discord; you must not show any reaction. In the past two days, they came to me and told me to react on some magazines for having insulted me; but I do not think it is permissible at this sensitive moment. The ill-wishers should not presume that they can break the tightly-held ranks of our nation by means of these conspiracies. The nation of Iran must sagaciously traverse these stages that we are going through. If for example, they insult me or burn my photograph or attack me at this sensitive moment, no one has the right to show a reaction. The enemy is waiting in ambush and hatching plots. They want to divert your minds from the mindset that you have and the path of liberation of Islam that you are traversing. They want to divert the movement from its own path; they want to keep you busy with other issues that are secondary to the fundamental issue. In these past few days, I observe that various groups come here and air various complaints; I do not regard these as accidental. Insulting some of the tenets of Islam and insulting me and airing numerous grievances about the state of affairs are not accidental; they are plots; they are conspiracies. They hatch plots in order to dissuade you from the straight path that you are traversing; to divert you from this movement that you have

undertaken and to keep you busy with matters other than this important one. The people of Iran must sagaciously neutralize the conspiracies. They want to sow discord; to create commotion. With total composure, the people must neutralize these conspiracies and these evil designs. If you get preoccupied with other tasks; if you focus on minor issues and think about divisive issues then you shall leave behind the main issues.

The main issue is to review the constitution and appoint the experts

Our main issue is traversing this path; it is appointing the experts; it is reviewing the constitution and after these steps others follow suite. At every step we must concentrate on that same subject even if the wicked ones want to divert your attention—through the feelings that you have for certain affairs—to other issues and to sow discord among you. Pay no attention to these matters. All your attention should be focused on reviewing the constitution. Refer any shortcoming in the constitution to the Senate. Later, appoint your own representatives; appoint the experts so that they could study the constitution.

Characteristics of the representatives to the Council of Experts

I suggest that your experts be appointed from among the pious individuals; from the learned individuals; from the prominent theologians of the land; individuals who lean neither to the right nor to the left; individuals who follow the straight path of humanity; who follow the straight path of Islam; individuals who are trustworthy; individuals who are patriots; individuals who have affection for Islam—these are the individuals that you should appoint for determining your own destiny. Today, your destiny is in your own hands.

Today every kind of tension and every divergence of opinion on anything is against the objective of the movement and the Revolution; you should avoid it. It is not without reason that at such a sensitive moment, the wicked ones have joined hands to create differences; it is not without reason that in some magazines they insult Islam.

Maintaining sobriety vis-à-vis the provocations of the enemies

At this moment, you must not lose your composure. Be calm. Do not take notice of the words of the wicked ones. God willing, at the right moment, the nation will determine the fate of these conspirators. The wicked ones should know that at this moment, our people are sober; whatever foul language they use, this nation shall maintain its sobriety; and it must

maintain so. However much you insult Islam, this nation shall maintain its composure at this critical moment and shall not show any reaction.

I thank all the various strata of people who have gathered here in this hot climate, in this cramped place and with this toil and trouble; and I beseech God, the Exalted, to grant all of you health and happiness. May God admit all of you to eternal bliss. May God sever the hands of the wicked ones from this country. May God neutralize all the conspiracies.

Decree

Date: July 14, 1979 [Tir 23, 1358 AHS / Shaban 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of representative in the Ministry of National Guidance

Addressee: Sayyid Hadi Khosrushahi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Hadi Khosrushahi—may his graces last:

With regard to the past experience that your honor has in the affairs of propagation and print media, you are hereby appointed as my representative in the foreign and local publications and propagation section of the International Islamic Relations Department of the Ministry of National Guidance. It is hoped that you fulfill your Islamic and national duties in the best manner possible. I request the respected employees of the Ministry of National Guidance to cooperate fully with you. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of your honor.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 23, 1358 AHS

Statements

Date: July 14, 1979 [Tir 23, 1358 AHS / Shaban 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Uprising of the people of Iran on the basis of negation of dictatorship and institution of justice

Audience: Delegation from South Korea and the Ambassador His Excellency Kim Tung Hai (?)

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

I am thankful to your government and your nation. God willing, I shall give the reply through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These dictators that you see are present there, are present everywhere; and these very dictatorships resulted in the uprising of our nation and to demand a regime that is not a dictatorship; that incorporated justice; that was opposed to all kinds of oppression—and that is the government of the Islamic Republic. It is the aim of Islam that all dictatorships should be totally wiped out from the globe and for social justice to be restored. I hope that God helps us and helps you to succeed in the manner that we desire to restore social justice in the entire world.

Statements

Date: July 14, 1979 [Tir 23, 1358 AHS / Shaban 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Justice and good relations are the basis of the Islamic Republic

Audience: Workers and specialists from South Korea in Alborz Industrial Zone

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

I hope that these matters of Iran that are based on justice and Islam are also brought about in all other places; and we condemn all dictatorships and oppression. The basis of the Islamic Republic is social justice and good relations with all countries based on mutual respect. And if we are in need of workers and experts who are of assistance to our country, we shall not hesitate to employ them. However, we shall shun those specialists who conspire, and shall welcome those experts that show goodwill. I pray to God for the happiness of all nations.

Speech

Date: July 14, 1979 [Tir 23, 1358 AHS / Shaban 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Programs of the Islamic government

Audience: Members of an economic delegation from Yugoslavia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Programs of the Islamic government

I thank the people and the government and the delegation that has come from there. I pray to God for the happiness of all.

The movement in Iran is an Islamic movement. An Islamic movement is a humanitarian movement such that if the mankind is able to comprehend the depths of it, then all will be in favor of it except those who are removed from humanity.

The program of the Islamic government is that all mankind should achieve happiness; and should live beside each other in peace and welfare. Islam wants to be friends with all the countries that are there in the world; the Islamic government wants to have understanding and proper relations with all nations and with all governments provided that they have mutual respect for the Islamic government.

The program of the Islamic Republic is that a government should come into being that behaves in a just manner with all strata of the nation and grants no distinction between the various strata except for the humane distinctions that they themselves possess. If we succeed to implement an Islamic Republic with elements of Islam and establish an Islamic government in Iran in its true sense, it will become a role model for all countries that wish, God willing, to implement democracy in its true sense and not lacking in truth, and realize the meaning of freedom in its true sense and not in the context of deception of others.

We hope to conduct our relations with all nations and governments on the basis of good neighborliness, goodwill, good conduct and good communications; and our government has mutually good relations with all governments. I implore God for the health and prosperity of all mankind and all the oppressed peoples.

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

Speech

Date: July 14, 1979 [Tir 23, 1358 AHS / Shaban 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to complement education with training and cultural independence

Audience: Teachers of the town of Shahrida

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Complementing education with training

Education alone is not effective. Training must be placed beside education. This means that when the youth go to the universities and centers of learning for education, if it is purely education, then sometimes it can perhaps also be harmful for the country. Many of the losses that have been inflicted on our country are from these same educated people. Many of the plans that are incompatible with our country have been designed by this same educated class—the educated that had the knowledge but did not have the training; the educated that had only their own personal interests in mind.

An individual who does not have the right training, even if we assume he has the right education; he is educated at the highest level, he is more harmful for the country than the ordinary people. The ordinary people cannot inflict harm upon the country the way he can. It is these educated ones that can design plans for the utility of others. Those who were around this father and son¹ were from the educated class who were educated in Europe and America; but it was only education. They did not have Islamic training and human development. Therefore, the harm that was inflicted upon our country by the educated ones of this country was not inflicted by others. Even the SAVAK did not inflict as much harm as they did. They corrupted the minds. They corrupted our youth.

The need for cultural independence

For this reason, cultural training must be imparted alongside education. It should not be only in the name “education and training”. It should be real—it should be both education at the highest level and be complemented with training. Our youth should be trained in human development; an Islamic training that is the same human development. If they are trained in human

¹ It refers to Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, respectively.

development our youth shall no longer betray their country; they shall no longer put together plans to hand over the interests of our country to others.

What is important is that the culture be transformed; a culture in which Westernization is driven out from it. All our things should be in this fashion. It should have independence of thought, inner independence. In addition to having independence—and no one should interfere in culture—it must have independence of thought; it should be independent and free and stand on its own two feet. It should not be such that it focuses on what the West is doing and we too should follow suit; what they say, we too should say likewise.

Westernization is the great affliction of the countries of the East

This great affliction has befallen absolutely on Iran and the countries of the East such that they are all ears to what they do and what they say in the West and what they practice while they have totally forsaken themselves. They have lost their independence of thought; their inner values. This is a loss that is greater than that of crude oil and the likes of it. This must be recompensed by culture so that our culture is such that after, God willing, a few years, the individuals that are born from the culture are individuals that have self-confidence and view their own selves and not follow others; not imitate others and think that whatever they are doing in the West, we too should follow them. They must see their own country and their own selves as being independent and to govern their country on their own. With their independent thinking they should pursue the affairs of the country and look after its interests.

I hope that God willing, all of you are successful and all of us succeed in molding human beings in this country. The country should train human beings as the agenda of Islam is development of human beings. God willing, the culture should be one that develops human beings. May God endorse all of you, God willing.

Speech

Date: July 14, 1979 [Tir 23, 1358 AHS / Shaban 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The imperialists' various ways of repression and misguidance

Audience: Members of the sporting community of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The imperialists' plan: deviation or repression of forces

The plan was to either thwart the forces or to lead them astray. The plan was that wherever the possibility existed that a power would confront them they would either repress it or cause it to deviate. This was a plan with which Rida Khan came to power and continued with his atrocities; and Muhammad Rida arrived on the scene with this plan to complete the job and serve the foreigners. Rida Khan was instated at that time by the British, because at that time they were more powerful. They brought Rida Khan such that when the World War started, the British announced over Delhi Radio that they had brought Rida Khan to power and made him the king; but because he betrayed them they removed him. Then the Allied Forces brought Muhammad Rida to power according to his own confession that he wrote in a book—although they omitted it later—that the Allied Forces thought it to be in their interest that he should be in power; that their dynasty be in power! This was a plan. This was a plan designed by the foreigners and those who are experts at drawing plans in order to plunder this Muslim country and the countries of the East. They had a plan that wherever there is the possibility of resistance vis-à-vis the foreigners by resistance forces, they would either suppress these forces or cause them to deviate from their path. Thus, we saw—and you, most of whom do not remember, some of you remember—during the reign of Rida Khan they implemented the plan in such a way as to repress the clergy; they repressed them hard and prohibited gatherings for preaching, sermons and mourning in such a way that throughout Iran not a single gathering was open; if it was held, it was secret. In Qum I know of a religious meeting that was held secretly and would be over before morning or before dawn break and that too it seems was banned. It was such as they had judged that the clergy was a force to reckon with and these religious gatherings and sermons, eulogizing and mourning for the Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) is a force that can possibly be used at some moment and put a stop to those plunders. They had

complete information of the status of the underground resources that these governments, these nations and these countries—of the East—possess; and Iran in particular was the focus of their attention. They had seen in the course of history that these same forces had resisted and this force they suppressed with the help of Rida Khan, the police and the security organizations of those days. But later on the plan changed; the plan was to use propaganda—in addition to the pressures they would bring—against those same forces that they assumed would at some time make its presence felt and expose their plan. At the time of Rida Shah also there was a lot of propaganda such that they caused the people—many of them—to turn their backs on the clergy.

Propaganda of the Shah against the clergy

During the reign of this son, who was worse than the father in some respects; in this period there was a lot of propaganda such that in the universities also the youth too—who were decent youth—were influenced by these propaganda to the extent that you could not take the name of a cleric in the university! Instead, in the university they would scribble some verses from the Quran on the walls and make fun of it. For, those who would lead them astray from the path of the truth their plan was not to allow Islam to become a force in society and in the process, the clergy who are at the service of Islam also become a power and pull the society toward opposition with the governments and opposition to foreigners. In all strata where they assumed the possibility of resistance in them existed, they would in some way infiltrate and would either lead them astray or repress them. The strata of you wrestlers were also not exempt; the strata of sportsmen were not exempt from this plan because they too were a religious-minded population who had affection for Islam and were powerful. These too they would keep them preoccupied by some means; they could not cause them to deviate from Islam; they would not listen to them on this matter; but they would lead them astray from the main issues; they would create some means by which they would keep them busy so that they would be negligent of the main issues of the country. These matters would surface in all strata; they would either directly suppress and if they could not then they would resort to misleading them; and if they considered suppression not to be in their interest or deviation to be the better option, they would mislead them from their path through propaganda; and if even this was not workable then they would keep them busy with other matters. Rida Shah repressed the clergy; and on various pretexts, which perhaps most of you do not remember how it was. After the university was founded, and the university in their view was a force that

could challenge them, they started to indulge in misleading propaganda there. They began with extensive propaganda against the basis of religion and on to Islam—the fundamentals and the principles. Later on, they alienated the clergy from the university and sent each of them to obscurity. They even caused many of them to deviate. However, among them there were some who were not very astray, but they could not because the power was in their hands such that they created enmity between the university and the clergy. They saw that it was dangerous to let these two groups become united.

The imperialists' various tactics in suppressing and misleading the nations

Therefore, they had various plans; one plan was suppression of that which could not be accomplished except by suppression; sending to prison, torturing, arresting on various pretexts—during the reign of Rida Shah the matter was worse, and it was also such during the reign of this one (Muhammad Rida Pahlavi)—and to lead astray those that can be led astray. Those that could not be influenced by ideological deviations were kept preoccupied with some other issues. They would keep you busy in your own field and create a situation whereby you either pay less attention or become indifferent to political issues. A large number of our youth were drawn toward prostitution so much so that most of our youth were led astray in this manner. Brothels were everywhere and generally in all the large cities and particularly in Tehran. They built a large number of centers for prostitution and those jobs that only they know of; they spread them, they made it easy to engage in lustful activities. The radio-television network that must be a guide for the youth became a source of deviation. The cinema and the theatre that must be a guide for the society instead became a source of misguidance and deviation.

Through all their strength they tried firstly to cause a division among the strata of the nation; to divide it into factions; the university group to go its separate way; the clergy to be alienated; the sportsmen to be separate; the traders of the bazaar to be separate; every one to be divided; and to lead them astray to the extent that they could; and to spend up the energy of the youth in harmful and wasteful activities.

The consequence of Westernization

Yet another tactic was to engage in all-out propaganda about the progress in the West in order to Westernize our youth; in order to make them lose their confidence in their own country; in order that they would not lean on

their own selves. Anything that was spoken of should include talk of the West; the streets were to be named after them; the squares were to be named after them; the academic centers were to be with their names and so forth. They would train the nation in such a way that they would have no confidence in themselves and lose their identity; instead a Westernized individual would take its place. An Islamic and Eastern individual, who must rely on himself; who must lean on his own ideology would be given a so-called brain-washing so that instead of an Eastern individual, they would make a Westernized one who, whatever he spoke, would be in their favor. Their spokesman would say that they would remake all their things in English! If we want to become civilized then all our things must be English.

Now, you can also notice that this matter exists. As soon as a person got sick, he must go to Europe. Do not we have physicians? We do have physicians but they have been trained in such a way that even the doctors have lost their self-confidence. When they go to the physician also, he says it is too late and that he must go somewhere else. When he goes there, it is not certain that he will obtain the desired result. They separated us from our own selves. That human courage that must be present and reject everything and say that "I can take on everyone" has been taken away. Instead he says, "I am nobody; they are everything!" whereas this is not the issue that they have made great material advancements. We do not see this as the issue; the issue is that we want to learn our culture from them; that we want to learn also our laws from them. Even at that time when they wrote the constitution, they incorporated articles from those of Belgium and some other places. We give them priority in everything we do, whereas they are not ahead of us in civilization; rather they are very backward. What they are ahead in is in manufacture of weapons that kill human beings. They set fire to the world! Recently they say that they have produced a bomb that is five times as powerful as the one that destroyed that [city] that killed twenty-thousand people with a single bomb.¹ Their achievement is in this! They have turned the world upside down and they want to continue doing so. A population of killers and cannibals; if this is civilization then the whole world must become disgusted with civilization. As soon as they build an aircraft, although we accept that it is proper from the material angle, from the humanitarian angle, that which draws mankind to peace, that which makes a human being civilized has no place in the West; if at all existing, it exists in the East.

¹ It refers to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Monotheistic-humane schools are the guarantors of civilization

That which guarantees to build a country that is civilized, liberated in the true sense of the word, and independent in the true sense of the word is the doctrine of humanity. Other than that, there is none; that is the one that can give freedom to the people. That freedom which exists in the West is to some extent debauchery where they behave as they desire in lusts and there are no restrictions to it; they are free to sink in debauchery as they wish.

It is also to some extent meant to deceive us and say that they are giving freedom! During the previous regime they would claim that they were giving a lot of freedom. Carter had claimed that too much freedom was given to this nation! This outcry that arose from the people was because of excessive freedom! These imprisonments and these tortures and these things that existed in Iran had transformed Iran into a prison with 35 million inmates! Not a single publication of ours was free—they could not write a single word against the regime—neither was the radio; they could not utter a single word against the regime; everything was dictated to them. The security organization would check them and give it to them and also from the higher ups they would check and then hand these notes to them. Not a single representative was selected by the people; now that such-and-such a group claims that they were free to elect their own representative is meant to be answerable to the courts and save their own skin and not because they had indeed appointed their own representative; there was no question of the self to appoint. Freedom that means for the people to be free in their election, to be free to express their opinions and to say what they had in their minds did not exist at all. That which gives freedom to the people; freedom that is without debauchery and that which is not opposed to human personality is provided by monotheistic schools at the top of which is Islam. We must incline toward this school if you want to be happy; endeavor to implement this school abroad.

Achievements of the Islamic Republic within a short period

Now, there is a name, which apart from being a name is better than all those formal ones. Even now it is better than all of them. The reason is that various individuals who in those days could not come together at a meeting, at a gathering such that if you would come here and when it was time to go, you would be sent straight to the prison; but now you are free to sit here; even the pens are free to write. No one bothers even those that oppose the movement and they say and write as they please; they go on talking nonsense. Now, at least we have something called an Islamic republic even

though its objectives have not yet been realized in the manner that we would like. Again, neither the constitution has been drafted, nor the president been elected, nor do we have the National Consultative Assembly; and it is an interim government. Nevertheless, the services rendered by this transitional government in these few months have been more valuable than what they had accomplished—although I must add that they did nothing. But it is the poisonous pens that repeatedly question what has happened. What do you want to happen, sir? This movement destroyed a big power that had wasted away all your things. If nothing else happened except this, it is quite enough; you yourself should rectify the rest. If we have nothing to show yet we can claim to have at least severed the hands of the plunderers of oil so much so that the oil now belongs to you. We severed the hands of criminals from the government treasury. Those people would give all the oil to them and also give back the oil revenues to them; they would build military bases for them in return! The amount that was due to the people, an amount equivalent to that they would pocket themselves. Investigate their statements of accounts and you will note the amount that each one of them would receive from this oil. Investigate their accounts; their accounts shall be scrutinized. Just these four or five months that this interim government has taken over—we again do not have an elected and installed government—at least in these four or five months there was a whiff of an Islamic republic; yet it has not accomplished as much as it should and we have a long way ahead of us but even this extent that has been accomplished cannot be compared even with other countries. These things that are now being done; these tasks that have now been accomplished cannot be compared with what they did. Other countries are now under the domination of these same superpowers; and here their domination was smashed by this movement and destroyed it. They are still suffering under those who kill and pillage and take them away. Just today, a gentleman came to me and said to me that they had taken his infant children, wife and all his family to prison—they had come from another country. These things are not present now; those who are afraid now are the criminals. What have the common people to fear now? This is because it is not based on oppression. It is not based on looting the people. In these five months, you will not find a single person who would say that the government has done injustice to us or has looted us; you shall not find such a thing. Yes, the writers who want to criticize will criticize but their criticisms are different; they too do not say that they were robbed; they say other things. This very fact that the hands of robbers have been severed from the treasury of a country shall result in, God willing, our economy to become a healthy

economy after some time and make us self-reliant and independent from the rest of the countries—a country that is self-sufficient and able to manage its own resources. In the name of “land reforms”, these destructive people totally destroyed our agriculture and our farmlands; and created a market for foreigners.

The need for everybody’s focus on Islam and the unity of expression

Brothers! All of you turn to Islam; focus on Islam; avoid disputes and differences; focus on the unity of expression. That which was the secret of your success was Islam and the unity of expression; safeguard these two themes firmly. May God enable you wrestlers to become more of wrestlers, and we the clerics to become more of clerics.

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

Letter

Date: July 15, 1979 [Tir 24, 1358 AHS / Shaban 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Realization of an Islamic republic

Addressee: Imami

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Imami—may his graces last:

I pray for the health and happiness of His Eminence and hope that, God willing, with the all-out efforts of His Eminences the esteemed theologians and Hujjat al-Islams of Isfahan, the sensitive Islamic issues reach to a final conclusion which is the realization of an Islamic republic with its multidimensional characteristics. I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant health and happiness to all.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 15, 1979 [Tir 24, 1358 AHS / Shaban 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Terrorism and the desperate moves of the enemies

Occasion: Failed assassination attempt to Mr. Sayyid Radi Shirazi

Addressee: Sayyid Radi Shirazi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Aqa Radi Shirazi—may his graces last:

The deplorable news of the assassination attempt on your esteemed self by the nefarious elements of the degenerate former regime caused worry and sorrow. At this moment when the Islamic movement continues firmly on its path and causes the detractors to despair and lose hope; with these desperate moves, they want according to their corrupt assumptions, terrorize the Muslim nation unaware of the fact that a nation whose youth welcome martyrdom in the path of the objective—which is Islam itself—are not afraid of terrorism and assassination attempts. The assassination attempts on individuals who throughout their lives were engaged in the service of the Creator and the people increase their determination and make the truthfulness of the doctrine more manifest. A group who in the name of Islam assassinate the offspring of Islam and in the name of the people, destroy the lives of the people, can we regard them as being anything except associates of the foreigners and traitors to Islam and the Muslim people? I pray to God, the Exalted, for the health and well-being of Your Eminence.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: July 15, 1979 [Tir 24, 1358 AHS / Shaban 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Comparison between an Islamic government and a corrupt regime

Audience: Clergymen and commanders of the 16th Armored Division of Qazvin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Difference in the condition of the army in an Islamic government and corrupt regimes

Now, in this small room we can witness both the military personnel and the clergymen have come together. Is it better, or when the military was on one side and the clergymen on another side and the nation was alienated from the military and the military was alienated from the people? One of the differences between corrupt regimes and an Islamic government is this that the corrupt regimes, considering that they are traitors to the nation, are afraid of the nation. In order for the nation, which is disenchanted with them, not to rise up in revolt, they build up military machinery that frightens the nation. In the corrupt regimes, the military is created in order to intimidate the nation; and the nation also regards the military as its enemy and the military regards the nation as such. For this reason, they are always alienated from each other and ill-disposed toward each other. Perhaps those who go to the mosques, instead of praying for their well-being, curse them. Those who are in the armed forces—armed forces of the corrupt regime—instead of protecting the nation, point their guns at the nation. This is of a corrupt regime that builds a military force it is afraid of and instills fear in the nation lest the people revolt against them. In an Islamic government this is not an issue because the ruler in Islam, the head of the government in Islam has no fear of the people for he is not treacherous; he is of the people and is based upon the people. Perhaps you have noticed or heard this matter that this Muhammad Rida, whenever he wanted to cross the street and for instance go somewhere, one or two days prior to it, the secret service agents would come and keep the houses that happened to be on the route under close surveillance and control them. They would place agents and ask the people to leave their homes; they would control the streets and place their own agents there. What was all this for? Because he was afraid, and a traitor is fearful; he is frightened; he is afraid that while crossing the street, people who are inimical to him might

assassinate him; they may beat him up. But an Islamic government is not afraid of the people because it has not committed any treason against the people. Thus, at the advent of Islam in the same mosque that the scholar [*alim*] went to, the military man also went to; and the commanders of the army were also present there and they would pray together and observe religious decrees in congregation; and they would also go to battle together. This was the situation then. Before this movement began, you would never come together with these gentlemen in one place; and you would also never come to meet with us; we would sometimes meet together while you would also meet together; and each would meet separately. This movement resulted in that we all are now meeting together; neither am I afraid of you nor you afraid of me and neither do the gentlemen; all are friends and associates. This peace of mind that we and you have now, that you have calm and that you are not frightened of the people and the people are at ease that they do not have to fear you; this is one of the blessings of Islam that has been bestowed on us—and this is very valuable. Those who were in the former regime, the same secret service SAVAK agents and their likes that disturbed the people in that fashion—their conscience was unhappy. Yes, sometimes it happens that the conscience of an individual also changes but the majority would be troubled at having to do such jobs; they would be in horror of the people for having to do such jobs. They did not have peace of mind which is one of the great blessings. Now, there is peace of mind; all of us have it even though we are still half the way.

The futility of assassinations

If, God willing, we carry forward this movement to the end and these degenerate remnants who think that, for example, by attempting to assassinate some persons, with the assassination of some persons, their job will be accomplished, it is not so; the time for it has passed. Perhaps you have heard that even today an assassination attempt was made on the life of one of the *ulama* of Tehran. Mr. Aqa Radi¹ was targeted and three bullets were also fired at him, but he escaped and was saved. These people think that with these things they can once again cause a nation whose youth come to me—not once or twice but several times—and plead to me to pray for them to be martyred; they no longer are afraid of being assassinated; they seek martyrdom; they seek martyrdom with open arms; this is what Islamic training is. The secret behind the victory of our nation was this that they no longer have any fear of being killed while demonstrating on the streets. They

¹ It refers to Sayyid Radi Shirazi, the Shafa Mosque congregational prayer leader.

would go and many of them would be killed. Finally, with these outcries and protests and shouts of “*Allahu akbar*” they triumphed. An Islamic system is such that its individuals are attached to the mosques. The movement would start from the mosques; and from the mosques it would pour out onto the squares and the battlefields. On Fridays when they would recite the sermons, or other than Fridays when their preachers would go to the pulpit and speak; from there they would exhort them to go and fight. With a morale that is realized from the mosque, this individual is no longer afraid to go lest such a thing happens. He belongs to the mosque; he is a spiritual being. A spiritual person is not afraid of being killed at any time. If he is killed, the better; he has a better place to go to. Those individuals must be afraid of death who think that when they die, it is the end of the story; or if it is not the end, then what is going to be done to them over there. But those whose path and accountabilities with their Creator are proper, why should they have fear? They are not afraid.

Unity of the people is among the blessings of the Islamic movement

In any case, now one of the blessings of this movement is this very gathering of ours in this place. We and the prominent and respected *ulama* of Qazvin and you gentlemen from the armed forces are all gathered together here; and all of us are seated here with peace of mind, friendship and brotherhood; and shall also leave with peace of mind. This is one of the blessings that have been bestowed on us by Islam. I hope that we all traverse this path together; and the government that Islam wants and which has not yet been realized will be the foremost objective. A zephyr of Islam has blown but otherwise it has not been realized yet.

The Islamic government must be Islamic in all respects

The government which Islam wants and the regime that Islam seeks to realize shall, God willing, be realized such that wherever you go, for example if you go to the bazaar, you will see that it is Islamic; there is no more extortion; there is no more unnecessary profiteering; there is no short weighing; there is no usury; there is no windfall profits. When you go to the army, you will see that it is Islamic; all of them are focused on Islam; they stand up in prayers; they observe fasting in the month of Ramadan. Whenever you visit the mosque, you will see that everything is proper. You go to the army and see that as if you have entered the mosque; and everywhere in the country, its ministries, its administrative offices have become Islamic. If God willing, what God, the Blessed and Exalted, has

commanded is performed, is realized, then it shall be a model for the world in that it is what we seek. Now, too, this extent that you have reached is something that the world cannot believe. This was accomplished by Islam because the people cried out for Islam, the masses cried out Islam' and as they passed the army on their way, the army heard the cry and joined them; when they passed the gendarmerie, the gendarmerie too joined them; everyone joined together and this miraculous feat was realized. I hope that together, God willing, we can also attain the remaining objectives. The next issue from now on is the question of the constitution together with the Council of Experts—which must be composed by extremely learned and Islamic individuals—which also is to be realized. An Islamic constitution, an Islamic consultative assembly, an Islamic president—all of these are to be realized. After these have been realized, the reformation tasks shall be facilitated. May God protect all of you and may you be successful in the endeavor to serve all of us.

Speech

Date: July 15, 1979 [Tir 24, 1358 AHS / Shaban 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Council of Experts and ratification of the constitution; plots of the splinter groups in proposing non-basic issues

Audience: The Islamic Association of Students of the Faculty of Pharmacy of Tehran University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The issues that you have now put forward, most of them or the majority of them or all of them I am aware of; I am also aware of your educational problems; but I feel that these gatherings that are being held here over the past few days and in some of which non-basic issues are propounded; it follows a plot that these groups who come here are unaware of. Now, we have some fundamental issues that if we do not pay attention to them; if all the strata of people—whether men or women—do not pay attention to them, it is possible that our fundamental issues and the basis of our independence will be jeopardized.

All attention must be focused on the Constitution and the Council of Experts

Today, we must focus all our attention on drafting the constitution and electing the experts. In the constitution it has been proposed that those who are eligible to vote should vote and criticize; something that needs to be added should be added; something that needs to be eliminated, should be eliminated; if some condition is to be added, if a term is to be stipulated, they should review these things and note them down and hand them over to the Senate that has now been charged for this task.

Characteristics of the members of Council of Experts

Pursuant to that, they should be aware that the destiny of our country and the destiny of Islam are in the hands of these experts; in the election of those experts who must be elected. Focus on what type of individuals must be elected; individuals who are pious; individuals who regard Islam to be applicable with the present; not that they should say that it is an Islam of 1,400 years ago and is of no use now; they should not be leftists; they should not be rightists; they should be trustworthy and so forth. They should be

knowledgeable of the situation; knowledgeable of Islam; they should be Islamologists. You should select from such individuals so that they go and study the constitution and this draft that has been proposed should be rectified by them and that is the time then to put it to the vote of the people.

Plot to propose secondary issues

To concentrate now on secondary issues which must be proposed pursuant to the primary issues is not expedient at present. Rather, in these few days when the discussion is about the constitution, I observe that various individuals and groups come and air their grievances from all around; and then other issues are being proposed in the newspapers and magazines, and it appears that a plot is at work that wants to divert the minds of the nation from the constitution—which is the basis—to other matters be they justified or not so that they attain their objectives while we are also preoccupied with a controversial issue which they have created; trivial matters and local needs which is to divert our minds from the primary constitution, election of the experts and later, the National Consultative Assembly—that must be decided later—and the president who must be elected. These are the basis of the country such that if we are negligent of them, it is likely that we revert to the situation that we hope we do not revert to.

Therefore, I request all of you—although your problems are right and justified—to be a little bit patient in these affairs and give time for these affairs and now concentrate fully with all your strength, on these fundamental issues.

Characteristics of the representatives of the Consultative Assembly

If these fundamental issues are resolved and we have a national consultative assembly, not a consultative assembly like in former times; a consultative assembly that is composed of upright individuals; of individuals who are Islamic, if such an assembly is established then all these issues shall be resolved. I know that now there are various individuals from various strata who are not qualified; but now is not the time to raise our voice. Now is not the time to create differences. They are creating differences from all around; in the cities, on the borders; in Kurdistan and in other places.

Enemies of the movement are seeking to create differences

Now, the people who do not want this movement to move forward are seeking to create differences. Just today, if you heard, it was announced on the radio that in the town of Marivan fighting has erupted and some twenty

or more have been killed. This is a plot; these are created by those persons that do not want this movement to reach its destination and our constitution to be written. There in one form, at the center in another form; in the factories in yet another form, and in everyplace in some other form.

Drafting of the constitution

Now, the plots are afoot in order not to allow this movement to reach its destination; and prevent us from writing the final draft of the constitution and an elected government to be formed to set all things right. Now, in my view, other things whatever they may be are secondary. The primary task to be accomplished now is that each one of you who is an expert in the field should study the constitution and give your views; and next focus on casting your vote for individuals who are pious, individuals who are upright; individuals who are Islamic; individuals whom you know are Muslims and pious and lean neither to the left nor to the right; nominate these individuals so that they study this constitution. After it has been reviewed, and the final draft written, then cast your vote on it. We have passed this stage so that now we have a constitution and the Consultative Assembly shall follow and then, God willing, and through the efforts of the nation, a national and proper one with full authority is to be elected by the people to give their opinions on the affairs. Then, we must mention also what type of individuals is to be nominated. In any case, now is the time for this issue. I am aware that there are problems. It is not only you who have problems, we too have problems; all the strata of people have problems; they come from all over and tell me about their problems; but at this stage we must tone down our grievances a little bit; for the time being, we must ignore them a little. These problems must now be overlooked a little bit so that, God willing, these issues are resolved; then we should look into those problems and see what we must do about them; what must happen to our education system? In our education, too, there are shortcomings; not only in your education.

God willing, I hope that all of you are successful and healthy. You should take action about what I have mentioned. Now, when you get up to go you should reflect on the individuals whom you want to nominate and they should be of the pious. It is possible that some individuals from among the *ulama* of Tehran get elected; in other words, they should be proposed for nomination; and that what the *ulama* of Tehran determine is correct. May you all be healthy and successful, by the will of God.

Speech

Date: July 15, 1979 [Tir 24, 1358 AHS / Shaban 20, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Assassination and destruction is the work of the agents of America

Audience: Professors of the University of Isfahan; Islamic Association of employees of Ministry of Interior

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Assassination is a sign of weakness of the enemy

I have a feeling that the remnants of the former regime have despaired. They have despaired of being able to do anything. The reason of their having despaired is their indulgence in these assassinations and acts of terrorism. Well, perhaps you have heard that today also, an assassination attempt was made on one of the *ulama* of Tehran,² but they have not succeeded. Three bullets have hit one of the *ulama* of Tehran. These are signs of weakness. One who regards himself to be weak and a loser resorts to these destructive acts and by these means, wants to create disorder around the country and disturb the minds, or in their own opinion, intimidate the people whereas our nation is not afraid of them anymore. The nation did not fear those before them with all the power that they possessed! Small children, elderly men, women and men took to the streets and cried out in protest; and with the cry of “*Allahu akbar*” and Islamic slogans, they defeated them. Therefore, it is a delusion if they think that with the assassination of one person or for example, the demolition of a base they would again be able to do something. These people have despaired of these issues and for this reason they undertake such acts of terrorism. The nation must be strong and should move forward with a strong will and determination.

The action of the groups is against Islam and the interest of the nation

We must ask a question from these people—some of these groups that create this chaos and regard themselves as Islamic or supporters of the people and the masses³ and so forth—well, if you are Islamic and are Muslims, then how is it that your actions are contrary to Islam? The killing of a person who

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (new edition), this speech has been dated Mordad 2, 1358 AHS.

² It refers to Sayyid Radi Shirazi, the Shafa Mosque congregational prayer leader.

³ Such as the Cherkha-ye Fadai-ye Khalq, Mujahidin-e Khalq and the Tudeh Party.

spent his life for the propagation of Islam; for attestation of the religion of Islam—such as the late Mutahhari¹—or making an attempt on the life of an *alim* whose life was spent in the service of Islam and no one had heard a thing from him that was contrary to the interest of Islam—such as Sayyid Radi who is now hospitalized—how do these acts conform to Islam? You claim that you are Muslims and wish to serve Islam whereas you attempt to assassinate the *ulama* of Islam and the progeny of the Messenger of Islam! If they belong to the group that says we are supporters of the masses and the people and so forth, I would like to say that in these five months that the Islamic Republic has been established have you seen anything except service to the people, have you seen the agents of the present government break into some persons' home and take away an innocent person? There is nothing except that they put on trial corrupt individuals, or those who slaughtered the people en masse or ordered killings. Do you not burn the cultivated lands of the people? Do you not prevent them from cultivating the farmlands; and when they do cultivate, you prevent them from harvesting the produce; and when they have harvested, you burn the harvests? Is this service to the nation? Is this service to the masses? This referendum in which 98–98.5% of the people voted in favor, if you want the good of the masses; if you have the interest of the people in mind, well then these people have wanted this system so why are you indulging in acts of terrorism? What happened that some of you boycotted it? You burnt some of the ballot boxes and prevented some from voting at the point of a gun, are these in the interest of the masses? Now that they are serving the people; now that they are busy putting

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..."

the house in order; now that they are busy clearing the house; now that the people are busy serving; you are creating disturbances in this fashion; are these in the interests of the people?

Splinter groups as protectors of the interests of America

With regard to what these people are doing; in the courts of law too if a person commits an act, they always pursue the matter to see who has benefited from this act; who is the one who stands to benefit—until they find by what means the crime was committed. Here, we, too, when we notice that these destructive acts such as burning of the harvests; preventing the people from cultivating the farmlands; preventing the employees from doing their job; preventing the factories from operating; we must see who stand to gain from these acts so as to find out whether they are the agents of the previous regime and they stand to benefit. It appears that on the subject of cultivation, it is definitely in favor of America. It is America that has vast supplies and excess agricultural produce at its disposal so that if it does not find a customer for them, it must burn them or throw them into the sea. It is not so with the rest of the countries; they are in need; even the Soviet Union is in need of exports from America. This burning of the harvests and prevention of cultivation is to the benefit of America. We would guess that these individuals who introduce themselves as such-and-such and supporters of the people are the agents of America; not that they belong to the other group although they could belong to that group as well but most likely, it is that they are Americans and created by them—as I remember the basis of the Tudeh Party. The person who founded the Tudeh Party in Iran was a certain Sulayman Mirza. Mirza was my co-traveler in Mecca; he would recite his daily prayers and was a pious believer! He had also adopted a child whom he brought along on the pilgrimage to Mecca. This Tudeh party was not as these people say about them that they have no faith; basically, this plan was devised by the British. At that time when Sulayman Mirza lived in the bygone days the Americans did not have much influence here; rather they had none at all; it was the British who were very influential. Thus it was the British who brought Rida Shah to power and they themselves broadcast over the radio that they had seated him on the throne and then dethroned him for having betrayed them! Now the British are no more; and the Americans have all the say and are more self-seeking and greedy and have more interests here; and have more influence in the countries of the East. God willing, its influence in Iran has been severed. It appears to one that by creating these disturbances, they are working for the benefit of America. If they claim that

they want the interest of the people then they must take notice of all that is being done for the people. All that has been done has been for the benefit of the people. If they are truly nationalists, then well they must come forward and help the people to benefit. As you witness, now when it is time for cultivation, employees of the administrative offices, doctors, engineers, women and men go to the farms and help the people; even the clergy; even the *ulama* of the land sometimes go to help the people. I saw on television that those who were there were a collection of these occupations; they were not the landless peasants that were helping; they were men and women. If they are being truthful in their claim that they want to help the people, well then they should also come forward and share the job of harvesting the produce and for cultivation with those people. Why are they preventing cultivation? Later, after they have cultivated, they set fire on the hard work of one year of one or several farmers—which is the harvest. Is it right for a person to claim to be a supporter of the people; to be at the service of the people; to be in the service of the masses and yet burn their harvest and destroy their plantation? One must ask them this question; ask from that group who claim to be Muslims. Can a person be a Muslim and yet indulge in creating such disturbances and murder? They allegedly belong to the masses [*tudeh*] and to quote them, are “supporters of the people”. Can one who is a supporter of the people and the oppressed and the weak, go to the places of work and ask the people not to work and ask them to claim their salaries and wages from them and shun work! Where does this money come from that they pay out to the employees in order to shun work and pay them their salaries? Get paid for not working! Is it other than that they want to create disorder? The source of that money is the treasury of others. They want to create disorder in the affairs of the country so that perhaps those masters return and they too get somewhere. But they must know that it is beyond them; the path has been traversed to the halfway stage and the remaining distance will also be covered and we are seeing that an Islamic movement has been born everywhere; an Islamic transformation has been born; this Islamic transformation that has occurred in the people and everyone has found an interest in Islam and focus on the fact that it is possible to progress with Islam—these attachments cannot be taken away so soon from the people. The people saw that Islam is feasible. You also witness that, for example, they assassinate prominent individuals for they too are afraid of Islam; they have seen that Islam was able to make a nation that had nothing to triumph over all things only through the power of faith; only

through the cry of “*Allahu akbar*” it was able to throw out all of them; it severed the hands of all of them.

The substance of the Islamic system must be Islamic

Now, everything belongs to you. But considering the amount of destruction that they left behind, by the time the government comes to rebuild some of the destructions, it will of course take some time. Of course, all the ministries, administrative offices, all the organizations must undergo an Islamic transformation. In other words, we who now claim that we have an Islamic system, that we have an Islamic Republic; that we organize Islamic associations, must strive to change the form of the ministries into Islamic ones so that, for example, when a person enters the Ministry of Interior, he enters a place where everything is Islamic, all its personnel are Islamic and he should not observe anything that is non-Islamic in nature. It is not possible that we claim our republic to be Islamic but when we enter an administrative office, the same old problems should exist in it. This is not compatible and is contradictory. Can I claim to be Islamic; our system to be Islamic but not in content? Through the efforts of you, gentlemen, who established the Islamic associations there—and I hope that, God willing, the whole of Iran becomes an Islamic union—we must with the efforts of you the youth, with the efforts of all women and men of Iran build an Islamic country in the manner that the commandments of Islam are applicable everywhere. The people should know that such a system where there is no oppression does have a place in the world; a regime in which there is no injustice, in which there is no stealing; in which there is no debauchery and whose business and trade is Islamic. However, these require an amount of effort; an amount of follow ups and some toil and tribulation.

This is a country that belongs to you; just as you work hard for your home, now you must toil for your country. There was a day when this reasoning existed that well, why should we toil while others take away the rewards? Today, it is not so; we do not have another one to reward for your hard work. This will benefit your own country; it shall benefit the citizens of this country themselves and the efforts shall not be wasted.

Importance of the constitution and the Council of Experts

What I must state once again now to you is the matter of making effort to draft the constitution and elect the experts who—when they are to be nominated—you must try to elect such individuals who are devoted and pious; do not belong to the left and the right; are trustworthy; individuals

who are knowledgeable about Islam and are Islamic. We want to look into Islamic law. If we want to examine the Islamic law, we must have individuals who know what Islam is; who understand the tenets of Islam; who are convinced that Islam is the system necessary for our country. Now, we must pool all our strengths in order to carry this movement forward step by step; and at every step to ensure that, God willing, it does move ahead. I hope that God protects all of you and that you all are successful in rendering service. May we all succeed in serving these people and in serving the weak, God willing.

Speech

Date: July 15, 1979 [Tir 24, 1358 AHS / Shaban 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Review of the constitution; election of the experts; elections of the Majlis and the president

Audience: Clergymen and professors of the University of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The enemy's plot to sow discord between the university and the seminary

In these last few days I heard and read that the university students of Isfahan had a get together with the *ulama* of Isfahan for which I thank all of you very much and hope that this unity continues. The differences that existed, unfortunately, between the university and the clergy in the former regime was not something accidental; it was a calculated matter of which both the clergy and the students were unaware of.

Agents of the regime, who were commissioned to go to the universities and sow discord between these two groups, would say things about the clergy, which unfortunately, the youth would believe. When they would go to the clergy, they would talk about the university which they too would believe; and both the parties were generally unaware that they were being used. Both the parties were unaware of the fact that they were not intending to build a good university or a good clergyman. They were after creating a rift between these two segments who were the intellectual powers of the nation and who could awaken the nations. Not only did they intend to separate, but to cause them to prepare them for confrontation against each other. They would speak about an issue to this one and then to that one and thus keep them busy and to neglect the primary issues that the nation and the country was going through. It is such that even now, I must repeat, and I have said this before that I see no harm in repetition because should a patient suffer from a headache, then even if he goes to a hundred physicians, he will say he has a headache. Just because he has to repeat his statement, it does not mean that once he complain of a headache, another time he would complain of a leg pain and at another time that of a stomach ache.

We are now like a patient who must talk about and expose his disease. Each group that comes, we must talk of that same disease that we are suffering from. I must say this to you and to others whatever it is and

whatever is the fact. I must speak of the pain that we are suffering from at present.

The pain that we are now suffering from is in the present state of the constitution that has been drafted and needs to be ratified until its final draft. In this circumstance I see various strata of people coming here and talking about other issues and sometimes about issues that may cause conflicts. In the newspapers and magazines also they write about certain topics that are provocative. It appears to me that this is based on a calculated plan. It is a plot either to draw our attention to an issue other than the primary issue or to divert our attention in such a way that we are diverted to the end or it is to sow discord and cause conflict among us; cause us to quarrel which itself is also a means to detract us such that we do not move ahead to the subsequent stages that we have, one of which is the review of the draft of the constitution; the other is election of the experts followed by elections to the National Consultative Assembly and then alongside it or parallel to it the presidential elections which are all the fundamentals of a state that must be set. Then, after that the other problems are to be resolved.

The experts should give their views about the constitution

What we are confronted with right now is this fundamental issue; what we are literally confronted with right now also is the review of the constitution. Well, you are university students and can give opinions; you should study the constitution and write down whatever opinion you have about it and send it to the Senate in Tehran, thus after the experts have been elected they could review them, and following it when it is announced to elect the experts, you should see who must be elected—persons knowledgeable about Islam. We want Islam. We do not want to have a European theme such that we should go after European experts. We do not want to make a European or Western legal framework such that we have to go after a European legal expert. We wish to have an Islamic theme. The entire nation cried out that it wants an Islamic republic established. This was the cry of the nation. Those who were opposed to this at that time, did not dare to breathe; they had gone away either abroad or were nonentities in this country or were inside the country sitting in the corner and watching the proceedings and maybe they would even be making fun of our martyrs. They are not the ones who would be knowledgeable about Islam such that when they review the laws they would know whether it is related to Islam or not.

Characteristics of the members of the Council of Experts

You must nominate those persons that have affection for Islam. It should not be such that for instance, where it concerns Islam, they should strike it out with their pen and put it aside. They must be interested in realizing Islam in this country, in this state. They should also not have gone here and there to secure the interests of the West or the East. They should be independent of opinion; independent in spirit and intellect, trustworthy and recognizable faces. You should not nominate a person whom you do not know even though they tell you that he is a very good person unless you know him yourself. Individuals whom you know to be Muslims, are knowledgeable about Islam, whose line of thought is Islamic, are informed of the condition of their country are persons that must be nominated so that they, God willing, could study the constitution and do what is in the interest of our nation.

Perpetuity of Islam and its teachings

This you should know—all must know—that what is for the good of our nation and that which shall liberate this Iran from the domination of foreigners and the ideas of the foreigners and the actions of the foreigners and establish a state based on justice that is free in all respects, not freedom in the Western context, and whose economy is sound, whose everything is sound—that system which can accomplish these is Islam. It is Islam whose laws have been revealed by God Who knows best what is needed by mankind till eternity. One should not be under the illusion that Islam could be implemented in bygone eras and it can no longer be implemented in the modern era. These are either deviations or negligence; this is ignorance. You must nominate those individuals who believe one-hundred percent that Islam is not outdated and is alive from now till eternity. This movement of yours has proven that Islam is even today a motivator and winner. Even now a human being exterminates oppression and the system of oppression. If you were not bound with Islam and were individuals each of whom would speak for his own objective then you would still be reeling under those same burdens and Muhammad Rida would as yet be ruling here and shouting “great civilization” and dragging us to hell!

Islamic spirit and unity of expression

This unity of yours and your total attention to Islam; the focus of the youth on Islam and that even now they come to me and ask me to pray that they be martyred; and in reply I tell that I shall pray that you attain the reward of a martyr and that God wiling, we no longer have to find the

grounds for martyrdom. We are now meting out punishment to the thieves and the cheaters. In any case, such a transformation in morale from fear to this courage; from that escapism to this coming together—such morale enabled you to triumph. This morale is a morale that was given to us by Islam; in other words, people have been transformed to those same personalities of the dawn of Islam when thirty thousand of them defeated and, I should say, conquered the Byzantium and Persia. That too was because they regarded Islam to be the path of happiness; whether they were alive or dead. They regarded martyrdom as attainment of an eternal life for themselves. I am seeing the revival of this spirit in our youth; and they come and earnestly ask me to pray for them to be martyred. This was the cause of our victory.

Now that our present duty is to put aside all the issues that must be resolved later and all the problems that must be attended to later, and to focus all our attention on what is this constitutional draft that is to be ratified; what are its shortcomings? Explain its shortcomings. As to who should review them, who are the persons that must review them—the very persons that you have to nominate.

Solution to the problems lie in the cooperation of the nation, and the formation of the government and the Consultative Assembly

May God protect all of you, God willing. All the problems shall be resolved after the realization of a non-interim government; an established and permanent government followed by a constitution and a consultative assembly that is nationally elected and not by appointment. God willing, all of these problems shall be solved and all of these tasks shall be performed at the hands of the nation itself. May God protect all of you and grant you success.

Message

Date: July 16, 1979 [Tir 25, 1358 AHS / Shaban 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Call for demonstration

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the noble and combatant nation of Iran—may God Almighty assist it:

As you have noticed, after the sacred Islamic movement, with the help of God, the Exalted, and the lofty aspiration of the nation, demolished the palace of the oppressors in a miraculous manner and brought about the triumph of faith and self-sacrifice of the pious believers over the satanic powers and destroyed the wall of repression and exploitation, on one hand, the opportunists, and on the other hand, the seekers of corruption, want to sham that the movement does not enjoy the enormous support of the nation after the triumph of the Revolution, and through this devilish ploy cast doubts on the unaware among the people, and according to their own premature illusions, fish in troubled waters. Therefore, in order to prove national unity, annul falsehood, affirm the truth, and bring to an end the lies and sowing of discord of the opponents of Islam and the sacred Islamic movement, all the strata of the public who are attached to Islam, the Noble Quran, the Islamic Republic, and the independence of the country are henceforth requested to participate in the rally to be held on Tuesday, Tir 26, 1358 AHS [July 17, 1979] so that the fate of the groups moving in the opposite direction of the Islamic Revolution is determined. In reality, this Islamic-national maneuver is a demonstration of the faction of truth and party of Allah against the satanic faction. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the grandeur of Islam and the nation.

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

Order

Date: July 16, 1979 [Tir 25, 1358 AHS / Shaban 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The excepted ones from the general amnesty

Occasion: 15th of Shaban, the auspicious birth anniversary of His Holiness the Master of the Age (may God expedite his glorious advent)

Addressee: Public prosecutor of the Courts of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Mr. Public Prosecutor of the Courts of the Islamic Revolution:

Considering that on the glorious 15th of Shaban—the auspicious birth anniversary of His Holiness the Master of the Age—all the convicted who had committed wrongs in the former regime, with the exception of those individuals that will be mentioned below, are to be granted amnesty, it is necessary that you order all the courts of the Islamic Revolution throughout the country to look into the file of the convicted at the earliest, and to immediately free those who are pardoned. The exceptions are as follow:

1. Those who have personally undertaken the killing of a person or persons;
2. Those who have ordered the killing of a person or persons;
3. Individuals who have personally tortured or given orders for the torture of prisoners; and
4. Persons that in some way or the other misappropriated public property.

Meanwhile, it is to be noted that the above amnesty does not apply to those persons about whom the verdict of the courts was issued prior to the amnesty of the 15th of Shaban 1399 AH. In addition, after the issuance of the order of amnesty, if any person commits a crime, he must be prosecuted and punished. Kindly announce emphatically that no person has the right to directly lodge a complaint against the police, military, gendarmeries, and disciplinary forces, and the accused in these organizations must be turned over to the courts through their own superiors. Those who violate this order are liable to be prosecuted and punished.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: July 16, 1979 [Tir 25, 1358 AHS / Shaban 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reformation of tasks and looking into the religious and social affairs

Addressee: Hadi Ruhani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Hadi Ruhani—may his graces last:

It is hoped Your Eminence is in the best of health and happiness and be always successful. It is necessary to mention that at this sensitive moment when the glorious Revolution of the noble people of Iran is in need of reconstruction and thwarting of plots, the distinguished *ulama*—may their blessings last—must make the maximum use of their available facilities and influence in every region for the advancement of these objectives. For this reason, for any need felt in the region,¹ it is also necessary for Your Eminence to take steps for the reformation of the tasks, greater scrutiny of the religious and social affairs, propagation, and enlightenment of the people while the respected residents shall, God willing, with their revolutionary zeal, not withhold the necessary cooperation with Your Eminence.

I pray to God Almighty for the success of all along the way to unity and solidarity; and the deterrence of the enemies of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 21, 1399 AH

¹ Babol region.

Speech

Date: July 16, 1979 [Tir 25, 1358 AHS / Shaban 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Rioting and dispute as a plot to prevent the implementation of Islamic decrees

Audience: Delegation of Arabic-speaking preachers and people of Khuzestan province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

First of all, I would like to apologize to the gentlemen for having gathered in this hot place, under the hot sunshine and in this cramped house. I must shorten my speech so that the gentlemen do not have to suffer long. I thank all of you for having come here from faraway places to meet me and for me to tell them about our grievances and for them also to talk with us about the subjects which they want to discuss. You have precedence over others in respect of Islam. You are Arabs and Islam is from the Arabs and the Prophet of Islam was an Arab. Therefore, an Arab must pay greater attention to Islam because Islam is from him and the others are followers.

Today is the day when the destiny of Islam, the destiny of the Islamic country must be shaped by the able hands of the people. Today is the day which is the most sensitive moment for our country. On one hand, we must undertake to review the draft of the constitution. The legislators of the land must be elected from individuals who are experts, and they should study the constitution which is the foundation of the state and in which lies the destiny of Islam and the country. On the other hand, you are aware that plots are being hatched everywhere to prevent the proper realization of this basis and foundation.

Aim of the riots

They are creating differences in one way or the other, in every part of the homeland; and especially in these past few days and weeks since the issue of the constitution has arisen, and the opponents of Islam and your opponents are worried that the constitution shall be drafted and approved in such a way that their hands will be severed forever. They are thinking of diverting the attention of the nation, the minds of the pious believers, the minds of the esteemed preachers, the minds of the distinguished *ulama*, and the minds of the rest of the strata of people from this straight path that must be traveled

and which leads to the ratification of the constitution, to other issues. It is not known whether these disturbances that are now taking place in Kurdistan and in Khuzestan; and these differences that are present everywhere in the country; and these plots for creation of a rift, for creating chaos are accidental occurrences. These are a plot hatched by those who do not want the constitution to be Islamic. Both the strata of foreigners and the foreign powers as well as the deviant strata inside the country are afraid of Islam. Right now their fear is that the constitution will be approved in the manner that Islam wants; in the manner that the munificent Quran commands and Islam is; and after that is this same people who are in the majority; and this same nation that emerged victorious in that fashion that was unprecedented in the world; these people are afraid that the constitution will be reviewed by experts whom you the people appoint; that the constitution shall be an Islamic one; and then afterwards when it is put to a referendum of the nation, they know that the majority is with the people; they are afraid that these stages will be covered and their hands and the hands of their masters will be severed from the resources and interests of our nation. For this reason, you noticed that in the referendum some of these people who are opposed to the constitution, boycotted it; and some of these people who are opposed to Islam burnt some of the ballot boxes or prevented people from voting at gunpoint. In spite of all these, our nation gave a hundred percent—minus one or two percent—in favor of Islam while all the factions earned one percent or one-half percent of the votes. These people now feel defeated from within; and with this feeling of defeat they are struggling to divide the groups from one another and to circulate among the people that the Kurds are distinct; that the Arabs are separate; that the Baluch are separate; that the people of Fars are separate; that the Turks are separate and to divide them into distinct groups. This is while Islam gives no preference to any one except in terms of following the tenets of Islam and of piety.

Popular efforts to crush the plots

You brethren who have come here from afar and are also now suffering in this hot and scorching sun must focus your attention and be aware lest these corruption-mongering and conspiring individuals who want to create rifts between Arab and non-Arab, Kurds, Turks and Arabs and the rest succeed in these plots. Negate their ploys. When all the Arab and non-Arab preachers said on the pulpit that they were all brothers and all follow the Quran and all believe in Islam, then there is no word remaining to be spoken for them to hatch plots and wish to prevent the constitution from being

drafted. You must be vigilant and ensure that at such an instance, all your minds are focused on preparing a constitution that is proper and Islamic. The destiny of all of us hinges on the constitution and then the Council of Experts followed by the Consultative Assembly which should be national and not under the command of others as it was previously.

Therefore, what I would like to request from you not to listen to those that now want to sow discord; focus on the objective; concentrate on the advancement of Islam. All strata of the nation except a few who have deviated from Islam are with you and are together. All must offer the hand of brotherhood to one another and defuse these plots.

Characteristics of the members of the Council of Experts

The specialist persons that you want to send to study and review the constitution, to lay the foundation should be persons with the qualities that Islam requires; they should be Muslims; they should have faith in the religion; must believe in our creed and must not incline to the left or to the right nor have other deviations; they should be trustworthy; they should understand Islam and be followers of Islam; they should be *ulama* of Islam. Such persons should be nominated and sent to the Assembly to study your constitution and produce a constitution that has been researched and that conforms to Islam. The differences that exist today are extremely harmful; the harm of differences is greater now than at any other moment. If you find some persons who by means of their sinister propaganda wish to create rifts among you brothers; between the Arabs and non-Arabs, Kurds and non-Kurds and Turks and non-Turks, then know that a conspiracy is at work and that they wish to lead all of you astray from that fundamental issue and God forbid, write the constitution in a deviant form.

May God enable all of you to succeed. Finally, I thank all of you who have come here.

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

Statements

Date: July 16, 1979 [Tir 25, 1358 AHS / Shaban 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Constitution; the Council of Experts and presidential elections

Audience: A group of representatives of art students and school students of Kerman

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank you all for having come here. Convey my greetings to the people of Kerman. In the past we had a series of problems that we have nothing to do with them at present; there are going to be problems in the future, too. Today a set of problems are of importance, the major ones being these: the constitution, elections to the Council of Experts and election of the president. Pay attention to these. In the meetings that I had last week with various groups, it is obvious to me that there is a plot underway and that they want to restrain us from the main objective.

My message to the people of Kerman is this that regarding the constitution, they should study its draft and give their views. The representatives to the Council of Experts must be elected from among those persons who are the *ulama* of the area; who are neither leftists nor rightists nor opposed to Islam so that they can write a constitution that is favored by Islam. These are the main issues; other issues are secondary. Every city has its own problems. We must think of the basis and avoid differences and disputes. While reconfirming the credentials of my representative, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Jawad Hujjati Kermani, who is an authority, [I would like to state that] it is better for him to spend his time on the subject of the constitution and send his opinion to the Council of Experts.

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

Statements

Date: July 16, 1979 [Tir 25, 1358 AHS / Shaban 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Impotence of the powers vis-à-vis the power of faith

Audience: The head and members of the Union of Supreme Islamic Federation of Australia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

This victory that was achieved by our nation was a divine blessing; a great blessing that transformed the spirit of our nation into the spirit of Islam and the Muslims at the dawn of Islam. It was this power of faith and belief in Islam that earned us a progress that no one believed was possible. With bare hands, our nation—without any weapons—armed with the same power of faith resisted in the face of modern weaponry and the great military might and also crushed all the powers. This proves that if a nation arises in revolt while safeguarding the power of faith, then no power can confront it. All the powers and superpowers were backing the deposed Shah and at times threatening us, but the power of Islam with the blessings of the Almighty God caused us to triumph with bare hands over the big powers. I hope that this movement of Iran will become a role model for the rest of the oppressed nations. It is hoped that God will liberate the world from the hands of the arrogant oppressors and hands it over to the oppressed.

I thank you for your kindness. Convey my warm regards to your friends and the Muslims of Australia; and I implore God to bless all of you.

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

Speech

Date: July 17, 1979 [Tir 26, 1358 AHS / Shaban 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Characteristics of the heads of Islamic government

Audience: Governors from all over the country and the Deputy Interior Minister; Revolutionary Guards from Sepiddasht; children of Sorud Primary School

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In the Islamic government, there is no giving and receiving of orders

Of the transformations that should take place and which you gentlemen must endeavor is that you should not be overtaken by pride by the term, governor'. This term belongs to a time when there is governor and subject, when there is no fraternity and there exists a *taghuti* and the other people are their subjects whereas this has no place in Islam. Those who governed the length and breadth of the Islamic territory, that too a territory so vast that it extended from Hijaz to Egypt, Africa, Iraq, Iran and all these Muslim countries that you see. Even some parts of Europe was under its rule, nevertheless it was not that their communication with the wage earners was of one that gave orders and one who obeyed them. The Noble Prophet (s) himself behaved with the people like one of them; he was like one of the rest of the people; he was one of them. He neither had a governor's residence nor in social gatherings would he sit at the top and the people below. These issues were not of consideration at all. Some of the Arabs who would come from other regions and enter the mosques would see the Prophet seated with the rest such that it would be difficult for them to identify who the Prophet was from among the people who were seated and who were his companions. They would ask who among them the Prophet was. This is because they would sit in a circular fashion whereas even now in this place you see that a blanket has been spread here and some individuals are sitting on it in such a manner that if an outsider comes in, he can distinguish. Hadrat Amir (a) on the very day that people swore allegiance to him—allegiance to the successor of the Messenger of Allah—he took his hoe and shovel and went to a place where he was working. He himself would work and the palm of his hands had callus formed on them. The position of the governors, the governors that governed the lands in those times, vis-à-vis the people was not one of governor' and subject'. The condition was that of service and that the governors were servants of the people. This differentiation that you saw

during the rule of the former *taghuti* regime between the governments of the land and the provincial governors of the homeland, on one hand, and the people, on the other hand, was a separation between enemies. The people would consider them as enemies even though they were also civil servants but the people would not accept them because the regime had such a standing.

The unpopularity of monarchial and *taghuti* regimes

Monarchial and *taghuti* regimes wherever they are, their standing is such that through certain protocol and tumult, they scare and drive away the people from around them and therefore the people are not supportive of them. When I was a child, in Khomein there was a governor who had arrested and imprisoned one of the khans of the area. Later, a few individuals from among the khans arrived with guns and took away the governor while the people showed no reaction whatsoever, or rather they even rejoiced! Most of you do not remember that when the Allied Forces—America, Britain, Russia, and others—came to Iran and occupied it; everything of the people was in danger. Nevertheless when they took away Rida Shah, the people celebrated it as if all their sufferings had ended with the departure of Rida Shah. With regard to Muhammad Rida also, you all witnessed that when he went away from here—I was not present in Iran, but I was told—Iran was full of joy. This was something that you all witnessed. Why? This was because they—in your parlance, the governors⁷—were removed from the people. In those days it was common that when a government would be deposed, the governor would run away to another place. This was an issue that frequently occurred in those times. Perhaps, this did not happen during the period of these people but previously this issue existed that when the governor of a certain place, when the government of a certain place would be deposed, he could no longer remain in that place and would run away, runaway during the darkness of the night lest the people loot him or attack him and the like because they were alienated from the people. When the power was in his hands, he would behave rudely with the people such that the people were alienated from him and he was alienated from the people. When he would be deposed, he had to run away. Had this Muhammad Rida listened to what was being prompted to him that the person who thinks he is at the top must get along with the people so that they support him; if the nation had supported him, well then these happenings would not have occurred. The *taghutis* do this and they do this because they are afraid of the people. They were traitors. They have betrayed the people. They have done

injustice to the people and thus were afraid of them. As they were afraid of the people, they would resort to establishing a force to protect themselves and also to intimidate the people with it. The fact that the disciplinary forces during the rule of the *taghuti* regime and during the reign of any *taghuti* regime is a force for repression of the nation—now also it is so in other places—now, praise be to God, it is not so anymore in Iran. I hope it does not happen anymore. But even now if you notice and set foot abroad, wherever you go, you shall notice that the disciplinary forces are a force for repression of the people. This is because the government is not of the people; it is alienated from the people. Not only is it alienated, but also the government regards the people to be opposed to its interests; it regards them as its enemies; not only it does not regard them to be supportive, rather it also regards them as its enemy. If an enemy is to surface, they shall cooperate with it.

The alienation of the governments from the people is the source of all troubles

This alienation of the governments from the people is the source of all troubles that occur in a country. If in the manner that Islam has proposed about government and about the people, the rights of the people on the government and the rights of the government over the people are observed and the people act on it, then all shall be at ease; neither the people have to fear the government because the government is not oppressive that they should fear it; all are supportive of it; neither the government wants to be the ruler—the government wants to serve; the question is of civil service—nor the government wants to subjugate the nation. This condescending attitude shall alienate you from the nation and the nation from you and it shall become the source of many corruptions. It should be such that when the head of the government, the prime minister or the president come to meet with the people, there should be no distance between them in the manner that is present in a *taghuti* regime. The governors should not be alienated from the people such that when they come to their offices they are made to wait outside and not allowed to meet with them and so forth. Of course, they must allow them to see but not that there should be commotion and every person that comes along rushes in ahead of others. A criterion which you all know is to be observed. But the people should feel from your actions that you are one of them and wish to serve them; you do not want to be the master giving orders and do not want to pressurize them and you do not want to do injustice to them. These things should not exist. It should not be like before when they

would give a province on rent officially. How much could he pay and how much must he earn to pay the rent and how much should be put aside for them? It was a fief! They would give a place to a person on rent as a fief. This person would have to go and milk the people so much in order to pay the specific sum to, for example, the prime minister or president, or for example, the overlord and the person who was in charge. Well, certainly he who was undertaking this task needed to secure his own future, too! When the situation changed such that the person who was the grand vizier—in those days the grand vizier was the head of government—of the government would give the provinces on rent to their respective fiefs in the manner that for example, this province of Kerman has low level of income so lesser the rent! Khorasan province was wealthier so higher rent; likewise Azerbaijan province was wealthier and so forth. The rent was fixed on the potential of income of that province; how much benefits could be derived from their wealth! As the fixation of the rent of a province was in the hand of a single ruler and he would pay something to get this job, ultimately he would have to go and drain the people to arrange the sum which he would do. Of course, it was so in the past; not during the reign of these two; at the time of these two it was in another form; we remember how it was in their regime. The former regimes prior to this one were in similar fashion.

Monarchical regime as an erroneous and illogical regime

Basically, this is how monarchical regime was from the beginning—a wrong concept. From the beginning it has been a regime that was illogical. Now I would like to say one aspect of it. Suppose that the entire nation—it is a supposition and is not a fact—gather and elect one as their king. Very well, the people have the right to elect a person and elect him. Well, these people have the right in the span of their lives to elect someone. Well, for the next hundred years when none of these gentlemen are alive, what right do they have? What right do you have to elect a king for your children and your grandchildren who are not in existence right now? The monarchy was an inherited monarchy. Let us suppose that we attested to the selection of a monarchical government; what right does the nation have to place a guardian for its future generations? They have the autonomy and so must themselves elect. For this reason monarchy was wrong from the very beginning.

Difference between monarchical regime and a republican system

Republic is a correct concept because every country has set a period of four to five years; and after four to five years they again get elected. It is no

longer passed on to future generations such that if the son of a person whatever he may be must be the ruler. Now, it was Rida Khan and then it is the turn of Muhammad Rida and then again his son Rida Pahlavi and then again another Muhammad Rida followed by another Rida and continues till eternity! Therefore a monarchy in this context is not at all logical in the context of its being inherited. If a republic is by inheritance, it is not logical. That which is logical is that the people should themselves be responsible. The nation elects someone; that too in free elections; and elects someone as president; the nation has the right to elect someone as its president. After four years have passed, once again it is this same people and the same circumstances; once again another person is elected or if the incumbent does a good job, he is reelected. You and I cannot determine the destiny for a hundred years from now. We have the right for our own selves; it is like we appoint someone as a lawyer on behalf of a deceased person! Or who is yet to be born! What connection does it have with me? This regime was basically an illogical one. Now also, wherever it is in place, it is illogical. However, the type of monarchy that the others have is not of the variety that we had; at any rate, it is an illogical concept.

Duty of the election administrators and supervisors

Now that you want to supervise the elections, you must pay attention to the fact that this regime is a humane-Islamic regime; it is not the oppressive *taghuti* regime. You must not speak a word that tarnishes its name, for example, by doing a certain thing. People should freely elect as they did in the referendum. People must be free to elect. Yes, you furnish the means; supervision over them lest there is misuse and cheating in such things. It should not be like in former times when they would carry away the ballot boxes and fill them up with whatever they wanted and then bring and put them back in place! There should be supervising of the ballot boxes such that no person can cheat. The ballot boxes should be in trustworthy hands; the trustees should be from the people so that later there is no utterance against you that such and such governor, for example, had interfered in the affairs.

In the Islamic government the position is such that now in the elections, you do not have any right beyond the right to supervise and make available the means to the extent that the government must make available; lest, God forbid, they accuse you of rigging in favor of one person and for example changing the ballot box. You must be very careful concerning these matters including the freedom of the electorate at polling booths and facilitating their voting as well as safeguarding the trust (votes and ballot boxes) that is under

the supervision of a number of trustworthy individuals from the government and the people. The trusted persons should bear in mind that afterwards there should be no talk that well, this regime and this election is like the previous ones. This must be seriously taken into consideration by the gentlemen that God willing, basically, a transformation should take place in Iran of the spiritual kind. A spiritual transformation means that a governor should not regard himself as a governor. I do not desire to utter this word at all just as I also do not like to utter the word monarch'. Sometimes I get very angry when, for example, they call the Imam of the Age (*a*) "King of kings". He is the trustee of God. In any case, the main thing is action; now the titles are not very important even though it is better that it is changed; the main thing is action in that through your action, you show that this election is a free national election. Every person anywhere can cast his vote for whoever he wishes. When they get the majority of votes—of course the people will vote for pious Islamic individuals—the gentlemen should not conclude that now eyes are focused on engaging in disputes; on finding faults. If a governor of a province does something that is against the principles of the Islamic Republic, this will affect everyone. Then they will say that the administrators are such and such type of people; the provincial governors are so-and-so, and basically the government is also this sort.

Focus of the authorities on the weak and needy

I hope that all of you are healthy and happy and all of us are in the service of this people, especially of the poor; of the weak. Your focus should mostly be on these strata that are in need. It should not be like in the former regime where for the upper class everything was made available to them in addition to filling their pockets while a group of shanty dwellers on the outskirts of Tehran who are even now just as before—these people must be transformed. There must be a difference between a government that calls itself Islamic and an oppressive *taghuti* regime. One difference is the greater attention that you governors or civil servants should pay to these weak strata instead of the upper classes. Let it not be such that one day a person who is affluent and wealthy be given precedence over a person of the weak strata although it was the right of the weaker who must have been attended to earlier. I do not imply to give priority to the weaker; I say there must be justice. However, when they need to refer to a governor, it is not possible to accept everybody all at once; but it must be based on justice in that even the weaker person is attended to; the one who is affluent should also be attended to. Hadrat Amir (*a*) in a trial at the time when he was the Caliph of Allah

and the caliph of the Muslims and would determine the verdict himself; there was a legal dispute between Hadrat Amir and a non-Muslim—apparently a Jew—and the judge summoned him (*a*). When he went in, the judge called him by his epithet [*kunyah*].¹ Hadrat Ali forbade him and told him that they must be treated equally;² in seating, in everything they must be equal. When he delivered the verdict against His Holiness, he accepted. He was the true Caliph of God and you all must also toe his line; all of us must follow his line. However, none of us have the strength to be like him; but at least to the extent that when they take our letter there, they say that these too are Shiah; they too are followers. When they take our letter of deeds to the Imam of the Time (*a*) which, as it is quoted in the narrative takes place every week, twice a week;³ when they take our letter it should reveal our deeds in such a light that make us disqualified as followers; it is not that we follow our vain desires in performing a deed.

I hope, God willing, these elections and the subsequent elections that are about the Consultative Assembly, with your supervision and earnestness, not that you disallow anyone from interfering, but the interference should not be misplaced and the person should not be one who wants to impose his will on the people; it should not be such. God willing, these elections will be a model throughout the history of constitutionalism—except for some instances; except a little—of a free election. That we say except some instances' means where there is no interference of the government; otherwise the khans would interfere. At the very dawn of constitutionalism, right from the beginning, a party of people was suffering at the hands of the khans and landlords, and would also suffer at the hands of the government. It could be said that the elections throughout the era of constitutionalism were not free. The khans would gather the serfs or they would intimidate them so that the serfs would vote for them which I myself had witnessed before the reign of Rida Shah; at the time of Ahmad Shah when it was controlled by the khans; the khans would appoint legislators. When Rida Shah came to power and to some extent brought these khans under his control, not that he eradicated them; he concentrated all the powers in himself and committed all the oppressions that the khans would commit! After this, everything was in their hands and the people and the nation were not at all important anymore. Who was the

¹ Calling a person by his epithet—such as Abu Turab in the case of Imam Ali—is a form of respect among the Arabs.

² This event happened during the Caliphate of Umar ibn al-Khattab and Caliph Umar called him by his epithet. Khwarazmi, *Al-Manaqib*, p. 98; Ibn Abil-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 17, p. 65.

³ *Wasail ash-Shiah*, “*kitab al-jihad*,” vol. 16, p. 113; Jamal al-Usubi, p. 172.

nation?! Now it is not so; now the nation is important; the people themselves. God willing, your tasks shall be models for all places where free elections take place. May God bless all of you and may you all be successful.

Speech

Date: July 17, 1979 [Tir 26, 1358 AHS / Shaban 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Divine favors in granting victory to the movement

Audience: Guard Corps of the Tehran Mahdiyyah Congregation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

In this noble verse that this gentleman recited,¹ one aspect pertains to the Sacred Essence of God, the Exalted, that has been realized while another aspect pertains to us. That which was related to the Divine Power transformed our fears into security. Previously we were afraid of the disciplinary forces, our nation feared the Security Organization (the SAVAK), the municipality and the city police, from all of these, and from the machinery of oppression. God, the Blessed and Exalted, transformed all these fears into security. Now, we are seated here in total peace and security. One aspect also is relevant to us. What must we do? Worship of God, and not to ascribe anyone as partner to Him. Neither should we ascribe the powers as partner and neither the carnal self and the devils. We should regard everything to be from Him and all the powers to be from Him. We should not consider anybody to be the possessor of power except Him; we should regard this victory to be from Him. We had nothing, no power, and no organization. We were a dispersed people where everyone was concerned about his own job and own situation and all were suffering at the hands of the tyrants. That which united us; that which turned all the hearts in one direction; that which combined all our different objectives into a single objective was the Sacred Essence of God, the Exalted. No man can create such a movement; a movement with various motivations, various groups, various objectives, locations faraway from each other and diverse individuals into a single community. Before, we were numerous communities; each person was a separate individual and each individual thought differently from the other. It was the power of God, the Blessed and Exalted, which gathered all the

¹ It refers to *Surah an-Nur* 24:55, which was recited before the Imam's speech: "Allah hath promised such of you as believe and do good works that He will surely make them to succeed (the present rulers) in the earth even as He caused those who were before them to succeed others); and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved for them, a will give them in exchange safety after their fear. They serve Me. They ascribe no thing as partner unto Me. Those who disbelieve henceforth, they are the miscreants."

thoughts on a single thought and all the objectives into a single objective. I must say that each individual was like a drop; like raindrops that individually are ineffectual—these He transformed into a devastating and uprooting flood; a flood that confronted guns and tanks, and big powers and the world—and not only the satanic power of the regime but all the powers that were backing it. Some would specifically mention the likes of America, Britain and some others, but even if they would not mention, it was obvious that not only the powers outside the influence of Islam but Muslim powers also, Muslim governments also backed him totally. On the other hand, it was its power internally while the small and big foreign powers were backing it. Could we have been able to confront a power behind whom the whole world had rallied? Could we do anything? We who cannot unite even a locality; we who cannot even gather a few individuals and lead them on a single path, could we have been able to lead a nation from the center to the frontiers, from a child to the aged; from a cleric to a non-cleric and ignorant? Could any one except God be able to gather them in one place?

The materialist miscalculations

Do not be under the illusion that any person can bring about such a miracle; a miracle that nullified the words of all the theoreticians and organizations; the proposals that they would present were all nullified; everybody attested that this was other than those matters that they would propound. Those who would present proposals for issues in order to sustain their hold on power made a miscalculation in this regard. They calculated based on materialism; they spoke correctly on the basis of material calculations. On normal calculations it was obvious that we must not be able to take a single step; to be defeated. They did not calculate on the basis of spiritualism. They were unaware of the Power Who by His will transforms a nation. A nation that was afraid of a policeman was transformed into a nation that was unafraid of guns and tanks; not only the elders, even the children! One of my friends narrated to me how he had witnessed a young boy of thirteen or fourteen years of age astride a motorcycle or a bicycle and assaulted a tank with it! Even though he was crushed under the tank, the point is the morale that has been created. This fear that for more than fifty years had cast a shadow over the nation was transformed in a span of one or two years. Of course, this movement from its commencement to its conclusion is more than fifteen years old; but the uprising is approximately two years old. How was it possible for a person or that nation which lived in fear for fifty years and would shudder at the mere mention of the Security

Organization' be transformed in such a way as to pour out onto the streets and shout "Death to the Shah" and not be afraid of anything. How the youth of the nation was transformed into individuals that longed for martyrdom? Even now, although, God willing, the struggle has ended, some people came here in this very room—one person came here just a couple of days ago—and pleaded with me to pray that he be martyred; he even followed me to the open door pleading. I told him that I would pray that God grant him the reward of a martyr but he would insist that I pray that he be martyred. Who can create this spiritual transformation? Who is it that can transform the souls of the people? Who is the transformer of the hearts?

Victory and perpetuation of the Revolution is contingent upon devotion to God, fraternity and unity

Be devoted to God and do not ascribe anybody as partner to Him. Not only in worship, in everything. These very cries that you hear are the cries of God; it is the power of God. This movement was carried forward by God otherwise, on the basis of normal criterion we were a few clerics and a group of bazaar traders whose occupation was trade and business while those people held all the powers in their hands. It was God Who when this movement was born caused those people to change side in multitude and come to our side. He caused them to abandon the thought of using their devilish powers, otherwise if a hundred aircrafts that they had purchased from America would have hovered above our heads and your heads and dropped bombs, we had no power to retaliate, but God caused them to abandon even this idea. He instilled a fear in them that paralyzed them on this issue. They were destroyed from within; their own forces reverted to the people; the lower-ranks no longer obeyed their superiors; the power to command had disintegrated. Everything was from God; do witness God in these affairs. God is more manifest than this sunlight. From now on, too, if we maintain this devotion to God; if we maintain this fraternity and unity; from now on, too, we shall carry it forward; we shall also carry it forward to its conclusion.

Pray that we would not become neglectful of God, the Blessed and Exalted; we are not neglectful of Islam; that we do not go after those things that we are in need of ourselves; these things shall pass; that we do not pursue issues such as, 'What happened to my job?', 'What happened to my mosque?', 'What happened to my pulpit?', and 'What about my house?' These are things that cross and pass away; what remains is the spirituality of human beings.

May God by His will never transform this peace and security into fear. May God enable us to be of the pious and of those who do not ascribe partner to Him for anything.

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

Statements

Date: July 17, 1979 [Tir 26, 1358 AHS / Shaban 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Stating the major problems of the Muslims

Addressee: Ambassador of North Yemen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank you for having come here to meet with me; and likewise, your nation. Islam is a heavenly religion that has come to enlighten the nations; to solve the problems between them; to guide them toward attainment of human perfection and to eradicate oppression and injustice. But the Muslims—generally and almost—and likewise the Muslim governments were either unaware or negligent of the secret behind the coming of Islam. All the sufferings of the Muslims in the course of history is for this very reason that they drifted away from the teachings of Islam and were unable to comprehend the guidance for which Islam arrived on the scene; or they were not able to implement them because of the grudges that they held.

The major problem of the Muslims is the same estrangement from Islam and the Qur'an. If the Muslims act on the basis of the exhortation that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has thus commanded, "*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate;*"¹ if they would act upon this one commandment and prohibition, all their problems—political, social and economic—would have been solved and no power would be able to challenge them. But unfortunately, because of the negligence of some and the indifference of some others and unawareness of yet another, they have been deprived of this affair; and till the time this divine commandment is not realized, the Muslims must prepare themselves and await more misery.

The other problem that exists is lack of understanding between the governments and the nation. The separation of the nation from the government; rather their confrontation with each other results in their weakness and has become the problem of the government and the nation. Until this problem is not resolved by the governments themselves, they will not see the light of happiness and will always suffer at the hands of traitors and foreigners.

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

I pray to God to awaken the Muslims and familiarize them with the Islamic duties; that they *“hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah,”* which is the basis for the removal of sufferings.

Speech

Date: July 17, 1979 [Tir 26, 1358 AHS / Shaban 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The key to victory: unity and love of Islam

Audience: Women students of the Masumah College of Isfahan; personnel of the Guard Corps of Shahrida town

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Clinging to the rope of Allah

The command is the same in the verse that this sister recited, “*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate*”.¹ In this verse, the exhortation is not only to congregate; the order of all the common people and secular regimes is to gather together. It is only an order to congregate whereas the commandment of Allah is, “*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah*”. That which is important is not only everybody come together on an issue and not be divided; the directive is that we should all together cling to the rope of Allah. The path should be the path of truth and the focus should be on the truth and the clinging should be to the path of truth. The prophets did not arrive so that people would rally round an issue; the prophets came to gather all on the path of the truth; this path is the path that begins from the physical plain extending to the metaphysical and further to where we are as of now not in a position to comprehend. If everybody come together and trek this path, trek this path together, we shall both manage the affairs of the world and take care of the affairs of the hereafter.

The key to the victory of the nation is love of Islam and unity

You noticed that in these demonstrations that you recently carried out, you all came together. The secret of your victory was the same aspect of divinity of the matter. In other words, all the citizens of Iran were focused on wanting Islam; this was “*clinging to the rope of Allah*”. Islam is the rope of Allah. For so many people to trek a single path—and that too the path of God—gifted this victory to us. Thus, what caused us to emerge victorious in the face of the big powers both inside and outside the country, or in other words, the immense power that the former Shah had and who was backed by

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

all the powers of other countries without exception—almost all the Arab countries were supporting him; all the superpowers too while he was personally powerful and possessed satanic power; all the powers that were in the world and who could have been on our side were in favor of him and wanted to prop him up—but they could not. You had nothing; you had no weapons in your hand—now that you see a few handguns were taken as booty after having defeated them. Before that you people had nothing in your hands... It was you with nothing and they being equipped with everything of the satanic equipment. Although they had everything and you had nothing, you defeated them. Everyone was in favor of his stay; and even after his departure they wanted the regime to remain and a royal council to be in place but it did not happen; they could not make it happen. This was a divine power; not the power of you and I. This was for this very reason that all the society had held firmly to the rope of truth, or in other words, to this Islam that is likened to a rope between God, the Blessed and Exalted, and the people. All held firmly to Him; all were focused on Islam. This resulted in us emerging victorious. Now, we must safeguard it. If you want that this state, this country to become prosperous; that your triumph to reach its final objective; that we are not stranded midway, or God forbid, we are not turned back from our destination; if you want—of course you do want—that this country of ours to remain independent to the end and that our interests are not handed to others and that our path to be the path of happiness, then we should connect to Islam which is the rope of Allah and not be divided among ourselves; all should rally around Islam; rally around this path and there should be no disunity among us.

Divine fear in the hearts of the enemies

Now, these persons that have infiltrated the ranks of the people and are sowing the seeds of discord with their pens, with their speeches, with their gatherings—they are soldiers of Satan. You who are, God willing, of the soldiers of Allah on the basis of the commandment of God, the Blessed and Exalted, who has stated, "*Cling firmly to the rope of Allah*", and on the basis His prohibition, "*Do not be divided*," if we act on this one enjoinder and prohibition, then all our happiness shall be assured. Until now, too, it has been for this reason that all of you were devoted to God; all of you advanced with the chant of "*Allahu akbar*" and neutralized all things. This means that one of the things that happened was to cause them to abandon the idea of suppressing you—not that they could not—as they possessed all the means to fly the aircraft to bombard all the cities in Iran (from above). But a terror was

struck in their hearts by God, which was that when the population chanted “*Allahu akbar*”, all the strata that backed them reverted to your side; their ranks constantly deserted them and joined your ranks. From the army, the government and from all those that they imagined were on their side, all of these strata joined with you because this path was the path of God and it was “*Clinging to the rope of Allah*” and you have trekked this path to here and that you must trek from here onwards in the same direction. This weapon; this great weapon—*clinging firmly to the rope of Allah and not being divided*—you must maintain; this clinging to the “rope of Allah” and clinging to Islam; Islam is everything for you. It is the happiness of the world, the happiness of the hereafter—Islam is everything for you.

The constitution and election of the experts

Try to ensure that the constitution is a well written one, and try to elect the pious and the upright from among the *ulama* so that the constitution be compiled in the manner that Islam wants; and then, God willing, ratify it yourselves and build an Islamic country in the manner that we all want; a country that is permeated everywhere with the scent of Islam. May God bless you and cause you to succeed.

Speech

Date: July 17, 1979 [Tir 26, 1358 AHS / Shaban 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Superiority of self-purification over education; mission of mothers for upbringing of children

Audience: Members of Islamic Association of Health and Environment

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Superiority of self-purification over knowledge and wisdom

The verse which this gentleman recited and the verse which that lady recited are of those verses discussion of which is lengthy. But I shall mention one point and because time is short, and I too am not feeling very well, I shall not dwell on it more. This verse states, “*Allah verily hath shown grace to the believers by sending unto them a messenger of their own who reciteth unto them His revelations, and causeth them to grow, and teacheth them the Scripture and wisdom.*”¹ Self-purification has been mentioned first which shows that it is superior to knowledge and wisdom; and it is such that a nation whose individuals are trained to be spiritually pure, this nation forges ahead.

Souls that are not purified are the source of miseries

All the miseries that befall our nation are because there was no self-purification involved. Had the leaders of the nation, those who were managing the country undergone self-purification; their souls been cleansed; they been brought up well, these miseries would not have befallen our nation. Neither would those sufferings befall our nation nor those miseries for themselves. The origin of all these miseries everywhere is that those who are custodians of the affairs of the nation are not self-purified. A single human being, who is not self-purified takes over a nation, shall create all these sufferings that befell our nation in the course of more than fifty years. One who dictates over a nation, one who rules over the nation, should this person be a supporter of justice, his administrative apparatus will support justice; the strata that are connected to him will definitely incline toward justice; all the administrative offices that are affiliated to the state and are under that government’s control will somehow incline toward justice. Justice shall

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:164.

spread provided that the person who is ruling over the people has undergone self-purification and is a purified person. If the entire nation becomes cleansed, the entire world shall be their heaven; all the sufferings shall cease to exist. On the other hand, considering that the governments that ruled over the people during the *taghuti* regime were unclean governments and when the government is not purified, the head of the state of a country, since the government is not purified, his moral character is not purified, his deeds are not purified deeds; this single person shall doom the nation. As you witnessed, all the corruptions originated from Rida Khan and all those who had gathered around him were his own people. When we were in Paris, one person—whose name I do not remember—came to me and said that another person had told him that if they would find five corrupt persons in Iran, this Muhammad Rida was sure to employ all five of them! Those persons who are not purified spiritually have nothing to do with spiritually purified people; they would not go after trustworthy and upright individuals. One who is not trustworthy himself attracts his own kind; he goes after like-minded people. Therefore, corruptions originate from governments while a government of justice secures all the best interests of the state in the same manner that the power and rule of oppression creates all the miseries for a nation. Thus, in the above noble verse, self-purification has been mentioned before education and wisdom; rather education and wisdom is a prelude to self-purification.

Duties of mothers are in line with duties of prophets

Prophets came to mould people. Prophets were commissioned to make human beings out of individuals—individuals that are human beings but in some respects are no different from animals—and to purify their souls; to cleanse them. This is the task of the prophets and this must also be the task of the mothers vis-à-vis the children who are brought up in their bosoms. From the beginning when they are still infants, they should attend to their purification. Children are brought up well by good behavior, by good actions at that stage of infancy. Children are brought up better in the bosom of their mothers than with the teacher. The attachment that a child has for the mother, it has for no one else. The things that a child hears or sees in infancy from the mother form images that are etched in his heart, and they live with him to the very end. Mothers must take care of upbringing their children and ensure that they are brought up as purified souls; she should be a spiritual-cum-academic institution and this is a very important matter that only the mothers can accomplish and no one else can. The amount that a child hears from the

mother, it does not hear from the father. The amount of influence that the behavior of the mother has on the small infant and which she transmits to the infant child, the others do not pass on. Mothers are the origins of good and if God forbid, a mother brings up a child badly, they become origins of evil.

Effect of the mother's rearing

It is possible that a mother rears a child and rears him well, and that one child saves a nation; and it possible that she rears him badly and results in the obliteration of a people. Unfortunately, throughout this monarchy, they tried to separate the mother from the child. They inculcated this in mothers that rearing children was not important and that they should work in offices instead. They separated these innocent children who must have to be reared in the bosoms of their mothers and took them to the nurseries and child care centers and placed them in the hands of strangers who were unkind to rear them—a decadent upbringing. A child who is separated from the mother will become disturbed with any one else; and when it becomes a disturbed child, it becomes the source of many immoralities. Many of these killings that take place are out of frustrations that have been created; and many of the frustrations are born out of separation of a mother from the child. She is in one place and the child in another; the small child needs the mother. The mother has an occupation which is the occupation of the prophets. This great occupation of motherhood was made to look insignificant in the sight of mothers. That the prophets arrived at all was because God, the Blessed and Exalted, has granted a favor to the people in sending one of them to purify their progeny. The job of the prophets is to purify the souls of the people; to make them human, which is the same job of the mothers; which is what the teachers must do; which is what the universities must do. It starts from the bosom of the mother until it reaches the schools and onto the universities and then to other places. If it gets a good start from the bosom of the mother, the child is reared well, and when the child is handed over to the primary school, and the primary school trains him well and then when it is handed to the secondary school, there also in similar manner over to the university or other academic institutions such that at a point of time you see that all the youth have been brought up well, and thus making the country good.

The need to transform *taghuti* rearing to a humane-Islamic one

This treacherous former regime seriously engaged in combating self-purification from all angles and with all its power, and prevented our youth from being reared well. They say that in those times in Tehran—God willing,

now it is not so anymore—there were more liquor shops than bookshops! You know how many centers of immorality they had created; centers that should have been centers of education were corrupt such as the cinema, the radio and the publications. They tried with all their strength to prevent our youth from having a humane development. This generation must be transformed.

This *taghuti* upbringing must be transformed into a humane-Islamic one; I hope that it originates from the bosom of the mothers and culminates at the university and higher, and similarly our schools. The happiness of a nation depends on the leaders of that nation; those who hold the destinies of the nation in their hands being self-purified; being cleansed spiritually. God willing, may He guide all of you on His right path; and may He grant us the favor to be the servants of Islam and the Muslims.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: July 18, 1979 [Tir 27, 1358 AHS / Shaban 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Performance and role of the police in the *taghuti* regime and the Islamic Republic system

Audience: Graduates of the Police University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In this short time and in this hot and cramped room, I would just like to state a few words to you gentlemen who, God willing, want to join the police, the guard corps, sentries, and so forth.

Characteristic of the police force at the time of the *taghuti* regime

The police in the *taghuti* regime like the rest of the disciplinary forces such as the gendarmerie and the army, in the opinion of the nation; a nation that was under the domination of the *taghuti* regime had a connotation with the people which was that people should run away from the police; and for the police to assault them! Not only the police, also the military forces that we saw in the governments were not for the suppression of the nation vis-à-vis others; they were not trained to confront others. We witnessed that during the reign of Rida Khan, all these disciplinary forces would repress the nation. On the day that the foreign Allied Forces attacked Iran, the leaders of these same disciplinary forces in Tehran, fled Tehran as soon as they attacked the borders! We witnessed that they packed their baggage and ran away from Tehran; they said they were going toward Isfahan. Now, I do not know where they went from there. In the face of the attackers at that time they said that they provided resistance for three hours; and later it was said that when Rida Khan asked one of the ranking officers as to why for three hours, he had replied that they had said three hours for his benefit whereas there was no three hours involved; the moment the attackers came from one direction, the forces had fled from the opposite direction! This was how the military would confront the foreigners while it would suppress its own nation and indulge in every type of excesses that it desired. The chiefs of the military, who would act in that manner with the people, as soon as they came to know that the foreign forces had reached the frontiers, ran away from Tehran and the barracks were in chaos. At that time I was in Tehran and saw with my own eyes confused soldiers roaming the streets. This was because the *taghuti*

regime wanted the disciplinary forces to be in its own service and not in the service of the nation; not in the service of the country. They neither trained the city police in the manner that was appropriate nor the gendarmerie and the military forces; these were all together in the service of the same regime and the person who regarded himself to be the king whereas the nation was basically irrelevant except for exploitation; except to use them in whatever way they could. For this reason, the nation would run away from the disciplinary forces and despised them. The police force also did not regard the nation to be one of it; rather it regarded the nation as slaves that must be exploited. This formed the basis of the *taghuti* regime that was repressive in this fashion in relation to the nation while in relation to the foreigners, it would take to its heels in that fashion!

Attitude of the puppet regimes toward the people

These people were also such; Rida Khan and his son were also in this fashion. Opposite the nation, they would demonstrate their power in the manner that you saw whereas I personally, in the photograph that they printed in the newspapers—that whenever I think about it, I deeply regret—that when Muhammad Rida had gone on a visit to America, during the presidency of Johnson,¹ in the photograph that they had printed, Johnson was standing in his own place and was holding his spectacles in such a way and looking the other way and was not even looking at him while this one was standing in front of him like a slave! This was his attitude with them whereas the moment they would set their feet on the soil of the homeland, they would behave in this manner with the people. This is the style of approach of all persons who let down the nation. All the governments that deceive the nation are afraid of them. Since they are afraid of the nation, they employ all the disciplinary forces to be in their service for confrontation with the people. Their rearing too was in this manner. This is quite contrary to what is expected of disciplinary forces and is exactly opposite of the attitude that the disciplinary forces of Islam had.

Characteristic of the disciplinary forces of Islam

The disciplinary forces of Islam were not for repression of the nation itself. They were friends, companions and at their service; in facing the foreigners, they were aggressive and potent. The same ill-equipped and disorganized bunch of Islamic forces at the dawn of Islam, when a number of them had a single horse or one camel; when a group consisting of several

¹ Lyndon Johnson: the US president at that time.

individuals shared a single sword and their military life was in that fashion, but considering that they were attached to the nation and had trust in God, the same bunch defeated two of the greatest empires of the time which were almost ruling over the whole world. [It was done] with their bare hands, but armed with the power of faith. Although they were ill-trained and ill-equipped, while the Byzantines and Persians had all the powers except the power of faith; they did not possess that. In one of the battles—the Battle of Salasil¹—they say something like this: they would tie with ropes and chains the soldiers that they wanted to bring to the battlefield from the Persian side so that they would not runaway from the battlefield! They had this sort of morale vis-à-vis the foreigners whereas vis-à-vis their people they would be harsh. Their morale was such that when they were to go to the battlefield, they would tie five-hundred or one-thousand of the soldiers to a single chain so that they would not desert and go to fight. It was obvious that such an army could not fight while being tied to a chain just like our own military at the time of the Allied Forces' invasion. The position of Islam in government, its position in the defensive forces, its position in the disciplinary forces is exactly opposite the position that the *taghuti* regimes have. The police are friends and comrades of the people; they are the servants of the people and are supportive of them. The army in that era was a friend and companion of the people; it supported the people and the people supported it. Such a morale whereby they were compassionate in relation to themselves and harsh toward foreign forces has been stated thus in the verse of the Quran: “*And those with him (Prophet Muhammad) are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves.*”² Neither the army, the gendarmerie nor the disciplinary forces are afraid of the people lest they do something, nor are the people afraid of the army; all are friends and close companions and all are in the same manner that you are now witnessing here; neither are we afraid of you lest you attack us nor you have anything to be afraid of us. We are both friends and comrades and are “compassionate toward one another”. This is the commandment of the Quran. The disciplinary forces are for the security of the country; for protection of the people; for protection of the life and property of people, not for intimidation of the people; not for frightening them and let me say, looting them.

¹ Battle of Salasil: one of the battles between the army of Islam and the Persians during the caliphate of Umar ibn al-Khattab.

² *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

Duty of the disciplinary forces in the Islamic Republic system

You are now living in the Islamic Republic; the *taghut* has gone; no one else is going to replace him. You are now present in an Islamic republic so that you must be Islamic yourselves; that is, you should also be with the people just as the disciplinary forces in the era of Hadrat Amir (*a*) were with the people. In the same way that the disciplinary forces were in the service of the people and the people would welcome them with open arms, were fond of them; you too must act in a manner that the people would welcome you; your actions should no longer be like those of the *taghuti* regime. Do not imagine that you are powerful and the people weak; you are powerful when the people are behind you. You witnessed in this event; you should take a lesson from it and know that when the nation likes to do something and all of them rally around it then no power can prevent it from happening; all the powers were defeated in the face of the nation. That which is important is the mental tranquility of the human being. That which brings about the happiness of a human being is to have tranquility here, and God willing, in the hereafter.

Restoring mental tranquility in the Islamic country

Now you have peace in respect of not wanting to impose your will on the people so that you have conscience-prick. Those who oppress the people have a troubled conscience except some who have abandoned their human conscience; but usually, they are of this type—especially the youth. But when they are friendly and have close ties with the people, their hearts are at peace; they are happy; happiness is this same peace of mind. You should act such that this inner peace is safeguarded and regard the people as being like your own children, like your own brothers. Put aside those *taghuti* concerns—you were not present then—totally; study the status of the former regime and its condition and its conclusion. Now the government is an Islamic one, you are Islamic, the city police, the municipality and so forth are all, God willing, Islamic; and all the things that are present in Iran must be transformed into an Islamic country in all its meaning such as having peace of mind, total welfare, cooperation, and brotherhood.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for your happiness and health, and I hope you become good policemen for Islam; the policemen of the Imam of the Time (*a*).

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

Speech

Date: July 19, 1979 [Tir 28, 1358 AHS / Shaban 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Understanding between the military and the people

Audience: Officers and non-commissioned officers of the airborne division

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I would like to thank you, the strong and pious youth who have come to meet me from a close distance and for declaring your presence in all the problems that our country is facing.

Each person should perform his duty properly

You are aware that today, the country has a lot disturbances. They built a disorderly nation, left it behind and went away. Now, you are the heirs to an almost ruined country. All of us must strive now—now that we have destroyed a huge barrier and behind this barrier we see so much of destruction—to build this country up. The effort is that every group in the same location that you are located should perform well in that location. It does not mean that you who are serving in a particular location should strive to serve in another location. To strive to build up means that every group in every locality should do its job well in the task that has been entrusted to him. All the strata of the country should think that now the country is Islamic and that they must act according to the instructions of Islam; they should not be lax at work; they should not deviate in their job, be trustworthy and with devotion to God.

The military is the protector of the country and the people

You noticed that in this Revolution all your hearts turned toward the nation, and God, the Blessed and Exalted, cause these hearts to turn. Otherwise, a military man who was on the other side must on the basis of the situation in the military, move in the opposite direction. But you noticed that your hearts turned to this side and caused various groups to join with the people, to be in line with the people, to cry out in one voice; and this resulted in the victory of the nation—a nation that had nothing while the other side had everything. It was the will of God that enabled us to achieve victory. We must act in such a way that these divine favors are kept secure for us; we

should safeguard it; we should be devoted to God; we should serve the people. All of us should change our approach that we had during the *taghuti* regime. We should endeavor to serve the country; to serve the nation.

The military must be the guardian of a nation and the guardian of the country; and the same is true for the rest of the disciplinary forces. We must act in such a way that we regard the nation as our brothers; and the nation also regard them as their brothers. They must be the supporters of the nation; and the nation should be their supporters. If the government and the nation, the military and the nation, the disciplinary forces and the people of a country unite and come together and both of them feel that they must serve each other, such a country will not be defeated.

The main reason for the defeat of countries

The main reason for the defeat of countries is the decay that starts from within them. Their military gets separated from them; their people turn their backs on them. This same victory that you witnessed in Iran, you saw how the nation turned its back on them and cry out, "We do not want you." The military also was from this very nation; the gendarmerie was from this same nation; they were brethren and saw that they could not oppose; they could not repress the nation to the end. This was why they joined the people. The destructions occur when a country alienates its disciplinary forces from the nation; its military gets separated from the nation such that when the nation sees the military, it runs away from it while the military also harbors the desire to suppress the people! The same is true for its gendarmerie forces; the same with its police and the same apply for its administrative offices. When a country gets into such a situation where its people get alienated and the government with its entire means also get alienated; this government has no backing. The nation must support the governments. A government that has no backing will fail. All the governments abroad that are failures—and you saw that our own which was a monarchy also busted—is for this very reason that there was no understanding between the regime and the nation. If the nation had harmony with the regime, these problems would not have occurred; right now you would have been busy with your own job and we would be busy with ours. These problems occurred because of this very reason that the governments would resist the will of the people and take a stand against them; the people too would do likewise vis-à-vis the government. When it reaches this point, it cannot endure. It is possible that the bayonet can hold up to a time, but it cannot endure. This is while if both the government and the people are united; are friends; and the government

regards itself to be the servants of the nation while the people regard themselves as their supporters; both of them wish to serve each other—such a nation and government will never fail. As long as you are with the nation and as long as you are devoted to God, there shall be no failure for you.

The need for harmony between the military and the people

Avoid being alienated from the people; they want to divide you. The people also must avoid being alienated from you. When these two forces are united, no power can defeat them. All the foreign powers, almost all of them which are in touch—well some are not in touch—whether the superpowers or those powers that were in touch with this country, all of them tried to keep Muhammad Rida in power; all their efforts were directed at—if I do not say all, then let me say the majority with a few of exceptions—keeping him but because the nation did not want something, it did not happen. When the nation does not want, the disciplinary forces can no longer be faithful to a single person. It is not possible that the disciplinary forces that are from this very people, one whose son is among the crowd, his brother is among the population; his wife is from among the people renounce everything for the sake of a single person. What for? If it is for the sake of God and Islam, one can make sacrifices for God or for Islam or because of belief; but at times these matters are not involved. It is a regime that is *taghuti*. It is meaningless for a person to make sacrifices for the sake of a single person. For this reason and because he did not have a backing, when the nation with bare hands brought pressure, you too joined with them and so did all the disciplinary forces cross over to this side. He, too, when he saw that the matter has decayed from within, was not able to do anything about it nor could others. Make efforts to unite your forces with the nation; come to an understanding with the nation.

May God protect all of you and make you to become the soldiers of the Imam of the Time (*a*).

Speech

Date: July 19, 1979 [Tir 28, 1358 AHS / Shaban 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Establishment of an Islamic government and its objectives

Audience: Blind employees of the organizations and administrative offices of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Revolution and reforms

Of course you are aware that after every revolution, there are a number of problems created for the country and for the government—this is unavoidable. One cannot imagine that a revolution would occur and a 2,500-year-old regime with all the power it possessed would be defeated and be destroyed while the country would be calm and everything remain in its place and every thing would be reformed quickly and all wishes would be fulfilled. These are matters that are impossible for a revolution. Some revolutions that have occurred about sixty years prior to this one are still facing problems. I am of the opinion that our revolution was the best revolution that with minimum losses has achieved the most results so far—and I hope that after this also we will achieve more. The point is that other revolutions have occurred with the toppling of one regime by another and a similar regime has taken over; while our Revolution is an Islamic revolution and is based on Islam; for this reason the post-revolution chaos is less. But altogether, we must come to terms with the difficulties a bit.

The need to look into the fundamental issues of the country

You who have been living in this world for fifty odd years, from the time you attained maturity, you saw that you were always facing difficulties and were always under pressure and repression and all the woes; now it is about five months since this government has taken over; this new Islamic government, the Islamic Republic has been established. We have yet again not settled those basic problems. Well, the basic issues are the constitution that must be approved; the Consultative Assembly that must be elected; the president that must be selected so that an established and elected government follows this interim government. I also know that these problems do exist, both for you and for all the strata of the nation. It is not that you imagine that there are certain problems for you and not for others; problems are for

everyone; and I hope that if the Islamic government is established in the manner that we want so that there are no discriminations among the various strata, then all of us shall, God willing, progress under the banner of Islam and everyone shall be cared for.

The aspiration to establish an Islamic government and its objectives

Pray that all these disturbances and these plots that are now being hatched and almost everywhere a conspiracy is at work, be they from the former regime or from the deviant groups—there are deviant groups that are now planning conspiracies—pray that God willing, they would be eliminated and an established government be formed. The rest is easy. I hope that such things are resolved soon. This Islamic government is not like the *taghuti* regime which consumed all its time for creating disorder in our country and worked only for its own benefit. I hope that God willing, a just Islamic government is established and the interests of all are looked after and all the strata benefit from its results; and may it cause both your material world and your hereafter to flourish. May God protect all of you and may you be successful.

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

Speech

Date: July 19, 1979 [Tir 28, 1358 AHS / Shaban 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attitude of the Pahlavi regime with the clergy

Audience: Clergymen of the Kashan and Rafsanjan seminaries and a group of *ulama* from Pakistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Events of the Faydiyyah Madrasah

The Faydiyyah Madrasah has seen many ups and downs. The Faydiyyah Madrasah has been witness to such incidents that if it had a tongue and could speak, we all would be moved. I have been a witness to the incidents that occurred in the Faydiyyah Madrasah during the reign of that father and this son.¹ In the era of the father, they were so harsh and brought so much pressure on this Faydiyyah Madrasah, all the seminaries, all the mosques, all the people, and all the clergy such that the face of history was blackened. The students of the Faydiyyah Madrasah must before the break of dawn, come out of their chambers and seek refuge in the gardens of the city because when they were at the seminary, the agents would come and take them away, change their attire and take them either for conscription or forced military service! They would return to the seminary at night. The *ulama* of Islam were to such an extent under pressure during the reign of the father. They imprisoned the topmost *ulama* of Khorasan province en masse and they exiled the first rated *ulama* of Azerbaijan. When the *ulama* came from Isfahan and the surrounding regions and they gathered in Qum, they forced them to break-up. They wanted to empty our seminaries from all appearance of Islam.

In the era of the son, which you witnessed, they attacked the Faydiyyah Madrasah. The Faydiyyah Madrasah was witness to the burning of religious books including our Sacred Book; it was witness to the burning of the turbans of the men of religion and was witness to the throwing to the ground of some of the seminary students from the rooftop. By the grace of God, it is now witness to the gathering of the *ulama* of the homeland from Kashan and from Rafsanjan and that you are freely expressing your problems. I hope that this freedom and this independence are safeguarded to the very end.

¹ It refers to Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida, the two Pahlavi kings.

The clergy: protectors of the honor of Islam and its canons

You gentlemen must be the protectors of the honor of Islam. Today, what is required from you; your duty is and the duty of all the clergy throughout the country and all over the Muslim countries is to safeguard the canons of Islam. Today, if one of us issues a subject that is contrary to the rules of Islam and contrary to the teachings of Islam, then Islam will slide to oblivion. Today, the country is an Islamic country and its contents must be Islamic. It is a sensitive moment; the clergymen are passing through a sensitive period. Beware lest these committees engage in unlawful activities in the name of the clergy. The courts which are Islamic must beware lest they go against the canons of Islam. Today, Islam is in need of all the strata to safeguard it.

The saints of Islam have fixed their sight on you, the clergymen, and the rest of the strata of the nation to protect the canons of Islam and not to misuse freedom. Freedom is within the bounds of Islam and is within the canons; the canons should not be violated under the impression that it is freedom. Above all is the responsibility of the clergy.

The need of the clergy to abstain from violating the law

The enemies have fixed their sight to see something negative from the clergy and attribute it to Islam. If today something wrong is committed by you, by the *ulama*, God forbid, by the *ulama* of Islam and by the men of learning, your enemies shall exaggerate it a thousand times; and with uproar and commotion, attribute it to Islam and shall say that the Islamic Republic is also like the other regimes. This responsibility is a great one. May God grant all of you and all of us the favor to serve Islam and protect its honor.

Speech

Date: July 19, 1979 [Tir 28, 1358 AHS / Shaban 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Safeguarding the revolutionary spirit and perpetuation of the power of faith

Audience: Research students from Qazvin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Two important conditions for achieving the objectives of the Revolution

I am very grateful and very hopeful for this spirit that has come about in our youth in all parts of the country. Our hope is in you, the youth, those youth who served Islam and underwent hardships and who resisted the *taghuti* regime; and a humane-Islamic spirit has revived in all the people and this has resulted, God willing, in us being able to implement those objectives that we have and are now on the threshold of achieving them. But it has two aspects, or in other words two conditions: one condition is that you maintain this revolutionary spirit even by means of organizing marches once in a while in your respective cities so that this Revolution, this revolutionary spirit is maintained. The other which is superior to the first, is safeguarding the power of faith. It was not the Revolution alone that made us reach our destination; it was faith that made us reach our destination; it was God Who made us reach our destination. All these words, all these actions occurred by means of an invisible hand; otherwise a nation that had nothing in hand, that had no proper weapons—these few weapons that you see are war booty, you had no such thing—nevertheless, God created a situation where they could not use them; it means not that they did not have weapons; they had tanks, guns, aircraft, Phantom fighter planes and numbers but God made you victorious by means of striking fear' in their hearts; the same fear caused their defeat.

Divine transformation in the morale of the nation

Your faith and the faith of our nation, of both the women and the men; young and old was a matter that we cannot credit to the account of individuals and personalities; a subject that in a short while resulted in young children to open up and chant slogans; small children in primary schools would strike in protest and shout slogans. It was the same in the secondary schools; the same in the universities; the same in the bazaar; the same in the

factories; the same in the administrative offices. This resulted in them crossing over in multitude to the side of the nation; God caused their forces to return to the fold of the nation; the nation gained in strength; it found the strength of faith and the power of action and thereby smashed such a big power. This was not anything other than an invisible hand being at work; credit everything to God and strengthen your faith. With this faith; with this Revolution and this revolutionary spirit of yours, God willing, you shall triumph and carry the triumph to its final destination; and then God willing, it shall pass on from your own country to foreign countries and the Muslim countries. I hope that God willing, you are all successful.

It is this same transformed revolutionary spirit that gets you to march on foot despite all the means being available. It is God Who has got you moving on foot. We ourselves are not aware that these things are granted by a divine spirit to man that he undertakes such actions once in a while.

A group of young men, who were maybe lesser in numbers than this gathering, had arrived from America to participate in the *Jihad* for Reconstruction sometime ago. Well, this is a matter that is unprecedented; these matters such as, for example, for a group of you to come here on foot in order to let's say, be here had never taken place. This is a matter that God has brought about—and a thing that occurs at the hands of God has no defeat. God willing, there shall no longer be defeat for you. You have withstood in the face of infidelity, polytheism, oppression, and plunder and have been victorious up to this stage; and from now on also you shall be victorious. May God help you to pass like lightning the road that you have ahead of you in the same way that you covered this long distance to come here. God willing, may you all succeed, prosper and be healthy.

Statements

Date: July 19, 1979 [Tir 28, 1358 AHS / Shaban 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of the radio and television network in the reformation or corruption of the country

Audience: Employees of the financial and production departments of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Distinguishing features of human beings in relationship with other creatures

The human being has been created in such a way that in relation to all the matters that are present externally; whatever is present externally, God has placed an opening in human beings that gets connected to him; the eyes to seeing; the ears to hearing; and likewise, the mind to the supernatural. A human being is a creature that has relationship with all the external creatures because of the power that God has given to him and the openings that He has placed for him so that he connects with the external environment. This creature can get connected and by means of these openings, attain virtues and occasionally through these same openings, can create corruption within a human being. These slips can occur by means of the eyes; by means of the ears and by means of the tongue. It is possible that a human being, by these means comprehend for himself, the virtues and things that are in the interest of the society and give back; and it is also possible for a human, because also of the deviations in him, to be the opposite.

Importance of the communicative role of television

These media that we now have whether publications, magazines, newspapers and whether cinema and theatre and so forth; and whether radio or television; among all of these, that which has a greater communication with the people is television from two angles: One, the publications, however large their circulation, are firstly not on a nationwide scale; and secondly, all individuals cannot make use of them because at present, half the population is illiterate such that they cannot make use of the publications and writings. The cinema can perform in a limited environment; the radio too is present everywhere and for everything, but only it can convey through hearing. But the thing that is used throughout the country meaning the villager who is

sitting in his house on the frontier and is totally illiterate but has eyes and ears, he makes use of the radio and television broadcasts. He both sees as well as hears; in other words, the radio has only usage of hearing whereas the radio and television broadcasts put to use both hearing and sight so that the person can see both the plans and programs and also hear about it. Therefore the radio and television broadcasting is the most sensitive of the medium that are existing. The radio and television broadcasts can reform a country and it can lead it to corruption. This neither the newspaper nor the cinema nor the theatre nor verbal propaganda that happens on the pulpits can do; because the scope of all of them is limited. The range of the radio is like the television, but it only involves hearing. The television involves both the faculties of hearing and sight.

Importance of publicity by the radio and television network

Publicity by television can educate the people; or it can destroy the humanity in man; and from this angle, the responsibility of the radio and television broadcasts and those who want to manage the affairs there is greater than of all other strata and the effects of their publicity is also greater than the rest. This means that if we have a proper radio and television broadcasting, the issue shall circulate throughout the country correctly and both the literate and the illiterate shall benefit from them. But if this radio and television broadcasting strays, it shall lead the population astray. Now, too, you can observe that the subject of radio and television broadcasting is something common; now it is something that is the level of the public.

All these media must be the tutors of this society. From the time they were established, it was for training. Suppose they were not made for training but they are tools of training. Newspapers and magazines must be teachers for those that read the newspapers. The cinema must be a teacher for those who go to the cinema; likewise the theatre; and above all are the radio and television broadcasting. They must be publicity organizations and be a constructive one by means of which the people of a country are made into pious and trustworthy individuals; and patriotic individuals.

Position of the media during the previous era

Unfortunately, in the previous era, they tried to corrupt all of them. The publications were astray; the same with the cinema; the same with the radio. They made all to swerve of the path that must build up a country; that must build up a nation—and developed them in the opposite direction. In other words, the newspapers would write such things that were in the opposite

direction of the nation. The radio would also broadcast such things that were opposite the direction of the interests of the nation; and likewise, the television.

Now that it is a free country and nobody can encroach upon the right of others, and you are free to engage in publicity; and all are free to publicize on the radio, on the television, and in the newspapers, you must think of transforming this organization into a builder of human beings; build human beings in consideration of the fact that they did not allow to build human beings in all of fifty years.

The Westerners' fear of humanity

The Europeans and the Americans are afraid of human beings; that there should be a human being in a country; because the moment there is a human being in a country they thwart him; they tried not to let our manpower to develop. They engaged in propaganda by every means that they could both from abroad and from inside the country. They corrupted our newspapers; they built centers of corruption; they converted centers that were designed for learning into centers opposed to learning such as the cinema. The cinema in those days—I do not know how they are now—were converted into a thing that when a youth would go there for ten days, twenty days or one month, he would come out a corrupt youth. Perhaps you have heard and seen the centers of corruption. They built centers of corruption throughout the country and especially in Tehran. It was said that there were more liquor stores than bookshops in Tehran; and everywhere they wanted to ensure that these Eastern countries and especially those places where they had oil interests did not have human development. For this purpose, they employed those media that could do this job for them as their agents. They kept agents to ensure that they did quite the opposite. All our and your tragedies is that we did not have the persons who could do the job; and if at all there were, they were suppressed; they were imprisoned; they were exiled. Those who were their supporters were employed in offices and as heads—especially the medium that should have been influential.

Public duties in the reconstruction and transformation

Today that the country is in your own hands and its destinies are in your hands, every person in every place that he is in, must contribute in the reconstruction and transformation. By transformation, we mean that during the *taghuti* regime, the radio and television broadcasting would undertake *taghuti* tasks. Half of its time was spent weakening our youth by means of

music. Music weakens the soul of human beings. Music causes a person to lose his independence of thought. Half the job of radio and television broadcasting concerned the subject of music or showing scenes that would corrupt our youth. When the youth would go out to the cinema, it would be in that fashion; when he would come home and switch on the television, he would see all that nonsense; when he would see the advertisements, it would be in that manner; what do you expect a country to become? If it becomes like this, then what would become of our youth? They become these same things that you saw destroy our country totally.

The destructive influence of music

If you love Islam, love the country; love your people; this organization that is in your hand—not all the organizations can interfere all at once—every person in the position that he occupies must reform the organization in which he is serving; this means that he must not be Westernized or infatuate with the West such that between the news programs he should broadcast music; this is infatuation with the West. Make some other programs; something else. Increase the news reports; do something so that music is eliminated. Do not be under the impression that music is something for a progressive country. Music spoils the mind of our children; corrupts their brains. If a youth listens to music continuously, he can no longer attend to his job; he can no longer think seriously. I have repeatedly been telling to eliminate it; perhaps I have said it ten times or more until now to Mr. Qutbzadeh¹ to strike it out from the programs; he says it cannot be done. I do not know what this “cannot be done” means? Why it cannot be done? Listen to what I tell you. I say that if we do something that is in the interest of the nation and the Westerners and the Westernized come to criticize and say that these people are antiquated and old-fashioned, should we then forego it and follow them? Or no, we must consider our own interest. We must take note of the fact that this organization that must be the teacher of the population; that must be constructive should train human beings in such a way that they forget their future; they should think of sitting here and receiving these matters from the radio and television broadcasts so that after a few days they become corrupted internally and become bare. Here, gentlemen, the matters of radio and television broadcasts must be taken seriously and not as a joke! It is the subject of music which is worthless and not worth taking seriously. Your subjects must be serious subjects. You want to build a country. One who wants to build a country must concern himself with serious subjects and

¹ Sadiq Qutbzadeh: the head of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting at that time.

not worthless and ridiculous ones. If you show films, the films should be serious and constructive; they should not be immoral films that will spoil our youth—like in the former times—when they intentionally wanted to corrupt our youth. If you speak on a topic, it should be a constructive one. If, for instance, you need to play something, play a tune that does not weaken; that strengthens; not a music that corrupts our youth; and God knows it does corrupt!

Do not be afraid of the label old-fashioned'

You must make sure that you are serious in your work; meaning that the country must now reform its tasks in earnest. It is a country that was thrown into chaos and disarray and where they destroyed everything and fled. The debts that they have left behind in the banks cannot be cleared so soon. Each of them looted as much as they could and fled; and they took away with them whatever they could. In such a country, we must act with seriousness; not take it as a joke with these matters that were present then. Now, the situation is such that you must solve these matters. Do not be afraid if they call you old-fashioned! They said it to us for fifty years; let them say. This is what we are. Take matters seriously; do not listen to what the Europeans are saying; do not listen to what the West is saying; or how they are solving the problems in the West. We are Eastern; we have certain problems that are unique to us alone; certain things must be kept to ourselves.

The need to have independence of thought and the negation of Westernization

We must have independence of thought. We must sever our intellectual link with the West. If we wish to live independently; if we wish to be independent; we should not have links with those places. We must seek independence of thought. Independence of thought implies that none of our things be related to them. All our things should be independent. Our thoughts should be independent. Our radio broadcasts should be independent. Our television broadcasts should be independent. Our cinema should be independent. They should be independent of Western subjects; we should live independently for ourselves. Do not be afraid of being labeled old-fashioned'; do not be afraid of a journalist or a columnist—that I do not know what goes on in his mind—that unleashes criticism. Do not be afraid of criticism. These people shall criticize.

This is something that I wish to say which is that if you are interested in your country becoming independent, reform the place where you are;

everyone must be in his respective place. You should not pursue for instance, how the newspapers are. You do your own job. The journalist should also do his own job well. The office worker should also perform his own office work. Each of you, in whichever job you are occupying should do the relevant job well. If you wish to do your job well, then this radio and television broadcasting must abstain from these things that weaken the heart of human beings; that weaken the intellect of human beings; that distance a human being from his humanity and that cause him to surrender his independence of thought. Topics that must be spoken on there, speeches that have to be given should be by those persons who do not wish to bring about the destruction of the country; those who do not want to push us backward in the name of being progressive individuals; in the name of “the great civilization”! That which they did to us is what they wanted to do. This is what I wished to say on this subject.

Policy-making council in the Radio and Television Broadcasting

The other issue is—yesterday when the prime minister was here, the subject of radio and television network was put forward—that a council must be established in the Radio and Television Broadcasting and there is no other solution except this. A single person must not be in control so that he does as he wishes; there must be a council. One person I will appoint to this council; one person the prime minister shall appoint and two others are to be appointed by the broadcasting network itself. As there must be five members in the council, the fifth person we shall decide whether we or he shall appoint. These five persons should manage the radio and television network by method of consultation with each other. One vote must be assigned to the executive power who is the chief executive. The chief executive is the executive power. Yesterday, we discussed that if Mr. Qutbzadeh approves this plan one-hundred percent, Mr. Qutbzadeh should stay on; I am in favor of his remaining. But if he is not ready to accept this condition of working in a council, he should step down and be replaced by someone whom the council and also the government shall elect and approve. This job must be managed by a council under the supervision of an individual so that there is no dictatorship and pressurization involved—one cohesive group. If at one time you note that these five persons who have been appointed are five dictators, you bring the complaint here and say that they are behaving in an authoritarian manner, or they are mismanaging so that we reform them. This is a plan that we discussed yesterday with the prime minister and they also were present and they shall implement this plan.

(After hearing the statements of some among the audience, Imam Khomeini said this in reply.)

In any case, it is from now on. But you should neither be afraid of the Imam's office nor of me. You should never think that we are trying to impose our will. It is our duty to mention what is expedient; let them say what they want to say. Whenever they say that we will call the Imam's office tell them to go and call, go and tell him in person.¹

Yesterday, when the gentlemen were here, it was decided that a five-member council be established and each member should not have more than one vote; be he the director or the rest—each has a single vote. The majority of them were of the opinion that the executive should be the managing director. The executive is the one who is the director. If that executive acts contrary to what his duties are, he must step down. If in the same manner that was decided upon... and I told Mr. Bazargan—the prime minister—to summon Mr. Qutbzadeh and tell him that this is the issue; and if he is ready to remain the managing director and chief executive and work in a council; and that there should be a council and every member of the council should have a single vote and that he too shall have a single vote and the others also a single vote each and he should not interfere excessively in the executive work; if he is willing, he can stay. If he is not ready, then appoint someone else. The decisions of the council must be paramount in this regard. If it is otherwise, then whoever is opposed must step down. It is up to them. These positions must be occupied by persons who are trustworthy and reliable. If afterward...—yes, we will determine, or announce [it]²—if afterward, they commit breaches, and it is proven that they committed a breach, even if they commit a single mistake, we shall remove them. A lot has been spoken against him. I do not know³—this is how it is going to be from now. If it is realized by this means, well and good; otherwise all must cooperate. Now is the time when you want to draft the constitution, to elect your consultative assembly; to elect your president, which are the fundamental issues. At this point of time, we must all cooperate with each other. If there is a shortcoming, get along with it a little. Now is not the time to create disorder. Now is not the time for this; God willing, after an elected government has been installed; after you have a national consultative assembly in place; all of

¹ At this point, in reply to one of the audience the Imam thus said: "No, you write and give it to me. Do not tell it there. You write and give it to me."

² This is in reply to one of the audience.

³ This is in reply to one of the audience.

them shall be resolved. May God protect all of you, and may you all succeed, God willing.

Speech

Date: July 20, 1979 [Tir 29, 1358 AHS / Shaban 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to focus on reconstructing Iran and nullifying the plots to create differences between the tribes

Audience: Bakhtiyari tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Pervasiveness of the *taghut*'s oppression

You gentlemen must know how the situation in your country was like during the previous times and how it is now; and God willing, how it shall be later. I am especially aware of the injustices done to the Bakhtiyari tribes and the injustices that their khans committed against them; of the injustices they did to the tribes. Know that they did injustice not only to you; the entire country was oppressed. All were under pressure; all were repressed. Centers such as Tehran, Qum and the centers of learning were under pressure. The inhabitants of Tehran were perhaps under greater pressure than you; maybe the residents of Qum were under greater pressure than you. It was not a problem that was exclusively yours. Nevertheless, you witnessed in your own area how much injustice had been done; and we too saw in the Qum area how much injustice has been done to them. By the grace of God, those hands have been amputated and those injustices shall not return. I hope that this favor which God, the Blessed and Exalted, has granted to us and has liberated us from the subjugations; and freed our country from the hands of others saved us from the hands of foreigners, will remain until the end and your country will remain in your own hands. This is a great blessing that God, the Blessed and Exalted, gave us and amputated the hands of this treacherous regime and the plunderers, but they took away with them everything that was there. Now, there are huge debts in the banks that the government has been left with; and these are the loans that they had taken and kept something as security deposit and fled; we must build everything from scratch.

This Iran must be reconstructed by all of us joining hands; and the reconstruction of a vast country such as Iran requires first and foremost security, secondly a budget allocation, and finally activity. Each place must be the responsibility of that region.

Seekers of corruption and the plan to create differences among the tribes

You the Bakhtiyari tribes who from the beginning were well-known for your bravery and fighting spirit, must also now strive not to allow corrupt elements to arrive there and sow discord among the tribal youth so that suddenly you become aware that there is discord within the tribe itself; or for instance, they sow discord between your tribe and another tribe and cause you to confront one another. Now, these corrupt elements are afraid lest Iran becomes a stable country and an Islamic rule of justice is established. They are trying to sow discord wherever they are—in the cities, in the villages, in the provinces, and in the factories. They must be forestalled. You should take care of your own regions, and protect them so that security is established and that this government that is to be installed is installed.

Now, we have an unstable government. It is now an interim government; and God willing, later the Consultative Assembly will be formed. Your legislators; the legislators of the nation will come and they will present plans and God willing, those problems shall be resolved. These difficulties that you are facing are being faced by all the strata of the people. Even in this Tehran that you see, there are localities that do not have drinking water, asphalted roads—they have nothing. But you must give some time for this instability that is now present; and these remnants that are leftover from the former regime; and these deviant elements that are now present in Iran—this is a problem for the government that prevents the progress of work. God willing, these shall be overcome. They shall be overcome by the power of the nation itself.

Priority for the development of backward regions

God willing, at the countrywide level; first the priority is for those who were not taken care of. The plan is to provide health and hygiene; asphalted roads, electricity, and water for all. Now it is not like before that only the cities are taken care of and the villages are forgotten. Now, it shall begin from the villages; and I hope that these things will be reformed in a short time. You who were under pressure for fifty plus years must be patient a little more so that God willing, things get moving. Do not be under the impression that you will not be attended to. No, the problem is that there is so much disorder such that it will take some time before they are resolved. They shall get busy throughout the country and God willing, they shall reform. May God protect all of you and may you all succeed.

Speech

Date: July 20, 1979 [Tir 29, 1358 AHS¹ / Shaban 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sovereignty of the canons of Islam; the main objective of the movement

Audience: Various strata of the people²

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The movement of Iran as a Quranic-Islamic movement

In this call to march, it was not that we thought it probable that our nation had turned back from the Revolution; it was in order that the ill-wishers would know that our movement has remained strong as ever; and that our nation remain as committed and zealous as they were at the beginning of the Revolution and shall remain till the very end. We called them to march so that the people would prove that our movement remains as strong as ever. We do not consider it probable for the nation to turn back from Islam; and the ill-wishers should not imagine that the Muslim nation will turn its back on Islam. The movement is not a political movement that there would be a chance that people become indifferent to it. The movement is a Quranic movement; it is an Islamic movement and this Islamic movement shall remain so until the end. Our call was not because we considered the movement to have slackened. Everyday we are witnessing the demonstrations of the people; we wanted to make the ill-wishers understand that they should sit in their own place and not be under the impression that these talks and plots can divert the people from their chosen path.

I thank the nation and pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the happiness of all. I call upon them to continue the movement and call them to be calm and to be united. Our movement triumphed and shall be triumphant to the end. Just as our movement defeated the big powers, it shall bury these weak roots. The day when we come to know that the conspiring enemies do not do away with obstinacy, in a single day we shall recite their funeral song.

¹ This speech is dated Tir 28, 1358 AHS in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

² The strata of people consisting of clergymen of Kashan seminary; *ulama* from Pakistan; representatives of the various groups of the people of Rafsanjan; religious sciences and Quran teachers of Isfahan; representatives of Shahanjan Fars; workers of Mes-e Sarcheshmeh and thousands of the Rafsanjan inhabitants; workers of the General Motors industry and Naziabad construction; workers of Khamsah factory of Zanjan, Butan Industrial Group and motors of Isfahan city major's office; and personnel of East Azerbaijan Gendarmerie.

We have reached here with decisiveness and we shall advance with decisiveness and we shall implement the Islamic objectives with decisiveness. We started this movement in order that Islam and the canons of Islam and the Quran and the commandments of the Quran rule over our country; and that no law stands opposite the law of Islam and the Quran—and it will not stand. The movement is Islamic and the contents of an Islamic movement must be Islamic; and the tenets of Islam must be implemented throughout the country; and all strata must become Islamic. Our nation gave its blood for Islam and it shall continue with its movement for Islam.

Characteristics of the elected representatives of the people

Our constitution must be Islamic; and if a single letter of it is not Islamic, in that case I shall give my verdict and not the nation. Our nation is totally Islamic and all are devoted to Islam and want that our constitution should be Islamic. They shall elect those who have faith in Islam; and who regard the religion of Islam to be progressive; they shall elect those who are trustworthy; they shall elect those who are knowledgeable of Islam. Those who are not devoted to Islam; those who do not want the canons of Islam to be implemented in Iran, even if they are scholars and writers will not be elected by our nation. Those who imagine that with their devilish plans they can find a way to subvert the constitution from its Islamic channel are mistaken. All Muslims continue with their living under the banner of Islam and under the banner of monotheism and under the shelter of the Quran. Those who were under the impression that this movement has lost steam after it has reached here and that people are no longer focused on Islam saw that it was not so; they saw the recent demonstration—and any day that we decide to call them to rally, all are ready. Various strata cannot cause the majority of our votes to be diverted. I request all the classes, all the fronts, all the parties to come to a consensus on their candidates.

Islam is better than the rest of the doctrines for all; it was Islam that liberated you from the burden of oppression; it was Islam that freed you from the prisons; it was Islam that pulled you out of oblivion; it was Islam that brought you inside from outside; it was Islam that liberated you and freed your pens; do not misuse this freedom and be grateful to Islam; all should unite together; nominate the candidates together. If the candidates are un-Islamic, you will be routed in disgrace.

Safeguarding unity for achieving independence and freedom

I pray to God, the Blesses and Exalted, for the health and happiness of all the strata of the nation; and I ask all of you to traverse this path together. If you want the independence of the country; if you want the amputation of the hands of the enemies; if you want to be free; if you want the country to belong to yourselves; then come together all of you under the banner of Islam and the command of “*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*”¹ Obey the call of God and shun that which He has forbidden. He has enjoined that all must cling together to “*the cable of Allah*”. The cable of Allah is Islam. The straight path is Islam. The rope linking the truth and mankind is Islam. Cling firmly to Islam. Do not be divided among yourselves; do not divide into groups in order for your country to become independent; in order for you to be free. Be grateful to Islam that brought you out from darkness. I thank all the groups that have come from the surrounding regions; from Rafsanjan and the rest of the places. I thank the *ulama* of Rafsanjan for taking the trouble of coming here. And I thank the entire nation for continuing with the uprising with zeal and fervor—and they will continue with it.

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

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

Speech

Date: July 21, 1979 [Tir 30, 1358 AHS / Shaban 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Confrontation of the believers with the arrogant; praising the struggles of the clergy; problems of the youth

Audience: Students of Babol College

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The pious vis-à-vis the arrogant

There are many points in this noble verse that you recited including—of course, I cannot mention all those points—the one which states, “*Allah verily hath shown grace to the believers.*”¹ This is in contrast to the words of a group who in order to lead the people astray from religion claim that religions were concocted by powerful men such as the Pharaoh and his like so that they make the people docile and exploit them. In all eras, believers were of strata that were in confrontation with the arrogant who were extremely powerful. At the time of Hadrat Moses, the believers consisted of a group that challenged the Pharaoh and his people. In the verse it states that God favored them by choosing one from among the believers themselves, meaning that from the so-called lower strata of believers who in all eras were in confrontation with the arrogant who were from the higher strata. This is a fact which the Quran has stated; it is a historical reality that the Quran states which the people of that era have witnessed that incident with their own eyes and ears. If the Prophet would have belonged to the arrogant strata, the people would have opposed him and would have commented that the Quran had stated against the facts that he belonged to their strata. On the basis of historical facts, too, it is the same that Hadrat Moses was a shepherd who for years worked as a shepherd for the flocks of Hadrat Shuayb (Jethro). This same shepherd who had the merits was appointed by God as prophet and in Islam, too, the Messenger of Islam was from the Quraysh tribe but the rich and the arrogant among them were few in number such that the Prophet himself stated that he had worked as a shepherd and belonged to a

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:164. The whole verse states: “*Allah verily hath shown grace to the believers by sending unto them a messenger of their own who reciteth unto them His revelations, and causeth them to grow, and teacheth them the Scripture and wisdom; although before (he came to them) they were in flagrant error.*”.

poor clan and that he and his uncles were poor. Thus, in one instance, he stated that Abu Talib could not take care of his children and as they were brothers they should divide them. This was because they had no wealth.

Confrontation of the prophets with the arrogant

It has always been in this way that the prophets would be chosen by God from the oppressed people; from the clans which the arrogant would regard with contempt and ridicule and regard them insignificant vis-à-vis themselves. God would select from these same people on the basis of merit and place him opposite the arrogant rich in stark contrast to the negative propaganda that is being indulged in so as to mislead the people from the path of religion. They claim that the prophets were forged by them in order to cause the lower strata such as the workers, peasants and the like to be apathetic and fooled by means of admonitions and promises while the affluent superior people could exploit them and there would be no protest because of these promises. This is while according to history—the history of Islam is close to us and other histories are narrated—the prophets would prepare the weaker sections for confrontation with the arrogant and it was not that the arrogant rich would forge them to soothe the weaker strata into apathy! They awakened the weak to arise against the arrogant.

The uprising of the prophets has always been such that one from among them—from among the believers—would be selected to propagate. One of his duties was to train this same weaker population for confrontation with the arrogant oppressors. By means of the propagation that they would undertake, they would set them up and make them ready to confront the arrogant. The arrogant would not create them to further their own interests; rather it was the weak strata from among which a single person would arise and God would choose him to rise up against the arrogant; Moses against the Pharaoh and the Noble Messenger against a Quraysh tribe that controlled everything at that time. This is what this verse implies.

Living condition of the Prophet of Islam and his companions

This was a subject which all knew about how the Prophet lived; where his mother had brought him up—in a barren desert—and after coming on the scene he was always under the control of the affluent and could not live in peace. Thus, for sometime he lived in a cave near Mecca and could not do anything. Always when he was in Mecca, his propagation of religion was in a covert and underground manner until he arrived in Medina. In Medina too, those around him were the same poor and downtrodden people. When he

built the mosque, it was unlike the mosques that we have; initially, it was a mosque whose walls were made of wood and the shade that it provided was made of the leaves of the date palm; this was how it was built. It also had a place in it that was called *suffah* or platform. A group of the companions of the Prophet are called “companions of *suffah*”; meaning they were individuals who were homeless; who had no possessions. They would go to these mosques and live on the same platforms. The platforms also were unlike the platforms that we now have built in our mosques which are made of brick floorings or other things that we use in building them now. It was a floor which was slightly raised above the ground and was made of clay or some other thing. Basically, they did not even have mats in those days. Yet, they would sleep and live there. These were the people whom the Prophet urged to fight against the Quraysh and those who were very wealthy and were of the arrogant, and he went and defeated them. This propaganda campaign that was unleashed was because whatever blows that were dealt to these people were dealt to them by religion.

The big powers’ opposition to Islam

Now in Islam—which is our present discussion—these big powers who want to plunder our wealth are the ones who regard Islam as being in conflict with their interests. For this reason they first unleash their attack on the basis of religions; their objective also is not the earlier religions of the past; their objective is to carry the argument to Islam and say that Islam is a religion that is a narcotic whereas when we take a look at the history of Islam and then review properly the era of the Prophet until the present era and those that were followers of Islam, we see that the Prophet belonged to the same lower strata, “*Allah verily hath shown grace to the believers by sending unto them a messenger of their own.*”¹ It was this strata, this lower strata of believers, whom God granted His favor so that he arose from among themselves...a person who would be of similar disposition; who would sit together with them and eat and drink with them and live in the mosque in the same way that the Prophet lived there and consult with the people in the same mosque and prepare and equip the soldiers for pounding the enemy—from this same population, He chose the Messenger to fight against those who wanted to do all those things. It is for this reason that they engage in propaganda; first they take the side of religions in general and then they drag it to Islam with the intention of repressing Islam; this is because they fear Islam. That religion which can challenge them and sever their hands from

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:164.

oppression and plunder and so forth is Islam. For this reason, they want to belittle Islam in the eyes of our youth; in the eyes of our enlightened intellectuals and in the eyes of that populace which is potent so that they lose faith in Islam; and when they lose their faith in Islam, they will no longer be capable of doing anything.

Plot of the enemies to humiliate Islam and the clergy

Now, of course, there are many things that can keep our youth preoccupied and are perpetuating. One of those things that they have designed and presented the plans for it is to belittle Islam in the eyes of the youth. If they are also afraid of the clergy, once again it is because the stratum that can pose a challenge to them is the clergy. It is for this reason that they attack them directly saying, "The clergy are supporters of the palace!" Whatever clergy that exist are royalists and that it was the royal palace that created the clergy and trained them to plunder the people and that they too are admirers and sing the praises of kings! This also is intended to scare the people from the clergy; scare those away from Islam and scare those away from the clergy such that these two elements want to take away the power from the people; whereas if you note, that group which has taken the initiative to challenge the powers from the beginning until now has been the clergy.

The clergy at the forefront of the struggle against the kings

In the last century, which is, well, very close in history and about which you all know is that the group which has challenged the kings of the time has been initiated by the clergy. The Tobacco Issue was started by the clergy of Iran and Iraq and with the religious edict of Mirza Husayn Shirazi¹ and the *ulama* of Tehran. However, the people also liked them and would follow behind them and accomplish the tasks. It was the same during the Constitutional Movement as it was started by the clergymen of Najaf (Iraq) and Iran; the people also joined and got the task done to the extent that they could at that time and forced the despotic regime to revert to constitutionalism. But, well, they were unable to amend the constitution the way it should have been amended. Again it was the same situation. During the reign of Rida Shah which the majority of you are totally unaware of but which this gentleman here (pointing to a person in the audience) and I remember, the many uprisings that occurred in Iran were all started by the

¹ Mirza Husayn Shirazi: a great *marja* of the Shiah who passed away in Samarra (Iraq) in 1312 AH.

clergy. One uprising occurred in Azerbaijan where the theologians of Azerbaijan revolted, but well, the power was in their hands and they were arrested and sent into exile for long time to—I think—Sunqur; and after the term of exile, the late Aqa Mirza Sadiq Aqa¹ came here in Qum and also died here. An uprising took place in Khorasan—the incident of the Gowharshad Mosque uprising²—where all the *ulama* who participated in this uprising were arrested and taken to Tehran where they were put on trial and imprisoned. An uprising took place in Isfahan and the *ulama* of Isfahan came to Qum and invited the *ulama* of the region, most of the *ulama* of the region also joined them. But once again, power was in their hands and they were unsuccessful and the nation also was not as aware then to follow the *ulama*. This is in stark contrast to what these people say that the clergy were supporters of the kings. On the contrary, they are against the kings. They call the anti-monarch monarchists! And always, that which was the target of their attack was the same theological schools. This very Faydiyyah Madrasah of Qum was attacked several times and they smashed the doors and windows, burnt the books and hurled some individuals from the rooftops down to the yard and these sorts of savagery. This too was because they wanted to take away these two powers from the people.

The *taghuti* regime's fear of the universities

Another [subject] was that of the universities and the class of students and academicians. They were even afraid of the university. They would note that well this was an intellectual force that was also young and it was possible that this force would challenge them. Thus, they also repressed the universities through various means. They had different approaches; by means of this same propaganda, they led them astray; they diverted their thoughts. They did some important things in order to preoccupy the youth by whatever means with themselves and prevent them from having a say in the destiny of the country. If they would leave the university alone and there would be no propaganda and sabotage involved, the university would build intellectuals who would think of finding a remedy to the acts of pillage and looting committed by others.

¹ Mirza Sadiq Aqa Tabrizi: *marja at-taqlid* of the people of Azerbaijan who, in coordination with Ayatullah Haj Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji, assumed the leadership of the *ulama* of Tabriz against the oppressions of Rida Khan.

² The bloody Gowharshad Mosque incident happened in 1314 AHS. The people who gathered in this mosque in protest against the removal of veil were mass murdered at the order of Rida Khan.

The *taghuti* regime's plots in leading the youth astray

Through diverse tactics they would preoccupy these strata of the youth who were and are capable of doing these things. They would employ or own all these mass media that are present such as the radio and television network, the theatre, cinema, newspapers, magazines, and so forth to keep the youth preoccupied with pleasure and entertainment; to bring them up as licentious adults. A youth when he goes for five or ten days to the cinema, would become habituated to films; and basically, his thinking would become a cinema mentality. Perhaps at night he would even see the film stars in his dreams! When he would open his eyes at the daytime, he would be thinking of when it would be night so that he could go to these centers. One whose mind is reared in this way will no longer think about Carter plundering our crude oil. Basically, he has nothing to do with it. The youth would go to these centers of corruption that they had built all over Iran and more so in Tehran; the centers of debauchery that they built; these houses that they built were in order that our men, children and our youth would go there and indulge in debauchery. In the summer, it was the seashore resorts that they had built. These organizations that must be educational such as the radio and television broadcasting and the newspapers and so forth, were all quite opposite of what they are designed to be. The matter was not that something had happened on its own; it was a matter that was designed according to a plan which most probably was prepared by the CIA. It was designed with the intention of confining our youth in homes; after all you cannot imprison all the people. Whenever possible they would do that; wherever all these elements, all these things would join hands, they would build centers of corruption and immorality, and expand it and publicize it so that the youth would automatically be drawn to those places. In the summer, they would build lake and sea resorts where the youth would gather together—men and women together—and attract them to the seaside and also make available all facilities. It was all free of charge and they would go there and indulge in whatever they craved. The question was not that this was done naturally; the question was that there was a specific plan and conspiracy involved not to let the youth to develop and evolve naturally and in a humanistic way and to preoccupy them with these very matters. The subject of music is, well, one to which the youth are naturally attracted to it. If he gets habituated to music for a time, he loses the power to think seriously on matters and pursues this subject. These are the matters that they devised according to a plan to lead our youth astray.

And yet another of their plans was—besides several others—not to let them to concentrate on their studies in the university. They created a faction called leftists to pour into the universities and create disturbances and get into fights and so forth; and to wean away the university students and the youth from the classrooms and bring them outside to engage in fights and other things. They would promote leftist ideas in the universities to draw their attention to these matters and such issues.

The goal of the enemy in misleading the Muslim society

All these were things that were done on the basis of a plan so that we become indifferent to the destiny of our country. Now, they emphasize this subject more because now they feel that Islam and faith in God have resulted in a population with bare hands and without any guns and weapons—these few guns that are to be found were taken as booty—but armed with faith, faith in God, to come out on to the battlefield and defeat the big powers and throw out all of them and to amputate their hands; now they feel that what caused their defeat was faith which these youth possessed; and their devotion to Islam. Now, they are trying to separate you from Islam. Now, once again, those pens, which are at their service and are on their payroll for misleading our youth are still working, giving speeches and engaging in writing. Even this subject of the seaside resorts that was being done so blatantly were criticized in some of the publications as being “reactionary”! That civilized behavior demands that men, women, boys and girls should go to the sea together and if it is not so then it is reactionary! Civilized behavior means that every youth should go to the cinema for few days and should make it his living; that all his hopes and wishes should become so. If such things are prevented so that they become educative; if the cinema becomes educative; if the print media becomes educative; if someone comments that the magazines must be educative and that these must educate our youth; that these must impart political development to our children and to bring them into the political arena; and that these photos and these invitations to vice and the likes of these that are universal; if they are prevented from such things, they comment that it is reactionary and scare you from it, or in other words, they say that we possess “the weapon of excommunication.” The same claim of “reactionary” is in essence, the excommunication of the believers. They want to mislead you from the objective that you have with all the powers at their disposal and by every means that they can.

The spiritual transformation of the nation in the movement of Iran

Now, this movement that you are witnessing has reached to where it has severed the hands—severed the hands of all foreigners. You know that the Islamic movement of Iran with that same devotion of the people for Islam; and that they no longer feared martyrdom; and they regarded martyrdom for the cause of Islam as a great honor for themselves; this was realized when the people showed that they no longer feared tanks and guns and so forth and poured out into the streets. A spiritual transformation occurred in Iran; all over Iran a spiritual transformation was born. A people who would not think of the affairs of the state; now their youth, their children, their women, their men are preoccupied with the events of the day. Previously, there was absolutely no such thing.

The clergy and politics

If they would speak a single word about us, the clerics, it was that we are political. One of the abuses that they wanted to give to a clergyman if he wanted to utter a word that was to the benefit of the country, they would say he was “political”. In the beginning when we came to Qum, one of the respected *ulama*—who was prominent and a leader in Qum—when some of the pseudo-holy men wanted to criticize him, they would say that newspapers were found in his home! In this way they would empty the minds so that if a preacher was found to have newspaper in his home, it would become means by which to taunt him. What has a mullah got to do with a newspaper; what has a preacher got to do with politics? When they wanted to free us from the prison, they called us into a room that was well-furnished and we sat down. Pakravan¹ came in with another named Mawlawi² and in his conversation he said that politics means lying; it means deception; it means tricking; it means trickery; it means being a son of a bitch! This was his last interpretation; and that we should leave this field to them. He wanted to compel us not to interfere in politics. I told him that if this politics consisted of those qualities, then it belonged to them! Yes, later they wrote there that we had come to an understanding. Then, I went to the pulpit and settled the matter with him. They had made such calculations and fed us the believers with the idea of moving aside and leaving politics and getting on with our theological schooling and handing over these interests of the country to them! This was the issue. Handover the destiny of the country to them; that we should sit in a corner of the seminaries and live in that manner and deliver sermons for the

¹ Hasan Pakravan: the head of the SAVAK at that time.

² Col. Mawlawi: deputy of the SAVAK in Tehran at that time.

people; that, too, not deliver sermon on any issue. If we would have spoken correctly then the situation would not have been in this manner. They had set aside the issues of Islam and they had put forward a set of personal issues. The social issues of Islam; the political issues of Islam; the war issues of Islam were set aside. That we should take a look at the Quran; the political, military, battles, and such issues have been mentioned often in the Quran, you are welcome! But that we should not have anything to do with what is the duty of the nation vis-à-vis the government and what is the duty of the government vis-à-vis the people! We should not involve ourselves with how the government should be run; what are the conditions of administration; what are the duties of the police; what are the conditions of the judge—we should not be concerned with these matters. We were told to leave these issues alone and we had come to believe them to such an extent that we regarded reading the newspapers as being shameful! We too would not dare at all; we too were a part of them.

The transformation of the nation was miraculous

Now, a transformation has taken place that perhaps in the past two years, it was not so. It is two or three years that the transformation has intensified. Of course, the movement is fifteen or sixteen years old, but this transformation has occurred in the latter part. A transformation has occurred in various spheres in you all and we all; formerly, if a policeman would do something improper, in the same Tehran bazaar, it would not make the traders to even protest to the policeman! The policeman would come and order that it is Aban 4¹ and all must put banners in their shops. Everyone was all ears to hear what he ordered and act on it. It was not much later that the same people who were afraid of a policeman and had no regard for their own rights poured out onto the streets and chanted, “We do not want the Shah!” This was a miraculous transformation whereby a person who was afraid of a policeman was now not afraid of tanks; now he was not afraid of soldiers and their bayonets and he protests against them. This was one type of transformation that was achieved. Yet another transformation is the involvement of all in the daily issues and the political issues. A populace that in those days would be taken to account for reading newspapers, now those same people have radio and television programs in their homes—and of the lawful varieties, not the forbidden ones—as well as participate in the daily issues. Wherever you go, the youth are bust talking about the topics of the day. Do you think it was so ten years ago? Basically did you have any say?

¹ Aban 4: the birthday of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

You had no right to interfere in the daily affairs. You had no right, for instance, to give opinion on the condition of the gendarmerie; that the government must be like this and to take the government to account. Now, it is such that all have entered the arena and a spiritual transformation has taken place in this society. And this transformation is a divine transformation. No person could do this; the hearts of the people are in the hands of God; this is a divine transformation. One of the transformations is that... today a group of people have arrived from Europe—a group of young people—and told me that they wanted to go to the villages to help the people; what a transformation is this that those in the prime of their youth and living in Europe and according to their youthful instincts should be pursuing other vocations say that they have come from Europe—both women and men—and wish to go to the villages to help the people there! I told them that they must value this attitude highly and be extremely grateful for it. This villager who felt lonely until now and all the forces were working against him and wanted to plunder him, now sees that a group of educated young people who are doctors, engineers and physicians, have come from Europe to his village to harvest the wheat for him. Even though you do not know how to harvest properly—well, the peasants know to harvest. You do not know how to harvest but you can collect a few stalks and bundle them for these people and this creates such a powerful feeling in these peasants, farmers, tillers, and harvesters that their productivity will rise two-fold. When the farmer sees that women have left their homes in Europe, and the same here too; and the youth have streamed in from the universities, colleges and academic centers, both women and men—last night I saw on television how they had streamed in there and were helping them; and how effective it was in boosting the morale of these peasants; how it elates them to see that those who are serving them consist of doctors and engineers! This is very valuable. The fact that you too who are now saying that you are prepared, is itself a transformation that God has brought about in you. Formerly your hearts were not at all inclined toward these matters; now it is. Who brought this about? God is the transformer of the hearts. God has brought about this change in your hearts such that you desire to go to the villages and help the peasants. Education and development is other than what it was previously when they wanted to send a group from some organization there by the name of so-and-so for their own publicity; now there is no publicity involved. Nobody engages in publicity for another. You wish to go there on the basis of your own will; to educate, to train and so forth.

Administration of the country at the hands of the nation itself

May God protect all of you and cause you to succeed in serving your own country. The country belongs to you; their hands have been severed; now you should strive to govern your own country lest they say that you are incapable; that the Iranians cannot govern their country and another person is needed to come and take charge. Nosy people are still present. Those who are plotters are still present. Cling to your own country and rely on your own strength. Each person wherever he is should do his job well. This gentleman¹ should do a good job on the pulpit; and you the university students should perform well in the university; and we also should do a good job in the seminary. We should all join hands to do a good job. God willing, the country belongs to you yourselves.

¹ It refers to a clergyman from among the audience.

Speech

Date: July 21, 1979 [Tir 30, 1358 AHS / Shaban 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Designs of America against the Islamic Revolution and their failure vis-à-vis the will of the nation

Audience: Members of the Union of Islamic Association of Students in Europe, America and Canada; students from Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Despair” is a handiwork of Satan

One of the handiworks of Satan is “despair”. In matters that a human being must act with hope, confidence and decisiveness, the devils create despair; and by this creation of despair, they sometimes weaken the will of our youth on matters that require a firm decision to move ahead. From the time that I remember, from the beginning of the movement until now that I am seated here, whether it was when I was in prison; whether it was when I was in exile in Turkey; whether at the time when I was in Iraq; whether it was the time when I arrived in Paris; and whether it was the time when the Shah ruled with those ostentations and powers and whether it was when he left and Bakhtiyar took over—I was never overcome by despair because of the problems.

Willpower of the nation

I have been of the opinion that when this nation wants something, it gets it. Especially recently when we were in Paris—I do not know whether I met the gentlemen there or met with some of them—they would come in the morning; we would meet with them, both the ladies and gentlemen. Recently when we were there and we would get the news about Iran and including the reports that some of them took note and told me that one of the gentlemen had said that he had been to the villages of some of the regions—and he named the place which is a settlement¹ where I too have visited there as it is around where we are—he said that in this village every morning the preacher leads a protest march with the people following behind him; he named the

¹ It refers to Hasan Falak settlement in Kamareh to which the Imam used to refer in his speeches. Kamareh is the name of the region whose capital is Khomein and the equivalent of the present towns and localities of Khomein, the present Mahallat and the district of Ashtiyān.

settlement which I have been there and know how large it is; maybe ten or fifteen families live there; he said that he had been there and heard the same slogans that were chanted in Tehran by the people there. This was very interesting for me and convinced me that an issue that concerns the nation is such that wherever you set foot, the same issue is present. Those of you who were in Europe and in America; and those who were in any place outside the country would say the same things that have been said inside; the students would speak the same things as the *ulama*; the small child would say the same thing as the elders; this convinced me that there was an invisible hand involved.

The range of activity of a human being is limited. One person can influence a neighborhood; one person can influence a city; one person a province but no person can in this manner influence all the existing strata in every part of a nation from the smallest child to the aged and students despite having numerous thinking and different ideas; to unite all of them under a single issue; this is not possible except with the involvement of an invisible hand. I am convinced that God, the Exalted, has granted a favor and if that favor is, God willing, sustained, you will be victorious.

Victory lies in the commitment to Islamic objectives

As long as this commitment to Islamic objectives is in place, this nation shall be victorious; and these things that are being said and these pens that are present are of no consequence. When those powers that were present and all of them were backing Muhammad Rida, perhaps on numerous occasions they sent me messages from America; when I was in Paris, they repeatedly came to me and spoke directly with me; sometimes they would contact some of the persons who were with me; sometimes by means of threats and sometimes in the form of advice. They wanted to keep Muhammad Rida in power; they wanted to maintain the regime. Britain also openly made attempts to keep him in power and safeguard its interests. Similarly the others and unfortunately, it was also the same with the Muslim governments. The Muslim governments also supported him and were basically, separated from our objectives and adopted this policy. Nevertheless, when a nation wants something and that want is also a divine want—it did not ask for a material want—and said that it wanted Islam, that it wanted an Islamic republic; that it did not want injustice; that it did not want a plunderer regime; that all its matters were Islamic; all of it was humane, it is not possible to argue with such a nation and do what one wants to do; it cannot be done.

Impotence of the superpowers vis-à-vis the unity of the nation

Let us suppose that it is basically such in this world; suppose that one of these superpowers invades Iran and occupies it—they will not do, it cannot be done but now let us suppose—but with a nation that is united, they cannot stay. To takeover is one thing but to stay there is another thing; the situation differs. If they want to keep a watch on every person it is not sensible. If they will keep a group in every city, after sometime, the people shall wipe them out. To conquer a country is other than keeping it. They are intelligent because firstly, in this world one can no longer takeover by force; that way it is absolutely senseless. Secondly, the forces of the superpowers are all facing each other. This one is watching that one and that one is keeping an eye on this one; if this one takes a step forward, that one shall also say that I too want to move forward. In this manner, God protects the people by the same way that the superpowers are in confrontation with each other and none of them can engage in aggression. They know that—if we assume—they also become a single power and decide to launch an attack and occupy a place, they cannot continue with their existence. These occupations of countries that would happen by invasion of a country and end in their occupation would culminate after a period in destruction of all of them and their exhaustion; rather they would become part and parcel of the same nation and be absorbed by them.

The Tudeh Party and the leftists are in the service of America

Therefore, when a nation wants something to take place, it will take place. And you wanted Islam and you wanted an Islamic republic and all of us want the commandments of Islam—and this shall be fulfilled. Their struggling is of no use! They are causing distress to themselves; of course, they are also causing distress to us. But to cause distress is one thing and becoming victorious is another. Of course, any person who says something or writes something or criticizes, well, it is distressing; or for instance, those who go to the farmers and farmlands; to the workers and such people and sow discord and corruption, well they are causing trouble; but it is not so that now a bunch of misled youth or a bunch of youth on pay lists—that is a distinct possibility that some of them are at the service of America in a different form—can cause trouble.

In any event, I do not regard the Tudeh Party in its infancy—now I have no longer any information about them—as being very proper. Initially when

the Tudeh Party was established, that person¹ who formed this party and whom everybody said was, for instance, an agent of the Soviet Union and so forth; that he was a Russian and originated from them; that person happened to be my travel companion in Mecca and Beirut when we waited for thirteen days before boarding the ship. This person was also there and would come to visit us. He would pray regularly, perform the *hajj* pilgrimage and was also a philanthropist! But well, he came under the influence of a group which it appears were the British who established the Tudeh Party. A Tudeh Party that is related to another strata; they formed it. Now also it appears to one that some of these parties that are leftists and tie themselves to China or link themselves to the Soviet Union, it appears to one that they are persons that have been created by America for us in order to create disturbances and chaos to pave the way for their return. My reason for this is that one of the things that they did initially was to go to the farmers and tell them not to cultivate the fields; they would prevent them from engaging in any sort of agricultural activity! Here they were unable to do that. Then, later they tried to prevent them from harvesting. There too when they failed, they resorted to inciting the people and burning the harvests.

The false claimants of being supporters of the people

This group that claims to be the supporters of the people; of being supporters of the masses and for instance are on the side of the masses and the people and so forth; we ask them as to what benefit is the burning of the harvests for them. It is the weaker strata who produce these harvests. This miserable fellow has toiled for one year for this harvest; is this burning of the harvest support for the weak? Then we ask as to who benefits from these acts?

One of the ways to arrest a criminal is to see who stands to gain from the crime that has been committed for us to say that he has committed it. If we do not have wheat, from where do we have to import the wheat? We import from America. Suppose we do not have barley; once again it is America. If we have no agriculture the one that exports it to us is America. Neither China nor the Soviet Union can provide us with agricultural commodities; they also buy it from America! Even the Soviet Union does not have; the profits go into the pockets of America. Therefore you are the operatives of America, because if it would go into the pockets of those countries and others, we

¹ It refers to Sulayman Mirza, one of the founders of the communist Tudeh Party in Iran, who was a travel companion of Imam Khomeini in Mecca (Saudi Arabia) and Beirut (Lebanon) in a *hajj* trip.

would have said that you are from them—we do not want to discuss how they are. They too are worse than them! All of them do not agree with our situation; all of them want to satiate their appetites from this laid table; but where the subject of burning of the harvests and such activities is concerned, the profits go straight into the pockets of America because they have surplus wheat such that finally, they either have to burn them or throw them into the sea; and they seek markets.

As you noticed, the subject of “land reforms” was nothing but to provide a market for America and prevent us from engaging in cultivation. This is in the same way that the wretched one¹ was an operative of America and he did all this to create a market for America while the plan was theirs and he would implement them. Now also the plan is theirs and these people are implementing it, except that he did it in the name of “Aryamehr”² while these people do it in the name of so-and-so leftist! This is how it is. It was the same people who would support him when he was in power. In the royal court also the same people were present; their seniors were also serving in the royal court...when America itself could no longer do anything with all the speeches that he gave at one time intimidating and at other times in the form of advice. Recently also when the Shah had left and Bakhtiyar had taken over, it was in the form of it being not expedient; that it was too soon now; that the situation was unripe and so forth they would come and want to prevent me from coming to Iran; they would insist that I should not come to Iran. This insistence of theirs caused me to conclude that my arrival was harming their interests! Because they were not saying it for our good that it was too early for me to come and then they sent a message through the President of France³ and read it for me that now the situation was such, and so on and so forth and it is too soon; that the time is not ripe yet and that I should stay there for a few more weeks. I saw that in these weeks they wanted time to mobilize their forces so that we could no longer be able to do anything. Now that the people had arisen and started the movement, now was

¹ It refers to the Shah.

² 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.

³ It refers to Valerie Giscard D’Estaing, the then President of France.

the time to go whatever the outcome. I decided to leave and they sealed off the airport. We said well, whenever it reopens we shall leave; obviously they could not keep it sealed till eternity so that when it reopened we arrived.

Divine obedience in clinging to the rope of Allah

In any case, do not despair. This is a trait of the devil that he injects into human beings. Be strong, for this is from God; God has made you powerful; the nation is powerful. “The hand of God is with the congregation”.¹ God commands thus, “*Cling firmly to the rope of Allah and do not be divided.*”² Well, if we obeyed this command, then will God leave us at the mercy of the plunderers? We obey the command which is to cling firmly to Islam—the rope of Allah implies this Islam—to Islam; and all of us be devoted to the Quran and to Him; that there should be no discord among us and then will God force us and leave us at the mercy of the plunderers? No, it can no longer happen. If we are faithful to this command of God and act upon the commandment of God and become united, all our strata together, inside and outside the country, student and cleric; if we carry forward this movement from here to its final destination, have no doubt that you are victorious, have no doubt at all.

Now, the attainment of victory is in the hands of the nation itself. The key to victory is in the hands of the nation itself. The nation must understand that that which caused it to triumph was this togetherness and clinging to the rope of Allah; all had joined together and demanded an Islamic republic; we demanded for Islam; we demanded for the Quran; we demanded for a government of divine justice. This was clinging firmly “to the rope of Allah”. This clinging “to the rope of Allah” resulted in a satanic power to be defeated all at once in spite of being backed by all the powers and not only the superpowers but even the smaller powers; it was not without reason that I was not allowed to enter Kuwait meaning that they did not permit me to even pass through this transit point of Kuwait and take the flight from there to another destination; even this was not permitted! They said that I should return to where I had come from. When I came to Iraq I saw that ...I thought that wherever I would go it would be the same issue because all of them were in contact with each other; this was a policy and all of them were backing him. We saw that, well, now we should go to a foreign country. We went to a foreign country and there also they changed their mind. We arrived there... the youth of that country ...I thank all our beloved youth who came from all

¹ A Prophetic saying. *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

² *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

over to ask about our well-being; they gathered and listened to my talks; published my interviews there. Sometimes they would publish them in all places—and this was a path to our victory that was achieved by the grace of God.

The key to victory lies in safeguarding unity

In any case, I should ask you never to come under the influence of the temptations of Satan and his agents—that are these people who write and those who speak. You are victorious and victory is yours to the very end. What I wish to tell you is that try to safeguard the key to victory; if you safeguard its key, the blessing of God shall be with you. Keep up your gatherings. Now, do not go after your unfulfilled needs. This I am saying to this gentleman. I too am aware that your needs have not been met. I too have needs that have not been fulfilled; this gentleman also has needs that have not been fulfilled and that gentleman too. All want certain things that have not been fulfilled. I know of the problems that are existing since about fifty-eight years; you too who joined this movement have known the period of the reign of the Shah. From the time you opened your eyes there was repression, hardship, suffering, imprisonment, exile; these sorts of problems had existed; the other problem was plunder—they took away all your things. Some of the jewels which were the support of this country were taken away by Rida Shah which the British took it from him on his way to exile; while a quantity was carted away by him. Now also our banks are debt-ridden, meaning that the government is saddled with the debts that they had taken from the banks and fled. In any case, now is not the time to put forward our personal problems and find faults with the government; find fault with the nation; find fault with the movement.

The non-remunerable crimes of the Shah's regime

You should know that such a good movement has not existed in the world; this was the true “White Revolution”; not that which he had concocted. The movements, the revolutions that have occurred in the world, one of them is the French Revolution; one of them is the revolution in the Soviet Union, have been bloody and the number of people that have been killed in those revolutions and the rest of the revolutions, were not killed in this revolution. Why? Because after the Revolution, an Islam came on the scene although I do not say that Islam has been realized, but it was a gentle breeze of Islam. Another was that those who brought about the Revolution have not been sitting down and counting the number of heads that have rolled

until the end; to fire a volley of bullets at anyone suspected of opposition; this was no issue here. However, a group who for fifty years had engaged in killing and looting of these people that totally number until now to one-hundred plus—I do not know of the exact number now, but they have been few while their crimes have been many—but there were few in number, they have of course been given the punishment that is due to them; not the punishments that they must be given. That punishment must be given to them there in the hereafter; here it cannot be done. Basically, a person who has caused hundreds of families to be orphaned; hundreds of our youth to be separated from their mothers and be burnt and baked and to be electrocuted by means of pans connected to electricity, we cannot mete out their punishment here in this world. He possesses one life and let us suppose that that one life is taken from him; we cannot do what he has done with thousands of families; we cannot punish him here. This is itself proof that there is another place where he must be burnt until eternity; and be compensated until eternity for the crimes he has perpetrated. God willing, it will be compensated there. What I mean to say is that we have heard bigger talks than what they are saying now and have paid no attention to them. They are nothing anymore. A remnant that is making a last ditch attempt. They are splashing and making noises like one who is about to drown!

God willing, with your strength and with the power of your faith and the power of Islam, this movement will reach its conclusion; and you shall smell the fragrance of Islam at that time when you marvel at its scent; when you shall marvel at the system of Islam in which the one who is at the head such as the Prophet himself (s) and those that are at the lower rung—in your terminology or the terminology of the people—are gathered in a single place and are seated and busily talking to one another and exchanging stories and speaking of mobilizing an army and so forth; this is what the Prophet had wanted. The Prophet who was the vicegerent of Allah, whom all acknowledged, when he would sit in the mosque, a person coming from outside would not be able to identify him because there was no top and bottom of seating arrangement involved. At that time, there was no such thing as flooring beneath him. He would sit on a mat if it was available, otherwise he would sit on the floor. This is Islam. We want to but we do not have the strength to present it as it is; but one must strive as much as he can to get close to the source of goodness. Now, for instance, if I cannot act like Malik al-Ashtar, well it is good if I can get close to how he was—and I am hopeful that our country will become an Islamic one; that our youth become Muslims and devoted to Islam. If this faith that carried us forward remains, no person

will be able to violate your rights any longer, and God willing, he shall not be able to.

Superiority of spiritual revolution over social revolution

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the health and happiness of all of you. This very feeling of being Islamic is one of the things to which a human being gets much attached and is a great source of hopefulness. This is a spiritual revolution that has occurred in the nation. A spiritual revolution is superior to this barricade that they smashed. You have come all the way from Europe to help the people. This spiritual revolution is important. This was not done by anyone except God. God is the transformer of the hearts. Among the hands of God, the Exalted, you are the spiritual hand of God, the Blessed and Exalted, that He moves wherever He wishes. At one time you were busy with your own job; in former times I was preoccupied with theological studies; you were busy with your own noble vocation; who was it that brought you over from there to here and made you go and toil in the villages for the sake of your brethren? It was God, it is the hand of God that made your hearts to turn in this manner; be grateful for it. Your hearts are now in the hands of God; He turns it as He wishes; and He has turned it for a good deed. Now it was He that brought you the university-going youth and doctors and engineers and so forth here from there whereas each of you should be engaged somewhere else. The respected ladies and beloved women who must be somewhere else have gone to the villages and are busy harvesting; and doing such jobs. However they are not harvesters in the sense of the peasant laborers but a small action of theirs gives such impetus to the harvesters that if formerly they could harvest one acre now they can harvest two. When the harvesting peasant comes and sees that these ladies who must be sitting down in the shade are harvesting and collecting the barley under the sunlight, this strengthens their spirit. Their deed has such a value that it gives strength to the others and their productivity multiplies; this is very valuable. When they see that you have come all the way from Europe, from America in order to help your brothers—look what a morale it creates in the peasant laborers. This peasant who would be visited everyday by a security organization agent breathing down his neck and either whipping him or do so on and so forth now sees that his brothers are coming here from the farthest regions abroad, not from the interior, and say that they have come to help; to help them to harvest; to help them to harvest the produce, you cannot imagine what an honor it is for them and what an effect it has on their hearts; and you do not know how worthy it is to bring happiness to the heart of the weak; we do not

know the spiritual value of this deed; it is extremely high however small the deed. And considering that you are not peasant harvesters and perhaps are not able to harvest properly; but a few stalks of wheat that you gather has so much worth and draws the hearts toward you and brings hope to the people and carries our movement forward that only God knows. May God protect all of you and may God bring happiness to all of you; and may He safeguard this spiritual transformation that has come about.

Treacheries of the Shah's regime

I do not have time now, but one of the instances and treacheries that the system did to us is this issue of discord. By various means, they led our youth astray, by various means. The wicked among them sat down and analyzed and found ways in order to draw our young generation toward certain immoralities and to cause them to ignore those things that were related to them and their lives. These centers of corruption most of which were present in Tehran and in all the provincial cities, was done according to a plan and calculation. If a youth goes to one of the centers of corruption, and goes again the next day, goes for ten days, he gets habituated to that center of corruption; his heart follows it. A youngster or the youth whose hearts are pulled toward centers of corruption, when he dreams, he dreams of those centers; when he is awake his mind is occupied with it and then they go after those immoral objectives, this person will no longer think about the problems of our country and that we must ourselves solve these problems. His mind is diverted from these issues. This intermingling of sexes that they created for our nation by which they caused our youth to intermingle and drew those toward immoral subjects was also part of the same plans that they had drawn for us. This issue of intermingling at the seaside is not something usual; this is not something that happened on its own; this was a plan to keep the minds of our youth occupied with these subjects. If thousands of our youth were drawn to these centers in which carnal and animal issues are involved in them; these thousands of our youth have been taken away from us.

Speech

Date: July 21, 1979 [Tir 30, 1358 AHS / Shaban 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reform and reconstruction of the country with the hands of the nation

Audience: Residents of Esfarayen¹

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

The *taghuti* regime as the obstacle to manpower development

You should not expect that a country that was under subjugation of tyrannical kings for a period of 2,500 years and almost for sixty years under the domination of the unclean Pahlavi regime which tried with all its strength and effort to push back this country in every respect, to become a flower garden and its people to become angels as soon as they had gone away!

They trained our youth in such an inhuman way that it is difficult to cause them to return to a condition and to bring them on this path and get them to move. Every turbaned person is not a cleric or every claimant to being Islamic, a Muslim. In the system of oppression where they would make use of all the strata, this stratum has also been used and you should not expect that in a span of five months, it is possible to reform every person. Not only your city is having those problems, other cities also are facing the same problems; other strata also are having these problems. But each of the groups that come talks about their own condition—because they have felt it—and says that no place is worse than theirs. They come from Kurdistan province and say the same thing; they come from Lorestan and make the same complaint; and from wherever they come these problems are mentioned and all are speaking the truth because in the course of this period they had worked hard to push back everything and especially the manpower. They worked hard in order not to allow our manpower to develop; neither in our stratum nor in the stratum of others; not to allow a clergyman to be correct and upright—and the same for the rest of the people.

Reforms with the help of the whole nation

Therefore, this is a natural matter that when a corrupt regime moves out and a competent regime wants to take over, it takes time for this competent regime—however competent it may be—to be able to make all the people

¹ Esfarayen: a town situated in the Khorasan province.

competent or even be able to make those that are related to the regime itself and be related to the government apparatus... it is chaotic to such an extent that one cannot do the job so soon. Even though the government is busy with all its forces to solve these problems and difficulties, yet the problems are too many; and the many problems cannot be solved except with the cooperation of the whole nation.

Just as the whole nation caused the regime to retreat and no single strata could do this job, it was the congregation that did the job. Just as now also for reconstruction which is a more difficult task than the main issue, there is need for help. The government needs the help of all the people; that they hold its underarms and God willing, with the help of all strata it shall be resolved; and these sorts of incompetent people shall, God willing, be ostracized by the people themselves; the people themselves should get rid of them.

The power and ability of the nation to reform the affairs

God willing, we hope that by the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, matters are reformed and there should be no doubt in your mind of not being able to do it. Be strong, be united in strength. You have managed to defeat such a power; the other internal disturbances are of our own; was it other than the fact that all the powers were behind it? All the powers; that is, the minor powers of the Muslim countries; the big powers of America and the Soviet Union and Britain—all were backing him and his regime; all had decided to keep him in power; the nation dismissed him. Now it is all over; so what are you afraid of; nothing is going to happen anymore; now it is you yourselves. There are disputes among you; these are internal matters; we have set aside the foreign enemy; all these are internal matters. If a remnant, a decayed thing is present yet; this also you shall eradicate and throw away; it will be finished, God willing.

May God protect all of you; may He protect the sisters; may He also protect the brothers; and may you all be successful in carrying this movement, God willing, to its conclusion.

Speech

Date: July 21, 1979 [Tir 30, 1358 AHS / Shaban 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Great changes of the nation in the Islamic movement

Audience: The research and propagation department of the Isfahan College of Sciences

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Splendor of the spiritual transformations of the nation

Among the rituals of worship is that one should not accept any power except the power of the truth; and not to sing the praises of anyone except the truth and those who are the saints of the truth. We are the slaves [of God] who have nothing and are nothing; and whatever is there is divine power.

The miracles that occurred in this movement were all by the grace of God, the Blessed and Exalted; and man is too insignificant to be able to perform these miracles. The spiritual transformations that have occurred in this short period in our nation; the transformations of the heart, the transformations of the soul; the transformations of willpower—no one could have brought about these transformations. That which has splendor is this spiritual transformation that has been created in our nation and which is superior to this progress and victory that our nation has achieved. It was a nation that was indifferent to its own destiny; each person was busy doing something and that which was unimportant was the social issues of the country. In less than two years a transformation took place such that all the strata of the nation have formed political ideas. Gatherings that were held on useless issues are now being channeled in affairs that shape the destiny. Our sisters who were preoccupied with other issues now think shoulder-to-shoulder with the brothers and ahead of them on the destiny of the nation and the destiny of their homeland. They present proposals; they think; they criticize. This is a transformation that God, the Blessed and Exalted—Who is the transformer of the hearts—has brought about.

Yet another important transformation was the transformation that extricated our nation from weakness to strength. I have repeatedly said this that a policeman in the Grand Bazaar of Iran—which is Tehran—would come and order to put banners; nobody would dare to even think of challenging him. The same nation with the same weakness poured onto the streets within one year and some months and declared that it did not want the

Shah and condemned the superpowers. These people who were afraid of a policeman were unafraid of tanks and machine-gun and rifles; women whose condition previously was pathetic and the regime had kept them busy with other issues were transformed into persons that resisted the regime and participated shoulder-to-shoulder, or rather, at the forefront of this movement—and these transformations were miraculous transformations.

Feeling of cooperation in the whole nation

On the other hand, a new transformation was brought about: today a group of young people from Europe—women and men—came to me and told me that they had arrived in order to go to the villages and serve the people. Young people who previously would be thinking of other issues are today thinking of such issues. They come, they come from Europe, they come from abroad; their women and men come in order to go to the villages and help the rural people. In the same manner, from within the country, from the universities, doctors, engineers, women, all of them are going to these villages to help. This feeling of cooperation is a feeling—is a transformation—that is miraculous; and what is present has been done by God, the Blessed and Exalted. Regard everything to be from God; we are weak bondmen who are nothing; whatever is there is from Him; and whatever we have is from Him; and our victory was attained by means of His hands; otherwise we had nothing in our hands and yet triumphed over everything solely by the will of God.

Freedom as a divine gift

This will of the Exalted Truth was because your congregation was an Islamic congregation: “The hand of God is with the congregation”.¹ The gathering was an Islamic gathering and the uprising was a humane-Islamic uprising and God presented you with the gift of freedom because you rose up in revolt for His cause. Safeguard this uprising that was for His cause. As long as you work for Him; as long as your congregation is for Him, you are victorious and I hope that these congregations of yours will be safeguarded and be for the sake of God until the end. May God grant all of you happiness; may God liberate and free your country and never take away your freedom from you.

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

¹ *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

Speech

Date: July 21, 1979 [Tir 30, 1358 AHS / Shaban 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Characteristics of an ungodly regime; the educational role of radio and television

Audience: Employees of *Darya* Radio

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Characteristics of an ungodly regime

The organizations of the monarchial regime and those things that are similar to monarchial regimes that overall, we must call them [ungodly regimes]; ungodly regimes because on the basis of their characteristic type they betray the trust of the nation and build an organization to serve their own purpose and employ the people to further their own interests and are alienated from the people, their programs are designed to corrupt the nation and corrupt the young generation. If the young generation is not corrupt, they are fearful of it and are afraid lest at any moment the young generation rise up and destroy them. For this reason, by various means they attempt to corrupt the young generation so that they leave aside the issues of the day and the issues of living. Numerous means such as the publications were at their disposal; the radio and television broadcasting, the cinema, the theatre—all of these were at the service of the non-monotheistic regime.

All of these were meant to push the nation backward and to make them indifferent toward their own destinies and probably pull them to their side so that while they are preoccupied with things other than their own destinies these people make the most of the situation and are confident that nobody is opposing them. Thus, they made available all the means of corrupting the youth such as the centers of corruption that you all are probably aware of how many were there, especially in Tehran; by various means some of which cannot be spoken about at all. Likewise, it was at the seaside. At the time when people would go to the seaside, one of the things they would promote was this intermingling that was present between women and men. This was not because they wanted our youth to have a good time; rather it was meant to corrupt them. The number of centers that served intoxicants such as alcohol and other addictions was countless. If our youth would go to the cinema; if they would go to the cinema over a period of several days, they would become habituated; and the cinema with all its corrupting influences;

all the radio stations were corrupting; the print media such as newspapers, such as magazines were all means to lead our youth astray.

Music: Source of benumbing the thoughts

One of the things that again intoxicates the minds of the youth and benumbs it is music. Music causes the mind of a human being after it has listened to music over a period of time into a mind other than a serious mind. It draws a person away from seriousness and takes one to another world. All these means and equipment, some of which were present until now—and they had made countless of them—was meant to cause our nation to become indifferent to its destiny and draw its attention in other directions; to deviate them from the issues of the day lest they cause them trouble. This was a very detailed plan that was designed; it was not that it was, for instance, incidental that these things have taken place. Not at all; this was a plan which those who are the planners had designed to destroy the youth.

Destruction of the manpower during the Shah's regime

In addition to this was the pressures that they would bring on the people and the pressures that they would bring on the clergy; the pressures they would bring on the universities and on the rest of the strata. On the whole, they wanted to empty the country of human beings and to destroy the manpower. Organizations that were for education, for development were transformed into organizations that were contrary to these. Education that was useful for a human being, for a society and useful for a country would be eliminated and instead instructions that were contrary to the course of the nation; that was based on the lusts of the individual himself but was contrary to the direction of the nation; that was opposed to the interests of the nation, would be introduced.

The newspapers in the former regime were along the course of leading the youth astray

It was impossible for the articles that were related to the destiny of the nation to be written in the newspapers or be broadcast over the radio. Articles that were contrary to the direction of the nation; that were in conflict with the interests of the society, these were in circulation. Magazines that must educate the young generation were transformed into an education that you all observed how disgraceful were the reputation of our magazines. It was all in order to lead our youth away from the path that they were treading and off course from the path of humanity that they must traverse and bring them on

another course and exploit the country. Exploit in such a way as to destroy all that are in the interests of a country; corrupt everything; handover all our resources to foreigners; and nobody should be present to ask them “why”; because they have diverted the attention of the people from that thing which was important for their living. When the youth who are the foundations of a country, who are the pillars of a country are all drawn toward immorality and vice; are drawn toward narcotics; are attracted to these magazines and these circumstances and those circumstances of the radio and television broadcasts and the issues that they dealt with—the youth would no longer have the time to think on issues and neither will his mind work.

Music is something that every person on the basis of his taste likes to hear; but it is one of those things that draws away a person from seriousness and attracts him to frivolous issues. This youngster who gets habituated to listening to music for a few hours everyday—most of the radio and television broadcasts of those people was of these sorts—and a youngster who uses most of his time to listen to music and so forth; this youngster will become totally neglectful of the matters of living and serious issues; he gets habituated in the same way that they get addicted to narcotics and drugs. Those who get addicted to narcotics can no longer be serious individuals who can think on political issues. Music causes the mind of a person to become addicted to it in such a way that the person becomes incapable of thinking at all except about the environment of music and matters related to carnal desires and music. It was for this reason that they stressed that the radio should be in that fashion and the television broadcasts in that fashion and the magazines in that fashion and the newspapers in that fashion and the cinema in that fashion; and all of them together joined hands and entertained the nation and kept them busy with these things while they took away all our resources such that now that they have left and got lost, nothing beneficial has remained for our country; whichever part one lays one’s hand, it is unhealthy.

Keeping the country dependent with claims of “great civilization”

They created a tumult; they shouted that they wanted to take us to gateway of a “great civilization” whereas the fact was to take away the nation from the basis of civilization let alone “great civilization”! They took everyone far away from civilization from that which brings about the independence of human beings; the independence of thought of human beings. Unless a human being possesses independence of thought he cannot be a useful individual; and they wanted that no useful individual should exist;

basically, they were afraid of human beings. They saw that a certain Mudarris¹ who in the reign of Rida Khan was in the Majlis and did not allow Rida Khan who wanted a republic to create one. Even though it happened against the interests and had it happened it would have been better—but at that time they had ill intentions. In other words, he had not become the monarch until then and he wanted to become the president; and next, to do other things. The person who did not allow this to happen was Mudarris—one who confronted him till the end and ultimately sacrificed his life. It was Mudarris who prevented him from doing as he pleased; but eventually they martyred him at some place.

Dulling the thoughts of the young generation in the Pahlavi regime

These people did not want a human being to be to be found. They make efforts to ensure that the university—which is of special interest to them and

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

is a target of their attacks—does not have the right programs. Even if you assume that they have a correct program, they shall not allow it to be implemented and will create a disturbance everyday; they would create disturbances in order to preoccupy our youth. In our field also it is the same; they would and are causing disturbances; every day they would create a new disturbance; they would organize certain gatherings so that everybody would be kept busy and we would be removed from the principal and humane issues. Part of these issues is the subject of the seaside that you are now mentioning. The subject of the seaside was that these very young youth and these young girls would go to the seaside and mingle with one another and do as they pleased; that the generation be wasted; that human beings be wasted. A young person who goes to the seaside for a couple of months and mingles with two other youngsters, this person can no longer think of what must be done to stop them from taking away our crude oil. Basically the mindset of a youth who only thinks of reciting verses of romantic poetry and of having romance with a lover will not pursue those issues—the direction changes. They work on the basis of a plan. Incidentally, it has not happened in this way that the seaside would become such and the means would be easily available. The way it is being said, all the means were made available; they would be encouraged. They would be encouraged to do all these deviant activities. This was meant to lead our youth away from the path of living by all means so that it would become a poor nation and does not comprehend what is happening now. We now have a poor country; and the nation would not know what it is. Now that they have gone away, the eyes have opened and they witness that all the banks have been emptied and they had made borrowings and taken away with them all the jewels; in other words, Rida Shah took away much of the jewels that the British took from him; and a lot of it was taken away by this person which I do not know where they will surface. The foreign banks are full of foreign currencies and money of these people while our youth were negligent of these issues because they had diverted their attention to somewhere else. The soul of a young man whose time is now to indulge in lusts, if the means of satisfying his lusts is made available to him in that manner and the serious issues are relegated to the background in that manner; ultimately this young man will be reared in that manner. In his old age also he will be of no use; he is incapable of doing anything. When the power of youth is present and it must be put to good use; at that time this power of youth is diverted; it has been emptied of what it was and has been replaced by something else.

There are many other issues such as this issue of Westernization and the West and these also have a long story for them. Finally, they have calculated with all the means—whose plans are most probably prepared abroad and by those who want to take away our resources. They present the plans and these people implement them; or the experts come here and handover the plans to them and they implement. These are calculated issues and are based on the wicked objectives that the foreigners had and the system itself had. Now, God willing, I hope that these issues have been resolved to some extent. By the grace of God, their hands have now been severed; and I hope that they shall remain severed to the end. The regime has gone; and I hope that it does not return again and it will not return.

Radio and television broadcasts must be instructive

Now you must take the issues seriously; you should revert from that joking and jesting and should I add, nonsense matters to serious issues which is to govern your country; you must govern it yourself. The television stations and the radio stations must air instructive programs; that give strength to our youth; that strengthens their willpower. The television stations must not be such that they broadcast ten hours of music. A youngster who is strong is converted into an intoxicated and ecstatic state much like opium and this is also not very different from that; this brings one kind of ecstasy while that brings its own kind of ecstasy. These must be transformed. If you want that your country to be a proper one; if you want it to be free; to be independent; you should take things seriously from now on. Transform the radio and television broadcasts to an educational radio and television; eliminate (sensual) music. Do not be afraid of being told that because we have rejected music we are old-fashioned! Okay, we are old-fashioned! Do not be afraid of this. This very word is a plan to push you back from doing serious work.

Music on the radio-television broadcasts

That they say if music is not broadcast over the radio, they would go to other stations and listen to music from those places; let them take it from somewhere else, you should not for the present be spoiled; they too shall gradually revert to this side. This is no excuse that if there is no music played over the radio; they will go and listen from somewhere else. Now that they are listening to music from somewhere else, must we give them music? Must we commit treason? This is betrayal to a country; it is betrayal to our youth. Eliminate this music totally; instead, broadcast a program that is educational.

Gradually make our people and our youth habituated to educational programs so that they revert from this evil habit. That you see that our youth will listen to other music if we do not provide them is because they have become habituated. This is proof that our youth have been corrupted. Now it is our duty to transform this generation that has been corrupted to piety and not allow these smaller children of ours to be corrupted; prevent this from happening; there must be seriousness involved on this issue. The intermingling of women and men along the seashore was among those plans; people must be serious and put a stop to it. The police organizations and governments and so forth must put a stop to this; the people themselves must put a stop to this. The radio must propagate this matter that such things must not happen and explain to them the immoralities.

Radio and television broadcasts in the service of education and development

Likewise, the radio should be an apparatus for education and development of a nation. One can impart education and training to a country better over the radio and television than by all other things because both the preacher and literate person can make use of them as well as the illiterate person; whereas by other means such as newspapers and magazines, only a specific group in a limited area can benefit. Now the radio and television has become such that in all places, as you say, the forty-million populations can listen to it. Radio and television broadcasts are now becoming such that all strata can see and listen to them. Through the sight and sound you can be of service to this country—although they committed treason against this country. Radio and television is a thing by means of which one can help to educate better than by all other means; make the systems progressive ones and through it train the youth because everybody listens to them; all the youth listen to it and the villages and settlements and all of them; whoever can afford, has procured a radio; and if he could not, then he goes to his friend's house and listens to it there.

In any case, these organizations must be transformed if you want that your country should remain yours. And if the same programs are broadcast and the same situation, then know that if it does not happen now, after a few years you shall return to the same problems; and again there will be misery for your offspring.

May God endorse all of you and awaken our entire nation and the whole nation be familiarized with its interests; and God willing, become aware of the plans that they have drawn for us and nullify them.

Decree

Date: July 22, 1979 [Tir 31, 1358 AHS / Shaban 27, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Looking into the difficulties of the inhabitants of Mishkin-Shahr and other regions of East and West Azerbaijan

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 27, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili—may his blessings last:

It is hoped that His Eminence is secure from afflictions and busy with performance of divine duties. Meanwhile, with regard to the situation in the region of Meshkin-Shahr and other regions in the provinces of East and West Azerbaijan and the problems of the inhabitants of the area, I request His Eminence to undertake a visit to the region and to investigate from a close distance the condition of the people and their problems, and to take steps for their removal in any manner that you deem appropriate; and not spare any effort to cooperate and coordinate with the distinguished *ulama*—may their blessings last.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for the continued successes of His Eminence in the cause of service to Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this decree is dated Mordad 1, 1358 AHS but based on the handwritten copy (Shaban 27, 1399 AH), Tir 31, 1358 AHS is the correct date.

Statements

Date: Morning, July 22, 1979 [Tir 31, 1358 AHS / Shaban 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Fraternity and unity among Muslim nations and governments

Audience: Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Oil of Kuwait and the ambassadors of Iran and Kuwait

I hope that you will treat with fraternity all the strata, especially the Muslim nations and people; and all the Muslim governments will be in good terms with all; and they must extend the hand of brotherhood to one another so that the hands of foreigners do not reach them.

I hope that all of us are friendly and brotherly with one another and never have any disputes with one another.

Speech

Date: July 22, 1979 [Tir 31, 1358 AHS / Shaban 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity to act upon unity and to call upon the intellectuals to unite with the nation

Audience: Members of the Radical Movement of Iran¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today is the day to act upon unity

All the people are now crying out on this matter that they want Islam. All of them want this. Sir, if you believe in Islam, say this. If you believe in your nation, say this. If you want your country to remain independent, say this. All gather together under a single banner and appoint your legislators. All nominate Islamic legislators who believe in the teachings; the one who is a believer; the one who believes that if he commits a transgression he will be tried for it; if not here, he will be arrested and tried somewhere else. Today is the day when the word “unity” is of no use to us; it is necessary to act upon unity. I also utter “unity”; but if I decide to oppose others, it is only a word; it is a show and nothing more. Think on this matter; you yourselves should sit down and think. With other friends who hold the belief that they wish to serve the country; who hold the belief that they want to serve this nation; come to a consensus with them; tell them if they want to serve then why are they dividing into groups? All should serve together.

To assert oneself vis-à-vis Islam is a mistake

To divide into groups implies that I want to do my own thing; he wants to do his own thing and wants to assert himself. Sir, we cannot assert ourselves vis-à-vis Islam. This is a mistake! Except that it causes disunity and differences and let me say, delays the progress of the movement. Do not be under the impression that it will not progress; God willing, it will progress. But with the presence of differences it will be driven back; and intellectuals, writers, informed individuals and thinkers; one sees that some of them hold their pens and write whatever they wish and cause discord.

¹ Rahmatullah Muqaddam Muraghei, Nadir Muqaddam Muraghei, Rahim Abidi, Taqi Maliki-Nezhad, Farajullah Nasiri, Jamshid Mumtaz, Hasan Imami-Rad, Ali-Asghar Saidi, Ghulam-Rida Murtadawi, and Jafar Nushad.

These people who shout “unity, unity, unity” when they hold their pens in their hands and write on a subject, we suddenly notice that they attack a subject which the people are attached to and in the process cause differences. Why should it be such? If they are truly speaking the truth that they love their country, that they love the nation, that they want independence then why should they write things that are in contradiction with the matters that they claim to support? At the beginning they say that the country must be united while their final wording is a statement that causes discord! It was this issue of mingling at the seaside and that disgrace. One person whom I do not know wrote in a magazine that segregation of the women and men is “reactionary”! “Civilized behavior” is that girls and boys should go to the sea together! This is civilization!

Hollow claims of civilization by the former regime

For fifty years they made us to understand that this is the meaning of “civilization”! For fifty years they injected our brains that civilization is made of things that they did! Go to the cinema whose civilization was composed of shamelessness. Its magazines were in this fashion; its newspapers were such; its radio and television was of that sort—all of them were like this. We suffered losses from these; all of us suffered losses; we saw that they dismantled our lives; they retarded the development of our manpower. We are now short of manpower. What for? Because for fifty years they dragged us to the centers of corruption; they dragged our youth to the centers of corruption; they pulled them to centers that would empty their mental faculties. A person that would go to the cinema that was of that type—I do not know how it is now but way back then the cinemas that were there were all tools of corruption—so that when a youth would go there for five days or ten days, he would form a habit such that he could no longer act seriously; he could no longer focus his attention on the plundering of our oil wealth and all our things; that they were taking away our honor and dignity while we are busy watching films or watching the film stars!

Our magazines were in this manner; our cinemas were in this manner—and all our things had become in this manner. Basically, they destroyed us and replaced us with some other thing; our country was transformed into something else.

Intellectuals and national unity

Now that in this movement many of the strata have given up their previous habits; they have been transformed; these lawyers, these

intellectuals; these so-and-so people; why do not these people come and link up with this population and why do not they work hand in hand with them? Their writings should be such that it creates unity of expression; the same goes for their speeches; their get-together should be such. Why do they go to Majlis—I think it was the representatives—and proclaim that Islam is outdated? Is it except that they want to cause degeneration? Even a single thoughtless word that someone utters and that has no influence on anybody, but this reveals that there is no maturity. Now if that person would have discerned that it was Islam that brought all of you here from abroad and you have now become free; it was Islam that drew you out of isolation. You were all being repressed by the Security Organization; you all could not assert yourselves; now that Islam has arrived and brought you out of darkness and brought you inside from abroad; has brought you on the field of action; now you are taking up arms against that very Islam that has done you such a service? What must one call this? When you mention its name, do they not recognize it? Or is it because they are so inimical to Islam that they are even willing that America and the Soviet Union rule over them but Islam should not govern? How is the situation? People should reform themselves! These strata of intellectuals and these strata that are productive should reform themselves. These strata of common people are quickly reformed, they are untouched. Whatever problems we have is from that strata that claim to be intellectuals and lawyers and claim to be supporters of such and such; whatever harm we are experiencing, it is from them. Why do they not unite and do these jobs? Why do they prevent this flood of humanity that has begun a movement and wants to reform things?

These are the ills that are present and you must cure them and join hands to cure them. Now that you have come, take this action so that we see what the others are going to do. If I see that you have done it...

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

Decree

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The directive to establish the “Office of Enjoinment of Good and Prohibition of Evil”¹

Addressee: The Islamic Revolutionary Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic Revolution Council, in accordance with this letter, is commissioned to establish an office named, “Enjoinment of Good and Prohibition of Evil” at the capital; and its branches should extend to all parts of the country; and this office is independent and works alongside the Islamic revolutionary government and supervises the performance of the government and government offices and all strata of the people. And the government of the Islamic Revolution is commissioned to implement the affairs issued by this office and this office is commissioned to prevent unlawful acts in any form that it may be and to execute the religious penalties under the supervision of the religious magistrate or his appointee; and no person of the members of the government and the disciplinary forces have the right to inconvenience the administrators in charge of this office. And in the execution of the verdict and the divine limits there is no exception even if, God forbid, the Leader of the Revolution or head of government commits an offence that is within the religious decrees, the verdict against him must be executed.

¹ In 1372 AHS, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has made this explanation concerning this decree of the Imam:

“Shortly after the victory of the Revolution this decree was issued by Imam Khomeini. As soon as it was known that the Imam has issued such a decree, some members of the Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government came and by whatever means they prevented its implementation on the following two grounds: (1) There is no organization yet to implement it and (2) There will be chaos; everybody will sentence each other; and the clergymen in the towns who are not familiar with will interfere.

Though the Imam was not convinced of the above grounds, he conceded nevertheless as a number of them said so. Later, it became obvious that considering the revolutionary zeal at that time had this decree been implemented, we could have prevented many deviant activities. In my opinion, as it would be tried in court, the Provisionary Government was scared of.

Decree

Date: July 23, 1979 [Mordad 1, 1358 AHS / Shaban 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the religious magistrate of the Burujerd Courts

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Shahrokhi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Shahrokhi—may his graces last:

With regard to the sensitivity of the existing situation and the need to expedite the workings of the courts of law and to look into the condition of the prisoners and reform the affairs of the people, herewith, Your Eminence is appointed to the position of religious magistrate of the Islamic Revolution Court of Burujerd so that, God willing, the files are looked into sooner and the divine verdict is executed with regard to the convicted; and those to whom the general amnesty applies are freed from the prisons. And with regard to reforming the religious and social affairs of the city also, please take relevant action with the cooperation and consultation of the distinguished *ulama* and the pious believers of the area. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of all in the path of service to Islam and the Muslims.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: July 23, 1979 [Mordad 1, 1358 AHS / Shaban 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Differences of the disciplinary forces in the *taghuti* regime and the Islamic government

Audience: Personnel of the Hamedan city police

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Condition of the disciplinary forces in the *taghuti* regime

The difference between the disciplinary forces in the *taghuti* regime and the disciplinary forces in the Islamic government is that since the *taghuti* regime was based on personal gains and allocating profits to those foreign connections who want to sustain them, inevitably that regime betrays the nation. It wants to take by force from the grip of the nation and fill its own pockets and the pockets of its masters in the manner that you and we witnessed.

For this reason, that regime wanted to train the disciplinary forces in such a way that those interests would be safeguarded. And because it is a traitor, it is afraid of the nation; and because it is afraid, it wants to establish a force that would frighten the people. The fact that the disciplinary forces in the inhuman and non-monotheistic regimes attempt to suppress the people and scare them shows that they themselves are afraid of the people, and since they are traitors, they are afraid. For this reason, they build and train the armed forces in such a way that they stand opposite the nation. They segregate the nation from the armed forces. The gendarmerie, the city police are trained in such a way that they would be alienated from the people and would be opposed to the nation. This is because the administration is afraid of the nation and wants that they should have no relations with the people and be opposed to the nation; the nation too would be opposed to them. Therefore, the disciplinary forces in places such as Iran and not only in Iran but in countries such as these, they are placed in two opposite directions with the people. The people are fed up of the disciplinary forces while the disciplinary forces also want to suppress the people. And the basis of all of this is because they want to protect themselves; they train a force that protects them and also be alienated from the people. You know that when Muhammad Rida wanted to pass through a street in the next few days; those places that were located on the route would be put under surveillance; the

houses located in the vicinity of the street would be emptied or the policeman would be posted there on duty because he was afraid of this passing; he was afraid of the people; they would even frighten the people because they feared the people. They were afraid because they were traitors. Treason resulted in that a traitor would let the entire disciplinary forces that should have been in the service of the people to be forced to go against the people. People were alienated from you; they also despised you; you too were alienated from the people and were under the impression that you had to suppress the people.

Condition of the disciplinary forces in the Islamic government

But the Islamic government is not so because the one who heads the affairs is not a traitor. When he is not a traitor, he does not afraid of the nation. The people are faithful to him. The disciplinary forces in this government are for the protection of the people and it is established in order to serve the people. When the disciplinary forces are trained in this manner, they become the servants of the nation and the nation also supports those that are its servants. The reason that in the former regime when people would hear the name of the city police or the name of the Security Organization, it would cause a shiver to run down their spine and would be afraid of you and were wary of you, it was because they had created such a situation. In a country where they all wanted to plunder the people, loot the treasury of the people and serve their masters, they inevitably had to build a force for this purpose and to train them in this manner. Definitely the one who would enter the city police or enter the gendarmerie or enter the armed forces would enter in this fashion. On one hand, "love of the Shah" must have to be infused; everyday they had to inject it into the ears of the young soldiers. And on the other hand, alienate the people from them. Basically, the people had a separate account from that of the city police and the city police had no relations whatsoever with the people—except the relation in which they would take a person there, beat him up and imprison him.

Modus operandi of the disciplinary forces with the people in the Islamic government

Today, you are living under an Islamic government; that is, a government whose basis is that the people should not regard the strata of the military, gendarmerie and disciplinary forces to be distinct from them. You should regard yourselves to be a part of them; they too should regard themselves as being part of you and embrace you with open arms. You must make the effort with your actions to ingrain this fact in the minds of the

people. You who are fifty years old, you who are young, know that the people saw iniquity for fifty plus years from this uniform. From the time they saw the city police, they have seen that it implies beating the people, arresting them, imprisoning them, torturing them, and taking bribes from them! It was the same with the armed forces; the same with the gendarmerie, too. This is what our nation has witnessed for fifty years, before that also it had witnessed the same. But now that we have arrived, it will take some time to erase this from the minds of the people; but you can do it. This thing has been inculcated into the minds of the people for fifty years. From the time they opened their eyes they were made to fear the Security Organization and to fear the disciplinary forces and to fear the military and the gendarmerie forces; through your actions you can and you must remove it from their hearts and to make them understand that today is unlike yesterday. Today is the day when the nation is on friendly terms with the strata of disciplinary forces and they are friends and brothers. They want to keep this security for the nation. When the nation sees that these strata want to serve them, they will certainly be affectionate toward them. A human being certainly gets attached to a person that is of service to him; who maintains the order of the country. You make the effort to realize this definition that is now present which is that Islamic republican government is a popular one where all are united together. The disciplinary forces and the people are like at the advent of Islam; they are rooted in the people. It was not such that one who would become the governor of some province would want to go and pillage the people! In these eras it was so. I remember this—I do not recall the exact time—that if, for instance, someone would be appointed governor of Azerbaijan province, and he would pay a rent to them! This meant that this person must pay fifty thousand or ten thousand tumans of that time to this person who would give the job to that person—make him the prime minister or the chancellor—pay him that amount to give him the post of governor of Azerbaijan! Because this person was hired and he had paid so much, when he would go there he had to make twice the amount that they had paid in order to recover his sum and also make a profit. This was the situation then; it was leasing! Because Azerbaijan province was bigger, the rent was higher; because Hamedan province was smaller, the rent was lower—but all were on the basis of a system of leasehold and according to this the provincial governor would be determined or for example the district governor would be appointed. These conditions are not present in Islam; nothing like these matters is there in Islam. That person who is the first person and is of higher ranking in the hierarchy sit on the same level with the rest; they are friendly

with each other; they are companions; they talk and are compatible with each other. Thus, a division or an army at a time when you could hardly call them an army—a group of Arabs who shared one sword for every few of them and one horse for every few of them—triumphed over two of the greatest empires that in those days was the Byzantium and the Persian. This bunch of Arabs who were strong; they had the power of faith and were from the nation and it was not that they wanted to do something for personal gains; they wanted to serve; they were the ones who confronted those people. On the other hand, although their numbers were large and they were well-equipped; their horses were such and their saddles were of gold and so on, they lacked morale such that in one of the battles they would tie them together with ropes! In the Dhus-Salasil Battle, they tied them up so that they would not run away from the battlefield! They would tie them with chains so that they would be forced to fight. The Arabs had drawn out their swords and attacked them and killed all of them. They were a small number with poor equipment which one could not call “equipment” at all—a few swords, a few horses and a few camels. Those people were defeated because their spirit was a materialistic spirit and was weak; whereas these had a spiritual outlook and were powerful.

The necessity of Islamic approach of the disciplinary forces with the people

Today, you are the city police of the Islamic Republic; each of your personnel must take note of the fact that he is serving in the “Islamic” city police. The head of the city police must also keep this in mind and all your employees must also keep this attitude in mind that they are wanting to serve in a country that belongs to the Imam of the Time (a); to Hadrat Amir (a); it belongs to the Prophet. We are serving the Prophet and Islam. We must not show our power to the people; we should not think that we are powerful and the people are nothing. If you bear this in mind, you will become popular with the people. Your hearts should be confident and at peace such that when you go home at night, you sleep with a peaceful heart; there is no anxiety existing. But if it is a regime that wants to oppose, wants to quarrel, even the one who is an oppressor depending on the type of people—except those that have been transformed into animals—they are troubled when they cause discomfort to the people. This is something that is in the nature of man. A man who troubles somebody else is also himself troubled. But in this government everybody has peaceful heart, God willing, and with power; power against those individuals that cause corruption; and with mercy for your own friends—*“hard against the disbelievers and merciful among*

themselves”¹—is a command of God. It describes the pious believers that when they confront non-believers they are powerful; but among themselves they are friendly and merciful.

May God protect all of you; may you all be successful in serving this country.

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

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

Speech

Date: July 24, 1979 [Mordad 2, 1358 AHS / Shaban 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The great honor and responsibility of the Guard Corps

Audience: Revolutionary Guard Corps of Amirabad and Jawaddiyah neighborhoods of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The great responsibility of the Guard Corps

I hope that all of us remain the soldiers of Islam, and listen to the commandments of God, the Blessed and Exalted. I hope that just as you revolutionary guards are now the guardians of Islam; guardians of the Islamic Republic, you are also guardians of your own selves. Today, in the post of revolutionary guard of the Islamic Republic, you have a large amount and great honor as well as a great responsibility. But honor because of being in the service of Islam and serving the religion of noble Islam; and responsibility because you who are living for Islam and are the soldiers of Islam such that you must be Islamic in all respects. God forbid, should there be any injustice done to the people by the soldiers of Islam, something unpleasant takes place, something abominable happens—this will be attributed to Islam. In the *taghuti* regime, whatever was done by the Secret Security Organization employees and others and the disciplinary forces was attributed to the *taghuti* regime. Today that regime is gone and the government is Islamic; you also are the guard corps of the Islamic government. If, God forbid, something unpleasant or a harsh reaction from some of your youthful members occurs, that for instance, the people find it distasteful, now they shall no longer say *taghuti* regime; they shall say that these issues exist in the Islamic government, too. They shall not say that such a person has done it; they shall say that the revolutionary guards do these things. If a revolutionary guard takes a single wrong step, they shall say that the revolutionary guards are like this such that if a clergyman takes a wrong step, they shall say that the clerics are in this fashion. This is a great responsibility on us and you. It is for us because we associate ourselves to Islam; and we too just like you, are the guardians of Islam, God willing. It is for you because you also are now the guardians of Islam. Be very careful to behave correctly; be brotherly with the people.

The *taghuti* regime and the Islamic government

The difference between the *taghuti* regime and an Islamic government is that in the *taghuti* regime the people were alienated from the disciplinary forces—each of them was facing the other. The nation would subvert the government system to the extent that it could while the government would do all it could for its own gains and to pressurize the people. But in an Islamic government, the government and the people are not segregated from each other; they are together; they are friends and brothers. Be brotherly with the people; all the disciplinary forces—that now you also are a part of that force—must be in the service of the people. The people should feel that you are serving them. When this feeling takes over, the people will behave in a brotherly manner with you; they shall pray for you; they shall support you.

In those regimes, at the sound of a disturbance, they all left their posts and joined the nation because their job back then was a wicked job. The nation was also not supportive of them. They themselves had decayed from within. But in the Islamic government the job is a divine job; and the soldier is a soldier of God and is powerful such that at the advent of Islam, a small band earned those great conquests and victories; they defeated Iran and Byzantine. You, too, by the grace of God, with a strong spirit and faith in God defeated the *taghuti* regime. You overpower the *taghut* that is within you. It is important that you defeat that *taghut*.

I hope that, God willing, you travel this path with health and happiness and under the leadership of the Imam of the Time and carry this movement to its conclusion which is an Islamic government with Islamic substances such that wherever a human being sets his foot, he sees that it is Islamic. May God grant all of you success.

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

Statements

Date: July 24, 1979 [Mordad 2, 1358 AHS / Shaban 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Goal of the enemies: sowing discord and obstructing the realization of the Islamic Republic

Audience: A group of Revolutionary Guards from Malikan, province of Azerbaijan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Azerbaijan at the forefront of Islamic movements

Azerbaijan has always been at the forefront of Islamic movements; and we are always passionate about their youth and the youth of the rest of the nation. You know that this movement was carried forward by the power of Islam and by the power of faith; otherwise we had nothing to confront them with, while they had everything. We had the power of faith and you the youth, brought this movement to this stage and carried it to victory with the power of faith. Safeguard this power of faith. Safeguard this movement with the power of Islam and with devotion to Islam and carry it forward. If God forbid, now that we have reached this stage we become apathetic or we engage in differences, or the various strata quarrel with each other, there is a fear of your enemies uniting and defeating us. It is then that Islam would be set aside and they will rule over us—the same oppressive ruling. But if you safeguard this faith and this unity and we all come together and all of us lean toward Islam, no power will be able to triumph over you.

The enemy is looking to create differences

Now, they are planning to establish communications with each other and alienate you from one another. They want to drive a wedge between these groups and these regions by means of their false propaganda; by their deceptive slogans. Whereas we want to serve the nation, they are the enemies of the nation. These are the same people who throughout the reign of the monarchy of this inauspicious regime were helping him; they were at his service. Now also it is with the purpose of serving that regime or serving the masters of that regime that they are indulging in these corruptions. They go to Kurdistan and engage in one form of propaganda; they go to Khuzestan and engage in another form of propaganda; they come to you and engage in yet another form of propaganda; in the villages in one form; in the provincial

towns in another form; in the factories in one form; with the peasants in another form.

Goal of the enemy is to obstruct the realization of the Islamic Republic

Their entire aim is to obstruct the realization of the Islamic republic in its real sense because they are afraid of Islam. They know that if Islamic justice is exercised, there will be no way out for the conspirators; for the oppressors; for the plunderers. Therefore they are struggling hard not to allow the realization of a republic of Islam in the manner that we want it to be. But God willing, with your strength and with the power of Islam, you the youth shall succeed. God willing, may you be triumphant. May God grant you success; and may we tread this path together and reach our destination such that the world comes to know what a government of justice means.

Speech

Date: July 24, 1979 [Mordad 2, 1358 AHS / Shaban 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Unity of the university and the clergy; grand plan of the enemy: sowing discord and disunity

Audience: Iranian students residing in America and Canada

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

University and the clergy: intellectuals of society

For several hundred years efforts were made to divide and they did divide the strata of the educated and university-going youth from the clergymen. Those who have drawn the plan to swallow the countries of the East are apprehensive of the powers that are opposed with their objective. They try by all possible means to divert these powers. Those two powers that are the intellectuals of the society are the university youth and the clergymen. They separated these two powers from each other such that through their nefarious plans, they caused them to confront each other while they profited; such that among all the strata, they created various competitions among diverse parties and various fronts in order to thwart the establishment of a unified and monotheistic society; lest the monotheistic society be able to frustrate their plans.

The enemy is on the lookout to drive a wedge between the university and the clergy

Today that they feel this matter, they witnessed that the defeat of those people was because of the coming together of these groups—and it was because they became united in expression and all of them had the same objective of Islam—now they are planning to separate the society of clergymen from you. This was the article that this gentleman read out. These are very good youth and have come from across the world and wish to serve here; and they also want to serve where they are; but propaganda has caused him to say such a thing in such a situation and again a rift be created between the clergymen and themselves such that those who want to damage the interests of Iran find an opportunity. Today is not the time for you to say that the opportunists are the clergy. Now in our revolutionary prisons there are a number of clerics who are imprisoned. There are a number of them who cannot raise their heads; they are in isolation. It is not that the clergy wants to

impose itself on society. Even today you can go and inspect the lifestyle of the clergymen; go and inspect our theological schools; inspect the homes of the clergymen—with a few exceptions. Does it look like that they want to grab power? Does it appear that they want all the posts to be in their hands? Or the clergy are seeing that the thing which drove our society ahead and one such enormous power and that the probability to take away that power and to suppress it was made possible by Islam. Our youth had Islam on their minds. They did not care at all for death. Our youth—both when I was in Najaf and since I have come here and now also it is the same—come to me and plead with me to pray that they be martyred. Such a spiritual transformation would not have occurred without Islam. The clergymen have understood that it was Islam that was able to smash that power; and it is the teachings of Islam that can keep our society independent and free, and safeguard it. For this reason the law must be Islamic and the jurist must also be Islamic.

Necessity of supervision of the law by the clergymen

A large number of the individuals to whom we cast our vote or the individuals to whom the people cast their vote are clergymen; for this there is the anxiety that should the clergymen be absent, they will again pull you to the West. They shall make your laws Western. They shall bring back for you the same old problems; for this reason they must supervise them. If it is not done and they do not supervise, once again the previous problems will return.

The clergymen have spent their lifetimes for Islam

We do not want to say that all the clergymen are the angels of God; but the stratum which can understand what Islam is; the stratum that has directed all its efforts for Islam; the stratum that has spent its entire lifetime in those humid chambers and so forth with those pressures of Rida Khan and the period after Rida Khan for realizing the teachings of Islam—it was that faction. Do not get rid of this faction. Sir, do not make this mistake! When I was in Najaf, I went to the pulpit and complained at length to the clergymen and I also complained about you. I complained to them that they should not give up this stratum of the youth in whose hands the destinies of our country will pass on later. I complained about this group; this stratum which holds the power in their hands. All these crowds that you see have now moved, they follow behind the clergymen. If you part away from these people; if you part away with the youth, you will not be able to do anything; the intellectual stratum is incapable of doing the job. Even if it wants to, it has no following. It is these who can do the job. The clergy must be grateful to the stratum of

the enlightened youth. Those issues that were present before that these are a bunch of irreligious dressed-up dandies—that the Security Organization would put forward in order to separate us from you—that stratum also is an opportunist courtiers and is British, and these were words that were designed to separate us from you. They separated you from us and derived the benefits themselves.

The necessity of admittance of the clergymen to the Council of Experts

Today is not the day that we should start now whereas we are presently in need of being together; we want to prepare our constitution; we want to reform our country; and we know that if we neglect the constitution and the clergymen do not have a say, it shall return to those same laws and will be worse than before. Now a group of individuals, who are satisfied with everything except Islam, want to have everything except Islam. Should these persons gain entry to a council that is called “Council of Experts”, they have no expertise on Islam. They have certain expertise; either they follow deviant ideologies or are Westernized! They want the same issues to be incorporated once again into our constitution and create deviations and afflict us to the end.

That we commend the clergy is not because they have a turban on their heads or I have a turban placed on my head. This is not the issue at all. We also commend you. We also commend the university. Today is the day to commend; not the day to weaken. Today is the day that we commend you, you commend us and both of us commend the entire nation so that we all gather together and build the foundation.

The enemies of the Revolution have come together

Today the enemies are pursuing this aim of dividing us so that they can derive whatever benefits that they wish. Now, various groups that were never together—read the newspapers—have come together for nomination as candidates. Unfortunately, our groups are moving apart from each other. They are fielding separate candidates. This is something regrettable. We must all gather together. We must field the same candidates. All the candidates must be the same so that they can get things to move ahead; so that your country can remain independent.

Gentlemen! Know that these people want to once again take away its independence. They want once again to bring back those hands to interfere; they want to remake those repressions because they have benefited from those repressions; they are once again at work and want to do this job.

One of their big plans is to cause division in our ranks; to tell you that these people are opportunists. Now you have arrived from the other part of the world; now you have made a general statement about what the clergymen are doing. Well you see, go and search and see whether those who are making things go wrong are the clergymen or a bunch of the same people who want to sabotage things and are doing and are blaming the clergymen for it. You must investigate this matter a little; see the truth. The main goal is to separate us from you and you from us.

The movement triumphed with unity

If this separation occurs, know that we will not triumph. We triumphed with unity and reached here. If we divide from each other and they unite, we shall become non-existent; and if this movement is defeated this time, we shall be defeated to the end; it will no longer be possible for another movement like this movement to be born; we shall be defeated to the end. I hope that our youth reflect on the matters a little; that they temper the youthful zeal that is in them a little; that they break it a little. They should focus on the depth of the issues. Reflect on the things that have befallen you and us in these years. What was the reason that we became such? The reason was that they separated us from each other. You were one group while we were another faction; the worker was one group; the businessman was a separate group. Every person would think separately and for himself. This was like the raindrops that would be separate; singly none of them could do anything; but when these raindrops become one, a flood gets underway; when a flood gets underway it uproots everything just like the drops that we were. When we united, it became a flood and it broke this great wall—by the grace of God—that no one thought it probable that it could be broken. Safeguard this unity; strive to safeguard it; be alert; praise the good that is done. It is not necessary that all of a sudden you say that the clergymen are now up to something. You too should honor the clergymen so that they do not tow us behind them, otherwise we are finished. May God grant success to you. May He endorse you, all of you; may He protect our youth both abroad and inside; and that we all work hard for this nation and not be deceived by propaganda.

Statements

Date: July 24, 1979 [Mordad 2, 1358 AHS / Shaban 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance of building the country

Audience: Members of the Board of Directors of the pensioners

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

I would like to thank you for having come to see me and I hope that you succeed; and that now that you retired, you should not stop working; keep yourselves busy. Our country needs manpower; and you say that you are a force of hundred-thousand or one-hundred and fifty thousand persons. Do not waste this strength; do some work. May you succeed in building your country, God willing. You must serve for long; all of us must serve. I hope that, God willing, you are successful.

Speech

Date: July 24, 1979 [Mordad 2, 1358 AHS / Shaban 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracy of the enemy: to separate the university from the clergy; consensus of the factions; gift of the movement

Audience: Representatives of the Islamic Council of the Staff of Tehran University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Conspiracies of Rida Khan against the seminary and the university

It was not the university alone that the *taghuti* regime would deal with in that fashion; it was with all the strata of the nation. But two centers were more the focus of its attention; one was the society of clergy; the other was the university. The reason also was this that these two circles were regarded as the intellectuals of the society and it saw that if these two groups were to be kept free, since they were intellectuals, it was possible that they would expose the interests of the foreigners which commissioned it to take care of as well as its own interests. Thus, the first thing that was its focal point was either to suppress them or keep these two strata backward. By means of various plans that appeared to be thought of in advance and was inspired from some other places, it had various plans to thwart the development of these two intellectual forces. In one instance which you do not remember except perhaps some of you, it was during the reign of Rida Khan who launched his first attack on the clergy and wanted to suppress them and did so on various pretexts, by various plans. He forcefully and compulsorily disrobed them, isolated them and took over the mosques from them and did not allow them to act properly. Likewise, he did so with the schools; and he forcefully repressed them. In relation to the university, they did not act in this manner to use force; they did want to but perhaps because of the improper coverage in foreign countries, they used other methods against them—they would divert their attention from the objective that they must pursue. With the plans that they—or the professors whom they themselves would hand pick—would formulate they would not allow these youth to develop with such things. The university must be a center for intellectual development of society and a place from which the destiny of a country must be managed; they had acted in such a way with the university that they would not develop intellectually; they would restrict them to a certain limit.

On the other hand, they had created certain movements opposite the university so that they would pour into the universities everyday and cause disturbances. Even supposing that the professors wanted to act properly; the youth also to study properly; yet they were not allowed to engage in studies and everyday they would create tension and engage in demonstrations to prevent them from leaving the classes; or they would engage in propaganda so that they would go out and protest.

Goal of the enemy: Prevention of the intellectual development in Iran

All these were plans to thwart human development in Iran; to thwart intellectual development in Iran. All these propaganda that were being engaged in against Islam at that time and against the clergy at that time, were based on the premise that the power which could challenge them was the clergy. They had witnessed that in these hundred years—the history of which is clear—the clergy was at the forefront of thwarting their interests and the people would follow behind them. For this reason, they wanted to totally wipe out this faction. During the reign of this man who would no longer operate like his father, the extent of propaganda was widespread. He too would in his speeches—some of you must have heard them—talk such things. For example, he would claim as part of his propaganda that they¹ wanted the people neither to drive in cars nor travel by airplane; that they wanted things to return to that situation where people would ride on donkeys to go from here to Mashhad and these sorts of interpretations. Well, it appeared to those who were unaware that it was truly like this. It was precisely at that time when some of our *maraji*² had gone to Mashhad on an airplane; right then I had told him from the pulpit that he who was making these statements should know that at that very moment some of our *maraji* had boarded the plane to go to Mashhad; so why was he claiming that they are opposed to these subjects?

The achievement of the Shah's land reform

Opposition to corruption and opposition to civilization—of course, the civilization that he had designed; that “great civilization” that he had given the plan for and to which the entire nation was opposed and not only the clergy—that civilization was that we should destroy our entire agriculture; while we cannot build the other aspect of it. We say that we want the country

¹ The clergymen.

² It refers to Sayyid Muhammad Hadi Milani who went to Tehran from Mashhad at the time of Imam Khomeini's imprisonment, and went back to Mashhad by airplane.

to industrialize and destroy its agriculture. We were unable to industrialize it or did not make it—they deliberately did not make. What they did was to destroy agriculture so that the Americans would not have to throw their surplus wheat into the sea or burn them. They created a good market. What better than to create a market and sell so much of it every year to us and take foreign currency!

That civilization that he would talk about was that there should be more centers of corruption in Tehran than centers of learning. There were more liquor stores than bookstores. Every person would be opposed to that. They wanted to take away these two powers from the nation. The nation, too, when its power of thinking is reduced cannot do anything and must surrender. For this reason, their focus was on the university and on the theological schools. Mostly it was these two; however, they would operate in a particular form with each one.

Among the imperialist plots

One of their plots was not to permit these two forces to come together. Firstly, to wrest the power from them, and then, now if it slipped out from their hands and among them a learned man did appear, to divide these also from each other lest the two collaborate and recite funeral song for them (the imperialists). They began to sow discord between these two. In the universities, their agents would engage in one form of propaganda against the clergy saying, “They are royalists, they were instated by the British!” I heard with my own ears that one person was telling another—it was in my youth while we were on board a car; that person wanted to tell us in fact—that they (the clergymen) were brought by the British to Qum and Najaf in order to prevent our country from progressing. They would go to the universities and say that these clergymen are courtiers or that the British had created us or say that we are the opiate and want to put the people to sleep just like a narcotic drug so that they can plunder at will. Sometimes they would say about all the religions, “Religion is an opiate of society. This religion puts people to sleep in the same way as a narcotic; it makes a person sluggish; they also are emptying the brains of the people so that they can loot them.”

When they would come to us they would say that they were a bunch of atheists; that the university people were a bunch of hip atheists; a bunch of disbelievers in everything. They divided these two strata in this manner by making each one suspicious of the other. Perhaps you remember that in the universities you could not take the name of “cleric”. Maybe you could paint slogans against the Quran; against Islam; against the clergy; however, the

youth were unaware; we too were unaware. Everybody was unaware that it was a plot. The plot was to separate these two powers from each other and they should even be hostile to one another. Let them be busy with fighting while we plunder and gobble down!

This was a plot, and there were many other plots which I cannot mention all right now. The stratum of university students must now put aside those opinions vis-à-vis the stratum of clergymen. The stratum of clergymen should also do likewise vis-à-vis the university.

Empathy of the factions and unity of expression

And thanks to God, we advanced to a great extent in this movement. To a great extent all of us together became empathic; and this same empathy of the factions that followed in the wake of the empathy of these two powers, resulted in the people to follow suit and all to join. This great victory was achieved that no one considered possible for a group of people who had nothing; theology students who had to study and carry books with them; university students who should be busy with their studies and books; the trader who should be busy with his trade—none of them knew how to handle rifles or machine guns. God caused one such people to take over such a big power because the differences were put aside and all became united; and all trod the same path which was that they wanted the path of Islam; that they all wanted an Islamic republic; and that they all rejected outright the decadent monarchical regime; that they all wanted an Islamic government. This point was the secret of the victory of a nation that lacked everything against a regime that was backed by all the powers. You should not be under the impression that only America and the Soviet Union were backing it. No, the Muslim countries were also backing it. I know it. The same Muslim countries that now say, “*Taghut! Taghut!*” were at that time supporting him. It was pursuant to this that I was not given the permission to over fly from one end of Kuwait to the other end; they told me that I must return to where I have come from—and I was sent back.

Iraq also could not tolerate us. This was because they were backing him and wanted to safeguard their power. But God willed that our nation—thanks to God—should awaken and our nation, with bare hands, but armed with the power of faith defeated and destroyed them. I say these things because we do not want to be witness to the past.

Now we must know our duty. One must always look ahead. What has happened in the past is irrelevant; now we must look ahead of us. We must safeguard this power if you want to be victorious. The propaganda that

comes to the university is done against Islam; is done against the movement; it prevents you from studying; it prevents you from going to the classes—all these are the same propaganda of the past. They want to recreate the same problems of the past; they want to create the same problems wherever they can and circulate among the youth rumors of what has occurred. So far nothing has occurred; what is going to happen? Such a power has been destroyed. Let us suppose that nothing else happens.

Independence: Gift of the movement

Now it is a country that nobody is taking away its crude oil or gas or any of its other things; what more should happen. This phrase “what happened” is meant to make the people pessimistic about the movement whereas this large amount of work that is being done and has been done goes unnoticed despite the fact that we have a government that does not have a large financial strength at present; nevertheless with this same amount of strength and the chaos and confusion that is present and the large amount of debts that the previous regime and its surrogates left behind for Iran; and the large amount of destructions that they left behind them everywhere, nevertheless a lot of work has been done; excellent jobs have been done. What better than the fact that you are now free and go home without having to fear the Security Organization? What could be better than this? Is there any blessing superior to freedom that now we are fortunate to have; and a lot of things have been done and a lot of things shall be done. It needs time; five months. Our regime is a five-month old regime; what can a five-month old infant do? It is a five-month old arrival. Give it a chance to grow for a few years then see what it will be like. God willing, we shall succeed in what we want which is an Islamic government; a humane government. May we succeed in this objective; at that time what is going to happen will become apparent, later.

The movement of Iran and a global change

Now also individuals who come here—they come from America; they come from Europe—tell us that you are unaware of what is happening there about the issue of Iran; the people of Iran are unaware of what they have done, and they have understood correctly. They have understood what a transformation has occurred throughout the world at what you have accomplished; at this movement of yours; at this uprising of yours. Transformation not in Iran, not in the Middle East but it has appeared in America as well; all over a transformation has occurred. Yet a few deviants come and want a return to the old issues; they are serving the same people

and come among the people and ask, “What has happened after all; we have not seen anything worthwhile from this Islamic republic.” What do you want to see, gentleman! See what has happened until now and then give some time and see what is going to happen. You are preventing the people from cultivating wheat; after they have cultivated, you prevent them from tending them; after they have been tended, you prevent them from harvesting; after they harvest, you burn their harvests. You who are doing all these are asking what has happened! Well, you are not allowing anything to happen.

At any rate, I hope that, God willing, all of us awaken. May, God willing, the East arise and liberate itself from the mischief of the West. This becoming a plaything of the West and the Westernization of us has created many of the difficult problems that we are facing. God willing, may you attain intellectual independence and the university becomes independent—both intellectually as well as practically—and becomes a source of goodness. All of us should join hands and move this country forward and, God willing, establish a humane society.

Message

Date: July 25, 1979 [Mordad 3, 1358 AHS / Shaban 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Council of Experts; duties of the preachers; warning to the press and the danger of Zionism

Occasion: Onset of the blessed month of Ramadan

Addressees: The Muslims and the oppressed people of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

With the coming of the auspicious month of Ramadan, the month of worship and self-development, the month of rejuvenation of spiritual strength, the greatest month of Allah in which the affairs of all the Muslims in a single row are drawn to the status of the infinite power and are geared to face the power of *taghut*, it is necessary that with the power of monotheism and the power of unity they arise against the *taghuti* of the contemporary era and the international plunderers and defend the Muslim countries, and shorten the reach of traitors and sever their hopes.

At present the entire Muslims and the oppressed especially in the beloved Iran and Lebanon have sensitive situations ahead of them. Iran is faced with saboteurs affiliated to the former regime and deviant ideologies and International Zionism; and Lebanon and Palestine are faced with Israel—the enemy of Islam and the Muslims and the corrupt human-devourer.

At present, our brethren in Palestine and Lebanon are suffering from the inhuman aggressions of Israel. If, God forbid, Israel attains victory in that arena, the extent of its aggressions will spread to the rest of the countries as well. You are kindly requested to pray together in the congregations of the blessed month of Ramadan for the Palestinian and Lebanese brothers.

The majority of the Arab countries is sitting aside and is spectators of the battlefield. Unaware that the aggressive Israel shall not be content with Lebanon, and if it emerges victorious from this battlefield, the extent of its aggression will also spread to the rest of the countries.

On the onset of the blessed month of Ramadan, it is necessary that I remind you about certain matters:

1. It is necessary that at this sensitive moment when we need to have Islamic gatherings more than ever before, our Muslim nation should go to the mosques throughout the homeland and to keep alive the movement by way of

the mosques which are invincible fortresses of Islam; and by means of Islamic slogans, carry forward the movement.

2. Respected preachers and sermonizers must call upon the people to the unity of expression, continuation of the movement, piety, and revolutionary patience, and to warn the people of discord and difference—the basis of defeat and backwardness—and by reminding them of the struggle of the Doyen of the Oppressed and the tragedies that befell His Holiness, call upon the nation to engage in the struggle until the final victory and achievement of an Islamic rule in all its aspects. Reminding of the tragedies and struggles of the strugglers during the advent of Islam today and until eternity shall keep alive the flames of Islam.

3. It is necessary for the distinguished *ulama* throughout the homeland from the capital to the remotest provinces and provincial towns to cooperate toward the attainment of the Islamic objective and in the unity of expression for the elections to the Council of Experts. And all must have common candidates; and each one or each neighborhood must not have separate candidates for in this dispersal there is the danger of defeat and setback of Islam and its progressive teachings.

Today, as you are observing, groups that were not united with each other have united on this issue and fielded joint candidates. I have a fear that you become disunited and others overtake you. It is necessary that on this crucial issue, in the interest of Islam, you desist from pursuing other objectives and all the *ulama* and the strata that are attached to Islam, especially the zealous Islamic youth unite in nominating the experts. In this case, the Almighty God is with you. I expect to hear and read in the press in the next few days the common candidates nominated by all the *ulama* of the homeland and those devoted to Islam. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the power of Islam and its followers.

4. In the gatherings of the blessed month of Ramadan, it would be proper that we pray collectively for the Palestinian and Lebanese brothers who are suffering at the hands of the global plunderers; and they are commemorated in the demonstrations.

5. With the backing of the great Muslim nation and from a position of strength, I would like to warn the ill-wishers of the Islamic movement and the conspirators of the right and the left to refrain from decadence and conspiracy and to join the nation in the interests of the country; and to shun discord and serving the foreigners, and not be under the impression that with these ignorant moves, you can thwart the nation from its chosen path. I also strictly give the same warning to the publications and mass media that

freedom is other than conspiracy. Conspiracies that are contrary to the lofty objectives of Islam and the country shall be dealt with sternly. In case of sensing serious danger, I shall put forward the issue to the nation so that the courageous nation itself takes the necessary decision—so far it has acted decisively on various issues—and I shall settle the issue.

6. I have repeatedly announced to the Islamic brethren in all countries and especially to the Arab brothers and the great Arab nation who are the pioneers of Islam, of the great danger of foreigners and especially of Zionism. It is necessary that in the month of Ramadan—which is the month of Islamic congregations—the pious believers raise the curtain on the conspiracies of the monster global plunderer and expose the dangers of this enemy of mankind at public gatherings.

7. It is necessary that the prominent intellectuals of the world of Islam are invited here in order to explain the various dimensions of the Great Revolution of Islamic Iran and to evaluate the blows it has dealt to the body of the international plunderers so that the negative propaganda of the enemies of our Islamic Revolution is negated. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the glory of Islam and the Muslim countries. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 30, 1399 AH

Decree

Date: July 25, 1979 [Mordad 3, 1358 AHS / Shaban 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the religious judges to the Courts of the Islamic Revolution of Sadeh and its districts

Addressee: Abdul-Jawad Jabal Amili

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 30, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Abdul-Jawad Jabal Amili—may his blessings last:

It is hoped that Your Eminence is free of afflictions and are busy with your divine duties. Meanwhile, with regard to the need to expedite the working of the courts of the Revolution and to attend to the cases of the accused; it is necessary that Your Eminence take steps in this regard and issue the orders for attending to and taking action with regard to the cases in the provincial town of Sadeh and its districts. In connection with this, your esteemed self is appointed to the post of religious judge so that you can participate directly in the court proceedings and pass judgment and implement the verdicts that have been issued, and take action in whatever manner you deem expedient in reforming the general tasks as well as the problems of the residents. I implore God, the Exalted, for the continued success of Your Eminence. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: July 25, 1979 [Mordad 3, 1358 AHS / Shaban 30, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Aim of the *taghuti* regime: leading the youth astray; elucidation of the characteristic features of the Council of Experts

Audience: Students of Kashan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Plot of the enemy: thwarting the development of the active power of the youth

In the midst of your statements you mentioned “2,500-Year Old Culture”. In the 2,500-year wrong culture of the *taghuti* regime, and the fifty odd years that we understood; and the ten to fifteen years that you who are young have understood, all their efforts were concentrated on deviation. They wanted to lead the manpower and the youth power astray, or preoccupy them with things that are irrelevant to living. So many centers of corruption; so many centers of prostitution; so many addictions; so many centers of learning that were in conflict with education, and corrupting—all of these did not occur accidentally on their own. They had plans according to which they have operated.

The plan was not to allow the active manpower of this country to develop and to continue with its humane activity. Thus, by various means, with various and extensive programs they attempted to thwart our human resources from developing. They were afraid of our manpower. Basically, they are afraid of human beings. They have experienced that in the past when at times a single person was found who confronted them and thwarted them from freely acquiring their interests. Thus, their programs—of the foreigners who want to exploit us—was to prevent a human being from being found; and better still, it was to lead our youth astray from the path that they must tread; to attract them toward vice; to pull them toward a cinema that showed vice. From the time that a youth would wake up in the morning and tunes in the radio, it was music; as soon as he switched on the television set it showed those horrible scenes that again kept his eyes and ears engaged. As soon as he would leave home, his destination would either be the seaside with those facilities, or to the centers that made those vices available easily and cheaply;

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Mordad 1, 1358 AHS.

and get him to form a habit for these matters that are lustful; matters that corrupt the mind of human beings. All these were done to prevent them from thinking on affairs which they are in need of. If our youth would be habituated in such a way that their minds would constantly be preoccupied with things that are shown on the screen and those things that they hear over the radio and those things that have been made for them in foreign countries, all their minds would be focused on those issues—the lustful issues. At night when he returns home, he goes to sleep thinking of those issues; when he dreams at night, he also dreams of those issues. When he awakens, the first thing that enters his mind is the same issue. When he goes to work or after some chore, his attention is focused on when it will be the time to pursue those issues. Such a creature cannot think seriously on issues. Basically, it does not strike him to go after serious matters. A mind that has been reared in this manner cannot at all think on the issue of the day and think of crucial and serious subjects; all his thinking is focused on those lustful and carnal issues; this was a plan. This did not occur on its own that in our country the youth should be wasted in such a manner or for the youth to have done these things. This is a vast subject that in addition to the other issues that they have, it is a vast subject that was designed to close the ears and eyes of our youth from the crucial issues and divert them to other issues. Apart from the subject of the newspapers; apart from the subject of the magazines with the condition that you know of, and likewise, wherever you open your ears you shall see that those issues are present. Once upon a time in Tehran I would sometimes cross the street; all along the way there was music. In all the shops the sound of music could be heard; likewise, through and through there was music; it would constantly benumb the mind. They would draw your attention to these things lest you think about those issues that concerned your living; that concerned the issues of humanity; that concerned the independence of your country; lest you pay attention to these issues—and this is how it is. They also succeeded that in the course of these fifty and some years; except on rare occasions that too with very few people—the rest paid absolutely no attention to these subjects.

Widespread and poisonous propaganda against the clergy

On the other hand was the widespread propaganda to alienate the clergy from the issues of the day. They had engaged in such a propaganda that when I first came to Qum—the very first or second year—the situation in Qum was such that one of the clergymen who was an authority would be ridiculed by the people saying that newspapers was found in his home! They considered

the presence of newspapers in the house of a clergy as a flaw. They would say that such and such priest is “political”! They would taunt that such and such *akhund*¹ was “political”. They would alienate the clergymen, restrict them to those personal matters and would always alienate them from social and political issues. The propaganda also was such that if an *akhund* wanted to intervene in these affairs, he would be afraid of the people; he would be insulted; he would be replaced—this is how they had made it. This too was a big plan for alienating the clergymen from the concerns of the day. Yet one bigger plan was to separate the clergy from the university; because all of these do not appear to be accidental; all of these were plans that they had made in order to exploit the resources and that no one should protest.

Separating the clergymen from the university students was echoed with the clergymen in such a way that the university students were treated as a bunch of hip, and so on and so forth. To the students they would say that the *akhunds* were a bunch of courtiers! They would separate these two strata from each other. They would not only divide but also make them enemies; one would say badly about the other; and that one would say something bad about this one. By means of propaganda wars they would separate these two groups from one another. There were plans for this division; it would be put into action at the onset of the month of Ramadan when it is the time for gatherings and at the onset of the month of Muharram when it was the time for gatherings. They would make plans—we the miserable and unaware—that throughout the blessed month of Ramadan the people would quarrel with each other over the plans from the pulpits. The university students would launch an attack on them while they would do the same to the university students. Throughout the blessed month of Ramadan they would keep them busy with issues that were unrelated to the matters of the day and living while they would sit at the side and laugh at us. We were in this way unaware of the daily issues and unaware of their ominous designs. This too was a big issue that they had created; and many issues like this.

The need to be vigilant vis-à-vis the plots of the enemies

Now we must think of these issues; both the strata of clergymen and the university and student echelon as well as the rest of the strata. We must think that now that they feel, they have witnessed that this coming together of the people must be broken and they were not able to resist because of the unity

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

of expression of the society with all the seriousness that America openly and Britain openly and the Soviet Union too tried to sustain this source of corruption; they were not able to keep him in power and have come to know that it was because the various strata united together and the objective of all of them also was a rule based on justice; and were united on this issue of truth; now we are in greater need to protect ourselves and be prepared. Previously, they would however, do everything; but they had the general issues in mind—that maybe they come together; maybe these two intellectual strata consisting of the clergy and the university students unite together; maybe the masses of the people join them—there was “maybe” involved and on these “maybes” all these plans were based! Now they feel and in this movement they saw explicitly what the issue was; they saw that all the powers were weakened opposite the power of faith and congregation of the people on an Islamic subject; now there are more nefarious plots involved; now we must be more vigilant. We should not be under the impression that since we have now smashed this barrier, it is over. Now they are busy making preparations. Societies, associations and individuals that basically were not friendly with each other; groups that had no connection with one another have now linked together and are linking. You should read the newspapers; on these subjects of the constitution and experts, you can see what groups have come together in order to elect their candidates.

Special features of the representatives of the Council of Experts

Make sure that your candidates are Islamic. We want to build an Islamic country. We do not wish to build a Western country. The laws of an Islamic country must be Islamic. Those whom you elect for their expertise and their abilities must be experts on Islamic matters. It is like we want to treat an ill person; should we bring a jurist because he is a jurist to treat that person?! He must be a physician to be able to diagnose. A jurist, too, however expert a jurist he is, cannot be an expert on medicine. We want to have an Islamic law; an Islamic republic. That these youth of ours poured into the streets and defeated those was because of their attachment to Islam otherwise if we were to erase the word “Islam”, you think the people were foolish to go and face tanks and guns? People go for Islam. At the dawn of Islam, the Islamic soldiers would sacrifice their lives for Islam, meaning that they had no regard for danger; they would not regard it as a danger for themselves because they would not regard death as being a danger. Our youth had become like them and still are.

Even now, at times, perhaps once every few days, someone comes and whispers in my ears to pray for him so that he becomes a martyr. The youth have come on to the field in this manner. This feeling, this humane feeling and Islamic feeling has enabled us to triumph. And on the basis of this feeling, the people gave their blood. Now, after having reached here, should we come and prepare an American constitution; draft a European constitution; draft a Western constitution and waste the blood of our youth! This is now in your own hands. This law is a draft constitution. A draft is nothing. You must vote on it. You must review it.

It is important that the experts be Islamic, trustworthy, and Muslim, devoted, not be inclined toward the West and the East, and not be under the influence of the East and West and must not be under the influence of deviant doctrines. Those whom you want to elect must not be under the influence of the doctrine of Marxism or, for instance, similar doctrines. The Council of Experts that you want to establish must be composed of individuals that have expert knowledge of the commandments of Islam; and are trustworthy individuals; and are individuals who are not under the influence of deviant doctrines; and are individuals who are sympathetic toward this nation; and are individuals who are sympathetic toward Islam. You must appoint such individuals who are experts and knowledgeable and informed of the present circumstances so that, God willing, they review and prepare a constitution that is in keeping with the desire of the entire nation, which is a constitution that is not opposed to Islam and nothing in it is contrary to Islam. Then, it should be put to a referendum and the entire people must vote on it and give their opinion so that the constitution is an approved one.

May God protect all of you, grant you success, and make us all the servants of Islam.

Statements

Date: July 25, 1979 [Mordad 3, 1358 AHS / Shaban 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to sustain the fervor, unity and solidarity of the youth

Audience: Cycling Board of Khorasan

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

A nation that comes on bicycle from far away, the movement of such a nation, with this motivation will never be defeated.

The consequence of this zeal and fervor that exists in every one of our youth throughout the country is the same feat that you, the youth, have performed; it is a source of hopefulness. I hope that you, the youth, always maintain this zeal and fervor as well as unity and solidarity.

Letter

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acceptance of one-third of the property of the martyr

Addressee: Ghulam-Husayn Harajpur

[In His Most Exalted Name

To His Blessed Presence, the Imam of the *Ummah* Hadrat Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure:

As my brother willed during the Revolution: “If I become martyred, place one-third of my properties at the disposal of Hadrat Imam so that he could spend it wherever he thinks it is expedient,” and he became martyred before the victory of the Revolution, with regard to the fact that the major portion of the one-third is composed of agricultural land and house that is jointly owned by six heirs and the mother of the martyr whose sale to others is not feasible and payment of the means of the major heir is possible gradually, kindly present your blessed views on the method of payment and or the account number of your consideration so that I could submit to your directive. Meanwhile, one-third of the property of the martyr is an amount of four-hundred thousand rials.

Brother of the martyr,

Ghulam-Husayn Harajpur]

In His Most Exalted Name

The amount of forty thousand tumans that is one-third of the above stated will amount has been accepted and which I donate to the heirs; and God willing, I shall spend an amount of forty-thousand tumans—with regard to the will of the martyr—on his behalf.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: July 28, 1979 [Mordad 6, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Religious permission

Inquirers: Muhammad Husayn Shaykhzadeh Ghaznavi, Nur Ahmad Taqaddusi, Sayyid Husayn Musawi

[In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban al-Muazzam 15, 1399 AH

To the Blessed Presence of Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Nayib al-Imam Khomeini:

With greetings and expression of affection, I would like to say that at this time when the oppressed nation of Afghanistan has arisen against mercenary foreign-installed government and the enemy of Islam; the general public and especially the Shiah are under great economic pressure. Therefore, it is hoped that in all war-ravaged areas, especially in areas where your servants are performing their duties that includes the residents of Ghazni and its districts, Qarabagh, Nahur, Jughtu and the residents of Herat; the region under authority of Muhammad Husayn Shaykhzadeh Ghaznavi and the respected Turkmen clans; and Qulkhish region which is the scope of service of Nur Ahmad Taqaddusi; and likewise, the scope of service of Sayyid Husayn Musawi,¹ you kindly grant the permission to accept their religious payments, especially the blessed Share of the Imam (a) of those regions to be spent on religious affairs and the oppressed of those regions. "May God continue His endorsement and support of you."

Your servants,

Sayyid Husayn Musawi,
Nur Ahmad Taqaddusi,
Muhammad Husayn Shaykhzadeh Ghaznavi]

¹ The abovementioned persons had been granted the permission to collect and remit religious funds of the people of Afghanistan in some Shiah-inhabited regions.

[In His Most Exalted Name]

The gentlemen are permitted.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 6, 1358 AHS

Statements

Date: July 28, 1979 [Mordad 6, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Lack of understanding between the government and the nation as the problem of Muslim governments

Audience: Aqashahi (Adviser of the President of Pakistan on Foreign Affairs) and officials of the Pakistan Embassy

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We would like to have friendly relations with all the governments—both Muslim and non-Muslim—on the basis of mutual respect. With the resources that they have, if the Muslim countries in the manner that God has commanded, be fraternal toward each other, neither in economic affairs nor in culture and other aspects would they be in need of anybody.

You witnessed that our nation, although in terms of military equipment, had nothing; but because it relied on Islamic strength, no power was able to stop it. In this way, if all the Muslims unite together, they would become a power that no power can challenge.

All the governments are aware of the illness, but they do not pay attention to its cure. All are aware that because there is no unity, as a result the plundering and looting takes place; but they do not take action to remove the differences among the Muslim governments.

One of the reasons for the weakness of the Muslim governments is that there is no understanding between the governments and the nations. The government regards itself to be separate from the people and the people have become distrustful of the government; and consequently, if a government is faced with economic problems, the nation does not cooperate in any way for solving them. If the governments behave properly with their nation, no problem shall be created for any one of them.

[In the end, Imam Khomeini expressed his hope for success and victory for the progress and advancement of the nation and country of Pakistan, and with regard to the visit of Hua Kuo Feng to Iran, he stated:]

Although the nation of Iran have a bitter feeling about this visit because at the time when our youth were steeped in their own blood, they passed over

the corpses of these youth, nevertheless, because we, the nation of Iran are followers of Islam, we consider forgiveness to be better than anything.

Reply to a Query

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Printing the glorious and exalted names

[In reply to a question regarding the printing of the Glorious Name of “Allah” and the names of the Messenger of Islam and the Immaculate Imams as well as the emblem of the Islamic Republic in publications.]

In His Most Exalted Name

There is no objection in printing of the divine words and Exalted Names in the publications, but disposing them in places where it is disrespectful must be avoided. And the emblem of the Islamic Republic is in the context of a divine word—and the same applies to it.

Decree

Date: July 30, 1979 [Mordad 8, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the religious magistrate of the Revolutionary Courts of Abadan and Khorramshahr

Addressee: Husayn Akbari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Shaykh Husayn Akbari—may his graces last:

Your Eminence is hereby appointed to the post of religious magistrate in the Islamic Revolutionary Courts of the cities of Abadan and Khorramshahr in order to attend sooner to the cases of the accused prisoners in the abovementioned two cities, and to implement the verdict of the sacred laws of Islam about them. In any case, observe circumspection, and any of them to whom the amnesty issued on Shaban 15, 1399 AH applies, are to be released. I pray to God for the success of Your Eminence. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 5, 1399 AH

Message

Date: July 31, 1979 [Mordad 9, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity to participate in the elections and the characteristics of the representatives

Occasion: Holding of elections to Council of Experts

Addressees: People of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Month of Fasting 6, 1399 AH

On the threshold of the elections to the Council of Experts for reviewing the draft of the constitution of the Islamic Republic, it is necessary for me to discuss certain matters with the noble and combatant nation:

1. The noble nation, with its great movement and gallant uprising, by sacrificing the lives and blood and loss of tens of thousands of honorable martyrs and leaving behind tens of thousands of maimed and injured, liberated the country from the impure existence of traitors and foreigners, and with its unique referendum voted in favor of an Islamic republic in order to establish the rule of Islamic justice and the implementation of the progressive commandments of Islam. For this reason, the Republic is cent percent Islamic and its constitution must in no way be in conflict with the teachings of Islam. In order to attain this objective, it is necessary that women and men, old and young with zeal and fervor throng to the polling stations and cast their votes. Although it is the blessed month of Ramadan and it is inconvenient, but this matter is considered to be among the great acts of worship.

2. The experts that are elected for reviewing the constitution of the Islamic Republic must be acquainted with the teachings of Islam and be experts on them; they must also believe in Islam and be devoted, trustworthy, patriotic, and reliable, not be inclined to the left or right, and should be abstemious. O beloved nation! Entrust your destiny to someone whose destination is the same as yours—which is the destination of Islam. In every

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this message is dated Mordad 9, 1358 AHS but based on the handwritten copy of the message and the report of newspapers on Mordad 10, 1358 AHS, Mordad 9, 1358 AHS is the correct date.

provincial city and constituency, the distinguished *ulama* and the trustworthy of the locality should nominate their candidates with a unified approach and invite the nation to elect them. And I hope that the noble nation will benefit from the guidance of their distinguished *ulama*, and Islam and the Islamic interests of the country are safeguarded with this humane-Islamic deed. Regarding the constitution and the experts, I have noted certain subjects, which I shall speak about henceforth.

3. Nowadays, in some of the interviews and publications, certain subjects about an imminent danger is being published which is nothing other than a war of nerves and unfounded propaganda. Our nation that wrested the immense satanic power of the enemy from its hands and sent the monarchical regime into oblivion, is not afraid of these hollow propaganda. Today, by the will of the Almighty God, power is in the hands of the people; and the zealous youth of Iran are standing like a great barrier opposite the plots and conspiracies, and we have no fear of these decayed remnants and shall nip all the plots in the bud. I assure the combatant nation that no danger is threatening us and I advise them to be vigilant of the conspiracies from a position of strength; and block the path on the traitors to the nation and the country; and to safeguard their unity; and not be afraid of the deviant propaganda of the media for the Almighty God is our Supporter.

4. I advise the publishers, the media and the speakers to stop this rumor-mongering and not publish senseless issues and false subjects in order to increase their circulation, for if it is felt that there is a plot and corruption involved, the nation will act in some other way with them. Do not abuse freedom, do not leave the path of the nation, and avoid exaggeration of insignificant events, for the interest of the country and the people lies in this. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the glory of Islam and the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 31, 1979 [Mordad 9, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to the invitation of the inhabitants of the Fordu village¹

Addressees: Inhabitants of the Fordu village

In His Most Exalted Name

Ramadan 6, 1399 AH

Respected residents of the village of Fordu—may God Almighty assist them:

I received the scroll of the respected gentlemen regarding the invitation for which I am thankful. Considering the preoccupations and problems I am faced with, I cannot accept the invitation of the gentlemen and I seek your forgiveness. It is hoped that, God willing, I could be able to have an appropriate time to visit the gentlemen. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of everybody in the performance of divine duties. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Fordu: a village in the vicinity of Qum.

Decree

Date: July 31, 1979 [Mordad 9, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Friday prayer leader of Shiraz

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Husayn Dastghayb

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Abdul-Husayn Dastghayb—may his blessings last:

Your letter stating that your esteemed self is in good health was duly received. Also the scroll sent by the respected residents of Shiraz was received via the courier in whom they had requested that your esteemed self accept the invitation of the gentlemen to lead the Friday prayers. As such it is appropriate that Your Eminence take action and lead the Friday prayers in Shiraz. I pray to God for the continued success and well-being of Your Eminence. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Authorization

Date: August 2, 1979 [Mordad 11, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of attorney for expending of the donated properties

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji

[Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Khomeini—may his benign existence endure:

With greetings, this is to inform that in the town of Kashmar a Muslim named Muhammad Ali Quds has donated all his assets, including both movable and unmovable to Your Eminence and has prepared the official documents. At present, it requires to be signed by you or your attorney or your representative; please give your instructions with regard to expending it and to whichever person and in whatever manner that is expedient.

Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji
Month of Fasting

In His Most Exalted Name

After salutations: He is an old and feeble man and owner of enormous wealth. He has thought of expending his properties in accordance with the wishes of Your Eminence. If you think it is expedient, give the power of attorney to Mr. Husayni who is a virtuous and pious man and has been sent by the Society of Theological Teachers, or to some other person. The titles of the properties shall be transferred in the name of whichever person you direct.

Ali Mishkini
Mordad 11, 1358 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqaat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji is hereby authorized on my behalf to sign the relevant documents

and expend the abovementioned properties on charity, reconstruction, and development as well as on the affairs of the deprived of the area.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The original copies of Mr. Husayni Miyanji's letter, Mr. Mishkini's endorsement and the Imam's authorization are filed in the Notary Public Office 3 of Kashmar.

Message

Date: August 3, 1979 [Mordad 12, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Call to participation of all the people in the elections and countering the conspiracies

Occasion: Elections on the Council of Experts

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The noble and combatant nation of Iran:

The enemies of Islam and the movement, both inside and outside have launched a poisonous propaganda. They wish to make it appear that the people are indifferent, apathetic and unwilling to participate in this election. They want to allege that you have reverted from the Islamic Republic. With your collective participation, I expect you, the combatant nation, to humiliate the rumormongers. I have also been informed that around the university area—which is the site of holding of the Friday prayers—a group has been formed to sabotage participation in the elections. The government has the responsibility of thwarting it and the people have a duty not to pay attention to their propaganda.

O beloved Muslim nation! Safeguard Islam and the Islamic country, and throng to the polling stations. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: August 4, 1979 [Mordad 13, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to the message sent

Addressee: Jafar Muhammad Numeiri (President of the Sudan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency, Jafar Muhammad Numeiri—President of the Democratic Republic of Sudan:

The kind message of Your Excellency was received through your representative Dr. Hasan Abdullah Turabi. I thank you for the kind words and warm sentiments that you have expressed for me and the Islamic Revolution of Iran. I pray to God for the happiness and salvation of the coreligionist and brotherly nation. I hope that our Islamic Republic that has been founded on the unity of expression and on the basis of invaluable Islamic revolution and the obliteration of the *taghuti* regime could play a worthwhile and valuable role in the unity and unanimity of the Muslims of the world and the ever-increasing glory and victory of Islam and the welfare of the Muslims. May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 6, 1979 [Mordad 15, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Establishment of the National Fund for Reparation of the Damages during the Revolution

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The noble and combatant nation of Iran—may God Almighty assist it:

In this blessed month of Ramadan, the month of the Almighty God and the month of worship and devotion to the Exalted Origin, I pray for the health and happiness of all Muslims especially this great nation. I would like to recommend a single great worship—which is perhaps at the top of all worships.

You know that in the great Revolution—that triumphed by the grace of God and it is hoped that it will reach to its final victory—huge losses were inflicted by the despotic regime on the Muslim people, brethren and your countrymen; losses that we and the government cannot compensate. I have repeatedly reminded that these losses must be named as war-inflicted losses and must be recompensed with the help of all strata of the nation. Therefore, in order to assist in the reparation of the damages and to recompense the losses inflicted to the homes, real estates, shops, and the assets of the people throughout the country, which due to the attacks and destructive acts of the enemy during the period of the Revolution suffered demolition, looting and conflagrations, a popular organization by the name of “National Fund for Reparation of the Damages during the Revolution” with Bank Melli account number 200, payable in all branches, has been established and registered. It is hoped that the budget of this fund will be secured with the lofty aspirations of the beloved sisters and brothers, and the assistance of the government so that it is implemented under the supervision of a board composed of the trustworthy individuals of the neighborhood and districts, with the help of the government, by giving interest-free loans and compensating the losses through outright grants from the account of the fund.

Dear friends! In this catastrophic phase of the period of the Revolution, in addition to having lost the lives of their beloved ones, the respected families have also lost their livelihood or have borne such heavy losses that they are not able to recoup them in order to continue with their respectable

living. It is upon you and us to strive with open arms to compensate for these losses; this is a form of worship that is highly valued with the Almighty God. It is necessary to thank and commend the esteemed brothers and sisters who are busy building homes for the poor—that by the grace of God is being undertaken in various parts of the country and have given valuable help—and I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness of all.

I deposit one-hundred million rials from public treasury to account number 200 of Bank Melli. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 6, 1979 [Mordad 15, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity to shun discord and differences; selection of a committee for this purpose

Addressees: The *ulama* and clergymen of Qazvin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Their Eminences the distinguished *ulama* and Hujjat al-Islams of the provincial city of Qazvin—may their blessings last:

It is hoped that the respected existence of the gentlemen are safe from afflictions, and that you are successful and triumphant in the performance of your duties. That which needs to be reminded and about which the gentlemen are themselves aware of, is this matter that at this sensitive moment we should try to avoid any sort of differences and discord and to maintain the unity of expression and harmony in every manner that is possible. For the performance of tasks, I have selected a committee; and all tasks are to be performed through the abovementioned committee. It is necessary that Hujjat al-Islam Barikbin be one of the members of that committee. I pray to the Almighty God for the continued success of all in the cause of propagation of the sacred religion. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 6, 1979 [Mordad 15, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Prosecutor General of the Revolution

Addressee: Ali Quddusi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Ali Quddusi—may his graces last:

Your Eminence is hereby appointed to the post of Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution at the country-wide level so that you can take action and commence the tasks of public prosecutor; and in any case, observe circumspection fully. I pray to the Almighty God for the continued successes of Your Eminence. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 6, 1979 [Mordad 15, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Mr. Quddusi to the post of Public Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Mahdi Hadawi (Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dear Mr. Hadawi, Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution:

While thanking you and being grateful for the services rendered in the course of these few months in the post of Public Prosecutor; it has been agreed that from this date, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ali Quddusi—may his graces last—take charge of this post and be appointed to this position. Herewith, this is to inform you of the circumstances. I pray to the God, the Exalted, for your success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 6, 1979 [Mordad 15, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Performing the Friday prayers in Kashan

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

In His Most Exalted Name

Ramadan 12, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi—
may his graces last:

Your kind letter is received and I thank you for your expression of affection in relation to me. Regarding the performance of the Friday prayers in the city of Kashan about which you had asked, you are requested to take action and lead the Friday prayers yourself. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of all in the performance of divine obligations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 7, 1979 [Mordad 16, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Selection of the last Friday of the month of Ramadan as “Quds Day”

Addressees: The Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

For many years I have been warning Muslims of the menace posed by the usurper Israel which has recently intensified her savage raids on our Palestinian brothers and sisters. Bent on the destruction of Palestinian freedom fighters, Israel has been ceaselessly bombing their houses and homes in South Lebanon.

I call on the Muslims of the world as well as on all Muslim governments to join forces to cut down this usurper and its supporters. I invite Muslims all over the globe to consecrate the last Friday of the holy month of Ramadan—which is a day of fate’ and which could also become the day on which the fate of the Palestinian people might be determined—as Quds Day’ and to proclaim the international solidarity of Muslims in support of the legitimate rights of the Muslim people (of Palestine). I pray to the Almighty for the victory of the Muslims over the infidels. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 8, 1979 [Mordad 17, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sit-in protest, demonstration, rumor-mongering, and weakening the Islamic government

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan al-Mubarak 14, 1399 AH

Mordad 17, 1358 AHS

It is with great regret that in these days following the Revolution when all the strata must join hands for rebuilding and repairing the ruins of the *taghuti* regime and with their support for the government of the Islamic Republic compensate the losses, it is being seen and heard that demonstrations after demonstrations and sit-ins after sit-ins and rallies after rallies and rumor-mongering after rumor-mongering, and attempts to weaken the government by every trick and every rumor-mongering has become prevalent. At a time when the government is making efforts to improve the situation and repair the damages, sabotage has begun; and in the name of expediency, they have arisen to weaken the morale of the people and engage in illogical criticism of the Islamic government.

I must remind the esteemed brothers and sisters that in the same manner that during the Revolution, protests and demonstrations against the *taghuti* regime earned the satisfaction of the Almighty God, at present when the government is an Islamic and national government and the enemy is hatching conspiracies, protests, demonstrations, rumor-mongering, and unfounded uproar that cause the government to weaken and the enemies of Islam and the nation to strengthen, earn the wrath of God and are considered to be among the great transgressions and enormous prohibitions. My friends! If you are inclined toward Islam and its liberating teachings, to oppose, sabotage and weaken the government is contrary to Islam. And if you are inclined toward nationality and improvement of the lot of the oppressed, today, to weaken the government and spread rumors and spread lies are in conflict with the interests of the nation and the oppressed, and are helping the enemies of the nation and the country. Those who compel the groups to demonstrate, protest and weaken the government are the enemies of the movement and the

supporters of the foreigners, or are their agents and are working for the benefit of the foreigners. I request all the strata of the beloved nation to rush to the help of the government—which is helping the oppressed—and not to allow those that sow discord to join them; and in this blessed month of Ramadan—especially during the blessed nights of Qadr—to congregate in the gatherings and mosques, and pray for Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon His pious servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 9, 1979 [Mordad 18, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Chief Supervisor of the Affairs of Prisoners of Qum

Addressee: Muhammad Mumin Qummi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Muhammad Mu'min Qummi—may his graces last:

Your Eminence is hereby appointed as Chief Supervisor of the Affairs of Prisoners of Qum to attend to the legal procedures, manage the affairs of the Islamic Revolution Staff, arrange the tasks of the Office of Propagation and likewise, to plan for and administer the affairs of the respected theological students as well as that of the provincial towns. God willing, you shall commence your job from this date. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of Your Eminence in the performance of the divine duties.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 15, 1399 AH

Statements

Date: August 11, 1979 [Mordad 20, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Exertion of efforts to safeguard the Revolution

Audience: Guard Corps of the Niyavaran Committee

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

[At this meeting, the head of the Niyavaran Committee read out the message of the staff and guards in the presence of the Imam. In reply, Imam Khomeini stated:]

Niyavaran and the Niyavaran Palace! What ominous plots that were hatched in this palace against Islam. These plots were designed with the intent to sow discord among the strata of people; the clergy from the university students and both from the trader; all three from the laborer and all the strata from one another.

[Likewise, Imam Khomeini said:]

But now all the people have awakened and even give their views to the Islamic government. You, revolutionary guards, who previously did not dare to get close to this palace are now installed in the palace. All must strive to safeguard this movement and be ardent in safeguarding Islam. May God grant all of you success. May God help all of you.

Decree

Date: August 13, 1979 [Mordad 22, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sending of representative to Burujen for solving the difficulties of the region

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Shahrokhi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Shahrokhi—may his graces last:

With regard to the disputes in the Burujen region and the experience that you have in that region, you are requested to pay a visit to the region and attend to the situation of the area and the difficulties, and to strive to solve them. In whatever manner you deem appropriate with the cooperation of the pious individuals of that region, strive to prevent differences and disputes. Take action in reforming the local committee or its dissolution and in the formation of a Revolutionary Guard Corps, etc. with the approval and endorsement of the Central Committee and the Central Staff of the Revolutionary Guard Corps and the rest of the concerned authorities. I pray to the Almighty God for the continued success of His Eminence. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: August 15, 1979 [Mordad 24, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 21, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The source of weaknesses of Muslims and of the corruption of Muslim countries lies in their governments

Audience: A delegation of high-ranking officials of Syria including Abdul-Halim Khaddam (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs), Ahmad Iskandar (Minister of Information), Muhammad al-Imari (Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade), Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy of Syria and a number of other officials of that country, and Messrs. Ibrahim Yazdi (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Davari (Deputy Foreign Minister on Political Affairs)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity of the Muslims prevents their exploitation by the enemies of Islam

Convey my greetings to the President² and thank him on my behalf for the sentiments he has shown toward us.

I hope that the Muslims and the Muslim nations, in the same manner that Islam and the Noble Quran have decreed, be brotherly toward each other and be firm and intense in their dealings with the enemies of mankind and Muslim countries. This cannot be achieved except that these minor differences that exist between the governments are settled and they be brothers with one another. These disputes are exploited by the enemies of Islam and the Muslims. This exploitation must be thwarted by means of Islamic unity and that all come together under the banner of Islam and the Noble Quran because the Quran commands us to be "compassionate" toward one another and be "firm" with the disbelievers.³ In Islam, basically, race is inconsequential; being Arab or non-Arab or belonging to other groups is absolutely unimportant. Islam has come to educate human beings; in the concern of Islam it is the human being humane rearing that are important. That which is important is piety and fraternity among the Muslims, friendship, and putting aside differences.

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Mordad 24, 1358 AHS but based on the press report on Mordad 25, 1358 AHS, Mordad 24, 1358 AHS is the correct date.

² It refers to Hafiz Asad, the then President of Syria.

³ It refers to the injunction in *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

Concurrence on Islam: Characteristic of the Prophet and his companions

If the Muslims want the honor and glory that existed at the dawn of Islam between the Noble Prophet, his companions and the rest of the strata to return, they should adhere to that feature in order to discover their glory. That feature is that concurrence on Islam that brings in its wake supernatural power and courage that is extraordinary. That which our nation, although being weak and disunited, discovered was this theme that the Muslims discovered at the dawn of Islam; reliance on faith, Islam and unity of expression. Our youth, in the course of the Revolution and even now, again, ask me to pray that they be martyred. This great change that has occurred by the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, in this nation caused them to triumph over a great satanic power that was backed by all the superpowers. And this victory was achieved by the special grace of God, the Blessed and Exalted. And I hope that this behavior stays with our nation; and all the nations and Muslims possess this behavior and characteristic so that they could rediscover the glory at the dawn of Islam.

The sure panacea for the problems of Muslim countries

For me one subject has taken the form of a puzzle which is that all the Muslim governments and nations of Islam know what the illness is; they know that the hands of foreigners are involved to keep them divided; they see that these discords bring about weakness and extinction for them; they are seeing that a flimsy government of Israel is standing opposite the Muslims—if the Muslims would have united and each of them poured a bucket of water on Israel, it would be carried away by the resulting flood—yet they are helpless vis-à-vis it. The puzzle is that despite knowing these things, why do not they seek a final cure which is unity and concurrence? Why do not they nullify the plots that the imperialists hatch for weakening them? When must this puzzle be solved? And who must solve it? Who must neutralize these plots other than the governments of Islam and the Muslim nations? If you have found the answer and have solved this puzzle then also let us know about it.

The weakness of the Muslims is due to their governments

I wanted to hear this fact from you; and this is a fact that we also are aware of which is that whatever weakness is present in the Muslims and the corruption that is present in the Muslim countries is from their governments. Due to their own selfishness, the governments unfortunately work as servants

of the foreigners while being masters to their own nation; and all these corruptions have been created by this relationship of servitude and mastery in the Muslims countries; and the solution lies in what you just mentioned; the solution to this lies with the nation.

The nations must deal with the governments that act against the Islamic interests and the interests of the nations in the same way that the people of Iran dealt with the deposed Shah. And if this matter is acted upon in places where the governments act against the objectives of the nations, it shall solve the problems and the tentacle of the foreigners shall be shortened from Muslim countries. And I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, that He should either create the awareness in the governments to act in concurrence with Islam and the interests of the Muslims or to cause the nations to prevail over them and to wipe them out.

[Abdul-Halim Khaddam said: "I would like to express my infinite thanks to His Eminence the Imam for giving us such an opportunity so that I can communicate the statements of His Eminence to His Excellency Hafiz Asad—the President. Hafiz Asad is very keen and eager to meet His Eminence the Ayatullah in Damascus. I hope for the health and happiness of His Eminence and the people of Iran.]

I thank him and you, and pray to God for the happiness of all; and I implore God for your victory over Israel and the liberation of Quds.

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

Speech

Date: August 16, 1979 [Mordad 25, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Special features of the “International Quds Day”

Occasion: International Quds Day

Audience: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Quds Day: Day of confrontation of the oppressed against the oppressors

Quds Day is a global day. It is not a day exclusively for Quds. It is a day when the oppressed confront the oppressors. It is a day of confrontations for nations that have been under the tyranny of the American government and other oppressors. It is a day when the oppressed should become equipped against the oppressors and they should rub their noses in the dirt. It is a day when committed individuals are preferred over hypocrites. Dedicated people consider today as Quds Day and act as they are obliged. The hypocrites and those who are secretly acquainted with the superpowers and are friendly with Israel, today are indifferent or do not allow the nations to demonstrate on this day. Quds Day is a day when the fate of the oppressed nations must be determined. Oppressed nations should make their presence known to the oppressors, just like Iran rose up and defeated and will defeat. All nations should rise up and throw these germs of corruption in the garbage. Quds Day is a day when these followers of Iran’s past regime and these corrupt plot-making regimes and superpowers in other places, especially in Lebanon, should know their assignment. It is a day when we and they should exert our efforts to liberate Quds and save our Lebanese brothers from these pressures. It is a day when we have to rescue the oppressed from the claws of the oppressors. It is a day when the Islamic society should make its presence known to all superpowers and their pulp, whether in Iran or other places.

Warning to the Americanized intellectuals

It is a day when these intellectuals who have formed a relation with America or American agents should be warned—warned that if they do not quit this interfering, they will be suppressed. We have given them time and have behaved leniently with them so that they may refrain from doing mischief; and if they do not refrain, we shall have the last say and will make them understand that the former regime cannot return any more and America

can no longer rule in this place; and that the rest of the superpowers cannot rule in this country any longer. Quds Day is a day that we must warn all the superpowers to take their hands off the oppressed and stay put where they are.

Quds Day: Day of revival of Islam

Israel, the enemy of mankind, the enemy of man that creates mischief everyday and kills our brethren in South Lebanon, must know that its masters no longer have any clout and must accept to live in isolation; they must cut off their greed of Iran; their hands must be cut off from all Muslim countries; their lackeys in all Muslim countries must be removed from power. Quds Day is the day for the declaration of such a theme. It is a declaration to the devils that want to isolate the Muslim nations and bring the superpowers onto the arena. Quds Day is a day that shall sever their aspirations and warn them that those eras are now past.

Quds Day is the day of Islam. Quds Day is the day on which Islam must be revived and it shall be revived; and the canons of Islam must be implemented in the Muslim countries. Quds Day is a day on which all the superpowers must be warned that Islam shall not come under their subjugation through their evil lackeys. Quds Day is the day of revival of Islam. The Muslims must come to their senses; they must be aware of the power that the Muslims possess; material powers, spiritual powers. Muslims are a one billion-strong population and enjoy divine support and Islam is their backing and faith is their backing; what should they be afraid of? With a small population we revolted against many enemies, many enemies indeed and defeated the superpowers. And no person should be under the impression that some of these corrupt strata; some of these American or non-American leftists can assert themselves any longer in this country. That day when we want and our nation wants, within a few hours we shall throw them in the dustbins of destruction. Our great nation will no longer be afraid of these desperate moves. And the moves of Israel in South Lebanon and in relation to Palestine are desperate moves. They are moves that the corrupt undertake toward the end of their lives—such as our Shah, the deposed Shah of Iran made these moves and was doomed to destruction.

Invincibility of Islam

All the governments of the world must know that Islam is invincible. Islam and the teachings of the Qur'an must prevail in all countries. Religion must be a divine religion; Islam is the religion of God; and Islam must

advance among all nations. Quds Day is declaration of such a theme; it is a declaration, "Muslims, forward march!" Advance in all nations of the world. Quds Day is not only Palestine day; it is a day of Islam; it is a day of Islamic rule. It is a day on which the flag of the Islamic Republic is to be hoisted in all countries. It is a day on which we should let the superpowers understand that they can no longer move ahead in Muslim countries.

I regard Quds Day to be the day of Islam and the day of the Noble Messenger; and it is a day on which we must mobilize all our forces; and Muslims should come out of the isolation that they were confined to and resist the foreigners with all their strength and power; and we have resisted the foreigners with all our strength and shall not permit other people to interfere in our country; and Muslims must not permit other people to interfere in their countries. On Quds Day, nations must warn the governments that are traitors. Quds Day is the day on which we shall know which persons and which regimes are in favor of the international conspirators and opposed to Islam. Those that do not participate are opposed to Islam and in favor of Israel. And those that participate are devoted to and in favor of Islam and opposed to the enemies of Islam—headed by America and Israel. It is a day of reckoning of right against wrong; it is a day of segregation of right and wrong. I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to make Islam to prevail in all nations of the world; to cause the oppressed to prevail over all oppressors. And I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to liberate our brothers in Palestine, in South Lebanon and in Lebanon, and in whichever part of the world that they are living in, from the hands of the oppressors and the hands of the plunderers.

May peace be upon the Messenger of God and the Imams of the Muslims.

Speech

Date: August 17, 1979 [Mordad 26, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 23, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to establish the party of the oppressed; warning to the corrupt and conspiring parties and groups

Occasion: Quds Day

Audience: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Aspiration to establish the “Party of the Oppressed”

I thank these nations and governments that responded positively to this Islamic call and said “yes” to this call of Islam; and I seek health and endorsement for all from the Almighty God.

Quds Day is an Islamic day and an Islamic general mobilization day. I hope that this theme is a precursor to the formation of the “Party of the Oppressed” throughout the world. And I hope that a party named “Party of the Oppressed” comes into being throughout the world and all the oppressed have a say in this party; and the problems that are present in the path of the oppressed are removed; and they rise up against the oppressors and the plunderers of both the East and the West; and no longer permit the oppressors to oppress the downtrodden of the world; and the call of Islam and the promise of Islam which is the rule of the oppressed over the oppressors and “inheritance of the earth” that is for the oppressed, be realized. Until now, the oppressed were disunited and with disunity, nothing can be achieved. Now that a specimen of the bond of the oppressed has been realized in a Muslim homeland, this specimen must be realized at a more extensive level throughout the strata of human beings in history; and by the name of “Party of the Oppressed” which is the same as Hizbullah [Party of God], and which is in agreement with the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, the oppressed must become the inheritors of the earth. We call upon all the oppressed of the world to join together in the “Party of the Oppressed” and solve their problems collectively and with a firm common resolution;

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it is dated Mordad 26, 1358 AHS but based on the press report, Imam Khomeini’s speech to a group of the Quds Day demonstrators is dated Mordad 26, 1358 AHS, which is the correct one.

and any problem that occurs in any place and among any nation be settled by means of the “Party of the Oppressed”.

Giving respite to Israel is a mistake

With utmost regret, I must say that one mistake was committed by the governments and nations of Islam, especially the Arab governments and nations while one mistake was also committed by Iran. The mistake that all the Muslims especially the Arab governments and nations committed was to give a respite to Israel; and the personal rivalries of the governments prevented the stifling of the voice of Israel from the very beginning and not to allow it to become powerful. And unfortunately, rivalries prevented them from heeding our advices that we cried out in the course of twenty years or slightly lesser and called upon them to unite against Israel. They gave them a break until now that its oppressive hands have been extended and it has set South Lebanon on fire and it wants to push back Palestine; and we have repeatedly said that Israel—this source of corruption—will not be content with Jerusalem, with Quds. And if it is given a break it shall endanger all the Muslim governments. The past mistakes must be made up by way of unity of the Muslims and formation of the “Party of the Oppressed” against the oppressors—that is headed by the criminal America and its extremely immoral servant which is Israel. This was the mistake of the Muslim governments especially the Arabs and they must compensate for it; and they must seek forgiveness in the Presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted.

If it was acted in a revolutionary manner, the seditious provocateurs would have been put in their places

But the mistake that we made was that we did not act in a revolutionary manner and gave respite to these corrupt strata; and the revolutionary government, and the revolutionary armed forces and the revolutionary Guard Corps—none of them acted in a revolutionary manner and were not revolutionary. If right at the beginning when we defeated the corrupt regime and demolished this extremely immoral barrier, we had acted in a revolutionary manner; broken the pens of all the publications and had shut down all the corrupt magazines and publications; and prosecuted their heads; and had banned all the corrupt parties and had given their heads their due punishments; and had set up gallows in the major squares and had exterminated the corrupt and the immoral, we would not have to face these troubles. I seek forgiveness in the Presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and in the presence of the beloved people; I beg forgiveness for my own

mistake. We were not a revolutionary people; our government is not a revolutionary government; our military is not revolutionary; our gendarmerie is not revolutionary; our disciplinary forces are not revolutionary; our Guard Corps is also not revolutionary; I too am not a revolutionary. If we had been revolutionary, we would not have allowed these people to assert themselves. We would have banned all the parties. We would have banned all the “fronts” except a single party and that is “Hizbullah”—the Party of the Oppressed.

Warning to the corrupt strata

And I repent for this mistake that I made; and I declare to these corrupt strata that if they do not sit in their places, we shall act in a revolutionary manner with them. Our Master, the Commander of the Faithful (*a*)—that exemplary man of the world, that perfect man in every sense of the term, that man who worshipped in that manner, who was pious and virtuous in that manner and in mercy and kindness was in that manner, and behaved with the oppressed in that manner—when with the oppressors and the conspirators, he would unsheathe his sword and kill. It has been narrated that he slaughtered seven-hundred people in a single day from the Jews of the tribe of Bani Quraydah who were like the Israelis, and perhaps these people descended from them! God, the Blessed and Exalted, is merciful when it comes to forgiveness and compassion. And when it comes to revenge, He is revengeful. The Imam of the Muslims was also such; in times of mercy, he was merciful; in times of revenge, he was revengeful. We are not afraid if they write something in the newspapers of the former era or the newspapers outside of Iran. We do not wish to earn respect in Iran, in..., in foreign countries. We want to act upon the commandments of God—and we will.

*“They are hard with the disbelievers and compassionate among themselves.”*¹ These plotters are in the same league as the disbelievers. These plotters in Kurdistan and other places are in the same league as the disbelievers; they should be dealt with severely. The government should deal with them with severity; the gendarmerie should deal with them with severity; the armed forces should deal with them with severity. If they do not deal with them severely, we shall deal with them with severity. We shall deal with these people who act leniently with severity if they act leniently. There is a limit to leniency; trying to earn their respect has a limit to it. We will not allow the interests of the Muslims to be jeopardized by these matters. The public prosecutor has a duty to confiscate all the magazines that are in

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

conflict with the objective of the nation and are subversive; and their writers should be summoned to the courts and be prosecuted. He has a duty to summon the subversive elements and call them “party”; to summon their leaders and prosecute them. We shall again give these corrupt strata a break for some time; and this is a last warning that if they do not reform themselves and not return to the fold of the nation and not avoid subversion, God knows that I shall act revolutionarily with them. I shall come to Tehran and act revolutionarily with those that show leniency to them. The cadres of the military that do not obey their superiors and do not do what is asked of them must know that if I come, I shall act revolutionarily with them. Put aside excuses! Go and suppress the corrupt; go and suppress the subversive elements; do not be lenient! The government should not be lenient, the military should not be lenient; the gendarmeries should not be lenient; the Guard Corps should not be lenient.

Once again I ask all the strata of the nation, all the enlightened intellectuals, all the parties, all the societies and groups—groups that unfortunately sprouted more than two-hundred so far—that your path should be the path of the nation and the path of Islam; join the people; your welfare lies in your joining hands with the people. If, God forbid, this movement is driven back; you too will be sacrificed for your own lapses. But our movement shall not be driven back and our movement shall march forward; and the rest of the nations must learn from our movement; governments must take lessons from our former government and the fate that has befallen them.

Some points about Afghanistan

The nation of Afghanistan must take lessons from Iran; and these corrupt rulers—who are butchering the people—should be put in their rightful place. The armed forces of Afghanistan must join with the people. It is a commandment of Islam. The government offices of Afghanistan must join the nation in the same way that our offices joined the nation. The gendarmerie of that country should link with the nation and remove this corrupt man¹ from power. We hope that with unity of expression, the problems of Islam, the problems of Palestine and the problems of Afghanistan are solved.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the health and success of the Muslims. And I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to cause the oppressed to prevail over the oppressors and grant them the favor of becoming the inheritors of the earth.

¹ Nur Muhammad Taraki: the Russian-surrogate president of Afghanistan.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: August 18, 1979 [Mordad 27, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Order to bring an end to the disturbance in Paveh

Addressees: Military and disciplinary forces, the gendarmerie and the government

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 24, 1399 AH

Mordad 27, 1358 AHS

From the different parts of Iran, various groups consisting of the military, the Guard Corps and the zealous people have requested me to give them the order to move toward Paveh and end the disturbance. I thank them and I warn the government, the military and the gendarmeries that if they do not move toward Paveh with guns, tanks and armed personnel within the next 24 hours, I shall consider all of them responsible.

As the Commander-in-chief of all the Armed Forces, I command the chief of staff of the armed forces to dispatch fully equipped forces immediately to the region. I order all the barracks of the military and gendarmerie forces—without waiting for the next order and waste of time—to move fully armed toward Paveh. And I order the government to arrange immediately for arming of the Guard Corps.

Until further notice, I regard the disciplinary forces to be responsible for this savage massacre. And if they disobey this command, I shall act revolutionarily with them. Repeatedly they are sending information from the region that the government and the armed forces have not done anything. If within the next 24 hours, no positive action is taken, I shall regard the chiefs of the armed forces and the gendarmerie to be responsible. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 18, 1979 [Mordad 27, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Tracking down and arresting the rebels in Kurdistan

Addressees: Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces, gendarmerie and the Guard Corps of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I firmly command the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces and the Chief of the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic and the Chief of the Guard Corps of the Revolution to order the forces deployed in the Kurdistan region to pursue the fleeing rebels and attackers and to arrest them and to submit them immediately to relevant prosecutors; and to seal all the borders of the region immediately so that the rebels cannot cross the border. And I firmly command that the chiefs of the rebels be arrested with full powers and be handed over. Negligence in this affair is violation of duty and will face severe reproof. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 24, 1399 AH
Mordad 27, 1358 AHS

Decree

Date: August 18, 1979 [Mordad 27, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Judge of the Revolutionary Courts of Khorasan

Addressee: Ahmad Mutahhari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ahmad Mutahhari—may his graces last:

Your Eminence is hereby appointed as Judge of the Revolutionary Courts in the province of Khorasan; please take action for establishing court proceedings and attending to the cases of the accused and the prisoners and issue the legal verdict about them; and in any case, observe circumspection. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of Your Eminence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 24, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: August 18, 1979 [Mordad 27, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Advantages of the monotheistic school over materialism; role of teacher and mother in society and rearing of children

Audience: Participants at the training seminar of the Islamic associations of teachers of the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Monotheistic school as the guide of the people in coming out of darkness

Of the advantages of the school of monotheism over all the ideologies that is present in the world is that monotheistic schools educate the people and bring them out of darkness and guide them toward light. All the schools that are non-monotheistic are materialist schools and these materialist schools either cause the people to return toward the world of darkness from the world of light and invite them to materialism and the material, and dissuade and deviate them from the world of light, or they invite them to that materialism and have nothing to do with afterlife. They are neutral vis-à-vis the world of light and the return of people to the world of light and in any case, both the schools whether the anti-monotheistic schools and whether those schools that have nothing to do with monotheism, are neutral vis-à-vis monotheism. What these do, the teachings and learning that they have are teachings and learning that are connected to the material and they plunge the people in materialism and darkness and deter them from monotheism and light.

Difference between monotheistic and materialist schools

Whereas monotheistic schools—at the top of which is Islam—at the same time that they involve materiality and are involved with material concerns, but the objective is to educate the people in such a way that materiality does not become a covering for their spirituality. They place materiality in the service of spirituality; to be at the service of spirituality; at the same time that they take materiality into perspective, they take into consideration the life of the world; at the same time, they draw the attention of the people to spirituality and deliver them from the darkness of material concerns. Focus on the material and materiality in a way that the whole focus should be on it is darkness; and draws people toward darkness; and to things

that you observe their presence in all schools; they pull the people toward war, to bloodshed. Communism is an ideology of bloodshed, it is a school of repression; total repression takes charge over there; and there is bloodshed there such that the first thing that the leaders did when they took power was to slaughter thousands of people, rather hundreds of thousands of people. The materiality that is present in America and similar non-communist Western countries, all their conflicts and disputes are concerned with materiality, and they shed the blood of the people. Now, if you observe all over the world, these two schools and these two orders are involved and they shed the blood of the people. One group is involved in Afghanistan and in similar places, while the other group is somewhere else. Monotheistic schools are not like this. Monotheistic schools do not want to conquer lands, and do not wish to use violence against the people. They want to draw the people away from the darkness of the material and draw their attention to God. And thus to the extent that is possible, there is moderation, good conduct and invitation involved in non-materialist schools. To the extent possible, with appeals it makes the people to return to the world of light and is never planning to engage in war and disputes, except it feels that a conspiracy is involved. If they feel there is a conspiracy, then on the basis of the commandments of the Quran and the decrees of Islam, they take firm action. Till there is no feeling of conspiracy, they let everyone to be free and do as they please. When there is a feeling of conspiracy, they take stern action.

Misuse of freedom by the corrupt groups and warning to them

In our country, too, when this great victory was achieved by the respected women and men, everything was kept free: propagation was free; doctrines were kept free such that in the last few months approximately two-hundred different groups have asserted their presence! Even the communists who are corrupt and immoral have asserted their presence. But later on we find that their assertion is not only for publicity; it is not only because they want to promote their doctrine, rather the issue is one of conspiracy. To promote your doctrine is other than burning the harvests! It is other than pouring into the universities and preventing the students from doing their job; that it is other than pouring into the factories and causing work stoppages in these factories; it is other than opposing a referendum which is popular and of the people and concerns them and is in their interest and boycotting it and setting the ballot boxes on fire, or preventing the people from casting their vote at gunpoint; or to create disturbances in the rallies and injure a large number of our youth of whom about three-hundred were injured and most of

whom were related to us. They themselves create disturbances. And now that they see it is close to the realization of the Council of Experts, now they have become desperate and want to create disturbances in every place. We have been patient until now and have shown revolutionary patience until now so that the people would know what they are; what are their objectives. They do not wish to promote their ideology; they do not wish to talk with logic; they want to suppress all the doctrines. They do this for repressing the religion of Islam; they are afraid of Islam; they are afraid of the tenets of Islam. They want that Islam should not exist in any form and thus, it is a plot. Now that it has become a conspiracy, we can no longer tolerate it to the end and accept the conspiracies. The question is the question of Islam and it concerns the interests of the Muslims. We cannot be negligent of the interests of the Muslims and Islam. Therefore, I declare that if they do such things again, we shall mobilize the whole nation; we shall mobilize all the Revolutionary Guards that are present; we shall mobilize all the women and men of Iran and get rid of them. They must return to the fold of the nation and if they have a doctrine—after they have reverted to the nation—they should speak on the basis of logic. They were asked to talk on the radio but they refused. They are defeated in their ideology; they are a bunch of miscreants; they have no religion; they are scoundrels. Therefore, we must put the scoundrels in their place and behave sternly with them; but I again gave them time to come back to their senses; to return to the fold of the nation and get along with the nation. This pertains to these issues.

Role of the teacher in society

But with regard to the teacher; the role of the teacher in society is the role of prophets. The prophets too were teachers of mankind. It is a very important and sensitive role and has a lot of responsibility. It is an important role which is that of education: “bringing out of darkness into light,” those that “*Allah is the Protecting Friend of those who believe. He bringeth them out of darkness into light.*”¹ This position is that of teachers. God, the Blessed and Exalted, gives this position to Himself that He is the guardian of the believers. He brings them out of darkness and guides them toward light. And the foremost teacher is God, the Blessed and Exalted, Who guides the people out of darkness by means of prophets and by means of revelations and invites them to luminosity; invites them to perfection; invites them to love; invites them to kindness; invites them to the stages of perfection that are unique to man. Following Him are the prophets that propagate the same

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:257.

divine school, and their job is to teach; they are teachers; they are the tutors of mankind. Their job is also to educate the people and train human beings to advance from the status of animals and reach the status of humanity. A human being has several positions, the first of which is this position and after several stages lower down, it is the same position of animalism; he becomes an animal just like other animals and far more dangerous. The danger posed by animals is not of the same magnitude as of humans. The amount of crimes that a human being inflicts on his own kind, no other animal—not even the predator animals—inflicts that amount of crime. This is what a human being is. His is the foremost position which after he goes through certain stages yet, he reaches the position of animalism. He becomes an animal that has no rein; it is an animal that if set free, is the most bloodthirsty of creatures.

Aim of the prophets in training human beings

Prophets have come to deliver the human being who has reached the stage where he poses a danger both to himself as well as to his fellow species, and to guide him toward light; guide him to the origins of light; free him from immoral behavior, that animal-like behavior and nature and to guide him to humane nature and humane behavior. Their job is to promote him from the position of animalism to the position of humanity; to subjugate materialism to the world of the unseen; to subjugate the world of nature to the world of divinity. And following them are the teachers of mankind to which you also—God willing, may you be successful—now belong to that faction.

Your job is to bring out the children and the infants from darkness to light. It is to teach and to train; humane teaching and training; an Islamic teaching and training. You should deliver them from immoral behavior. You should caution them from pursuing these wishes and aspirations by means of which they are corrupted. You should rear the children.

The great responsibility of teachers

You teachers have a very honorable profession which is the same as that of Allah; the same as that of the prophets. And you have a very big responsibility that is the same as that of the prophets. Whereas prophets overcome their responsibilities by acting upon what they are commanded to do and what they are commissioned, we too must take action. If, God forbid, the children that are reared by you and taught by you are brought up contrary to humane-Islamic training, you are responsible. The responsibility is great. It is possible that an upright human being can train a universe while an

unhealthy human being and a corrupt human being can corrupt a universe. Corruption and good begin from your rearing and your training and from the schools where you are teaching.

The need to be careful in rearing children

For women there is a more important subject. And that subject is the rearing of children. You should not be under the illusion that these people who always deny motherhood and parenthood and upbringing of children and treat the subject indifferently and sluggishly, and regard the subject as very inconsequential have a right motive. They want that a child that wants to be brought up well in the bosom be distanced from these bosoms. They want to send the child right from the beginning to the childcare centers under the care of others; that the children be reared under the care of strangers. They do not want them to come out human beings. Your laps are the laps that make human beings. They want that your children should not be at your side from this stage and not allow them to become human beings. Children that are taken away from the bosom of their mothers and sent to nurseries, they are with strangers and have not been loved by their mothers, they turn out to be disturbed and frustrated individuals. These frustrations are the source of most evils that are seen in mankind. These wars that occur are the frustrations that are rooted in the hearts of these blood-thirsty individuals. These robberies, these crimes, these treasons—these are mainly out of frustrations that are present in human beings. If they take away your children from you, because of not having been loved by the mother, they become disturbed and frustrated; they shall be driven to immorality. They were commissioned, that system was commissioned to drive our children to immorality; to prevent them right from the start to be reared in an atmosphere of love so that they became frustrated. Subsequently, under the supervision of the teachers whom they would themselves appoint, and thereafter in the universities that they themselves would establish, from the bottom right up to the top it was corruption—“drove them from light into darkness”—and they prevented a humane upbringing from taking place.

The lap of the mother: the greatest place for rearing the child

The lap of the mother is the greatest school for the rearing of the child. That which the child hears from the mother is other than what it hears from the teacher. The child can hear from the mother better than from the teacher. It is reared better in the lap of the mother than in the proximity of the father;

than in the proximity of the teacher. To bring up human beings is a humane duty; it is a divine duty; it is a noble task.

The *taghuti* regime's fear of true human beings

Those that do not want upright human beings from being reared are afraid of upright human beings; these regimes are afraid of true human beings. In every regime if there is a true human being to be found, he will transform things. Rida Shah was afraid of Mudarris; as much as he was afraid of Mudarris, he was unafraid of the waylaying bandits! He was not afraid of the gun-toting bandits. He was afraid of Mudarris who was an obstacle to the shameful acts that he wanted to perform—and finally he caught hold of Mudarris and killed him. They were afraid of the clergy because a clergyman trains human beings; and they do not wish to see human beings brought up. For this reason they made the rearing of the child appear uninteresting to the mother to such an extent and indulged in so much propaganda that they were influenced by them. Those who believed them sent these beloved children to nurseries and separated them from their laps such that they were given a satanic rearing.

We have a duty to rear human beings. It is a human being that can thwart immorality; it is a human being that sympathizes at the condition of the oppressed; it is a human being that is saddened by the plight of the oppressed; it is the Noble Prophet who feels saddened at the plight of the oppressed; it is the Commander of the Faithful (*a*) that feels tormented and chastised at the plight of the oppressed. All these regimes want to subjugate the oppressed and to exploit them. They do not want to do anything positive for the oppressed and have not done either. You saw that for fifty years—fifty plus years—we were witness to the situation and saw that they did nothing for the oppressed; still there are shanty towns around Tehran. And this government that does want to do something for them cannot do anything so soon. This government that also wants to serve the people is being thwarted by them. These strata are not allowing the government to concentrate on these issues considering the amount of disturbances it has created. Every day they create a new disturbance lest the government finds the time to perform some essential tasks; and they lose their base. We wanted that they should not make mischief; not to create trouble and we want that they should not drive our youth to immorality. And I hope that they do not succeed and come to their senses and revert to the nation and join human society.

May God grant all of you success. And I apologize to you for the inconvenience of having to come here in this hot weather and in this warm room. And I too am one of your servants, and I hope that God accepts this service from us. Peace be upon you all.

Speech

Time/Date: 6 pm, August 18, 1979 [Mordad 27, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracies of the corrupt parties and factions; freedom and democracy; cooperation of the representatives with the people

Audience: Elected representatives of the Council of Experts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I wanted to express my regret at the situation they have created and this situation; and always they do these types of sabotage prior to a task that was about to be performed. When the referendum was about to take place, they created certain disturbances. When they were defeated there, after that they were defeated in every instance. Now also that this Council is about to become a reality, they have brought about these vandalisms in order to divert the attention to somewhere else, and perhaps in their own thinking, they hope that the representatives will not be able to continue with their jobs; and then this job was done. Then, when we wish to establish the National Consultative Assembly and elect the president, once again we are waiting for these problems to crop up. But the nation has found its path; and the nation and the government, all the strata, continue on this path—whether they cause these vandalisms or not. To get rid of them is not very difficult; we want as far as possible to behave kindly with them; that there should be no bloodshed. But they want.

In any case, we are for these vandalisms at the hands of these vandals and at the hands of these foreigners who are using them as their tools for their own objectives; and they are continuing with these inhuman actions under various names such as a “Democrat Party”, democratic so and so forth, Fadaiyan-e Khalq and such meaningless names; sometimes with their writings, at times with their actions. And as I mentioned the day before yesterday, the sin for this is our responsibility. A revolution must not be in this manner.

Misuse of freedom by the splinter groups

We wanted and the gentlemen wanted also, after the Revolution, to behave in a very gentle manner; they let go, they kept the borders open; they freed everybody; they freed the pens; they freed the speeches; they freed the

parties in the hope that if these people are not Muslims, at least they are humans. For a state that the nation has toiled for these people, at least they would have so much sense that if the condition reverts, it would be bad for everyone. But it became apparent that no, that this is not the issue and that they are the agents of foreigners; now either they are agents of America or the agents of some other places. Now their essence, the essence of these writers, the essence of these parties, and the essence of these deceptive and meaningless words has become clear for our nation.

Freedom within the framework of the law and Islam

If from now on we behave in a revolutionary manner with them, they cannot say that we did not give them freedom. We did give them freedom, they misused it and we shall not give them freedom anymore. Freedom in the sense that they want to engage in vandalism—this freedom will not be granted. Freedom within the limits defined by law; within the limits that Islam has permitted. Islam does not permit that we allow everybody to be free and do whatever nonsense they want; whatever plots to hatch; whatever they wish to do for wreaking havoc and spilling blood.

We must also complain to the government and the Minister of Interior that on the day when these people injured three-hundred persons—as they have said—we did not see the government take any action except to express regret; we also heard nothing over the radio. If, by an expression of regret, with an advise, for instance, they would refrain from engaging in unlawful activities, now it is several months that they have been advised; they have been counseled; they have been pleaded with; all forms of corrective behavior has been undertaken with them; but they are not that type to refrain from their activities by gentle counseling; they must be dealt with sternly. And maybe today or tomorrow, I am going to announce the banning of most of these parties and we should not permit any writing from them to be published anywhere nor any trace of them to remain in any part of the country; and not to allow anything to be published by them; we shall destroy all their writings. For, after the nation has come to know that they are vandals; that they are a corrupt group; they are a subversive group, we cannot allow them to do as they wish; even now they have protested that it is we who are doing these things like when the day before yesterday some days earlier they committed these vandalisms and blamed it on the people! They themselves create the disturbances and then blame it on others. Now also I read in the newspapers that the corrupt Izziddin Husayni and the immoral

Qasimlu¹—who are probably not in the country anymore—claim that we ourselves, the Guard Corps came and did it; whereas they chopped off the heads of the Guard Corps personnel! They cut off the heads of the people; what not they did with the children. They are such types of people; with them one cannot deal in a gentle, friendly and compromising manner and these sorts of behavior; with them one must deal sternly, and God willing, we shall deal with them sternly.

Futility of the plots with voting for Islamic republic

However, as far as possible, even now we desire that those who write, those who, let me say, regard themselves to be “intellectuals”; those who have organized “fronts” we still would like to deal with them temperately, but they must cease what they are doing. The path of the nation is clear; it is not something unknown. All those who are aware of the situation in Iran, all of them know what this nation wants; it is not hidden from anyone. It is not concealed from the foreigners, the local people, and the parties what this entire nation wants; it wants an Islamic republic; this nation wants Islam. A few corrupt persons should come and say, “No, we do not want Islam, only a republic!” And a few persons want to impose their will upon a nation and then say that they are not free. Freedom is that you who are in the minority—not the parties that are in the minority and some in the majority—that you all came together and did all you could and committed all the vandalisms to gain one and one-half percent or maximum two percent of the overall votes; on the whole only two percent were opposition votes! Such a referendum was unprecedented in the world that it be held in such a manner. Such a free referendum in which all people were free and people voted freely; but in some places they caused obstructions. In some places these devils themselves caused obstructions and prevented voting. They do not want the country to remain as it is and this country and this movement to advance; their objective is to prevent it from moving ahead, otherwise, burning the harvests and causing work stoppages in the factories and preventing the people from casting their votes; and bringing about this situation at a time when people want to establish the Council of Experts; and when casting their votes they do that and when they want to establish that, they do this—and later also it will happen—are all of these the path of the nation? You who say that you are working for the nation and for the masses and for the people; are these paths of the nation?! Is burning the harvests of the toil of a population, for the benefit of the people? With a single matchstick you burn the yield of a

¹ Two leaders of the Kurdistan Democrat Party.

year's toil; is this path of the nation? Is this for the benefit of the masses and the people?! You prevent the masses and the people from voting: Is this for the benefit of the people?! That you claim that you are on the side of the masses, that you are supporters of the people and that it is this turban and the wooden sandals that are opposed! What have this turban and sandals done? It is five months that this turban and sandals have given you respite although it held all the powers in their hands. Everywhere the power was in the hands of the turban and sandals; what have they done? Have you done anything except vandalism? Yes, it is the fault of the turban and the sandals to have given you a break; this blame on us is justified. If we had right from the start, like the other revolutions that took place in the world; that following a revolution, they would come and hang a few thousands of those corrupt people from the gallows in public squares and set them on fire, so that the issue would be over; that they would not allow a single newspaper to be published except that newspaper which they themselves approve of. Now a long time has passed from the October Revolution;¹ they still do not have a peoples' daily; they still do not have parties; there is only one party. These people are talking in praise of them! If here we prevent a single corrupt party, they create uproar and say that it has become a single party system; that it has become Rastakhiz;² we want it to become Rastakhiz.

Revolutionary approach with plotters

We shall allow one party, a few parties that act correctly to operate and we shall declare a ban on the rest; and all the writings that they had and that are in conflict with the path of Islam and the path of Muslims we shall destroy all of these. After we have made it clear to them that they are dictators; that we were freedom-lovers and you did not allow; and we gave you freedom and you did not allow this freedom to remain; now that this is what has happened, we shall behave with you in a revolutionary way. Whatever the foreign newspapers want to write and whatever the followers of the Zionists and their likes wish to protest aloud let them shout. These people too can go inside their homes and cry out whatever they wish to say; but they cannot do so outside anymore; they must be isolated.

¹ It refers to the Bolshevik communist revolution in Soviet Union in October 1917.

² Rastakhiz: the single party that the Shah of Iran launched in 1974 and membership to it was made obligatory.

The duty to safeguard the interests of Islam

After this also, we have problems; tomorrow is the issue of the President; the same situations and the same bloodshed; and it is going to be worse on the issue of the Consultative Assembly. It shall be much worse than this. We have a duty on behalf of Islam to protect the interests of Muslims. All of us are obliged; all of us are obligated to safeguard the interests of Islam—and these factions are destroying the interests of Islam.

Therefore, with utmost regret, we can no longer give them the freedom that we gave before; and we cannot allow these parties to continue with their job and with the corruptions that they were indulging in and are doing. That petty capitalist—whom I do not want to take his dirty name—that petty capitalist caused all these disturbances in the few days before this and then later, fled the country. We cannot give them a break. It is not religiously permissible anymore to give them time. We gave them as much as we could and we were mistaken! And I confess that we made a mistake; also we made a mistake, also the government made a mistake; also the Revolutionary Council made a mistake—all of us made a mistake. We were under the impression that we were dealing with human beings and thus we should approach in a humane way; it became obvious that no, we were mistaken. We were not dealing with human beings; we were dealing with predator animals! We cannot deal with wild predator animals in a gentle manner; and we are not going to be gentle anymore.

I hope that these clamors of theirs, this hue and cry of theirs, and this rumor-mongering of theirs— now they have also spread the rumor that the Mordad 28¹ of the Shah will come! Well, let it come! We pray to God that the Shah would come here!—this rumor will never happen.

Drafting the constitution within the framework of religion

And I hope that without the slightest consideration, the gentlemen that are, God willing, upright—I know it and it does not require that I mention it, but for the sake of having said it—without the slightest consideration of the West, of the East, of such-and-such a party, of the Democratic Party, of so on and so forth, without the slightest consideration, they must draft this constitution in accordance with the religion and within the frame work of the religion. If any one of the lawmakers or all of them wish to act outside this framework, they are not lawmakers at all for the job! Are you gentlemen also qualified to be legal representatives for divorcing the wives of people? Can

¹ It refers to the Shah's coup d'état on Mordad 28, 1332 AHS [August 19, 1953] against Musaddiq's government with the help of America and Britain.

you divorce the wife of your client? No. Is it correct if you grant a divorce? No, because you are a legal representative who is empowered to take care of the constitution of the Islamic Republic. Now if you want, or some of you want that the word “republic” should be omitted and take the discussion to the monarchy; do you have the right to review it? You have no right to review because you have the right for reviewing only the Islamic republic. In the same way that for granting divorce to the wife of someone else, you and we, although each of us has the power of attorney but has not been empowered to grant divorce to the wife of someone else; our power of attorney is restricted. On non-Islamic issues, if a single non-Islamic issue is put forward here, it is rejected.

The putting forward of non-Islamic matters is against your legal authorization. Such as, for instance, a discussion: you can discuss a scientific subject there; it is okay to discuss, but it is against your legal empowerment in the same way that granting a divorce to the wife of your client is contrary to your legal empowerment. You cannot propose a non-Islamic subject whatever it may be, however progressive it may be. For that they should form another group. The nation itself has the authority to form a group to discuss non-Islamic issues within the framework of Islamic subjects. Of course, administrative and managing the affairs and so forth are different issues. But, if someone wants to propose issues that are contrary to the subjects of Islam, it is in the opposite direction of the nation; and in addition, it is beyond the scope of the legal empowerment. The legal empowerment limit is not beyond this. If he votes, if the entire gentlemen vote, God forbid, on an issue that is non-Islamic, it is against their legal empowerment. The people have not empowered them for that. When it goes against the legal empowerment, it is like granting divorce to their wives.

Being unafraid of the East and the West

We have no fear of anything. We are neither afraid that the East would regard us, for instance, as freedom-restricting and dictatorial; nor of the West regarding us in such a manner. However, when their interests are threatened, they must level such accusations at us and we also accept all their accusations. Not at all! Whatever they say, well and good, but we shall tread our own path. We shall tread the path of the Islamic Republic in the manner that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has instructed us and in the manner that guarantees the interests of our nation; as is appropriate for our nation; and the gentlemen will also tread this path. And whatever any person says is not at all acceptable and important for us, and we do not care what they say.

However, if you want that all the people should speak well of you, you should go and sit at home so that no one sees you! For the Commander of the Faithful also, they would say many things; for the Prophet also they would say; now also they are saying. We do not care for this. The Westerner speaks more ill of our Prophet than he speaks for you and us! They say things about all the leaders of Islam, for all of them, because now their interests are in danger. When they are in danger, when their interests are endangered, what else must they say about us? But we shall go our own way to the extent that we can and the gentlemen should also tread their own path without being anxious of what this side or that side says. We do not want to create popularity and esteem for ourselves; neither have you wished to become popular with the people; if somebody recognizes you, you are popular. You do not need to create it. You do not want to create popularity in this assembly. You want to enter the assembly and proceed in the manner that the people have empowered you to and in accordance with what Islam has mandated you to do—and you will also discharge your duties in this manner.

And I would like to advise those who, God forbid, have an opinion that is in conflict with the path of the people, to set aside their plans and opinions for some other time and do these things at some other time. Now is not the time to propose subjects that are opposed to the path of the people and in the process, destroy their own credibility among the nation. I do not want the credibility of the gentlemen to be destroyed among the nation. If in this Majlis certain statements are made that are against the direction of the nation, they have destroyed their own popularity and esteem and, God forbid, it will not be very useful for their future.

Representatives of the Majlis are representatives of the people, not their masters

Follow the same path that the nation has followed; the same thing that you want to act which is in line with your wishes, to act democratically; democracy is the rule of the majority; and that too this sort of a majority. Whatever the majority says is valid even if it is contradictory; even if it is to their detriment. You are not their masters to say it is to their detriment and you do not want to do it. You are their representatives, not their masters. You must move on the path of the nation.

I request you that it is possible that some individuals propose something that is in the opposite direction of the nation; they should initially not propose it; it is not necessary; it is not necessary to put forward every subject. It is not necessary to propose every acceptable subject here. You propound

those issues that are relevant to you and you are legally empowered to undertake and follow the path that our nation treads; tread that path even if you believe that the path which the nation is following is against its interests. Well, so be it. This is what the nation wants; it has nothing to do with me and you. It wants to go against its own interests. The nation has voted; the vote it has cast is to be abided by.

All over the world, it is the rule of the majority; that too such a majority; that too the cry of a nation lasting over a period of several months and several years; that too the tragedies that our nation has borne toward this objective; it is not fair that now you come and say something that is contrary to it. In other words, it is not fair and it also cannot be done, it won't get far. Even if something is said, it won't go far because firstly, it is against what you have been empowered to do and you are not empowered on behalf of the nation to do every thing. And secondly, it is against the interest of the country; it is against the interest of the nation; it is against the interest of the gentlemen themselves.

Islam as the most progressive religion

And I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, that the gentlemen, God willing, cover this path with health and success, and draft a constitution that is in line with Islam, progressive and is complete in all respects; and we regard Islam to be the most progressive of religions, regardless of what any person, any doctrine says. We regard Islam to be a progressive religion and suppose you opine that it is not a progressive religion, but we want this. We want this. If you call it "progressive" well and good; if you call it "non-progressive" so be it. If you regard us barbaric, so be it! We want this. Our nation also wants this. And I apologize to the gentlemen for having come here in this hot weather. May you be assisted (by God).

Decree

Time/Date: Noon, August 19, 1979 [Mordad 28, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Crushing the subversive elements of the Democrat Party

Addressees: The armed forces, the disciplinary forces and the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reports have just been received that in Sanandaj, the Democrat Party has laid a siege on the military forces and their logistics; and if help does not reach them within half an hour, they shall capture their weapons and ammunitions. We have been informed from the mosque in Sanandaj that the Democrat Party has taken our women as hostages. I strictly command all the disciplinary forces to communicate to the barracks of the capital to dispatch sufficient forces to Sanandaj and vigorously crush the rebels. The Guard Corps of the Revolution—wherever they are—should move in sufficient strength toward Sanandaj and Kurdistan—by air—and be mobilized to crush vigorously all the rebels. Delay—even for an hour—is violation of duty and shall be strongly prosecuted. I ask the people of Iran to be alert and report any violator of the forces immediately. I expect to be given the news of the general mobilization within the next half an hour. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 28, 1358 AHS

Message

Time/Date: Afternoon, August 19, 1979 [Mordad 28, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Gratitude for the presence of the people in crushing the rebels in Kurdistan

Addressees: The people, and the military and disciplinary forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Following the events in Paveh, a very large number of groups from all over the country have announced their readiness to move to the region for crushing the rebels. I profusely thank the zealous people and the beloved brothers. Following the events of Sanandaj—that you have been informed and I issued the order for the immediate mobilization of the disciplinary forces—I have been informed by the disciplinary forces that effective and immediate action has been taken. Just now I have been informed that the respected residents and zealous brothers of Kermanshah have moved en masse on foot toward Sanandaj. While expressing my profuse thanks to them, I request them to return to their homes. I have issued strict orders to the disciplinary forces and the Guard Corps to end the disturbance in Kurdistan and liberate the noble people of the region from the hands of the anti-revolutionaries, and clear the region from the infestation of the local and foreign rebels. I pray to the Almighty God for the health and success of all. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time/Date: Morning, August 20, 1979 [Mordad 29, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Ratification of the constitution on the basis of Islamic criterion

Occasion: Inauguration of the Council of Experts

Addressees: Representatives of the Council of Experts and the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Now that by the grace of the Almighty God and endorsement of the Master of the Age—may Allah expedite his advent—with the blessings and auspiciousness, the Council is to begin its job of reviewing the draft of the constitution, it is appropriate that I should remind of certain things the noble nation, the distinguished *ulama* and the rest of the honorable representatives.

1. It is not concealed from anyone that the motive behind the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the secret of its victory was Islam; and our nation, throughout the country, from the capital or the remotest towns and villages and settlements, by sacrificing their blood and the cry of “*Allahu akbar*” demanded the establishment of an Islamic republic; and in the unprecedented and amazing referendum, almost unanimously voted for an Islamic republic; and the Muslim and non-Muslim governments recognized the regime and the government of Iran as an “Islamic Republic”.

2. With regard to the above circumstances, the constitution and the rest of the laws in this republic must be based one-hundred percent on Islam. And even if a single article contravenes the tenets of Islam, it is violation of the republic and the almost unanimous majority of the nation. on this basis, every vote or proposal that is presented by one or more representatives to the Council that is in contravention of Islam, is rejected and is contrary to the path of the nation and the Islamic Republic. In principle, the representatives have been elected on this basis and legal empowerment is limited to the bounds of the Islamic Republic; and presentation of viewpoints and looking into proposals that are opposed to Islam or are opposed to the republican system is beyond the limits of their legal empowerment.

3. The judgment on the conformity or otherwise to the tenets of Islam is solely in the authority of the esteemed jurists, which by the grace of God, a group of them are present in the council. And because this is a specialist job,

the intervention of the other respected legal experts in this theological subject and passing judgment on religious canons from the Book and the Sunnah is interference in the specialization of others, without having the necessary qualifications and authority. However, among the representatives, there are learned and qualified individuals that are specialized in the legal, administrative and political fields and are experts; and their expertise shall be used in the same aspects of the laws; and in case of differences of opinion of the specialists, the opinion of the majority of the specialists is valid.

4. I emphatically recommend that if some of the legal experts in the Council are inclined toward the schools of the West or the East, or are influenced by deviant ideologies, they should not allow their inclinations to interfere in the constitution of the Islamic Republic and segregate their deviant course from this law; because the good and happiness of our nation lies in keeping away from such doctrines that have even been discarded in their own environment and are on the way to decline and decadence.

From the statements and writings of some of the factions it appears that individuals who are not qualified to pass judgment on the Islamic teachings and tenets, have under the influence of deviant schools, interpreted the verses of the Holy Quran and the texts of the *hadiths* in a manner that suits their own purpose and adapt them with those doctrines without taking into consideration that the documents of Islamic jurisprudence are based on fundamentals that require prolonged discussion and debates; and with ridiculous and superficial reasoning and without consideration of the clear proof and comprehensive investigation one cannot pass judgment on the deep-rooted and profound Islamic laws. I expect that the environment of the Council of Experts should be removed from such methodology.

5. If the *ulama* of Islam present in the Council find that an article of the draft of the constitution, or the given proposals are against Islam, it is necessary that they announce it categorically and not be afraid of the uproar created by newspapers and Westernized writers for these regard themselves as losers and shall not refrain from criticisms and controversies.

6. The respected representatives of the Council of Experts must utilize all their expertise so that the constitution is concise and includes the following features:

a. Protection and safeguarding the rights and interests of all strata of the nation free from iniquitous discriminations;

b. Forecasting the needs and interest of the future generations in the manner that is in keeping with the sacred laws and eternal teachings of Islam;

c. Straightforwardness and clarity of the definitions of the law in a manner that they cannot be open to misinterpretation and misrepresentation in fulfillment of the cravings of dictators and egotists of history; and

d. They merit being considered as role models and guides for other Islamic movements that are inspired by the Islamic Revolution of Iran for planning of an Islamic society.

In conclusion, I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success and approval of all; and I hope that with the blessed efforts of the gentlemen, a truly Islamic and progressive constitution is approved. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 29, 1358 AHS

Message

Date: August 20, 1979 [Mordad 29, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Illegitimacy of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan

Addressees: Inhabitants of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Respected residents of Kurdistan, my esteemed friends:

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the declaration of an Islamic Republic, groups that are hostile to Islam and are agents of foreigners commenced their activities against the Islamic movement and against the Islamic Republic. Even some of them openly opposed it and boycotted the referendum, and you brothers saw that the Democrat Party of Kurdistan was directly affiliated with America and Zionism. On the threshold of the formation of the Council of Experts and after the massive rally in support of Quds, the treacherous leaders of this party, misled the youth and drove them to fratricide. My Muslim brothers, do not listen to the deceptive propaganda of these opponents of Islam who wish to drive our Muslim country toward infidelity, and prevent our beloved youth from falling into the traps of these deviant people. I profusely thank the inhabitants of Kurdistan for being steadfast in their humane and Islamic duty and I ask them to provide support to the Islamic disciplinary forces and to capture the leaders of this party and the corrupt ones in the region and hand them over to the personnel and should know that with this act they achieve the consent of the Almighty God and the Esteemed Prophet of Islam. The Democrat Party of Kurdistan has been declared unofficial and illegal. And since it is a party of Satan, all the inhabitants of Kurdistan should act upon their religious obligation and forbid their youth from becoming members of this dissolved party; and categorically and firmly thwart the plots of these traitors and expose the hideouts of their leaders to the government and the Islamic armed forces. It is hoped that this action of yours will result in the acceptance of your worships in the Presence of the Exalted Truth. In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Islam is the only refuge of all of us; and under its glorious banner, all the groups shall attain their due rights. The agents of the foreigners who see that their interests and the interests of their masters are in danger, in order to provoke the Sunni brothers and fan the flames of

fratricide, have put forward the Shiah-Sunni issue and with this mischief they seek to create a rift between brothers. In the Islamic Republic, all the Sunni and Shiah brothers are at the side of each other and are brothers and enjoy equal rights. Any person that propagates against this is an enemy of Islam and Iran; and the Kurdish brothers must nip this anti-Islamic propaganda in the bud. I implore God, the Exalted, for the unity of expression of Muslims and the extermination of the hypocrites. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 29, 1358 AHS

Decree

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The reinforcement of the disciplinary forces in Kurdistan

Addressee: Muhammad Husayn Shakir (Joint Chief of Staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran Army)¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Having consulted the Revolutionary Council, action is to be taken as is convenient; skirmishes ending in bloodshed should be avoided as far as possible.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The above authorization to dispatch military forces for the purpose of reinforcement of the police force in Kurdistan was issued by Imam Khomeini at the request of Muhammad Husayn Shakir.

Statements

Date: August 20, 1979 [Mordad 29, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Paying tribute to the Guard Corps and the glad tidings of a promising future

Audience: Two members of the headquarters council of the Guard Corps, and Jawad Mansuri and Ali Muhammad Bisharati Jahromi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If there did not exist the Guard Corps, there would not exist a country either

I am pleased with the Guard Corps, and I will never show disfavor toward them. If there did not exist the Guard Corps, there would not exist a country either. I hold dear and admirable the Guard Corps to whom I pin my hope. Your past records show nothing but Islamic ones. Give my regards to all. I thank all of you. I pray for you all. God willing, the situation will turn better; dissatisfactions will come to pass. No danger threatens the country; it only adds to our problems. But, we will suppress them. We need to work harder. We should be alert. The general condition of the country will improve; it will not remain as such. I will order the government to look after your affairs and pay your budget as soon as possible. May God assist you all.

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

Letter

Date: August 21, 1979 [Mordad 30, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Thanking the people of Kermanshah

Addressees: The *ulama* and clergymen of Kermanshah

In His Most Exalted Name

To Their Eminences, the distinguished *ulama* and Hujjat al-Islams of Kermanshah—may their blessings last:

I was delighted to receive your respected missive. Please convey my regards and gratitude to all the respected residents and the brave tribes of your region who suffered enormous hardships during the past few days in fighting the enemies of Islam and those of the country. I pray to God, the Exalted, to make all of you successful in exalting the pure word and in wiping out the enemies of Islam and the Muslims. As for your mentioning of purging of your area of the counter-revolutionaries and communists, this will be taken care of, God willing. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 22, 1979 [Mordad 31, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The duty of the military and disciplinary forces; call on the people of Kurdistan to cooperate with the Islamic Republic, and warning the counter-revolutionaries

Addressees: The nation of Iran and the inhabitants of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Avenger

From the seat of the Leadership of the Revolution and the Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces, I hereby give a word of warning:

1. I declare my support for the Disciplinary Force, the Army, Gendarmerie, the Police, and the Revolutionary Guards; and I will not allow any pen or any action to cause their weakening. The violators are found guilty, and in case conspiracies are sensed on their part, they will undergo revolutionary trial in the revolutionary courts. And as of this date, no person or authority will have the right to weaken them.

2. The personnel of all the abovementioned disciplinary forces have to obey their superiors and respect the chain of command. In case of violation, they will be found guilty and in case conspiracies are sensed on their part, I will order their field trials.

3. Strikes on the part of disciplinary forces are declared strictly forbidden, and violators will be found guilty, and the instigators will be considered as counter-revolutionaries and they will be penalized in revolutionary courts, and if conspiracy is sensed on their part, I will order field trials for them.

4. I strictly order the disciplinary force, the army and the Revolutionary Guards in particular, to become coordinated and for all the Revolutionary Guards to stay coordinated and cooperate in suppressing the insurgents and in purging the regions, especially Kurdistan and Khuzestan. Violators are found guilty and the instigators will undergo revolutionary court trial.

5. I hereby declare to the members of Democrat Party, and the brave and pure-hearted Kurds who have been enticed by the conspirator heads of these parties and by the traitors to Islam and to the nation that they will be subject to amnesty if they abandon the traitors and join the nation and Islam, and turn in themselves to police authorities and garrisons, and surrender their weapons; they will be subject to amnesty. And if they persist on their enmity

toward the government and the nation, they will be penalized for their anti-Islamic acts and they will be dealt with severely.

6. I proclaim to the honorable people of Kurdistan that we consider them as our brothers and our equals; and you will enjoy rights equal to those of your other Iranian brethren wherever you are. There is no difference between Turks, Kurds, Lors, Arabs, Baluchs, and other Iranians. It is the conspirators and the agents of the foreigners who are barriers to the implementation of our reforms. I invite you Kurdish frontiersmen to support the Disciplinary Force with all your strength, and quell the spiteful enemies of Islam and those of the country.

7. I have ordered the general director of the Oil Company to appropriate, following negotiation with the government, the one-day's proceeds of the sale of petroleum to Kurdistan. And the government is duty-bound to act accordingly as soon as possible, within one week, and similar measures have to be taken in other provinces, and the government is supposed to look after our Kurdish brethren who have been subject to attacks by the insurgents.

8. I deem it necessary to thank the honorable and combatant nation of Iran, which in full honesty and bravery declared their readiness for suppressing the insurgents and defending the country's borders, and were determined to support the disciplinary force. Today, the Revolutionary Guards and other disciplinary forces are now followers of Islam and follow the path of Islam. Supporting them is the religious and national duty of all of us.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 28, 1399 AH
Mordad 31, 1358 AHS

Letter

Date: August 22, 1979 [Mordad 31, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Response to a telegram declaring support for suppression of the counter-revolutionaries in Kurdistan

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpaygani, a grand *marji at-taqlid*

In His Most Exalted Name

Holy Mashhad

Hadrat Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpaygani—may his blessings last:

The receipt of your noble telegram is hereby acknowledged with thanks. The traitors and profiteers of the people's treasury, who find themselves and their masters in danger, are striving to hinder the country's political and social progress. They are under the delusion to do this by obstructing peace and creating tragedies and the massacre of the Muslims of the region while oblivious to the fact that Divine Providence has caused our people to rise so that the nation, by the will of the Almighty God, has risen with such alertness and are ready to suppress them. If they are not stopped and are not asked to be patient, the corruption will be uprooted by means of a general mobilization and there will be an end to the treacherous lives of the traitors. I expect your prayers beside the holy shrine of *Thamin al-Aimmah* (the eighth Imam) (*a*) for Islam and the Muslims.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 22, 1979 [Mordad 31, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointing the Friday prayer leader for Yazd

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Saduqi—may his graces last:

After extending greetings, (I would like to state that) at this sensitive time it is necessary for the nation to be reminded about the social and political issues. It is appropriate for you to lead the Friday prayers in Yazd and familiarize the people with their religious and national duties. I pray to the Almighty God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: August 23, 1979 [Shahrivar 1, 1358 AHS / Ramadan 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Response to a telegram declaring support for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries in Kurdistan

Addressee: Sayyid Hasan Ṭabatabai Qummi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy Mashhad

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Qummi—may his blessings last:

The receipt of your noble telegram is hereby acknowledged with thanks. I ask the Almighty God for the success in the suppression of the insurgents and the curtailment of the traitors' lackeys. Through its firm determination, the noble nation of Iran will put an end to the roots of the conspirators and the aliens' agents, hoist the honorable banner of Islam, and bring the Republic of the Islamic justice to fruition. I expect your benevolent prayers while in the vicinity of *Mawla Thamin al-Hujjaj* (Imam ar-Rida). May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The observance of the religious laws on ownership in ratifying the articles of the constitution

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Right now, (some messengers) were here on behalf of Mr. Golpaygani,¹ reiterating what he had said that there should be nothing concerning ownership passed in the Council of Experts opposing Islam that will be a source of concern. He demands a contact with Mr. Beheshti.² You³ contact him to see to it that there is nothing in opposition to religious law otherwise it will be opposed.

¹ Sayyid Muhammad- Rida Golpaygani (a *marji at-taqlid*).

² Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti, the Vice Chairman of the Council of the Experts.

³ Addressed to Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Message

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Congratulatory telegram on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Abdul-Fattah Ismail (the President of South Yemen)

In His Most Exalted Name

Eden

His Excellency Abdul-Fattah Ismail, President of the Republic of South Yemen:

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the coming of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* is hereby acknowledged with thanks. Reciprocally, I do extend my greetings to Your Majesty and the Muslim nation of your country on this great Islamic festivity. I pray to the Almighty God for the prosperity and success of our coreligionist nation along the way of realizing the lofty goals of the Great Prophet of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Response to the telegram of support for suppressing the counter-revolutionaries in Kurdistan

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy Mashhad

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Shirazi:

The receipt of your noble telegram is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. By the will of God, the Exalted, and the absolute support of the great nation, we will curtail the hands of the traitors and their lackeys from the country. Those who feel powerless, resort to spreading rumors and under delusion, they want to force the noble people of Kurdistan to confront the disciplinary forces. If it is true that the police force has committed massacre, why then the noble people of Paveh, Sanandaj, and other areas welcomed them, showered them with flowers, and declared their support for the Islamic Republic? It is hoped that the disciplinary forces will crack down on the insurgents, and save the region and the innocent people from the clutches of these bloodthirsty elements without any need for mobilizing the great force of the nation. I hope for Your Eminence's benevolent prayers as you are in the vicinity of the holy shrine (of the 8th Imam (a)). May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Setting up a court for the purpose of prompt trial of the traitors

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan (Prime Minister)

Honorable Engineer Mahdi Bazargan:

Considering the fact that the heads of civil, security, and military offices have committed crimes against the Iranian nation based on solid and well-documented proofs and evidence for which they deserve punishment according to both the common and religious laws, you are therefore requested at the soonest possible time to set up a revolutionary court through the judicial system and based on the Islamic decrees, to put them on trial and penalize them as soon as possible so that to have some sort of peace on the souls of the martyrs of freedom and independence who are awaiting the punishment of the criminals of this century. May peace be upon you.

The trial should take a maximum of two days. They are convicted, but let them go on trial in the presence of domestic and foreign reporters.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Supporting the families of the martyrs of the disciplinary force and the Revolutionary Guards

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Engineer Mahdi Bazargan, the Prime Minister:

Please set aside a reward to be paid to the family members of the Disciplinary Force martyrs. Allocate a monthly salary for the family members of the Revolutionary Guard martyrs, in addition to the rewards—like what is being paid to the military forces—and, as agreed by the Cabinet and the Revolutionary Council, set this to be paid to them for life.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shawwal 1, 1399 AH

Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS

Telegram

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Condolence

Addressee: Husayn Rahmani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Husayn Rahmani—may his graces last:

The Congress for the Final Review of the Constitution, Tehran

I was grief-stricken to receive your telegram here. I hereby express my condolences for your tragic loss. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your health and success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Prevention of expending a heavy budget for holding the Council of Experts

Addressee: Hashim Sabbaghiyan (Minister of Interior of the Provisional Government)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Minister of Interior:

The Council of Experts in the Islamic Republic should not demand a ten-million tumans budget and a luxurious aristocratic hotel. The respected members of the parliament—the majority of whom are among the distinguished *ulama*—are concerned about these ceremonies. They are, thanks to God, used to the way of life of the deprived classes of society. Please adjust the abovementioned budget. No offering of excuses for returning the excess of expenditure is right, for this kind of credit might set precedence in the future.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS

Speech

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The solution to the Muslims' most fundamental problems

Occasion: The auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Audience: Iranian residents of Kuwait

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Implementing the essence of Islam

I thank my sisters and brothers, who have taken the trouble of coming here from Kuwait to see us face to face, and I pray for them. All we want is to implement Islam in all its essence, which is such a sweet fruit, which whoever tastes once will feel an eternal joy; we wish to make Islam and all its very precious contents, which is a light for life, in all ranks and beyond the Muslim countries; that is to say, we wish to spread Islam to countries other than the Muslim ones, and we hope to hoist the banner of Islam throughout the world. However, the requisite for its fulfillment is for the Muslims to change their own condition. The Muslim governments should also change their condition. Unfortunately, the Muslim governments treat their people harshly and domineeringly so their people would turn their back to them. Thus, should any problem arise for the governments, their people will be indifferent; they may even aid the cause of those problems.

A word with the governments and a word with the nations

Here is a word with the governments and a word with the nations. For the governments, to take a lesson from our previous regime and our present regime; our country's old regime which, despite our nation's turning its back to it, tried to suppress our people with all its might, and finally it reached a point where our people overpowered their cannons and tanks with clenched fists. In spite of having an army of satanic police force and the support of all the superpowers, nay all the powers, as the nation was not with it and in fact opposing it, they were not able to save it with all the efforts along this line.

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Shahrivar 3, 1358 AHS.

The nation's support for the government

And let them see the present (situation); whatever problem arises for the government, the people come forth to solve it. You noticed on the issue of Kurdistan that all strata of the nation along with Muslims from other places, other countries, the Gulf, and elsewhere, all declared their readiness to suppress the insurgents. And we realized that there was no need for a national mobilization and that the police force alone could have been able to suppress them. So we appealed to our people to stop. Governments should take into consideration these two forms of governments. In the former, if there were any problems, the people would add fuel to the problem. In the latter, should there be any problems, the people will consider the government as their own and will defend their government as they do defend their own household. Not only should all the Muslim governments, but all the governments around the world should be such that they will have good rapport with their peoples.

The government of the Prophet (s) and Imam Ali (a)

Let the Muslims take notice; let the Muslim governments take notice of the form of government at the advent of Islam; to see how governance was at the beginning of Islam, and how did the Prophet of Islam (s) treat the people. Notwithstanding his firm stance against the unbelievers when he would find it impossible to guide them and they were engaged in acts of conspiracy, how would he treat his own people? He treated them like a kind father and even beyond that. What kind of caliph was the Commander of the Faithful? Imam Ali's caliphate was one that dominated the whole of the Muslim lands, which then included all of Hijaz, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen plus a part of Europe. Despite this great man's domination of all these countries, how was he treating the people? How was he treating the poor and the oppressed? How was his way of life?

Hajj, a way for understanding among all strata of Muslims

Another problem is a lack of relations between nations. The relation between the nations either counts for naught or it is very little. According to God's decree the faithful are all considered brethren. Brothers have to be aware of their brothers' condition. Brothers should solve their brothers' problems. While designing this issue that would result in the understanding of all the strata and such is the issue of *hajj*, Islam has obliged those *mustati*¹

¹ *Mustati* is the state of physical and mental capability as well as financial affordability on the part of a Muslim to perform the *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime.

individuals from the Muslim countries to perform the *hajj* pilgrimage. It has also provided numerous *mawaqif*¹ there to facilitate a better understanding. It is unfortunate however that Muslims are neglectful. If governments intend to assemble a gathering of two hundred people from different countries, what a trouble this will entail and what expenditures that is endured in order for that two hundred people to gather in a place and set up an assembly there. Now, God, the Blessed and Exalted, has provided Muslims with an assembly of several million people and has decreed for all brethren to go there; there a fraternal relationship exists among the faithful; they are considered brethren. If these brothers do not attend to one another's condition, the faults are not those of Islam's; the faults are ours.

If we preserve those *mawaqif* that Islam has provided and we guide the people concerning these *mawaqif*, then Islam will advance. The problems of the Muslim countries will be solved. Others will not be able to covet us. The one-billion Muslim people will not be a captive of such a bunch of individuals or governments. The one-billion people possessing treasures—possessing underground treasures—and the power of faith, the faith in God, if they do not utilize such a big spiritual and material power for Muslims, which cannot be found elsewhere, they themselves are at fault and should be blamed. The Muslims should change their own condition.

Recommendation for the establishment of a worldwide party of the oppressed

And a few days ago I put forth a recommendation which, if they put it into action, will God willing cause the emergence of relations, that is the creation of the "Party of the Downtrodden"—of all the downtrodden of the world, whether Muslims or non-Muslims. The non-Muslim governments do oppress people; the nations are not like so. For example, the American nation, French nation—they do not want to oppress. Those that commit oppression and do wrong are the governments. Their oppressed people, too, are under the grip of the arrogant powers. If there were found a party in the world, a global party, the party of the downtrodden, which is the very Party of Allah, then this problem will be solved. By solving these two problems, all problems of the Muslims will be solved. No power could confront these powers.

¹ *Mawaqif* (sing. *mawqif*): the different stations related to the *hajj* pilgrimage where specific rituals are to be performed, and whose performance has socio-political significance if properly internalized.

The power of faith as the secret behind the victory of the Iranian nation

You saw for yourselves that the nation of Iran did not have too much of any thing. Now, you see a few weapons in the people's hands; these weapons were spoils of war; they did not belong to the people themselves, they were the booties that the people had seized from the old regime's government. They were empty-handed, but they did have faith; there existed faith in God; there existed the call of "*Allahu akbar*" [God is the Greatest]. This nation was under pressure for 2,500 years; it was under a lot of pressure during the fifty odd years and yet more pressure during the recent two decades; this nation was transformed just like that. The Blessed and Exalted God's providence was for this nation, which was (even) scared of a policeman, to change just like that. They took to the streets and shouted out that they did not want that malign dynasty; the same people—from young children to their elderly, men and women—who dare not utter even a single word in opposition to the system. We are indebted to the ladies by far more than their young men. Women in Iran were having excess enjoyment. That is to say that when women were coming in the open, other people were motivated. People's power would become double, even multiplied. And this is at a time when they did not have much of any thing but their power of faith—in a matter of a few—lately when they wanted to mount a coup d'état and had planned to eliminate overnight all the heads—that is, the heads of the tribes—the late Qarani,¹ may God bless him, said: "It took only three and a half hours." He said, "The fight between the people and the deposed Shah's forces took three and a half hours!" In three and a half hours, there was victory; fists overcame the tanks and the cannons. It was the (power of the) faith; this happened because our youth did not fear death; for the reason that they would not consider martyrdom as mortality; they considered martyrdom as an eternal life. They came to me time and again, repeatedly; they now continue to come over oftentimes. They still come over occasionally and ask me to pray for them to be martyred. I would pray for them to have the merit of martyrdom, God willing. There appeared such morale, just like the very morale that existed in the youth in the days of the Messenger of God. This was the cause of fists overcoming the tanks.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, that all Muslims and all Muslim governments perform their Islamic obligations and may they all be successful.

¹ It refers to Martyr Qarani, Commander of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Radio-Television Message

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam is a political religion

Occasion: The auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Audience: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The political orientation of the religion of Islam

I congratulate all the Muslims in the east and the west of the world on the occasion of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*. It is hoped that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will accept the devotions of Muslims in this great month and blesses the *Id*.

Islam is a religion of politics; it is a religion in whose decrees and *mawaqif* politics is seen with clarity. Every day there are crowds of people in all mosques of the Muslim countries—in the cities and towns, in the villages and hamlets. These crowds gather together for the purpose of congregation, and in order for the Muslims in every city or hamlet to become aware of each other's state of affairs and those of the oppressed. And every week there is a huge gathering of all walks of life in a certain place. The Friday congregational prayers consist of two sermons in which the issues of the day, the needs of the country and those of the region, as well as political, social, and economic trends, are supposed to be brought forth so that the people may become aware of them. There are two *Ids* every year in both of which the people should get together and there are two sermons included in the *Id* prayers, i.e. there are two sermons in the *Id* prayers. In these two sermons that follow the *hamd* [praising God] and sending blessings [*salawat*] to the Noble Prophet and the Imams (*a*), the political, social and economic trends as well as the needs of the country and those of the region are supposed to be discussed. Those who are giving sermons are supposed to inform the people of the issues. And, most important of all, in an annual gathering of *hajj* in which it is incumbent upon the people from all Muslim lands who are *mustati* to gather in there, the issues related to Islam [are supposed to be discussed]. In those *mawaqif* which are in *hajj*, Arafat, particularly in Mina, then in the Holy Mecca itself, and in the holy shrine of the Noble Messenger, in those *mawaqif* there the people are supposed to be informed of the conditions of their country as well as those of all the Muslim countries. In

fact, what you have there is a supreme assembly and a grand gathering for reviewing all the state of affairs of all the Muslim countries. Hence, the point is this: Every day there is a gathering in the communities for reviewing the state of affairs of the city and the community. And every week, there is a huge gathering in the cities and in places where the requirements of (Friday) prayers are meant to review the state of affairs of the towns and beyond, the whole country. And every year there are two great gatherings to review the state of affairs of the countries. And every year there is a huge gathering of all the Muslim countries to attend to the question of *hajj* and the *mawaqif* that are in the *hajj*. The gatherings there are meant to review the state of affairs of all the Muslim countries. All these issues are of political nature and are issues to which the Muslims must pay attention. It is unfortunate, however, that these issues are being neglected and they have been neglected in the past. Gatherings do convene, but no result is produced. Muslims do gather in the Holy Mecca and in the *mawaqif*, though they act as if they are separate entities or are strangers! There are also gatherings in cities, Friday prayers, the *Id* prayers, but the individuals seem to have no unity of expression. Islam has called on the people to such gatherings for great objectives in mind. Islam has supreme goals for such gatherings.

Purification as the prerequisite in teaching the Scripture and Wisdom

On Fridays, when there are gatherings, two *surahs* are chosen and the leader of (the Friday prayers) is being called on to recite those two *surahs*: in the first *rakah*¹ *Surah al-Jumah*, and in the second *rakah*, *Surah al-Munafiqin*. *Surah al-Jumah* is about the prophetic mission of the Noble Messenger and as to the prophetic mission of the Noble Messenger, it indicates that the Noble Prophet was called to prophethood “to purify them and to teach them the Scripture and Wisdom.”² The purpose of the prophetic mission is to purify the people, which have priority over teaching of Divine Wisdom and the teaching of the Scripture. Purification has been specified as the reading of *ayat*³ to the people so that they become purified. And teach them and introduce the Book and the Wisdom to them and train them. In *Surah al-Jumah*, it indicates the secret behind the prophetic mission of the Noble Messenger. It gives the secret behind the Noble Messenger’s prophetic

¹ *Rakah*: the unit or cycle of prayer, consisting of three postures: standing, genuflection, and prostration.

² *Surah al-Jumah* 62:2: “He it is Who hath sent among the unlettered ones a messenger of their own, to recite unto them His revelations and to make them grow, and to teach them the Scripture and Wisdom, though heretofore they were indeed in error manifest.”

³ *Ayat* (sing. *ayah*; literally, “sign”): the verses of the Holy Quran.

mission as purification as well as the teaching and training of the nation, a teaching that includes all the aspects of teaching whereas the Book and Divine Wisdom qualify all the aspects of education. After mentioning teaching and training, it points out the pseudo-*ulama*, i.e. those who have learned knowledge but do not practice on that learning and have been denounced in the worst possible terms: “*The likeness of those who are entrusted with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books.*”¹ The story of those who possessed the knowledge of the Torah but practiced otherwise is likened in saying, to a donkey bearing books on its back but does not understand what they are and does not benefit from them. The example of those who have become learned but the learning has not left its effect in them, is likened to a donkey which is loaded with books! If knowledge does not leave its effect on man and does not make a human being of a man, no matter if he carries those books in his heart or carries it on his back! The example of such people is likened to those people or rather to the animal, a donkey that has books on its back. Just as a book is of no use to that animal, so is that knowledge which is not followed by commitment or is not practiced and is not followed by mental development, or is not applied to guide people. This is just of the same sort of man who has books on his back, just as if an animal, a donkey, is carrying books. At this juncture, it mentions this to remind the people so as to differentiate between false *ulama* and authentic *ulama*. It is also meant for the *ulama* to understand where they stand. In the second *surah* ...of course, there are some other points in the first *surah*, but I am short of time to elaborate on them; my time does not allow going into them.

The hypocrites in the words of the Quran

In the second *surah*, it mentions the *Surah al-Munafiqun* and the characteristics of *munafiqun* [hypocrites] as follows: In your (the Prophet’s) presence, they claim to be religious and to subscribe to Islam, however they lie! They are not Muslims. They are hypocrites. It (the Quran) denounces the hypocrites in the worst possible terms so that people will know them. We warned the people before to make the distinction between the hypocrites and the non-hypocrites. As soon as someone says that he is a Muslim, or he says that he believes in the Islamic Republic, it is not enough a reason to believe in him; rather, their deeds are to be watched closely. One should see how

¹ *Surah al-Jumah* 62:5: “*The likeness of those who are entrusted with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books. Wretched is the likeness of folk who deny the revelations of Allah. And Allah guideth not wrongdoing folk.*”

committed they are toward the Islamic Republic and what have they done for their country; what the state of their mind is. They claim to have subscribed to Islam but set people in the Iranian cities and set people's harvests on fire and murder our youth in the countryside, including the beloved Kurdistan. They murdered so many of our youth and of the Kurds themselves. And yet these murderers claim to be Muslims. But the Quran says, "You are hypocrites." You are not Muslims; you whose word of mouth does not match your deeds and your words do not match your real selves; you who are right now engaged in destruction of everything in Kurdistan and yet claim to be Sunnis and belong to the Sunni school of thought. If you really belong to the Sunni school then, based on the religious edict of the great Sunni *ulama*, it is incumbent upon you to obey the *ulil-amr* [holders of authority]. Today, our government and we are the *ulil-amr*. It is incumbent upon you to obey us, as per Islam's decree and as per Quran's decree and according to the edict of your own *ulama* and according to your own patriarchs. Now, if you are really Muslims, why do not you follow the Quran? Why do not you do what your *ulama* have observed as to the noble *ayah*: "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the *ulil-amr* among you"?¹ You are only Muslims outwardly; you pretend to have subscribed to Islam while in reality you are not Muslims.

Our dear Kurdish people, our beloved Kurdistan, and our dear young Kurds should focus on the criterion to distinguish the hypocrites from those who are not. Those who pretend to have subscribed to Islam, but set Muslims on fire; those who claim subscription to Islam, but cause people trouble and cause them to endure hardship; those who pretend to be adherents of Islam, but put the hospitals on fire and decapitate the injured; come to recognize them—these are not Muslims—they are hypocrites. They pretend adherence to Islam today in order to take advantage of your credulity, do not be deluded! Be heedful as to what kind of people they are.

The opponents of the Islamic Republic are hypocrites

The Islamic Republic was founded in opposition to the *taghut* and as a result of the Muslims' efforts. But those people who did not cast a vote for the Islamic Republic wanted the same *taghut* to stay. Not casting one's vote for the Islamic Republic could simply mean that they longed for the *taghut*. These people are hypocrites; they couldn't be Muslims—a Muslim must cast his vote for the Islamic Republic; a Muslim must accept the Islamic government of justice. Those who boycotted the voting for the Islamic

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:59.

Republic are hypocrites; they are not Muslims. Those who set fire to the (ballot) boxes, those who prevented people from casting their votes, are not Muslims and we will deal with them in the same way that we do with the non-Muslims; we will act against the hypocrites and we will suppress them.

In order to let the people of the world understand and for our people to know what kind of people we are dealing with, we gave them freedom. We gave them such an absolute freedom that in (only) the recent few months, two hundred parties, groups, the press, including magazines and daily newspapers emerged! And no one barred them, even though they insulted our sacred things and despite treating the government in the way they did and despite treating Islam in the way they did in their press media. Notwithstanding this, we did not object or protest until a time when we felt a plot and we realized that they were indeed troublemakers. They are the kind of hypocrites who want to foment trouble; the kind of hypocrites who conspired against Islam and conspired against the government, conspired against the nation; they are the kind of people who are in contact with the frontiers and with abroad—their commuting is under control. We are being informed that you socialize with individuals who were associated with the old regime, the individuals who wish for our country to return to its former state—after your conspiracies are revealed, and people get to know what kind of people you really are, we can no longer let you do freely what you want to do; we will suppress you!

I warn the beloved people of Kurdistan, the great people of Kurdistan, to be watchful of these individuals' acts and inquire into their position. I warn the dear youth of Kurdistan that Islam is a refuge for all of us. Islam will provide for you everything; these individuals (the hypocrites) are dependent on the foreigners. In case you have now joined their party, quit them and do not come into contact with them. I ask them (the youth) themselves to arrest the wicked heads of that party, those treacherous heads and turn them over.

Our youth should not be deluded. These are a group of false people; a group of hypocrites that God labels as *munafiqun* and states their characteristics in the Quran.

Warning to the strata of the nation

I warn all the strata of the nation to avoid them (the hypocrites), wherever they are and however they appear. And at the proper time and when the need is felt and there is an order to that effect, and God willing when we want, and if those (individuals) do not stop their wicked acts, we will mobilize the people, in the manner we did before, and will purge

everyone. The nation should be vigilant and ready. Our nation should be on the alert and do not allow these germs of corruption to take our country back into its former condition and reinstall the monarchial regime or a worse one, if there exists a worse one.

General action for the interests of the Muslims in the entire world

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to bless the Muslims with this *Id* and all other *Ids* and awaken all Muslims so that they all join in acting together and side by side, everywhere and in all four corners of the world for the expediency of the Muslims and for the difficulties with which we are entangled in Afghanistan, which is caught in the hands of the same group, i.e. the hypocrites. They pretend to have subscribed to Islam, but are in fact hypocrites. Same is true about Quds, and other places such as Lebanon and Palestine, where our brethren are in the grips of the superpowers, who set them on fire with the collaboration of Zionism. Muslims should remember to pray for all these on the day of supplication and to act accordingly when there is time for action. And I hope that we can hoist the banner of Islam and the flag of the Islamic Republic all around the world and follow Islam which is everyone's right; and for all to follow it.

Establishment of the "Party of the Downtrodden"

And I have to remind everyone that when we talked about a party to be called the "Party of the Downtrodden" worldwide, that did not mean for other rightful parties that (now) exist in Iran to be closed down. Regional parties are one thing; and a party of all districts and all localities is another. If the Muslims succeed, God willing, in establishing such a party, i.e. the "Party of the Downtrodden" for all the places, that will be a timely measure. However, this should not mean that the local and regional parties should not exist. No, there will be parties in the regions and they are free to operate as long as there is no conspiracy felt in their part.

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

Speech

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam's disapproval of the Western-style freedom

Situation: The auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Audience: Various strata of the people

In the Name of God, the compassionate, the Merciful

Islam, the religion of uprising and guidance

May this auspicious *Id al-Fitr* and all other auspicious *ids* be happy and blessed for all Muslims. In the past, our *Id al-Fitr* was an “*id* of blood” yet a blessed one. For our Kurdish brethren, this year’s *id*, is also an *id* of blood and is blessed. Islam flourished with blood. In the great religions of the past prophets and the very great religion of Islam while they (prophets) have carried the heavenly scriptures in one hand for the guidance of people, there was a weapon in their other hand. Abraham, “the Friend of God” (*a*), had the scripture in one hand and in the other, he carried a large axe for crushing the idols. Moses, “the Interlocutor” (*a*), had the Torah in one hand and his rod in the other; the very rod that utterly ruined the Pharaohs in abjection; the rod that would turn into a serpent; the rod that would swallow the traitors. The Great Prophet of Islam had the Quran in one hand and a sword in the other; the sword for crushing the traitors and the Quran for guidance. Those who were amenable to guidance had the Quran as their guide; those who were not amenable to guidance and were conspirators had the sword over their head.

In both the past *Id al-Fitr*, which was an *id* of blood, and in the present *Id*, which is again an *id* of blood, we do not fear blood. Islam is a religion of blood in the view of the corrupt and the religion of guidance to other people. Our saints fearlessly gave their blood and waged bloody wars. The Commander of the Faithful (*a*)—that unique being—while having the *Nahj al-Balaghah*¹ for guidance, he had his sword aimed at those who were

¹ *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>.

conspirators. We gave many a blood and offered many a martyr. Islam gave blood and martyrs. We sacrificed split head crowns such as those of Ali ibn Abi Talib, Ali ibn al-Husayn (Imam Sajjad); we sacrificed heads on lances, like those of the Doyen of the Martyrs and those of his companions and his allies. Islam made advancement throughout the ages by means of blood, sword and weapons, and won its spurs.

The youth's lack of fear of death

We do not fear to be sacrificed as martyrs. During last year's *Id al-Fitr* and those days, we sacrificed many a martyr as we did on this year's *Id al-Fitr* and during the fasting month of Ramadan. There is no fear of giving martyrs. Our saints, too, were martyred, poisoned or murdered. Some of our saints spent time in prison or in exile. Whatever we give for Islam is still not enough; our lives are not worth living when it comes to Islam. Our foes should not even think that our youth fear death or of being martyred. Martyrdom is a legacy that we have inherited from our saints. It is they who consider after-death as mortality who must fear death. What fear should we have when we consider the after-life as superior to this life? It is the traitors who should be scared; the servants of Islam do not have any fear. Our army, our gendarmerie, our police force, our Revolutionary Guards do not have any fear. Our Revolutionary Guards, who were decapitated in Paveh and other such places, attained eternal life.

The corrupt splinter groups at the service of the foreigners

Whatever we desired to guide those corrupt groups, whatever grace period we gave them to be steered to the right path, whatever grace period we gave them to come to their senses; whatever grace period we gave them to draw their attention to the country's problems; whatever freedom we gave them so that they would use it as a means for the growth of the nation; we gave them the freedom of pen, the freedom of expression, the freedom of congregation, the freedom of parties... Are they really truthful in their claims that they work for the nation's interests, and are democrats, and want a democratic government? But if they (really) want a democracy, why do not they let the people decide on their own fate? Why do not they—through their sabotages—let the people to choose their own government? Why do not they let the nation to decide on its own constitution through the hands of its own

experts? These are not democrats. They are criminals who want to serve their own masters under the disguise of Democrat Party.

Let our beloved people of Kurdistan be awakened. Let them understand, through the acts of these individuals that they are a treacherous people and they are hypocrites. They claim, "We want to work for the nation and for the nation's interests." But when they say that they want to act for the interests of the nation, why do they run to waste the interests of the nation? Why do they murder this nation's youth? Why do they destroy the hospitals? Why do not they let this nation decide on its own fate? If you are (truly) democrats, let a democratic government be installed. But you are not (real) democrats; you are hypocrites. You are dictators who have appeared as democrats; what you say are nothing but empty claims.

My dear Kurdistani brothers! My dear ones! O you who have been deceived by those mercenary leaders (of those parties). Come back to Islam. There is forgiveness in Islam; Islam belongs to everyone; Islam is the gate to blessings; come back in the lap of Islam. Take refuge in Islam. Quit those parties and those corrupt groups. Islam will treat you affectionately and treat the traitors sternly. It suppresses the traitors by swords and weapons but treats you with grace, and tolerates you. The gate of mercy is open; the gate of forgiveness is open. Come to God's gate of mercy; do not be deceived by those traitors and those hypocrites.

Corruption and promiscuity: consequences of the Western-style freedom

Unfortunately, there also circulates a prevailing corrupted view in some centers. Those who want freedom; those who want our youth to be free express their view eloquently but with exaggeration about the kind of freedom that they see fit for our youth! They want our youth to be liberated: They want the gambling houses to be open and unrestricted; the bars to be opened unrestricted; the fleshpots to be open unrestricted; heroin addicts to be free; opium smokers to be free; beaches to be on the loose and all avenues to be open to the youth. They want our youth to be free to indulge into whatever corruptions they desire; to be dragged to any kind of prostitution they fancy. These are all that have been dictated in the West. This is what they want to do in order to render useless our youth, who are capable of confronting them. But we want to take our youth out of the bars and into the battlefields.¹ We want to send our youth out of the fleshpots into the

¹ Here, the crowd shouts, "That's true," but the Imam invited them to be silent and states, "Do not utter That's true'. Do not feign!"

battlefields.¹ We want to lead our youth out of the movie theaters, which existed then and used to corrupt our youth, to places, which are beneficial for the nation. The kind of freedom that these gentlemen want is the type of freedom that has been dictated by the superpowers, and our own writers are either ignorant or traitors. These pseudo-democrats, who say that there must be freedom in everything and nothing is to be restricted under any circumstances, are inspired by the superpowers that want to plunder us and expect our youth to be indifferent. Those youth who are out in the fleshpots are indeed indifferent. The youth, who are addicted to narcotics, are indifferent to the country's affairs. Those youth, who are bred in the brothels, do not care about the country's interests. The youth who care about the country's interests are the ones who stay away from all these things and are under Islamic upbringing. The commander of the Revolutionary Guards told me, "In performing their night prayers, and while in the *"qunut"* (the standing posture), they utter a lengthy supplication." These are the ones who can safeguard the country. We want to protect the country. Saving the country does not have to do with the type of freedom that you speak of. That kind of freedom will destroy the country. This type of freedom that you talk about is one that has been dictated in order for them to swallow up our country, and we would not have any young forces (left) to fight back. As we saw that they acted (accordingly) and what happened and what tragedy our country went through. Why? Because they had our youth corrupted. We want to rid our youth of the opium pipes and hand them machineguns instead. We want to rid our youth of opium pipes and take them to the battlefield. You want us to give freedom to our youth so that our youth become corrupted and for your masters to reap the benefit from this.

Impugnation of the Westernized intellectuals

Yes! We are reactionaries, and you are intellectuals. And it is you intellectuals who do not like to see us turn back to 1,400 years ago. Your fear is that if we train our youth like 1,400 years ago and they follow suit and destroy two great empires—like their peers did then—that makes us reactionaries. And you, who want to drag our youth into a kind of Western teaching, the kind that they reserve for the colonial countries, and not what they have for their own, that makes you intellectuals! Yes, you who want freedom, freedom of everything, including the freedom of prostitution, and freedom of everything else, you are intellectuals! The kind of freedom that

¹ Once again, the crowd shouts, "That's true" and the Imam once again states, "Keep silent! Do not feign! Do not chant slogans."

corrupts our youth; the kind of freedom that will pave the way for the hegemonic powers; the kind of freedom that will enslave our nation forever; those are the kinds of freedom you want and that is what has been dictated to you from abroad.

You do not maintain any limits for freedom. You identify promiscuity with freedom. You identify immorality with freedom. You consider prostitution as freedom. We gave you freedom, but you indulged yourselves in licentiousness; you even did worse and you put yourselves to shame in front of the nation. We gave you latitude (in using your pens), but you conspirators tried to destroy the country using your envenomed pens in the name of democracy, in the name of liberalism, in the name of enlightenment, and other such labels. The traitors started their activities and conspiracies in this country openly. It was the same traitors who initiated the uprisings of Kurdistan. And it is the same traitors who are mourning for the conspirators. Nobody wants to talk about those who decapitated our youth but they eulogize and mourn the executed criminals and murderers. Now that we intend to save our country from the clutches of criminals; from the clutches of the traitors; from the clutches of plunderers, we (are said to) have deprived (people of their) freedom. Of course, there is the kind of freedom that ends up in corruption; the kind of freedom that ends up in the destruction of the nation and the destruction of the country. These kinds of freedom, we cannot afford to give. Those are the kinds of freedom that you have in mind; the kind of freedom that you want that will make our youth indifferent so that whatever is being done in whatever place and whoever does whatever (they want). And in order for the superpowers to plunder our country's revenues and our youth indulge in sensual gratification in the fleshpots. They erected fleshpots; they erected bars; they erected movie theaters, and added fuel to the fire to foment corruption. They mixed the young girls and boys and corrupted both in the name of "freedom". They despoiled our country and those who were free and had latitude stayed indifferent. These very intellectuals, too, stayed indifferent, and so did those very Democrats and political parties.

Imported freedom is rejected

Those who saved our country are this very mass of people, the dear university students and faculty, the dear seminarians, these *ulama'* from different cities, these tradesmen and merchants, these youth, these laborers, these farmers—these are the ones who saved our country. And now you want to push them back to a situation they first had and thus humiliate them in the name of freedom and liberalism, and democracy and similar terms. You want

to set them free for them to do whatever they want so that there would not exist any committed human being in the next generation to come. This is the kind of freedom that you want and this is the same kind of freedom that they have inspired in you and you were inspired by it, but we will not accept imported freedom. We have to protect this nation. We have to protect the youth. We have to pull our youth out of ruination and make them strong. We need combatant men; we need brave young men. We need heroic young men. We do not want intellectuals—of this kind, that is. Of course, there exist many sound persons among the intellectuals and educated ones, too. But those who act against our people by dipping their pens in gall and by their acts, and opened fire on our dear Kurds, will be suppressed.

God, the Blessed and Exalted, states thus about the faithful, “*hard against the unbelievers, but merciful to one another.*”¹ As regards the conspirators, and as regards the infidels—a group to which the conspirators also belong—and the leaders of these parties, are of the same type, too. As Islam has ordered us, we will treat them sternly and with clenched fists. But we treat the nation of grace in a friendly way and with compassion. We are servants of all, and because we are your servants, we suppress these betrayals, only because they betray you.

The people’s cooperation in arresting the traitors

We are the servants of our Kurdistanian brethren and the servants of the Baluchistani and Sistani brethren and of all other strata (of people). We want to deliver you from the clutches of these traitors. You, too, can help: Drive these traitors away from you; arrest their leaders and turn them over. These people do not believe in Islam. They oppose the Quran. If they did believe in the Quran, this is what Quran says, “*Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the ulil-amr among you.*”² Why do not they obey the *ulil-amr*? Why did they rise up against the government? Why did they rise up against the *ulil-amr*?

O *ulama* of Kurdistan! Awaken your youth. O *ulama* of Kurdistan! Support Islam. O *ulama* of Kurdistan! Drive away these traitors and order their arrest and turn them over to the Islamic court. Do not let them escape the borders. The army should safeguard the borders. It is a duty to safeguard them forcefully. The Revolutionary Guards should have unity of expression and be coordinated. The Revolutionary Guards should coordinate themselves

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

² *Surah al-Nisa* 4:59: “Obey God and follow the commands of the Messenger and the *Ololamr*.”

with the disciplinary force; if you do not coordinate yourselves, you will be considered traitors.

Today, opposition equals treason. Today, to split into several splinter groups is considered an act of treason. If you are coordinated, you will not leave dead bodies behind; you will make advancement fast. And by the will of God very soon these roots of corruption will be uprooted and these traitors will be duly punished. May Almighty God guide all of you and all of us. May Almighty God wipe out the traitors from the face of the earth.

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

Decree

Date: August 24, 1979 [Shahrivar 2, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the religious judge of the Revolutionary Courts of Qum

Addressee: Hasan Tehrani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Hasan Tehrani—may his graces last:

You are hereby appointed as the religious judge of the Islamic Revolution Courts of the Qum county jurisdiction. You are charged with attending to the cases of the prisoners and those of the accused persons and issue your divine verdicts for them. And should you find them eligible for the amnesty decree, dated Shaban 15, 1399 AH, set them free from the prison. In any case, you ought to observe the cautionary measures. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
First of Shawwal 1399 AH

Decree

Date: August 26, 1979 [Shahrivar 4, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to the problems of the province of Quchan

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Rahmani

In His Most Exalted Name

Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Rahmani—may his graces last:

It is deemed advisable for you, with the familiarity that you have of the situation in the province of Quchan, to travel there and try to resolve the existing problems there, if any, while seeking cooperation and consultation with the distinguished *ulama* of the area—may their graces last. Also familiarize the people of that region with their solemn duties that they are occupied with at this juncture of time and caution them against any discord and dispersion, and invite them to unity and solidarity against the enemies. I pray to God, the Exalted, for everyone's success in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: August 26, 1979 [Shahrivar 4, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgment of the dispatched telegram

Occasion: The auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari

In His Most Exalted Name

Holy Mashhad

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Haj Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari—may his blessings last:

Thank you for your telegram that was received here. I reciprocate in extending my congratulations on this auspicious *Id* and pray to Almighty God for the repulsion of the insurgents and the mischief-makers. I expect your benevolent prayers while you reside in the vicinity of the holy shrine. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 3, 1399 AH

Statements

Date: August 26, 1979 [Shahrivar 4, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Paying tribute to Martyr Mahdi Araqi

Occasion: The martyrdom of Mahdi Araqi and his son Hisam

Audience: Members of the family of Martyr Haj Mahdi Araqi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I have known him for around twenty years. Mahdi Araqi was not just one person; he was literally twenty persons. Haj Mahdi Araqi meant like a good and dear son or a beloved brother to me. His martyrdom was too grave for me, but what makes it easy to endure is that it happened for the sake of God. May his martyrdom be blessed for all the Muslims. He deserved martyrdom. Dying in bed was so humiliating for him.

[The Martyr's brother: "We are so proud that we have donated a gift to the threshold of Hadrat Master of the Age, and his deputy, Imam Khomeini.]

This is an offering for God.

[The Martyred Araqi's young child: "My father bowed but to two individuals: first, to the late Nawwab Safawi, and second, to Imam Khomeini. And though we have lost those two persons, I am glad that we have won the hearts of millions of people.]

You have God, Who is above any power.

Message

Date: August 28, 1979 [Shahrivar 6, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A warning to the leaders of the disbanded Democrat Party; the limit of freedom of the press

Addressees: The military and the disciplinary forces, and the Revolutionary Guards

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The following points are hereby announced:

1. A decisive coordination must continue in the activities of the Disciplinary Force, the Army, Gendarmerie, and the Revolutionary Guard Corps. The violators are considered guilty of the charge and will be reprimanded.

2. The heads of the disbanded Democrat Party and those of other parties who betrayed the people and the Islamic country, and rose against the central government will be dealt with severely. Dear enthusiastic young Kurds: Arrest these traitors and turn them over to the disciplinary forces.

3. The Sunni distinguished *ulama* are bound by the religious law to cooperate with the Disciplinary Force and disclose the hiding place of the traitors, should they know of any, and treat the traitors as apostates so that these *ulama* themselves would not be guilty in the Presence of God.

4. I have repeatedly announced that in Islam race, language, ethnicity, group, and region are irrelevant. All Muslims—Sunni or Shiah—are considered brothers and equals, and they all enjoy equal Islamic rights and privileges. Among the crimes that the ill-wishers of Islam have committed is causing discord between the Sunni and Shiah brethren. I ask all of my brothers of the Sunni school of thought to denounce all the rumors, and punish those ill-wishers for their deeds.

5. Under no circumstances is anyone allowed to infringe upon the lives and possessions of our Kurdistan brothers. The aggressors will be punished for their deeds.

6. Those members of the disbanded Democrat Party, and other brethren of ours who have been duped by the vicious propaganda of that party's criminal leaders, would be forgiven provided they would join their Muslim brethren, lay down their weapons and surrender. Again, they will be forgiven and they will be under the protection of the government of the Islamic Republic.

7. Notwithstanding the fact that the hierarchical order in the Disciplinary Force must be strictly observed, and obeying a superior is inevitable, a superior is duty-bound to have a humane-Islamic behavior with an underling.

8. The anti-revolutionary rumor-mongering that is circulated against our nation in every direction and accuse the government of political suppression is seriously rejected. All along the revolution victory, we reminded that the freedom of the press is what we focus our attention on, but any treason and conspiracy will be prevented strictly and without being overlooked. Those publications that are not involved in acts of conspiracy and do not act against the will of the nation, will be released following investigation.

9. The prosecutors of the courts are duty-bound to undertake a reinvestigation of the press and the status of their newspaper writers, and allow the republication of those publications, which they do not find to be conspirators or acting against the nation's interests. The publication of those periodicals that act in opposition to the nation's interests must be seriously prevented.

10. Under no circumstances is the public allowed to raise a protest against the bookstores. In case the provincial prosecutors find some publications to be harmful for the Revolution and the country's interests, they are duty-bound to prevent their publication. Irresponsible persons should seriously avoid interfering with such affairs; otherwise they will be reprimanded for their act.

11. The press is duty-bound to avoid the headlines that cause people to be provoked or that weaken the people's morale, or the ones that are untrue; Moreover, they should adjust themselves with the course of the Revolution. They should also avoid the publication of such articles that are harmful to the Revolution and cause discord, for this by itself is considered conspiracy. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: August 28, 1979 [Shahrivar 6, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching an emissary to Marvdasht

Addressees: The residents of Marvdasht

In His Most Exalted Name

The respected inhabitants of the city of Marvdasht—may Almighty God assist them:

The respected gentlemen's petitions were received here and I was briefed of the contents. As for dispatching His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Haj Shaykh Ahmad Khodai to that place, and following discussion of the matter with His Eminence, it was agreed for him to go to your place and meet at close quarters and cooperate with the residents in trying to resolve your local problems and difficulties. And if he sees fit, he will set up the Friday congregational prayers on the spot with a better organized gathering and a greater congregation and familiarize the inhabitants of that area with their duties. It is hoped that the inhabitants will benefit from his presence, and do not withhold cooperation from him. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the continuous success of all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expression of sympathy and consolation

Addressee: Bahauddin Mahallati

In His Most Exalted Name

Shiraz

Hadrat Ayatullah Mahallati—may his blessings last:

I do hereby express my deep sorrow for the inconvenience caused you by a bunch of ignoramuses.

[Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini]

Decree

Date: August 28, 1979 [Shahrivar 6, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching an emissary to Kurdistan

Addressee: Husayn Kermani

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 5, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Husayn Kermani—may his graces last:

With due regards to Your Eminence's background and your familiarity with the Kurdistan region, it is expedient that you travel there, and make your utmost effort to resolve the region's problems and restore the shortages. This can be accomplished through cooperation and consultation with the local clergymen and the distinguished *ulama*, as well as the army, gendarmerie, the Revolutionary Guards, and all other qualified individuals. Also please take action to make the region peaceful in any way that Your Eminence and other gentlemen find expedient. This does not mean for you to negotiate with the criminals, i.e. the leaders (of the parties), who actually must be suppressed. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of all in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: August 29, 1979 [Shahrivar 7, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Maintaining peace; the crucial role of the Majlis (the Consultative Assembly); and finding the roots of criticisms

Audience: Representatives of the Guild Unions and the Revolutionary Guards of Karaj

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity of establishment of peace

What is essential for all of us today is to try, as far as possible, to bring about peace. If now that the insurgents are engaged in wicked acts in Kurdistan and the minds of people are focused on resolving this matter, and if a trouble is raised again elsewhere, this will cause confusion in the public opinion and thus making it impractical to solve the problem at hand. I believe that there should be some peace everywhere; people should be urged to maintain peace. I thank those of you gentlemen who have come from Karaj and traveled also to Kurdistan. However, now that you are going back home, you should not be in a hurry for all the affairs to be solved right away. Now that there is this revolution and there are these murders and minds are directed to that region, you need to try to keep your own region in peace, so that the government can be able to attend to that problem (in Kurdistan). If it is supposed that wherever there is a protest and there are conflicts everywhere, and different strata of society want to act differently, this will cause, God forbid, the anti-revolutionaries to take the lead, and some time or other there would be a disaster. At any rate, these affairs will be attended to by the will of God. But now there also exist other issues, which are of great importance. Of course, these issues are not resolvable very soon or in a very near future; the importance (of the matter) is the question of confusion among the public.

Right now they (some individuals) were here from Qazvin, and had some words (with me). There are also similar issues in other places. I know, too, that there is turmoil in the work and chaos are plenty. But at the moment the issue of Kurdistan has turned into a critical issue for Iran, and they might be helped from the other side of the borders even though they cannot

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Shahrivar 6, 1358 AHS.

accomplish a thing but there will be massacre of people and we will lose some of our young men.

The crucial role of the Majlis

You gentlemen should be a bit more patient—just as you say: “Up to now, we have been patient in a revolutionary way”—perchance these problems are solved and, of course, all these problems should be resolved in the Majlis. That is to say that people should try to send pious and religious representatives to the Majlis. All the problems and all other things that have been so far done against the (religious) standards will be resolved there. No longer the government will be able to act on anything or plan things on its own lest they turn to be against the law. And if those who go to the Majlis are religious people—I hope, God willing, that is the case, for the majority of the people in our country is religious, and they will decide on religious representatives. When the Majlis representatives were supposed to be religious, and are devoted to the religious decrees—and God willing, that is the case—then all these problems will be resolved.

And as to some of the talks that are said to have caused the gentlemen to be frightened, I do not know what has been said to scare the gentlemen. What fear is there from an Islamic country? How come the gentlemen did not have any fear before? Those who have been frightened—some of them, of course—are those very ones who want to create disturbance when they say that they were frightened. Otherwise, what fear is there? Of course, some of the things that have been said are words that will never be put into action; nothing that is against the holy religion will be put into action. No doubt there now exist some wrongdoings but they exist because we lack a Majlis. At present, anyone does something or presents a plan or sets a program, or, make a cursory law. All these will fall through after a Majlis is in place. And I hope that the Majlis is an Islamic Majlis, and an Islamic Majlis would not allow non-Islamic programs to be put into effect or un-religious acts to be undertaken.

Finding the roots of criticisms

I, too, know that problems exist all over Iran. There are some shortcomings in the committees and it is not known for sure if the courts are operating with precision and some of the government's programs are at times contrary to the norms and are improper. I am aware of these; I know them all. But now it is not the right time for us to disturb everything and change the situation.

Of course, some of the problems to which the gentlemen pointed, will be prevented. However, you have to be wary and, if you hear something in the public, you should find the causes of it. Go after it and follow on it and find its causes, which sometimes does have a root, roots that are not compatible with your taste; neither are they compatible with the Islamic standards. And I hope that these problems are resolved and nothing (malice) is done against Islam, God willing.

Speech

Date: August 29, 1979 [Shahrivar 7, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The brotherhood of all Islamic schools of thought; the goals of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan

Addressees: The residents of Ajabshir and Jawanrud

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity of preserving the brotherhood of all Islamic schools of thought

I have repeatedly emphasized two points in my speeches and in my writings: One is that in Islam race, groups, factions, language, and things of that nature are of no relevance. Islam is for all and in the interest of all. And as decreed by the Quran and Islam, we are your brethren; we are not separated from Kurds, from Turks, from Baluchs; we are all brethren and should live together.

Now, here is a country that is delivered from the yoke of the foreigners, and the local criminals have either run away or are hiding in every nook and cranny. Of course, those foreigners—the ones who were plundering our resources, cannot stop doing it, but we will not give them the chance, God willing. One of the things that I did emphasize was this very point; our Sunni brethren should not be under the assumption that there is this question raised in Islam to imply any difference between you and us. Just as there are four schools of thought¹ among the Sunnis in the same way that one school is different from the other yet they are all brethren and not enemies, this is another fifth school where there exists no enmity among them and they are all brethren, all Muslims, and all are the people of the Book—the Holy Quran, and all are followers of the Noble Messenger. Thus, should anyone impart such meanings in those places, they should be the relics of the mainspring of corruption of the old regime, some of whom have survived and are the supporters of foreigners and want to foment riots. And you brethren have to pay attention to these points since they are some sorts of plots in order not to let Islam rule in Iran. They are opposing Islam. They are neither opposing the Kurds nor the Fars; they are opposing the very foundation; they

¹ These four schools of thought are the Hanafi, Shafii, Maliki, and Hanbali.

are opposing Islam. And all Muslims are duty-bound to stop them and suppress them.

The objective of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan

In my recent speeches I talked about this issue that the whole Kurdistan, all the social strata there, except the high class—the high class all of whom are conspirators and mischief-makers—they are all immune; no soul will oppress them and no court will summon them. We want to stop the mischief-makers, i.e. the ones who trouble you. Presently, there are massacres in your region; there is none in our region. We are settled in here and so are you in there. Now, that which has made us direct all the forces to that place is your welfare. That is because those corrupt cliques who want to suppress everyone under a variety of disguised names enchain all of you and your families. Their provocation is aimed at this very idea of not letting Islam materialize. Otherwise, the Democrat Party does not care for Islam so as to claim their being Sunnis. They claim to be Sunnis, but they do not obey the *ulil-amr* obedience to whom, according to all Sunni *fuqaha* [jurists], is incumbent. In other words, they are in violation and their behavior is in violation (of their own tenet). So, one can conclude that they are not Sunnis as they claim to be. In fact, they fancy playing tricks on you by saying, “We are Sunnis, and we do not have anything to care about the Shiah.” If the Shiah were really the enemies of the Sunnis, why did not then the Shiah enter into a fight with you Sunnis prior to your act of wickedness? Well, there is no reason for us to fight with you. We are your brethren; we do not have any enmity toward you. In view of Islam and according to the Islamic laws, both you and we are equals. So, there is nothing to fear about, and we will publicly declare this later, too. As for the difficulties that you had in the past, this is not peculiar to you alone. Take this very Qum, it had lots of problems during the reigns of the former Shah and his father who both were supporters of the foreigners and indeed acted as their lackeys. This very Qum and this very seminary in Qum suffered a lot of calamities at their hands: they were imprisoned, exiled, had their loved ones murdered, and were plundered. The foreigners set the Quran on fire in this very Faydiyyah Madrasah. As it was narrated to us, they set scientific books on fire; they burnt books of traditions in fire. Well, we were entrapped and so were you. Our other brethren were also in shackles in other places; this was true of everyone. Thanks to God, these difficulties were alleviated and we hope it will not be repeated anymore.

The whole country in need of reforms

As for the need of reform in all corners, we know that they (the old regime) kept all the regions underdeveloped and deprived the Iranians of all the things they could have enjoyed. They did not let this to happen. There is no potable water, no electricity, no asphalt, and no other things, and this is not peculiar to you alone. You go to Tehran, to the southern part, those numerous slums, shack dwellers; at least you have a house of your own, but you must go to Tehran and see that there are nearly thirty slums, not in the outskirts, but in the very vicinities of Tehran where people live in pits! They neither have a shelter, nor any potable water, or electricity; these people's poor wives—as has been narrated to me—have to climb the stairs of some fifty or sixty steps in order to reach a water faucet to fill up a jug of water and take it for their kids. The story is not such that you can assume that the former Shah or his father have set the things right. No. They kept everywhere backward.

The aliens are not your well-wishers

Right now, the very first thing that is on the agenda is to take care of your region. A few days from now—we are busy planning it now—a few days from now, some missions will be on their way to that place for the purpose of attending to your problems and I hope that they will resolve all the difficulties. You should prevent your youth from being deceived. Do not let them be deluded by them (the Democrats); they are not your well-wishers. The only well-wisher of all is Islam. They want to dissociate you from Islam. He who wants to dissociate someone from Islam is not a well-wisher. They want to continue their plundering like they and their masters did in the past; they want the same plundering to go on. These are plunderers. Those plunderers who murder, and let me add, set the harvests on fire and do all those things—they are not sympathizers of the nation.

Islam, the sympathizer of the nation

The one that has compassion for the nation is Islam. It is Islam that is compassionate, and those who are the followers of Islam, work for you. The mentor of all is the Quran, and that which belongs to all is Quran, and under whose protection we all seek refuge is the Quran. You can be sure of this fact that their propaganda is all-false. And you yourselves are witnessed that it was they who started a brawl, fight and massacre, and our army was there to stop all that. It was there because they were setting that place on fire.

The army went there to prevent things from happening. But then they (our adversaries) spread the news, proclaiming, “Yes, they want to come and occupy our territories.” But, what did our army have to do with their territories? Those territories are Islamic lands and belong to Iran, and we are all Iranians, and we are all Muslims and we are all followers of the Quran. God willing, all of you will be successful and assisted.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, August 29, 1979 [Shahrivar 7, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The country's need for labor and effort, and the necessity of the revival of agriculture

Audience: Employees of the Central Branch of the Rural Cooperative

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Deceit and chicanery during the reign of the *taghut*

The fact that I can talk to you now—of course, you should put up for discussion your problem with the government later on—is that our agriculture has been alarmingly backward so far and it was completely destroyed in the name of land reform, and all of it was just chicanery. The Shah had taught everyone to play with words. In the ministries, there was chicanery; in agricultural industry, there was chicanery. There were rhetoric and chicanery everywhere. Nothing of reality was there. It was all distortion. That “guy” himself, was the best master in this distortion. And, of course, the “masters” would teach him that. All the affairs of the country were supposed to be governed by chicanery and deception. Regretfully, the agricultural affairs were the worst of all. They took the country of Iran to its ruination. A country whose one province (alone) would have sufficed to (feed the whole country) and the rest of its products could have been exported—to the point that it ended up in a place where it did in the name of “land reforms”. This was done in such a way that it was in need of the America and others for everything. They caused utter failure of agriculture. But there were a lot of chicanery! He (the former Shah) repeatedly claimed that the country was going to be industrialized. This caused the emergence in Tehran of slums: shack dwellers, tent dwellers, and the like. The farmers wandered from their villages to the suburbs of the cities, Tehran in particular. And these disasters and afflictions ensued.

The revival of agriculture as the most important task

If, from now on, you want to continue relying on rhetoric, chicanery, and the like, it will be the same old story in the same old way. If we just intend to say, “What we do; what we did,” but in action we do not accomplish anything, it will be just like the former system. It will be the same old story

of deceiving the people resulting in the same confusions (in the affairs). Today, what are needed are actions; not just words. We all should act. And the most important thing that should be accomplished in Iran is the revival of agriculture following its mortification and after its expiration.

The public attention to reformation of the country's affairs

Do not you tell me, "What were we doing in the past years?" In the past years you were not able to do anything, or you just would not do it. Or, they would not let you do it. But now, you have the prerogative; from now on you have to think everything over. Whatever has happened has happened, and the blame for that capital sin falls on the shoulders of Muhammad Rida and his masters, who turned Iran into a market for the purchase of the wheat that they would usually dump into the sea or have them burnt until Iran was turned into a market for it. Those masters were plundering everything we owned and would kindly donate some of their wheat to us! From now on, you should be careful; wherever you are, and wherever we are, we all should be careful. This country which they ruined in every aspects of it for fifty odd years and in particular in the twenty odd years when a good son worthy only of his father reigned in this country and disturbed all the strata as he himself has this written in his book, *A Mission for My Country!* Of course, he is right when he writes that he had a mission on behalf of the Americans to do to this country what you see he did. And indeed he did. Up to now, everything has been in a shamble. Now, do not you say, "What did we do in the past?" In the past, you did not do anything; you were not able to do anything, and therefore, we were defeated in agriculture more than in anything else.

Action taken by the nation and the government to save the agriculture

Now you should have in mind to do away with the words, put away the rhetoric, and get into action. Put into action what you say. If you (really) want your country to be saved, anyone of you and wherever you are and any stratum, wherever they are and in whatever circumstances they are, now is the time for us all to act; you all should act to save the agriculture; the government should act to save the agriculture and act on other needs that the nation has. The farmers themselves should be ambitious enough to work so that this country is saved, and not that this country will be in need of America so as to get some wheat and barley. Or, being in need of Israel, from which country we were importing everything, even eggs! Our pastures, animal husbandry and stockbreeding failed because the pastures became "national," a term from their own glossary! They repeatedly prevented the

people from going to the pastures and later on, it fell through; and that was the cause of our turning into a market for imported meat from abroad. They “nationalized” the forests and then they yielded them to certain persons or to other countries! And they gave the pastures to other individuals yet. They ruined everything we had. Now is the time for the nation of Iran to come to their senses, in the same way that they came to their senses and, considering that it should not be like the past, they overthrew the (old) system. And now that it is time for reconstruction, all the strata should make their effort to reconstruct. Everyone, and wherever he is, should work. The government should resolve the problems. Everyone should work. But in agriculture, those of you who have the expertise in such areas should attend to those professions. You should work; do not just talk. We need action; words are of no use. Talks won’t be a substitute for wheat that man needs! The farmers should work and put the agriculture into motion. This stratum is ready; and the way I understand, if there is any flaw, it is focused on the higher strata. The lower strata are ready; in fact they are more than ready to serve, if they are left alone. Of course, there are now hands in the work not to allow the agriculture to move on and for the factories to be operational. We must confront them and challenge them. Today is the time for the nation of Iran to challenge those who do not let our country return to its normalcy and do not let our agriculture materialize and do not let the factories to operate, do not let the universities to move on with their mission, and are disturbing everything. Now is the time for all of you to fight all these strata. Guide the farmers not to accept them (in their circles) and especially among themselves. Those who approach them and discourage them to work and do not cultivate their farms, their intention is that they want the conditions to remain as it was in the past. You should guide them not to accept among themselves those strata that penetrate them and do false propaganda. They should drive them out of their village and from their locality so that they are able to perform their task.

Criticizing the office condition and the employees’ sluggishness

At any rate, there are difficulties in everything. There are difficulties in agriculture and they should be removed. They should be removed by all the people’s endeavor. You should not be disappointed. God willing, you will be able to do it. We can stand by our effort and reform our country; but those former less productive ones and those former unemployed, those former idlers, the ones that would sit in their offices doing nothing; this situation should be eliminated. A long and broad administration for an affair that does

not require those services; or for a work that can be managed by ten people, they seated five hundred people there and paid them wages with no good cause! Our country's failure is because of these affairs. They brought up the lazy people so it is difficult for them to work. Just to sit in offices and smoke! Others have been brought up in this manner, too. Our agriculture has been disturbed. All of what we have are being disturbed. We should try to unite and reform these affairs. There are some difficulties that need to be reported to the government. And of course, we report the same to the government and it is their responsibilities to correct things. If you have some problems, it is upon them to resolve those problems. If it is possible, you submit your suggestions to my office in order for me to resolve the problem, if any; or if it is necessary that I remind the government, I will do that.

[After hearing the statements of one of the audience, Imam Khomeini stated:]

Well, if we can resolve these problems that you mentioned, write them down and submit it to this gentleman in order for me to see what it is, and if assistance is needed, we will send some of the clergymen there and God willing, necessary action will be taken.

Order

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: To remove the siege of the armed forces in Kurdistan

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Banisadr¹

[Telephone call from Mr. Banisadr: “About one battalion (nearly 300 soldiers) of the Iranian army is now under siege in Kurdistan and up to now 65 soldiers have been wounded. There are two options open to us: we should drop Napalm bombs—which will carry negative propaganda consequences—or they (the battalion) should remain under siege—and the whole battalion may perish—what are we to do?”—Ansari]

In His Most Exalted Name

The besieged should be saved no matter what the consequences are.

¹ Abul-Hasan Banisadr was, at that time, president and deputy commander-in-chief of the armed forces. His telephone message was presented to the Imam by Mr. Muhammad-Ali Ansari (a member of Imam Khomeini’s Office).

Decree

Date: August 30, 1979 [Shahrivar 8, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Investigating the conditions of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees of Lorestan

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Kashani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Kashani—may his graces last:

Following the demand of sending Your Eminence off to Lorestan, it is expedient that you travel to that place and investigate the condition of the committees closely and try to eliminate the problems and shortages, and prevent the conspiracies through the cooperation of and consultation with the distinguished *ulama* and local trustees—may Almighty God assist them—and exert sufficient effort in preserving unity, and avoidance of discord and division. I pray to God for everyone's continued success in serving Islam and the Muslims, and total victory over the enemies. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: August 30, 1979 [Shahrivar 8, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 7, 1399 AH]

Subject: The revolution of mercy; the need for vigilance of the people and the *ulama* of Kurdistan

Audience: Employees of Iran National of Mashhad and Zamyad factories; workers of Dunya-ye Felez Industrial Group; the staff of Tehran Tobacco Company, the Fuman Teachers' Islamic Society; and a number of the army personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Precedence of the Almighty God's mercy over His wrath

God's mercy surpasses His wrath; "O Thee Whose mercy surpasses Thy wrath."¹ The opening of God's words start with the names "Compassionate" and "Merciful". The Quran opens with the words "Compassionate" and "Merciful," which repeat themselves throughout the Quran. God has mercy to all His creation. And this very mercy is the cause of the creation of His servants and providing them with means of welfare and servitude. And this mercy is the cause of sending the great prophets. God's mercy makes all God's servants blissful both in this world and the next. He has provided all the means of prosperity—material and spiritual. The servants of God came into existence by the words "Compassionate" and "Merciful" and continue their life in this world and the next. And although the mercy of the Most Exalted surpasses His wrath, but if it is called for and the people do not appreciate the mercy of the Most Exalted and disobey the command of the Most Exalted and cause sedition and corruption, the door of mercy will be half-closed and the door of wrath opens. The Noble Prophet (s) was the Prophet of Mercy and treated people with mercy. And it was this very mercy which guided people and brought sorrow to the people. And because of his mercy, he was compassionate for the people in aberration, but when he saw the fringes that made corruption and that their corruption might result in the nation's corruption and these were cancerous glands that might corrupt the whole society, although being the Prophet of Mercy, he opened the door of the wrath. The Jews of Bani Quraydah, those very merchants whose trails are the Zionist and corrupted; when he realized that they were corrupted and caused corruption, he commanded to exterminate them, and did away with

¹ Fayd Kashani, *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 1, p. 57: "O Thou Whose mercy supersedes His wrath and anger."

this cancerous element. With all that kindness, with all that mercy, when the Commander of the Faithful realized that the Kharijites¹ are the people who are corrupted and seditious, he drew his sword, and killed all of them save a few who fled. When mercy is needed, there should be mercy and if some people do not deserve the mercy, there should be vengeance and wrath.

Iran's revolution as the revolution of mercy

After our nation became victorious and we expelled the traitors and the criminals from the scene, i.e. expelled by the nation, we opened wide the door of mercy to the nation and all the strata of society. It was done by mercy; they were set free; the borders became free; the pens became free; the political activities became free; all things became free and all were treated by mercy. No revolution had mercy like our revolution. And no revolution treated the people and treated one and all with mercy. The pens were set free; the press was set free; the parties were set free; the groups were set free. The door of mercy was wide opened to the nation, the same mercy that is the continuation of Islam's mercy that is the continuation of the mercy of the Messenger of God. But the traitors and germs of corruption and the cancerous glands caused turmoil, raised sedition. The nation wanted to establish justice and Islam in the country by giving its blood and treats all with mercy, (but the above mentioned bunches) did not appreciate the value of this mercy and engaged in acts of conspiracy. If the conspiracy continues, the door of mercy will be totally or half closed and the door of wrath—God's wrath, Allah's vengeance, will be opened. They shall not do something that causes the door of mercy to be closed. They should put away their acts of conspiracy; they should put away their venomous pens. They should put away the non-Islamic activities. It was that opening the door of mercy and that same moderation and toleration which caused the tragedy of Kurdistan. They used and abused the opportunity and the mercy; they abused the freedom—that is God's mercy. They did abuse it.

The objective of troublemakers: obliterating Islam in Kurdistan

The corrupted individuals who have contacts with abroad betray the country; they want to put Kurdistan in the lap of communism. They want to wipeout Islam in Kurdistan. And now they are engaged in false propaganda.

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

The foreign and internal pens are operational and engaged in false propaganda. On the one hand, they claim, "We want to protect the Kurdish nation." On the other, they claim, "The government wants to suppress the Kurds"! The Kurd's question is not an issue here; the issue is communism. The Kurds are Muslims; our Kurdish nation is Muslim and is committed to Islam. No Muslim fights fellow Muslims. They want to drive our country, our Kurdistan to aberration, to communism.

The need for vigilance of the people and the *ulama* of Kurdistan against conspiracies

The Kurd nation should wake up. The distinguished *ulama* of Kurdistan should pay attention to introducing the germs of corruption. The nation of Kurdistan should pay attention to the fact that these people do not believe in Islam. They consider Islam contradictory to their interests. They consider Islam as adversaries of their masters. They do not want Kurdistan to become prosperous. They want to cause destruction in order for Kurdistan to become depraved and thus exclude it from Islam! O people of Kurdistan, come to the rescue of your youth! O venerable *ulama* of Kurdistan! Come to the rescue of the people of Kurdistan! Do not give any chance to these germs of corruption. O valiant people of Kurdistan! Rescue Kurdistan; rescue Islam. O you germs of corruption! You are good for nothing, so get out of the scene! We will bury you alive. You were not worthy of being guided. Those who aimed at driving our country to corruption and destruction in the name of democracy beguiled our youth. They should be suppressed. Our nation will suppress them. Do not create a situation to cause the door of wrath to open and the door of mercy to close.

The armed forces' decisive clash with the conspirators

The army, gendarmerie and the Revolutionary Guards are bound to have good rapport, and to be in harmony with each other! If they are not harmony with each other, they will be considered guilty of charge and will be punished. The army commanders are bound to provide the war means for our brothers; our guard brothers. The army commanders should immediately eradicate these roots of corruption. They should not grant a respite to these elements of corruption. Their leaders cannot be guided. These are worse than the Jews of Bani Quraydah! And they should be executed.

Efforts in providing welfare to the people of Kurdistan

All the people of Kurdistan—except a few of their leaders—are in safety and the door of God’s mercy is open to them. The people of Kurdistan are our brothers. We pay more attention to Kurdistani brothers than to our other brothers. Welfare will be provided for them. Their necessities and everything else that they need and are justifiable will be given to them. Do not pay attention to the false propaganda. Islam is kind to you. The mercy of Islam is open to you; the door of mercy of Islam is open to you. Arrest those treacherous leaders and turn them over. O Kurdish brethren! Lay down your arms; come back to the bosom of Islam and help your army brothers and uproot those germs of corruption. Islam is a refuge for you; Islam wants what is in your interest. They who set on fire your harvest, they who cause your youth to get killed, they executed the youth who went to help the farmers, who went to purify and those who went to help. Those who act as such are not to be considered as humans; they possess the habits of animals; they are even worse than having animal habit! They want to destroy Kurdistan.

May God deliver you from the evil of the corrupt. May God rescue Kurdistan from the evil of these germs of corruption. And by God’s permission and by God’s order, we will deal with them in a stern manner. And we will suppress them soon. Mercy to all our Kurdistani brothers; and wrath and curse on the corrupt leaders of that region.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the good health for all Muslims and prosperity for all the believers. And may God, the Exalted, have mercy on all of them and do away with the corrupted ones.

May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: September 1, 1979 [Shahrivar 10, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching of an emissary to attend to the developmental condition of Kurdistan

Addressee: Abdul-Majid Maadikhah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Maadikhah—may his graces last:

His Eminence, along with the Ministry of Interior's representative and the representative of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction and a delegation that has been selected, ought to go to Kurdistan to investigate the reconstructive condition and gather information on the dear Kurdish brothers' needs and submit and elaborate report of the mission of this delegation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shahrivar 10, 1358 AHS

Shawwal 9, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: September 1, 1979 [Shahrivar 10, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of propagating Islam in all its dimensions; liberation from self-defeatism in relation to the West

Audience: Members of the Islamic Association of the Air Force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Proper and comprehensive propagation of Islam

First, I would like to express my gratitude to this gentleman who made us both benefit from his reciting of the noble *ayahs* and saved our face elsewhere. May Almighty God approve of you, God willing. I hope your Islamic society and other Islamic societies can represent Islam as it really is. Islam is something that if presented, it is doubtful if the recipient with a very little sense of fairness would not accept it. However, in the course of the history and after the occultation of the Imam (a), we were not able to present Islam as it really is. We failed to present it. And this was because during these two hundred-three hundred years and after that, the foreign elements who came over here a little at a time and inspected and studied everything we had and recorded them and took out for their experts gave it some thought. They then discovered that if Islam is presented the way it is in an Islamic environment, it will not leave them breathing room. Because of this, they decided, with the help of their different agents from inside and outside, not to let this thing be exhibited and conceal it under some coverage.

The necessity of presenting the political and social decrees of Islam

And unfortunately, we ourselves helped them and we helped them a lot. We selected from the Islamic issues, those that dealt with the relation between man and God, the Blessed and Exalted, and the rest—which constitutes the majority of our books on *fiqh* [jurisprudence]—was buried in the books. They were left untouched in the books and did not come out of those books. The subject (of discourse) discussed at our seminaries was limited to these very subjects and all those news and all those *ayahs* and all those books on the topic of *fiqh* were not exhibited externally. We failed to present the social affairs and the political affairs—the affairs that are part of life—we failed to present those. Thus, they made the problem worse by

adding to the fire from their side and here, on this side, we were ignorant of it all.

Rejection of the alleged obsolescence of Islam and its laws

Using their venomous pens—even at this very time some of those parasites are in Iran—introduced Islam such that it is a kind of arrangement that belongs to the past, it is old now, and it belongs to fourteen hundred years ago. And now there should be a new way of thinking! From their side, they said anything that was in their power about Islam. And they continue to say those things now, too, and what is important about it is that they are frightened of Islam. Those whose venomous pens or whose very filthy steps they take against Islam and the Republic of Islam and so on; some of them or perhaps many of them do not know in the least what Islam is! They are ignorant; they do not understand at all. They have read something in an article published in Europe and that constitutes the scope of their understanding. And these—those Westernized ones—accept whatever they say with no reason behind it. They need no reason! Whatever they write in their articles, these people accept them just because they have written it! You consider the books they have written about our writers, about our so-called “researchers” during these centuries; at the end of any matter they have written that their reason—except some of them—is that such a professor has said this matter somewhere; such a person has said this in such a place. All of their attesting to their sayings is like our attesting to the sayings of God! We attest to the sayings of the Prophet and God in our words; and their attesting is that anything such a professor has said is the correct one! Everything Marx has said is correct, there is no need for other things! The same Marx who has failed abroad and his school has been buried, has now appeared among our youth and our children! After all it has now appeared here! There, they have pushed it aside, but these bunches here have just adopted it. But they do not know what he says at all or what his program is all about and what the programs of Islam are. They do not know these things at all and there are some fractions that know these things but are mercenaries because if Islam is presented abroad as it really is, they will be done with, and the foreigners will not be able to rule over here anymore. For this reason, a group of their mercenaries did not let any matter be set right; an example is the writers surrounding the deposed Shah. Those books do not seem to be written by his pen. He wasn't literary man and capable to understand such things. They wrote for him. Before, some composed poems for Nasiruddin Shah and told that he himself had composed them! Now, they wrote books and, those who

should write and are mercenaries for that part, wrote books and published them under the name of “His Majesty”.

The wicked goal of the West and the Westernized ones

Through the use of their pens, they did not let Islam be known as to what it is all about. And they now constitute a clique, which although in minority, could be effective. They are a clique that is knowledgeable of the subject matter, and bring them up for the deviation of the people’s minds. They are knowledgeable—not that they do not know—but if they say all they know, it will be all over with them and it will be all over with their masters as well. They therefore would not let anything to happen. And during this time that their going back and forth to the East has increased, what they have been excessively successful in is the hollowing of our society from its content. They succeeded in this. It is not without its reason that any saga that comes up—let’s suppose—about the physicians, or any other social strata, they look at the West as a kind of Mecca. Ataturk—I think I have seen his statue—I was told that the way he is standing and has his hand pointing out to the West in this manner, and that this is a statue faced to the West means that everything originates from there. One of the writers of this very place, who is now dead,¹ had indicated that every thing we have must be from England! Our every thing, that is. This is because their propaganda has hollowed these individuals’ minds and they have been alienated from themselves. Our Easterners have been neglectful of the surviving works of the East that Europe has adopted. Even now the books of Shaykh ar-Rais (Avicenna) are being used in Europe at the present. They have taken away our Eastern works from us and have hollowed us so much so that any matter that is talked about we come to think of there. As soon as a person catches a cold, he should go to Europe! If someone wants to have tonsillectomy, he must go to Europe or if he is wealthy, he brings a physician from Europe. Once—in the presence of some of the physicians—I said, “Well, this matter is indicative of that fact that you apparently do not have any knowledge.” But they said, “We do have the knowledge.” And our (Iranian) physicians are also working there (abroad). And perhaps most of the patients who go there will see an Iranian physician. But the situation has become such that this matter has spread all over. Everyone who wants to find out about anything should go to Europe to find it. Iran is not the place for understanding anything at all! There is no solution to a question in Iran. It is not such that Iran could stand on its feet! This is because that kind of propaganda has hollowed us from the talents that

¹ It seems referring to Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh.

we ourselves owned. In other words, they hollowed the Easterners from their Eastness and replaced their minds with Western ones—a Western parasite mind. This exists in all strata; there is a kind of Westernization more or less in every social stratum, some with a higher and some with a lower degree.

Salvation of the country from Westernization

And if we really want our country to be saved, before anything else we should get rid of this Westernization. You just notice! Even our streets names are “Roosevelt” and “Churchill”, etc.! Why so? It is because we do not maintain for ourselves the personality we deserve. Or else, it should be a European personality. Our country should be decorated with their names! This is the problem. They did this with our minds and bred us up in such a way that if we want to become something; if we write a book, there first should be mentioned the name of one of them so that our book will find a market! When our youth want to buy a book, if it carried the names of Marx or Lenin, there is a good market for it. But if its author is Shaykh ar-Rais, there is none. Not because they could not understand even a page of Shaykh ar-Rais’s books! But (the lack of market) is because he is an Easterner. That’s why.... They haven’t even heard the name of Mulla Sadra. They haven’t heard the name of any of our mullahs, but know all of their bigwigs’ names. They do not know what our books are all about, yet they call themselves scholars of Islam! “We are scholars of Islam,” they claim. They do not even know what Islam is let alone being scholars of Islam! They talk about two wars of Islam—two or three wars that had happened (in Islam)! But what they do not know is that Islam is not for war. Is Islamic culture about war? They are unaware of Islam’s culture. And even when they try to know Islam, they do this through what Europeans have said about Islam. They cite the Western sayings. Such-and-such a Western scholar of Islam! That Islam that the Westerners introduce for us! This happens because we have lost ourselves vis-à-vis the West; i.e. the East has lost itself. The East cannot be independent unless it comes out of this self-alienation, and unless it finds its own essence.

The way of attaining independence: freedom from self-defeatism

The military independence is an issue; mental independence; spiritual independence. The mind of the human being should be of his own. It should not contain the West so that anything it wants to say will be, “West, such and such has said it. Such and such a philosopher have said it; such and such a person have said it.” Unless the Easterners have regained the prestige they

once had—they once were the Mecca of all. At a time when they (the Westerners) were barbarians, the Easterners were the Mecca—unless the Easterners have found their essence back and become Eastern entities and know themselves, they could not be independent. So much as you try, the university cannot be independent unless it puts its Western mind away and has found itself an Eastern mind. What they always say is this: People should go from here to Europe in multitudes for pursuing an education. And if they do not go to Europe, they would not admit them here. The question is this that the nation has turned as such! The people have also turned as such; the government also has turned as such. All are like that. They all have turned as such: unless one goes for some time—let's suppose to France, even though they go there but do not have a job. Most of those who do go there engage in a job other than their own. They will cursorily give them a diploma because they do not want to send a learned person to this country, but they just want to send someone with a diploma in their hand. Actually the plan is for those who go there and get a diploma, a colonial diploma. It is their decision to somehow certify these individuals, otherwise, they will not grant a diploma to their own people that easily. They treat us differently; they give us a diploma very fast. Why? Because they do not want us to reach a point where we have some knowledge to present. We should always be in need of them and always act as a parasite. Until we have come out of that West-struckness, and have not changed our minds, and do not know ourselves, we could not gain independence. We cannot have anything.

Effort in introducing Islam to the society

Try to introduce Islam to the people. These Islamic societies should try to introduce this good that we have and no one else has; this Quran that we have; this tradition that we have and no one else in the world has. Introduce all this. Take the experts to your place and take advantage of their services and develop this in such a way that Iran will at a time become the Islamic Society of Iran, do not suffice with only an Islamic society in the Air Force or one in the Ground Forces; think of an all-faceted Islamic society.

May Almighty God grant all of you success, God willing. May you be successful, and may we and you all be among the servants of Islam, God willing, with pure intention and divine purpose, God willing.

Decree

Date: September 2, 1979 [Shahrivar 11, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the religious judge of the Revolutionary Courts of Mahallat and its vicinities

Addressee: Taha Muqaddasi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 10, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Aqa Taha Muqaddasi—may his graces last:

Your Eminence is hereby appointed as the religious judge in the Islamic Revolutionary Courts of Mahallat township and the adjacent cities in order for you to be present at the Revolutionary Courts and enforce the decree of the sacred religious law as per the amnesty decree dated mid-Shaban 1399 AH. I pray to God, the Exalted, for Your Eminence's success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 2, 1979 [Shahrivar 11, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of the receipt of religious funds

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In His Most Exalted Name

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

Your respected missive and the enclosed check with the amount of one hundred thousand tumans as two blessed Shares were received here. All the previous checks have also been received each time and a receipt has been sent by mail. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the continuance of Your Eminence's success in the way of propagating the sacred religion. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 10, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: September 2, 1979 [Shahrivar 11, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Uniqueness of the Iranian Revolution; the necessity of self-training and safeguarding the movement

Audience: The families of the martyred pilots of Bushehr Base and Messrs. Ali-Akbar Haydari, (the representative of the 6th Chaser Base Pilots); Muhammad Farid, (the representative of Bushehr radar personnel)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Keeping the divine trust

Of course, on the one hand, I am touched for these martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the path of Islam and I extend my condolences to their families and relatives and I pray for the Blessed and Exalted God's mercy for the martyrs, and patience and reward for their families. On the other hand, I take pride in such youth that we have who resemble the youth at the advent of Islam. If you refer to the history of the advent of Islam, you will see what sacrifices they had done and how much they had been in a pinch and in trouble. As an example, you will see how they shared a piece of date by one putting it in his mouth and after just tasting its sweetness, he would then pass it to his friend and things like that, for there wasn't anything in the work with them. They served Islam with utmost courage and power, and left Islam with us as a heritage. We, too, are responsible to protect this great heritage and sacrifice ourselves for it. They who were martyred fulfilled their service, and attained their prosperity as the reward for their service. And it is hoped that we will either be victorious or get martyred in the path of Islam and may Almighty God protect you all. And now all of us—the disciplinary forces or the nation, the women or the brothers—we are all duty-bound to protect this trust that is from God: This trust is Islam and the Quran.

We are heirs to such things as Islam, the Quran, this Islamic country and other Muslim countries, which regretfully were under pressure during many long years, and the plunderers from the West and the East had put them under pressure. We inherited all those plus a certain agitations that always exist after any revolution. These agitations cannot be avoided. There has been no revolution that was not followed by such problems.

The reasons for the uniqueness of the Iranian Revolution

And I should say that Iran's revolution has been a revolution that has had no equal in some aspects: first, all of the left and right wicked forces were against this revolution and had extended their supports. Many of the Muslim governments gave their support. We were empty-handed but they had everything, and—thanks to God—the power of Islam linked all the people together and linked the disciplinary force to the nation. This victory was gained as a result of that despite the will of those who thought it was not possible. One thing that they thought impossible did happen in our favor.

The spiritual transformation of the nation

The spiritual changes that occurred in the nation serve as an example. In my opinion, this spiritual transformation that—thanks to God—has occurred in our society and is developing and I hope we can help everyone to reach his further development; this spiritual transformation is more important than the victory itself, for it is a spiritual victory. The spiritual victory—an aspect that has been achieved—is more important than the military triumph and material triumph. Now I am witnessed to our youth—either those of the disciplinary force or the ordinary youth and Revolutionary Guards and even the traders from bazaar—come to me again and again—just this very day—and wish (to be martyred); they say to me, “You pray for us to become martyred.” This kind of morale, this revolutionary morale that has appeared in the nation, is a divine miracle. A human cannot change a nation as such. There is an invisible hand in the work and I hope that the same invisible hand will grand us the final victory. And I hope for these rotten roots, that are busy on the sidelines, to be suppressed, God willing, and I am sure they will. The country will be purified and it will be yours; you yourselves must protect it.

Friendship with the believers and wrath and harshness toward the infidels

And you seek to protect Islam as you do your country. Also protect yourselves, spiritual protection, that is. In other words, build yourselves up if you want to improve and if you want everything of yours to be Islamic, God willing; and if you want your victories to be similar to the ones of the early Islamic period. Let your accomplishment also build you up in the same way that the soldiers of the early period of Islam did; in addition to their soldierly duty, they performed the formal duties of Islam in their fullest sense. While they were drawing their swords and killed the enemies of Islam, they behaved among themselves in a friendly and brotherly manner. This is

compatible with the command of the Holy Quran, which explains the characteristics of the believers during the early period of Islam who were merciful among themselves: “*They are mercifully among themselves*”.¹ They behave each other with kindness; but when it comes to the infidels, “*They are hard against the disbelievers*.”² When Hadrat Amir faced the army of Muawiyah, who were worse than infidels or the Kharijites who were even worse; he treated them with dire harshness. Even after he noticed that they were not receptive to guidance, he would advise his own army not to be the first to start a war, even if they were right. He said, “Let them start the war” and when they started and even sometimes one or two (of his men) were killed, he would authorize a fight to the end of their suppression. He suppressed the Kharijites in such a way that only a few of them could escape; it was the same Kharijites who later plotted against and martyred Hadrat Amir. Islam treats every walk of life with utmost kindness and utmost mercy. And its mercy is the guidance that wants all strata of world society to gain prosperity; however it reacts to the conspirers with harshness and that should be so. And as for you who are considered the soldiers of Islam and I hope for your names to be listed in the scroll of Imam of the Time (*a*); that should be your case. The pattern should be the one Islam has set: for you to be friends with yourselves and friendly and merciful to all the strata, and contrarily, to be strong, determined and suppressive against the enemy.

The deployment of all forces in protecting the country

May Almighty God, by His will, help all of you and make all of us the servants of Islam, and to grant patience and reward to the bereaved families of all these martyrs, and drench them in His showers of mercy.

[After hearing the statements of one of the present pilots, Imam Khomeini stated:]

“Kindly give all of them my greetings and tell them that today is a day for all of our forces to be deployed to protect the country that we have now laid our hands on and, God willing, has gotten rid of the evil of the insurgents. And I hope the insurgents will not be able to return.”

There’s a matter that is a divine duty for all of us: any person who realizes that his existence is beneficial in a place and he can be of service, should serve. This is a duty that everyone should act upon today. All of us

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

² *Ibid.*

should act according to this duty. We are all duty-bound and obliged to protect this movement now in wherever you feel you can serve. Now, if the gentlemen say that your presence is useful there (in a certain place) and request for you to go there, you should go there. And I hope you will succeed and do your duty—which is the very divine duty—successfully. And I pray for all of you and am a servant to all of you. May Almighty God protect you all.

Memo

Date: ?

Subject: The necessity or lack of necessity of premiership in the Islamic Republican system

“Whether a prime minister is unnecessary in the Islamic Republic and the president is to be considered the head of state as in America or is it necessary as in some of the other republic systems, is a matter to be referred to for consultation and the expediency of each be evaluated.”

“As it seems, the office of the president will do while the position of prime minister will be considered ceremonial,¹ like the position of monarch.”²

¹ The above memo was handwritten by Imam Khomeini as a reminder for a follow up and goes back to the early part of the victory of the Revolution (apparently written at the time of reviewing the constitution).

² It means that in the presence of premiership, the position of the president will naturally be rendered a ceremonial one.

Message

Date: September 3, 1979 [Shahrivar 12, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Revealing the nature of the heads of the splinter groups in Kurdistan and the necessity for the vigilance of the *ulama* and clergymen

Addressees: The *ulama*, clergymen and the Muslim people of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A telegram, bearing the names and signatures of eighteen of congregational prayer leaders, with copies to fifteen officials of Mahabad, was received here today. It was a statement of regret that I, because of ill-intended propaganda against the Kurds and the followers of the Sunni school of thought, have issued an order for general mobilization. I know for sure that the distinguished *ulama* of Mahabad and those of other cities are well aware of the event as it has happened, and it is most obvious that the heads of the insurgents have either forged the signatures of the *ulama* or have forced the *ulama* and the congregational prayer leaders into this. Nevertheless, in spite of that, I deem it necessary to bring to the attention of the distinguished *ulama* of Kurdistan, other Kurdistani brethren and other strata the following: Those treacherous heads, who know that they are defeated and hated by the Iranian nation, are resorting to such groundless means. Since the beginning of the victory of the Revolution up to this very time, we have declared that no such thing is an issue in Islam as Kurds, Turks, Persians, Baluchs, Lors, Turkmen, etc. Islam is for all and the Islamic Republic will do Islamic justice to all the sub-groups. At the same time, those traitors to Iran—Kurdistan in particular—have not abandoned their criminal and treacherous acts; they have responded to peaceful plans by the use of weapons, which they have either plundered, or received from foreign countries. And they have either set on fire our brethren who have been mobilized to protect their own Kurdistani brethren or eradicated them with utmost cruelty and in dismal atrocity. They did not even have a pity on our Kurdistani brethren and on all those who had been dispatched to Kurdistan to help with the *Jihad* for Reconstruction and helping Kurdistan, and executed them. What I have to tell these insurgents is this, “If I had issued an order for general mobilization against the Kurds, why then we did not treat them but in a brotherly way in the cities of Kurdistan—such as Naqdeh, Sanandaj, Paveh and other places—after the purge. And why did our Kurdistani brethren

receive the army, the Revolutionary Guards, and the disciplinary forces with open arms and welcomed them with enthusiasm?! And why did we dispatch a group for reconstruction of the region in order to meet all the needs of our Sunni brethren and provide for their welfare in all possibilities? Why should they think that we consider the Sunni brethren our enemies while time and again we have declared that there is no difference whatsoever between these two schools? We are determined to renovate that region in its best possible way; the preparation for this is under way. Now, are we opposing the Kurds?! Or, are you—who are taking arms and do not pity anyone and anything, the true advocates of the Kurds?!

If we order general mobilization, we do it for supporting the Kurdistan brethren and to help them get rid of the insurgents. God willing, we will soon expel them and their wickedness, and will severely punish those treacherous leaders for their evil acts. We will treat the Kurdish brethren—even those who subscribed to the disbanded Democrat Party—in a brotherly way and with equality if they return to the fold of the nation, and they will all be under the protection of Islam.

May peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 3, 1979 [Shahrivar 12, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The conspiracies of the West against Islam; explanation of the prophets' uprising against the arrogant; the leadership of the clergy

Audience: The family of Martyr Muhammad Qarashahi (the commander of Saqqez brigade) and Mr. Arasteh (the representative of the army's ground forces); women members of the Wali al-Asr Maktab

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The West's effort in self-alienating the Eastern nations

It is important for any nation to diagnose the pains that it suffers as well as their cures and then to follow their treatment. Included are the pains that have come about along the history and especially since the time the Westerners found their ways into the East, and above all, during the past fifty years of that black rule. Unfortunately, many strata of the society take no notice of them. And some are treacherously fueling it. The important thing is that the pain that came about for our nation has now become a disease, alas an almost chronic disease. This is a result of the Westerners' effort in alienating us from ourselves and making us void of anything. They like to let us understand and indeed let us thus understand: "You are naught, and whatever you have is from the West and you have to face toward the West." Take the case of Ataturk—while in Turkey I observed his statue. He had his hand raised this way (gesture). I was told that he had his hand raised toward the West meaning that, "We should become Western in every respect!" One person who was around here (in this country) during and after Rida Shah and was a famous figure, too—I do not wish to mention his name now. First of all, he was a former cleric but was not wearing his turban anymore.¹ Later on, he made his way into the Senate and the like. This person had also said, "Everything we have should be British"! It had been the plan and so was the plot to self-alienate us, empty our head and replace such an empty head with a Western creature. They do it in such a way that when we are going to name a school, we give it a Western name. Our streets have been given Western names; as do with our pharmacies and other institutes. If we want others to hold our entities in respect, we should carry one of those (Western) names!

¹ Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh.

The citations and references used in the books that have been penned during the past half a century are all to what Westerners have said! If they want to include a topic, they conclude by saying that this point has also been said by so-and-so and here will be mentioned the name of a Western philosopher. Both those who write books and us and all other people have become void of us. Instead of an Islamic Eastern being, a Western being has been imposed on us. We are lost and instead of an Eastern mind, there sits a Western mind. Demand for books diminishes unless they cite the Western sources. If books want to be in high demand; if the institutes want to have lots of clients; if the pharmacies want to have lots of customers and attention-getters, they all should carry a Western name. They should cite the Western words in order for people to pay attention to their books thus written. This is a disease in the East and until this disease exists, the East cannot be reformed. Until this disease exists, the East will be considered as a parasite; it will be just a “follower”. The moment one of us gets sick, they will immediately leave for Britain, France, or America.

I recall that during the reign of Muhammad Rida, one of their children’s tonsil needed to be operated on—I do not recall the exact operation—it was tonsils to be operated on—they expressed their willingness to bring a surgeon from abroad. Not that there were no surgeons here and there were no physicians here! Rather, they had lost themselves; they did not know themselves; all they knew was the West. Even at the present time, if someone gets sick, they suggest to take the patient to Britain. The same specialized physician here, whose mind has become a Western mind, says this.

Some days, some time ago, a number of physicians were here and I talked about this very issue. What has happened that—this is the way I put it: “Why did not they allow for physicians to be around in Iran and is it not the reason why they take patients abroad?” One of them said, “No, we do have physicians here. And there are many Iranian physicians abroad and it is they who treat most of the patients who go abroad!” I remarked, “Well, that even makes it worse!” That is because you have found yourselves in a situation where you are not able to know yourselves; you have lost yourselves. There is sitting a Western being instead of you. That is when the Western philosophers, even at the present time, need to learn from the Eastern philosophers. Avicenna’s books were, up to a short time ago, and are even right now, used by the Western physicians. Avicenna’s *Qanun*¹ was being used as a textbook there (Europe). However, this Eastern souvenir had traveled West and the West has used it but we have lost ourselves; we do not

¹ *Qanun fit-Tibb* [Canon of Medicine], authored by Avicenna.

know Avicenna. This is because from the time they found their ways to the Eastern countries—the history of this may go back to around three hundred years ago or so, I am not sure though, but I do know that it has been a long period. They studied everything Eastern. Experts came from abroad; they came from the West and traveled all around Iran and all around the East and did extensive studies. This is in the history; the recent history tells us when these people were traveling by camels through our deserts—those very arid deserts—and did research there. One part of their research was to discover what the East possesses. They wanted to find out if Iran had oil, phosphorous, and everything else, like copper, iron; they wanted to discover these underground resources. They also wanted to find out the ways to exploit these. They were discovering.

Studies and researches of the imperialists in Iran

When I was in Hamedan, an acquaintance of mine who had lived there for a long period of time—what I am narrating could go back to around twenty years ago or more—brought me a one-meter by one-meter sheet. It was a map, a map of Hamedan and the villages, hamlets, and boroughs of Hamedan. When I unfolded it, I noticed many dots scattered in different colors on the map. I asked, “What are these?” He replied, “Foreigners make this map. These dots indicate the places where they can find something, an underground where something can be found there. They have studied everywhere. One of their studies included the recognition of the Eastern resources, including those of Iran. Another type of their studies that they carried out was by means of traveling on convoys and camels, in the absence of today’s modern transportation. They were doing research on different tribal groups of Iran: Bakhtiyaris, Baluchs, Kurds; a group would go to those places and carry out their research. Their studies would include such points as what kind of people these people were and how could they be colonized. Another group would carry their research in the cities to find out what conditions they had.”

The conspiracies of the Westerners to weaken Islam

And the way I understand it, they have concluded from their studies about the people that this Eastern society believes in Islam. And those who prevent their underground resources from being plundered are these very people who believe in Islam. Those foreigners did not fear the other strata that did not have any connection with Islam, for they were a bunch of hollow brains and whom those foreigners did not care about. They feared those who

believed in Islam. But how did those who believed in Islam have acquired that belief? Well, through the clergy. They are the ones who had instilled that belief. Those researchers had also found out that the mullahs were scattered all over the villages and hamlets and everywhere else and they are able to incite them to riot. What should they do in order to prevent this from happening? There were two plans that they wanted to carry out. They carried out a plan during Rida Shah's reign and it was carried out in a very hard way. But when they noticed that it was very difficult for them and they could not succeed through satanic acts, they did two things: One was to belittle Islam before the people. Their mercenaries and their widespread propaganda started writing things such as that Islam belongs to ancient time! And what good is something that belongs to fourteen hundred years ago today? Even today, you might have noticed, they dare not spell out what they want to say, however, they say it even if in one single word. This was one way to cause Islam to fall in disfavor in the eyes of the people. They would say Islam has become old. Now, we are in a new era and nowadays there is a spirit of modernity. Now, we are in a space age and in a space age, Islam is no more relevant!

The conspiracies of the West to weaken the clergy

Another solution that was followed along other ways was to take the clergy out of the public. These clergymen are courtiers. They are Britons! The British themselves injected the people with this idea. The British themselves would tell the people that these (clergymen) are Britons! Their mercenaries also injected the people with the same idea. Well, in the old days, ten or twenty years ago, twenty years ago or a little more, Britain was famous and enjoyed popularity. Then, America outpaced it... Yes, these are courtiers; they are Britons; they have put them there to put the people to sleep! The essence of religion is narcotics; religion resembles narcotics; it puts people to sleep so they can win and do their plundering. The clergymen are British agents! They are here to put people to sleep and keep quiet so that they (the foreigners) could do their plundering. They put the people to sleep. They disown the people of their possessions and the people themselves are asleep and do not take notice of (what is going on).

These two plots were there in order to discredit Islam in the eyes of the public, and make people careless about it. And those who promote Islam—they also fear of them—fear that they would make them decadent, too. When these two powers are taken from the people, the people can no longer do

anything. It can neither have unity nor can it comprehend the depth of the issues.

Reproaching the writers and poets who are in the service of the West

From another viewpoint, their writers who belong to their circles or are even worse than them, exacerbate these matters. I will narrate the purport of a poem by one of their poets. I remember well his poem. It says, “So long as the *akhund* and the “Qajar”¹ exist in this country, to where can the country of Darius take this disgrace! This disgrace, which is the *akhund* existing in this country—where can the country of Darius take this disgrace!” When Rida Shah became victorious, it was the logic of the poets of the time that the existence of clergymen here was a disgrace. How could the country of Darius tolerate such a disgrace, i.e. the existence of the clergymen and that which they say which is Islam? They formed a Majlis during the time of the same person (Rida Shah)—or perhaps toward the end of his reign—where there was a show of the dominance of Islam over Iran when the Arab army came in and dominated and captured Iran. At that time, Arabia was also a part of this territory. There, they took out their handkerchiefs and started to cry! Cry for Islam coming and making Iran Islamic. They shed tears! In a public assembly, they created such a scene where they took out their handkerchiefs and shed tears for Iran because Islam had come to Iran! What was all that about? It was to frighten the people of Islam for coming and creating disturbance. At this very moment that we are sitting here—I was present on the other side—when there came in a scroll, or something like a telex that said, “As per your order, the Iranians raised against the Kurds! Now, it is such for the Democrat Party there as well as the Kurdish gentlemen who are in Mahabad. Since they noticed that Mahabad was leaving their hands and when it was gone, it would be the end of it—and God willing the same thing will happen—as they noticed that that was the end of them. They resorted to this, to a telex, which I just read on the other side. It has opened with my name followed by a great number of newspapers and the like with copies to everyone involved saying, “We the Kurds, the Kurdish nation, which are united with you, what has happened that you have now made all the people and the entire Iran to rise against the Kurds?” But, the entire Iran knows that they rose against the anti-Kurds and not against the Kurds. Although we always claim that the Kurds are our brethren, and in spite of that, they are drawing me to an issue that is as clear as that in the form of a telegram. They sent the telegram to Mr. Bazargan and they also sent a telex. They are

¹ It refers to the agents of the Qajar dynasty.

showing the situation the way they wanted to be. They were the same persons, and they are the same persons who are introducing Islam to the people in such a way that Islam is here to put the people to sleep; Islam is here to put the oppressed people to sleep in order for the strong ones to devour them and for the oppressed not to be able to raise their voice! Oblivious to the fact that history is watching; the Islamic history is not far away; it has said everything about all the faiths. Well, that's the history.

All the prophets came from the oppressed class

As you notice, all the faiths, the heads of them who were the prophets, they were all from the oppressed class. They rose and urged the oppressed class against the powers. Hadrat Ibrahim (Abraham) was there with an axe—his only possession—was coming from a low class and rose against Nimrod of the time and shattered to pieces his idol that was the sign of his aristocracy—an idol was a sign of aristocracy at that time. Hadrat Musa (Moses), a simple shepherd with his only rod from the same oppressed class, raised this class against Pharaoh and his *taghuti* system. He raised the former against the latter; he did not dupe the former so that the latter could deceive (them)! Rather he awakened the former to kill the latter. That is contrary to what our treacherous writers and the worse treacherous foreign writers say that religion is the opium of the masses, and the prophets have come to put the masses to sleep using this opium so that the men of power and *taghuts* would suck dry the duped masses. If you review the history of the prophets, you will find this remark to the contrary. In other words, the *taghuts* had prevailed over the people. But Almighty God raised one person among that very low class, among the same shepherds, among the oppressed class and awakened the oppressed masses that moved in on the *taghuts* and drowned the Pharaoh and did away with him.

The Prophet of Islam's defense of the oppressed

Unlike what was mentioned above, the history of Islam is closer to us. Everyone knows the life of the Noble Prophet. So are his struggles and his battles. It is quite clear against whom he fought. The Noble Prophet came from Holy Mecca and from among the ordinary, low class people. Of course, he was an aristocrat, but not in the sense of being rich; rather in the sense that he was from the noble of his time. He was poor, i.e. he was from a poor class who lived throughout his lifetime in poverty. In spite of that, he accomplished all that. He emerged from such a class in Mecca and the Meccan aristocrats, the capitalists; the leaders of caravans, and the like

opposed him so much so that he had to keep a low profile ever since. He dwelled in a cave and actually he was confined to a cave and was conducting his secret propagation from there. He formed a group to collaborate with him. But since he realized that he lacked the power to challenge his opponents, he made a secret deal with the people of Medina and departed for Medina. At his arrival in Medina, he did not dwell with a rich clan. Rather, he stayed with those very poor people, those very indigent. The Noble Prophet's Mosque, too, did not resemble the present-day modern mosques. The Great Mosque was a very small place the ceiling of which was made of raffia and hence they had put something together which they called a mosque. It had an adobe wall this short only to prevent the animals from entering. Yet, it was in these very mosques that the destiny of Islam was shaped. It was not a (modern) mosque with a dome and an audience hall but a simple place. There were no bureaucratic ceremonies but it was from the same place that they defeated the ancient empires of Byzantine and Iran. Now let their people cry their heart out.

The Noble Prophet was coming from the same low class such that when he arrived in Medina, he had companions who were homeless; they did not have any dwelling whatsoever and were sleeping in the mosques. There was a platform that was called "Companions of the Platform," where some would sleep in there beside each other. That was what their life looked like; you couldn't call it a living. And when they wanted to go to war, every few of them would ride one camel and every few of them would share one sword. This was the situation they had. There was nothing beyond ordinary going on. They were indeed from the same class. Against whom were they fighting? Against whom were the Prophet's wars? Was the Prophet there to dupe this oppressed class so that their opponents could suck them?! Or, had he come to raise this weak and oppressed class of people? The Prophet's wars were all against those very aristocrats, those very owners of those farmlands, and against those very capitalists, and the like, and later on against the sultans and others.

The Prophet's missives to the King of Iran, to the King of Byzantium, to the Coptic King of Egypt, and others, are all well known. He had invited those kings to come forth and become humans, become Muslims; it's not that he had aimed at singing lullaby to them and tucking them to sleep! Now, is it fair to say that one should be opium-addict to recite the Quran?! It is really unfair that the Quran that is found in every Muslim's house, and all open their eyes to this Quran, a Quran whose every page you open or whose every part that you look at, talks about the killings, about the (mass) murders

of the *taghuts* and about raising the oppressed against the hegemonic powers. These iniquitous ones closed their eyes to the Quran that is accessible to everyone. Then they would say that Islam is here to dupe the people; dupe the oppressed and make the hegemonic powers prevail over them! This Quran that talks about killings, talks about the battle of the oppressed against the arrogant, talks, from its beginning to the end, about Pharaoh, and about other people and about the hegemonic powers, who prevailed in those days and instigated the people against them. Again, they would say that the Quran or the Prophet has come to dupe this helpless and poor people as well as the peasants and farmers so that Muhammad Rida would milk them! Here is the Quran and here are the prophets, there they are as large as life.

The *ulama* as the forerunners in the resistance against the arrogant

Let's make an inquiry on those, so-to-speak, "courtier" *ulama*. You are all about my age and should remember. You should all remember this—you are all my age, I know you from the olden days—since the time Rida Khan came to power to this day, how many rising were there? Who did the uprisings? Among other classes: ordinary people, the intellectuals, the writers, and the like, which one of these took part in the anti-government uprisings? Who did the Azerbaijan uprising? The Azerbaijani *ulama*, of course; the late Amirza Sadiq Aqa,¹ the late Angaji,² There were others who were followers. Who did the Isfahan uprising? It was the late Haj Aqa Nurullah,³ of course. You saw the *ulama* of Islam coming here and gathered together; the *ulama* from other cities; an uprising against Rida Khan. Now, who did the Khorasan uprising? It was the *ulama* of Khorasan, of course: The late Yunus,⁴ the late Aqazadeh,⁵ and the like. Later on, Aqa

¹ Mirza Sadiq Tabrizi, the *marji at-taqlid* of the people of Azerbaijan. He undertook the leadership of the struggle of the Azarbaijani *ulama* against Rida Khan. He was then exiled to Qum and lived there for the rest of his life.

² It refers to Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji. Due to his leadership in the movement of the Azerbaijani *ulama* against Rida Khan, he was exiled, first to Sanandaj and later to Qum. He died in Tabriz.

³ Haj Aqa Nurullah: a well-known *mujtahids* Isfahan who marched in front of some 100 of *ulama* of Isfahan and a group of people of Isfahan traveling to Qum in protest to the Rida Khan's anti-Islamic laws and orders. They were called, "Emigrants to Qum." Haj Aqa Nurullah died in a mysterious way. Consequently, the emigrants, who remained leaderless, were scattered.

⁴ Sayyid Yunus Ardebili, a well-known *marji at-taqlid*. He went to Mashhad during the struggle against Rida Khan's despotism in 1353 AH. He was arrested in the event of Gowharshad Mosque and was exiled to Ardebil. He returned to Mashhad in 1361 AH and died there.

⁵ Mirza Muhammad (Aqazadeh) Najafi Khorasani, the son of Akhund Khorasani, who had active participation in many of the struggles against Rida Khan. As it was said before, he was finally murdered by a physician named Ahmadi.

Qummi¹ staged an uprising single-handedly; he went to the shrine of Hadrat Abdul-Azim and we, too, were at the shrine of Hadrat Abdul-Azim at that time. However, these uprisings were defeated by the more powerful (adversaries). They stroke down the uprisings and arrested the *ulama* of Azerbaijan. And it was in one of the Kurdistan cities—it was Saqqiz or Sunqur—where they were exiled. And later—after a long time—they gave permission for the late Amirza Sadiq Aqa to come here, to Qum, where he later died. They also arrested all the *ulama* of Mashhad and took them to Tehran where they were imprisoned. The late Aqazadeh was one of the high-ranking *ulama* of that region. I myself witnessed him having a house in a remote corner of a street. He was sitting there alone while the government officials were watching him. No one could contact him. They were taking him to the court where they were interrogating him. And who was it that confronted them? It was no one but Mudarris. The “courtier” *ulama* they are talking about were nothing but “wall paintings”! Who then did all these uprisings during those fifteen or sixteen years? It was no one but these gentlemen. It was these *akhunds* of the cities and their vicinities. It was them against whom they (the regime) did propaganda. And even at the present time when the government is Islamic, again they do not want the name of *akhund* to be there. Yes, they do not want it, even now! They are so scared of them lest the unlawful profits that they were usurping and the businesses they were expanding here and abroad would fall into the hands of these (mullahs), who when they go to the Council of Experts wherein a budget is allocated for them, they said: “What do we need a budget for? We will use our cloak as a cover sheet to sleep under.” This is what a mullah is saying.

These are the *akhunds* that you claim to be such-and-such. These are the people who, when they went to the Council of Experts and a ten-million budget was allocated to them, objected, saying, “What shall we do with the budget?” They had rented a place for them and provided bed for them, but they said, “What shall we do with the beds? Whenever any of us comes to this assembly, we will wear our cloak over our shoulders and will sleep in this simple place.” But that group does not want this kind of people. That group wants a regime and a situation that enable them to feather their nests. Let them suffer from indigestion so much so that they are lost in their doings! Let them take this country’s capitals abroad; export money, which they are

¹ Aqa Husayn Qummi: one of the combatant *ulama*.

doing right now, anyway, and live in pleasure there. When I was in Paris, one of the things that I heard, and only one word of which, a rarity, has remained in my memory. One of Muhammad Rida's relatives, I do not remember which one, owns a villa abroad, the price of the villa I have forgotten also. But what I do remember is this: They have spent six million dollars on flower plantation there! Can you imagine what does it mean? Six million dollars equals forty two million tumans. Or, perhaps it was five million dollars; one of these two figures, anyway. Apparently five million dollars, yes five million dollars spent on flower plantation in that villa! This is what those people, and the ones around them, want! Right now they have organized the rebellion in Kurdistan and are deluding our Kurdish brethren. They are creating this situation in order to empty your pockets and fill up theirs and build such villas there where they should spend five million dollars or thirty five million tumans on its flower-work. I do not remember the price of the villa itself, but I did remember that (the flower-work). Well, this will repeat itself next year.¹

The West's conspiracy: weakening of Islam and the servants of Islam

At any rate, they aimed at two goals: They initially managed to hollow us. They also seized us from ourselves and deprived us of the two powers that could do something for us. Propaganda, teachings, and everything else were colonized. They made us void of ourselves. They intended to take (the two sources of power) from us but thanks to God they did not succeed. One was the power of Islam, of which they feared. Another was the power of the servants of Islam, which includes the clergymen. They wanted to take away these powers and tried very hard at it and (at one time) did take them away. During Rida Shah's reign, they tried very hard, partly because the people, too, were against the clergymen, and many different classes were against the clergymen. The enemies tried, through talks, through dialogues, but when they realized that they could not do it through force, they resorted to trickery. They used tricks, wicked propaganda, and similar things.

Return to the human identity and values

And—thanks to God—this revolution that came about in Iran, a revolution to which I am very optimistic about, not because it defeated Muhammad Rida—although that in itself was a great part of the accomplishment—and not because it defeated the East and the West, but

¹ One among the audience states: "What Hadrat Ayatullah means by this is that the flowers will wither up and they have to repeat the flower plantation next year!"

because it was a humane revolution. We recognized ourselves. Our ladies recognized themselves. What does that mean? Well, they recognized what they are. The ladies were addressed by propagations, “They want to discredit you ladies; they want to take your prestige away and make you Western.” Cosmetics should come from the West; fashion should come from the West; whenever there is a new fashion, you too, switch to that fashion! All your things were imported from the West. It was the result of propagation and everyone had made it a habit. If something (new) was happening in, let us say, Britain, today everyone would immediately get rid of the existing things and follow the new fashion! Several times for a dress that they wanted to make for Farah¹—I guess it was for the coronation—a number of times the designers flew back and forth and what kind of expenses—I do not recall right now—they spent in order to make just one dress! And then it was funny that it was in one of her statements that, “We have our children wear the hand-me-downs that their siblings have already outgrown!” This was in the papers. This person who has to make three flights on the plane in order to fix the design and pays several thousand and fifty tumans—I do not know the exact amount—which they spent on a dress, for what?! These are the ones who want to deceive you; it is not the clergymen who want to dupe you.

These people fear the clergymen, for the clergymen want to awaken this nation while these people fear wakefulness; they fear an awakened human. What do they have to fear of a duped person? If they would put these people to sleep, they would have clergymen reach the empyrean. If these people were the kind to put the people to sleep, Rida Shah would have promoted the clergymen and he would not have created a situation when a cab driver would not pick them up! Drivers would not pick us up, or perhaps some of us. They would say, one driver said, “I have made a deal with God not to pick up two groups: One is the prostitutes and the other the *akhunds*!”

¹ Farah Diba, the wife of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

Decree

Date: September 4, 1979 [Shahrivar 13, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to the problems of the Fumanat region

Addressee: Fumani Hairi

In His Most Exalted Name

As you indicated, the respected inhabitants are requesting that you attend to the Fumanat regional condition. It is appropriate for you to kindly go to that area and consult the gentlemen and trustworthy people there in attending to the affairs of that place. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 4, 1979 [Shahrivar 13, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 12, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The great spiritual transformation of the nation; the people's sense of cooperation and bravery

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq-Nuri, (The Imam's representative in the Reconstruction *Jihad*); officials of the *Jihad* Central Headquarters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The nation's great spiritual transformation

I have repeatedly said that this movement has brought along some changes, which include spiritual and humane changes, which to me are more important than this victory over the former Shah and the great powers. Within a short time our nation transformed, according to the kind involved, from one state to an opposite one.

One kind of transformation was one that you all witnessed. You had noticed that at one time our nation was in such a state that if a police man would step in the bazaar, the Bazaar of Tehran, which is the largest bazaar in Iran, and he would say, "It is the 4th of Aban² and you must put up a flag." The people would act accordingly; they did not consider it their right to say "No!" A negative response was out of question. They would act indisputably. The same people who dare not to say "No" to a police man, in a matter of a short time, took to the streets and uttered, "We do not want the principle of monarchy!" Such a change is an enormous thing. It's not a trivial matter. An individual, a bazaar merchant, who feared a police man, or when an officer with a number of octagonal stars on his shoulders would show up, everyone shied away from him. The same children, elderly, women, and men took to the streets and said that they did not want the principle of monarchy. This means that they flew in the face of him who had powerfully ruled over the people for 2,500 years and they got ahead, too, and acted accordingly, too, and they won, too. This spiritual transformation was a miraculous transformation and there was absolutely no name to give it. It was nothing but a transformation that was accomplished by the hand of God. In other words, no human being holds that kind of (rhetorical) power to change the

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it is dated Shahrivar 12, 1358 AHS.

² The Shah's birthday anniversary.

morale of a whole population, i.e. a population of thirty-five million people, with different opinions, with different spirits, from small kids to the old patients confined at hospitals. No human being is able to do this. This was a task and a transformation that God, the Blessed and Exalted, had willed.

All the strata's inclination to reconstruct the country

Another change that is more delicate is the human development that came about. Perhaps there was no such a thing in the olden days for the physicians and the educated people and, may I add, those softies, as the saying goes, get the idea of choosing to reap the harvest! The ladies did not even think of it that at one time they would go to the field, help the farmers out and toil and sweat and fall in love with wheat and barley and the land. This was a delicate change that came about in Iran. Even a group of the Iranians residing in Europe came over here; a group also came to me from Europe. They said, "We are here for this reconstruction need." I told them, "Of course, you are not able to go and work as actively as our farmers, but you should know this: For you to go from Europe to our farming society will multiply the power of our farmers. And now I would like to bring to your attention that they are trained and experienced and you won't have the necessary power to work as hard as they do. But this idea exists that when the farmer noticed that a physician, an educated person, an engineer, and the like, go there; respected women, respected men go there to help them out, those farmers' power increases several fold. This act of yours gives them power and yours is an honorable act. And this change, too, is a delicate one, which could not have happened but by the hand of God; no one else could have created those spiritual changes, those humane changes, and that kind of cooperation that have now come about in Iran. A friend of mine was saying that during the days of demonstrations—at the time of the *taghut*—and the demonstrations were intense then—he narrated two stories for me. I remember to whom one of them belongs and someone else has narrated the other one. That friend of mine narrated, "I was passing through those very streets where the demonstrators were passing and people were demonstrating. I saw an old woman who was holding a dish in her hand and there was some money in that dish and she was holding some in her hand. It occurred to me that she might be a beggar and the people will help her. When I approached that highly respected old woman, I heard what she was saying, "Today is a holiday and all the bazaars are closed; and it may be difficult to find coins and some people may need one to use the pay phone. I am holding this so that anyone who needs to make a telephone call may come forth and

take what they need of these.” This is one of those acts that a layman may think to be only a few coins. However, the very act needs a delicacy of the spirit.

Commending the nation’s sense of cooperation and bravery

This is a revolution that God acted upon. And these spiritual revolutions and this sense of cooperation that has been found in our nation and the kind of bravery that has been found in our nation and the kind of interest that I feel, even on this very day, every day I face such a thing. Yesterday, a group of ladies, respected ones, were here. One of them insisted, “You let us go to Kurdistan.” I responded by saying, “Why you? No. The problem of Kurdistan will be solved; you do not need to go.” One of them came forward and another was following me, “Could you please pray that I become martyred?” I said, “I will pray that you receive the spiritual reward of becoming martyred and be of service.” This is the kind of changes that has come about. In the early period of Islam, what made them advance was this very spirit of yearning for martyrdom. In a matter of half a century, they conquered almost all the populous places of the world, the civilized world of the time. Quantitatively, they were a just number of Hijazis. But they neither knew about the war techniques in its modern sense that Rome and Iran would know, nor did they have the implements of warfare. As far as implements are concerned, they had none; i.e., every few of them had one camel; and every few of them had one sword, which they had tied to a rope made of raffia. But there, the spirit was a great divine one. It was such a spirit that when—in one of the battles—an adversary shoved the lance in one’s belly, and the recipient realized that he was about to die, he pushed himself while he had the lance in him and shoved a lance into that adversary’s belly and killed him while he himself also died! That was the kind of morale and that was the kind of spirit that prevailed. In another development, when they were approaching the huge fortresses, they would have their men killed. To climb up, they would hold their lances upright underneath a shield and a soldier would sit on the spear and start ascending until he would open the door—even if he was killed—and surely he was. This morale is the kind of morale that is a divine one. Thanks to God, it has found its way in our nation as well. [One among the audience: “By His will, God will grant you a long life of a thousand years.”] And may the nation live a blessed life, by the will of God, although one thousand years is not a possibility, but shall we say the blessings of one thousand years. God willing, our nation’s lives would be blessed in the same way that it overthrew the 2,500-year monarchy. A thousand-year life was

indeed needed to overthrow a 2,500-year monarchy. That was the blessings, the blessings that God, the Blessed and Exalted, granted you faithful Muslim nation—and I just see my delight in these changes.

The nation's unity of expression: a divine gift

In other words, when I was in Paris, and was hearing about some of these issues—of course, I heard about all of them there, or should I say most of them—some of these issues that I was hearing about in Paris included one about someone who had traveled to and visited our villages, Kamareh villages, Khomein villages and Japalaq villages. He told me, “When I traveled through those villages, one morning in the thick of the demonstration and similar activities...” He continued, “When morning arrived, the *akhund* of the village in every village would move ahead of the demonstrators who followed him.” He added, “In such-and-such a place, in the Qaleh-ye Hasan Falak ¹—I had been in Qaleh-ye Hasan Falak, I know where it is; it is situated next to a mountain that is called Alvand Mountain. This is said to be another Alvand, not the Alvand of Hamedan; it is the Alvand in Khomein. There is a fortress whose size is several times that of these buildings; there may live ten to twenty households—yes, even there, I noticed that the issues that the people raised were the same things that were talked about in Tehran! Right there, it occurred to me that those issues could not simply be human issues; the issues are divine ones and this will move forward.” When an issue is drawing attention from the metaphysics and the invisible, this is a sign that this nation has Invisible Supporter and it was due to this Invisible Supporter that you triumphed. Otherwise, there were no tools available to you in order to make you win. Forget some four rifles that our policemen now possess; those are war spoils, something they did not own before. What did our nation have was “*Allahu akbar*” and their faith. It was the cry of “*Allahu akbar*” and faith that made them move forward.

O brethren! Preserve this faith. O sisters! Preserve this faith. Until the time this divine stronghold, this divine solid fortress exists, you are victorious. Neither the Democrats nor the communists could attack you. All of them will be buried, provided that you preserve this God-given spirit and this unity of expression that has been given to you by the Unseen and the thing that has been left in your trust. At present, this is something that we have been trusted with and we have to preserve it, and attentions should be directed (to the fact) that we do this for the sake of God and this happened repeatedly in Paris when sympathetic people, people who were among our

¹ Qaleh-ye Hasan Falak: a fortress near Khomein with a population of few households.

supporters, would repeatedly tell me that it would not work. Now that it does not work, something should be done about it for it to move forward gradually and for us, so to speak, advance step by step. There were some people who would send messages to me to advance step by step. Let's go ahead with the election first and after the election, let's have an appropriate Majlis, and after an appropriate Majlis, etc. little by little. I told some of them that this movement that has now come about and people from young to old are now shouting in the streets, if this movement is extinguished, do you think you will be able to bring about such a movement again? No! Then you agree that it is not possible. You can give a promise and also come to believe that this Mr. "Aryamehr" will act upon his promise; and when he comes he would say, "O nation, distinguished *ulama*, grand *maraji*! I made a mistake!" Do not you presume that this person who addressed the "distinguished *ulama*," is turned to that same kind of bully and break your pens? They failed to provide a response. I then said that now that we have brought together this movement and we suspect very well that should they regain their power, they will do away with all of us, so it is time for us to act.

Acting upon the divine duty

The principal issue is that we have a duty; we are duty-bound, God has set a duty for us to challenge these enemies of Islam and the enemies of the nation of Islam. Either we win or we do not. If we won, then thanks to God, we have both acted upon our duties and have won. And should we die, or get killed; we have acted upon our duties. Why should we fear? We do not believe in defeat; there is no defeat for us, for one of these ways is open to us. Either we win and become victorious, too, or we do not advance in which case we have saved face near God. The God's saints were facing defeats, too. Hadrat Amir was defeated in his battle with Muawiyah; there is nothing to hide; he was defeated, simple and clear. Imam Husayn (*a*), too, was defeated in his battle with Yazid and was killed. But in reality, they were victorious. Theirs was an outwardly defeat but a true victory. If we intend to work for God, even if we are defeated, we have acted upon our duty, and in fact victory would also be ours.

Any revolution has so many problems

I am saying this only to have told you that difficulties are abundant. Not for you; not for your class; but for all classes. You inherit a country that has been subjected to injustice for 2,500 years. That is something that you yourselves witnessed. You perhaps remember ten or fifteen years of it. I

remember from the beginning of Rida Khan's coming to power up to the present time. None of you remember that. From the time he arrived in Tehran and staged the coup d'état up to this very moment that I am sitting here, I remember everything. In other words, I was a witness to them. And surely you remember Muhammad Rida's era and the destructions that he did more than those by his father and anyone else. These father and son both were treacherous; however, the latter's treasons surpassed the former. The latter did more destructions than the former. We inherited such a ruined country, from every point of view: Its economy was ruined in a way. Confusion is one of the consequences of any revolution; there is no objection to that. When a regime undergoes changes, let alone a regime like that and let alone at the hands of the people and not by a military man that has an order for his doing; it is not a coup d'état. No, that was not a coup d'état. They wanted to stage a coup d'état. Of course, you know very well that in those last nights, when we had arrived in Tehran, the plan was for staging a coup d'état and a mass murder. But, God did not will it. Even those who wanted to stage the coup d'état changed course! God made them change course. You should not underestimate this. Look at Afghanistan right now. The people in Afghanistan have been entangled for several months now—may Almighty God save them, God willing—that is because, their adversary is a notorious being, and is pounding them from the air, and by the use of cannons and tanks. One of the dispensations that God, the Blessed and Exalted, granted to you and to us, is that He created fear in their hearts that made them not resort to those weapons; God made them change their minds. It did not get to the point for them to deploy the fighter-bombers over Tehran and do whatever they were supposed to do. Some of them that were ordered to do so did not obey their orders. Had they use their disciplinary forces, and had clamped down on Tehran, you would not have existed in order to be in this gathering right now; nor was there any trace of us. This was one of Almighty God's miracles to change their minds from acting, no matter if it occurred to one of them but he did not act. Or, if there was an order but the party to the action was scared to take action. Or, the party to the action did not act for the sake of God. This, too, was one of the things that happened in this movement and it was a question of metaphysics; it did not become another Afghanistan.

Hope and courage in confronting the problems

In any case, I just wanted to bring to your attention and ask you to be brave. Be steadfast in confronting the difficulties that arise. Never get disappointed if the government is not able to do its job (at the desired

pace)—although I testify that the government is working. Indeed, they have accomplished a lot; I have expressed this to the cabinet: I have told this to Mr. Bazargan and others that they are doing their job but they do not exhibit what they do. However, others do not accomplish anything but they brag that they do. Others do not work, but they cry out loud that they do! The members of this government have accomplished a lot, but they do not exhibit what they do. For several times now I have told them, “Sir, do exhibit this good job you are doing, like the purge work; exhibit that house building that you have done; do exhibit to the people this relief work that is being carried out and you are carrying out everywhere; talk about all the things that have been done so far.” During all this time, as a count by Mr. Hashimi,¹ may God, the Exalted, keep him in good health—gave a count at the Faydiyyah Madrasah, about fifty or thirty—he counted one by one a number of cases of things that have been accomplished so far. Well, this should appear in the newspapers; they should talk about it and let it be known so that the people won’t come and inquire from us that what happened to all this funds that people deposited in “100”;² did you embezzle the fund or did you put it to use? Do not allow the public to say, “Well, the funds people deposited in the “100”, have been spent all, and there is need for more funds.” But they do not exhibit that. They have accomplished a lot, but there are so many difficulties that could not be corrected in a short period of time. A chaotic country cannot be reformed in a short period of time. This needs perseverance; no disappointment should be present. In the issue of Kurdistan, some of the respected gentlemen and some of the heads contacted me in dismay—even in these last days—stating that if we did not enter negotiations with them (people of the old regime), this-and-that will happen; it will be out of hand. I told that party, “You are wrong; let the thing be done.” My point is that you should never let disappointment enter your hearts. Disappointment is among the army of Satan, whereas hope is among the army of God. Always be hopeful. God and Islam back you. What has he who has Islam as his backer to fear of? A mere hint and everything will be done with. Rely on God, the Blessed and Exalted; rely on the Quran and Islam and move forward. For instance, if someone is lukewarm in dealing with you or does not cooperate with you, it is not an important thing. God is with you, even if he treats you coldly. Or, he would not cooperate with you a bit or he would not console you.

¹ It refers to Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani.

² Account No. 100 of the Imam for helping housing and house-building.

In the way of truth, do not fear

When you take action on a thing for the sake of God, you should not fear anything. Hadrat Ali ibn al-Husayn (*a*), in the midst of what was happening and what was going on, considering the fact that all are predestined to be killed, it has been narrated by the people of the pulpit that someone asked the Imam (*a*): “Are we not the people of truth?!” The Imam answered, “Yes.” Then he asked: “Then why should we fear death: Then, at this time we do not fear death?”¹ When we are the truth, we are the truth. There is nothing wrong with us being the truth; we are the people of the truth; we are opposing falsehood.

Falsehood is the oppressive monarchical regime. And you committed Muslims in contrast to such a regime and in contrast to his supporting groups, which were the superpowers and other powers, you are the truth. When you are the truth, why should you fear such-and-such a person who does not agree with you? Well, when I am the truth, I act according to my duty; whether you agree with me or oppose me. And regardless of you putting a spoke in my wheel, I will act according to what I am supposed to. When I accomplished my duty, there are two things that I win: One is the heavenly reward and the other, fulfilling the objective. Even if I do not fulfill the objective, the heavenly reward remains in its place; there is no defeat. There is no such a thing as defeat; you people will not be defeated, God willing; and you will move ahead. And, God willing, all the difficulties will end.

Of course, as for what that gentleman and others had said, I will talk to those gentlemen when they are here this afternoon.

I hope you will all be successful and victorious, and all be counted among the army of the Imam of the Time (*a*) and your names are listed in his scroll.

¹ “Then at this time we do not fear death.” Ibn Shahr Ashub, *Al-Manaqib*, vol. 4, p. 95; *Tarikh at-Tabari* [The History of at-Tabari], vol. 5, p. 408.

Telegram

Date: ?

Subject: Greetings and prayer for recovery

Addressee: Bahauddin Mahallati

In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah Mahallati—may his blessings last:

I do hereby offer my greetings and salutations, and pray for your full recovery. I hope you enjoy good health. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 4, 1979 [Shahrivar 13, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Islamic Republic's effort for renovation and construction of the deprived areas

Audience: The clergymen of Turkman-Sahra¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

One of the blessings of this movement is the getting together of the *ulama* of this and that vicinity—the Shiah and Sunni *ulama* under one roof however small it be—in order to let their eminences hear the problems we have—and the opposite of which being disseminated.

As you might have heard, a telegram signed by eighteen prayer leaders of Mahabad, or Mahabad and its vicinities with copies to fifteen officials was received here yesterday. It pointed out to the concern of the people of Kurdistan, who had indicated, “We, the people of Kurdistan shared this movement and toiled for it. And now some individuals have confused your mind and made you cynical about the people of Kurdistan; they mobilized you and all Iranians against Kurdistan!” Well, I do know that the *ulama* of that area would not say such a thing. As the matter stands, either they have put down the names of the prayer leaders without their own knowledge or they have been approached and were coerced by the force of bayonets to sign the telegram which they could not refuse.

We are anxious to know what issues have the *ulama* of Kurdistan and the people of Kurdistan as well as those of other cities' Sunni *ulama*, whom we recognize as our brethren, have noticed within the past five or six months that the Islamic Republic exists. Has there been any action taken against the interests of Kurdistan, Baluchistan, Sistan, and other places? Or, have the people of Kurdistan and those of Baluchistan been discriminated in favor of the people of Tehran? The problem with you and other social strata of the country is that each observes only their own community surroundings and is familiar with their own difficulties and perhaps they are under the impression that the situation is different in other places.

¹ Messrs. Ibrahim Shahrudi, Qurban Akhund Purani, Shir-Muhammad Akhund Shikari, Sharif Muhammad Akhund Yolmeh, Khaliq Verdi Akhund-Dordizadeh, Anaqelich Akhund Qezelcheh, and Azad Qelich Akhund Aq.

Widespread problems in the country

During the time that I have been here, there have been various groups coming here from different areas. There have been groups coming from Kurdistan, from Bakhtiyari, and from Qashqai; there have been groups coming here from all those places and each claiming that no others have been the subjects of oppression as they have. And no others are as backward as they are. “We have neither (potable) water, asphalt, electricity, nor anything else.” And I told them, “You gentlemen only notice your own surroundings and you better go and observe other places. And see for yourselves that they lack everything as you do.” They all lack everything. In fact, it had been decided for you not to have anything. I do not urge you to travel a great distance and observe the faraway tribes. No, I tell you. Just go to Tehran and see the slums around Tehran—while I was in Najaf, someone wrote a missive to me wherein he had listed the names of the slums. As I recall, there were about 30 of such slums in Tehran—they have neither (potable) water, electricity, asphalt, nor any dwellings. Yes, not even a dwelling! If you watch TV—I watched a couple of times the TV programs that showed such a scene—they were showing seven, eight, or ten old and young were literally coming out of a hole, what some call a “dwelling!” There you would see literally a hole and a bunch of young and old people. And I was told that in that place, if a woman who was the mother of those kids wanted to fetch some water for those kids, she had to take a water jar and climb some fifty odd steps from that pit to reach a water faucet and fill the water jar and travel back. Just imagine a scene like that in the wintertime! So, you should not harbor the thought that it is only your surroundings that are destroyed. The destruction is everywhere and that is what we have inherited. In the Islamic Republic they are trying to build up. However, the devastation is so extensive that makes it difficult to build up very soon!

The attentions paid by the government to the deprived regions

Right now a four-hundred-and-fifty-million-tumans budget has been approved for Kurdistan and a delegation is due to depart to that province. Also an equivalent of one-day income from the oil amounting to four hundred million—or perhaps four hundred and fifty million each has been allocated to every existing province such as Baluchistan, Sistan, and suchlike for the purpose of repair works. This will include the establishment of schools, fixing of lands, erecting of houses, activating agriculture, all of these are the issues that they (the authorities) have in mind. It is not that they are heedless; they are thinking about it. But again the Islamic Republic is now a

five-month old infant or perhaps six. Calling to mind 2,500-year devastation to start with and add to that the recent fifty odd years that we all witnessed. Of course, by “all,” I mean those of you who are of my age. Otherwise, you gentlemen would only remember the time of the son; only a few of you will remember the time of the father. To talk about destruction all of whom had united to pillage and steal and keep this nation backward and keep the culture backward and, what more can I say? To ruin the economy and keep the people unhappy, etc., etc. But, of course, they made much ado! They kept saying, “We did this, we did that; we will do this! We will make such-and-such a country. We will have a “great civilization” in the making.

The nation must be kept informed of the government’s services

I have told the Prime Minister several times—when they came over here with other ministers—“Gentlemen, you are accomplishing things but you do not talk about what you are doing; you do not advertise whereas others do nothing but advertise a lot! This cabinet is working but it is not advertising. They also do not talk about what they are planning to do; they do not say what they are about to do. For instance, it was only yesterday that the Prime Minister mentioned about the ratification of the one-day income of the oil, amounting to approximately four hundred million or four hundred and fifty million tumans. He mentioned it just now. It is not that they do not work, they do, they are busy, they all are busy and they do it with good will, too. However, there is such a confusion in the affairs that prevents them from doing their job. And then these Democrats¹ fabricated this paper; they fabricated that telegram. They had either forged the names of those prayer leaders or had compelled the prayer leaders to sign. And, surely they themselves will later nullify their own doing, God willing.

Why did we mobilize those people—for example, the (Revolutionary) Guards, the army, and the gendarmerie—to that place? Did we mobilize them to suppress the Kurds? We mobilized them to suppress those who had embarked on suppressing the Kurds? Had we mobilized those forces to suppress the Kurds, and then they should have suppressed those Kurds that were residing there! But how come those Kurds welcomed these forces with open arms? Both sides thanked each other for their mutual social intercourse. It was only last night when the radio had a show about Mr. Chamran² complimenting him for his kind behavior with those people. Well, this is the

¹ The Democrat Party of Kurdistan.

² Mr. Mustafa Chamran at that time assumed the responsibility of purging Kurdistan of the rebels and conspirators.

army of Islam and the army of Islam does not treat the people badly. They misbehave who intend to steal and pocket money for themselves and for their masters. Those are these parties and their heads that are in for such a thing. They were engaged in destruction and we dispatched delegates to stop their ruining things and to repair what they ruined. They are now crying out loud, "What did you do in Kurdistan where Shiah and Sunni (are now well behaved)!"

Islam, the religion of brotherhood and equality

Putting the Shiah vis-à-vis the Sunni has no place in Islam; being a Kurd or a Fars is of no relevance. In Islam, all people are brethren. At this very moment that we are sitting here together we are all brothers. Are you our enemies or are we your enemies?! Neither is true. Islam is for brotherhood, for equality. Thus, if you see that there has been less work done, it is because of the fact that there are lots of works to be done. In other places, too, there has been little work done.

There are lots of works and there are lots of problems. There are plans for all these: both for your surroundings and for the vicinities of Kurdistan as well as Baluchistan and other places. There are plans and they have been approved, too, and by the will of God they will be acted upon only if these mischief-makers will give us a chance. Well, work has to be done in a peaceful atmosphere in order to be able to do something in Kurdistan. When they confuse the atmosphere the way they do; when they pour out and destroy a hospital and set the hospital on fire and decapitate the wounded, they killed so many people; they put so many people through hardship. Well, how could one perform under such condition? But when we have gotten rid of them and their mischief-makings, the works will begin by the will of God. And, by the will of God everything will be carried out as per the wish of you prayer leaders.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, September 5, 1979 [Shahrivar 14, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The divine dispensations in the victory of the Iranian nation

Audience: The personnel of Shemiranat committee accompanied with Messrs. Imam Jamarani, Mahdi Karrubi, Mahdi Shahabadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The invincibility of the army of Islam

I do not like to keep my dear friends, who are sweating under sunshine, waiting. However, there are a few issues that I would like to bring to your attention and I hope for the gentlemen to be set free very soon and leave for their whereabouts in good health.

I have my hope in this movement—and I already had—I have my hope in this change that you young people are going through and I see your victory in sight with all that humane change, this Islamic change. I see in you the soldiers of the early period of Islam. I am fond of these luminous faces. I salute these luminous and Islamic faces that are prepared to serve Islam. You are serving Islam like the army of Islam in the early period of Islam and you are in favor with the Imam of the Time (*a*). Be happy, for Islam accepts you. Be happy, for you will not face defeat, either in your lifetime or after your martyrdom. Martyrdom has been an honor for the saints and indeed an honor for all of us; it is a salvation. Whether you become victorious in this world or be martyred, you are victorious in the same way that the army of Islam saw themselves victorious, whether they are killed or they kill. Today you are the same soldiers. I give you the glad tidings of victory and I extend my congratulations to you. You are in favor with God, the Exalted.

The Quran: a source of Muslims' refuge

It was only God's favor that made you victorious over the superpowers in spite of your not being well organized and with no military equipment. It was a favor of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and Islam's confirmation and it was a favor from Islam that has made you change and there you are wishing to be martyred. Until you are in this state of mind—and I hope that you always are—you are victorious. God is on your side. We are all under the protection of the Holy Quran. We do and did rise up for the sake of the

Qur'an and we thus will be victorious. You are right and you are opposing falsehood and truth always wins. You rose up for Islam and Islam is your supporter. And he who has the Quran and Islam as his supporters will win.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for good health and victory for all of you. These groups of insurgents, who are at present busy with their vicious acts, are nothing to take into account; they will be buried. May Almighty God make you victorious over the insurgents. I thank all of you and the gentlemen who have come here and to the gentlemen who came over—whether from Mashhad, Shemiran or other places—and send my regards to them all. And I am the servant of everyone.

Speech

Time/Date: Afternoon, September 5, 1979 [Shahrivar 14, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Rising for God's sake and the enforcement of justice

Audience: The Kurdish residents of Qarna village and the personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Hamedan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expression of disgust against oppression and atrocity

First of all, I have something to say respectfully about the word that he uttered. And then: O God! Thou knowest that in this uprising we seek your pleasure and Thou knowest that we are sick and tired of injustice even if it is done to a single person and Thou knowest that we have risen up in order for justice to prevail and Thou knowest that we are sick and tired of, and abhor such oppressions and injustices.

I will review the issues that you gentlemen have written and will afterward take action accordingly.

And you should know that these individuals who committed injustice to you—and were told before this—Mr. Khalkhali² told me last night that “These were insurgents and, God willing, their leaders will be captured and face trial. And I will see to it that justice is done.” And what you should know is that these individuals did not belong to the Islamic system and the Islamic Republic. Those who are related to Islam and to the Islamic Republic could not be murderers and do not commit injustice or tyranny. These belong to the insurgents and must be prosecuted, God willing. And I will take action, God willing, and about the village that you mentioned: Qarna—wherever it is—I will investigate. And I hope, God willing, this will be compensated for. And I will investigate that. These things must be investigated. Yes, by His willing, the Almighty God is their Guardian. And God willing, we hope that all these will be compensated for.

And I should also thank the gentlemen and it is an honor to see our youth, our gentlemen, our *ulama*, wherever they are, rising up with an Islamic spirit, with a humanistic spirit in this movement. And we are faced

¹ In the *Kayhan* newspaper, this speech has been dated as Shahrivar 14, 1358 AHS.

² Mr. Sadiq Khalkhali.

with such figures that are committed to Islam and, as you stated, we all should act in the path of Islam, and martyrdom in the path of Islam is an honor for all of us. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for everyone's good health and glory.

Cooperation for the advancement of the movement

Of course, we have traveled a part of the road but a greater part is still to be traversed. Everyone should help to cover this much that is left and to keep your unity. At present, we look like a passenger who is trapped in the middle of a destination with the highway robbers still around. Up these mountain passes you climb and these robbers are there, too. And we should, with the familiarity we have with the Islamic laws and our alertness along with the growth that has been achieved by our nation which I hope is not lost, travel through these passes and, God willing, reach the exquisite destination, which is Islam, the Islam that is void of injustice even for one person and not a regime or society in which all these things that this gentleman talks about have been practiced.

Our objective: the implementation of Islamic justice and the law

The Islamic justice is what we want to implement in this country. That is, the very Islam that is not willing even for a Jewish woman, who is under the protection of Islam, to be oppressed. The same Islam about which Imam Ali (a) so stated: "It is as much a blame for us to die as to see an enemy army come and take off the anklet rings of a *dhimmi*¹ Jewish woman.² This is the kind of Islam we are talking about: The Islam where there is no oppression whatsoever; the Islam where the highest and lowest subjects are equal before the law. The thing that rules in Islam is the divine law. The Noble Prophet also acted according to the same (law); so did his caliphs. And now it is incumbent upon us to act accordingly. It is the law that rules; a person is no ruler, even if that person is the very person of the Messenger of God or even a caliph of God's Prophet, it is not of any relevance.

The Islamic government is the rule of law

Law exists in Islam; everyone is a follower of the law and that law is the law of God; it is a law that has been founded on the divine justice. It is a law

¹ *Dhimmi*: a non-Muslim citizen of a Muslim state whose rights and obligations are contractually determined. He or she has to pay the *jizyah* tax in exchange for the protection he or she receives and in lieu of the taxes, such as *zakat*, that only Muslims pay.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27.

that is the Quran, the Holy Quran and the tradition of the Noble Messenger. We are all followers of that (law) and we all should act equally according to that law. In the Islamic law, there is no difference between different individuals. In the Islamic law, there is no difference between different groups. Although the Noble Prophet was an Arab himself and has been conversing in Arabic, he states that no Arab has any nobility over any non-Arab and no non-Arab has any nobility over an Arab. Nobility lies in one's virtue. Nobility lies in one's following Islam; whoever follows Islam more seriously, he/she is nobler, and he/she who is less of a follower, is less noble even if he/she is related to the Noble Messenger. The narration has it that Imam as-Sadiq (a),¹ in the last days of his life, gathered around him a number of people from his family and thus stated to them: "Do not come forth on the Day of Judgment and say, for example, that "I was the son of Hadrat as-Sadiq, or I was his brother, or I was his wife. No, none of these will count; what will count are your deeds. You all should face God with your deeds." We all should face God with our deeds. There is no such thing as descent or lineage issue. These do not count in Islam. There is only one law in Islam and that is the divine law. The dominant ruling is one and that is the decree of God; everyone is enforcing the same decree. The Prophet is the enforcer of the decrees of God. The Imam is the enforcer of the decrees of God. The Islamic government is the enforcer of the decrees of God. Nothing emanates from the people themselves; they all enforce the decrees of God, the Blessed and Exalted. And I pray to God to make us successful in fulfilling what we request from the God, the Exalted, and what God has demanded from us, which is the service that we should render to all the components and all the members of the nation. May God give us the opportunity to do that job, God willing.

¹ This incidence has been narrated from the 5th Imam al-Baqir (a). See Deilami, *Alamuddin*, p. 143.

Speech

Date: September 5, 1979 [Shahrivar 14, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of purifying the thoughts from West-struckness

Audience: The physicians, nurses, and technical and administrative workers of Fayd Medical Centers affiliated to the University of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Purifying the thoughts from West-struckness

... However, those who were not *taghuti* and did not want to be were unable to run the activities they wanted. This goes for those who were aligned with these people's course of action as well. After the *taghuti* regime was replaced by an Islamic one, it must be Islamic in every sense, God willing, and all the strata should pay attention to this, too. That means, from the ministries on the top to any other organization—government organizations and other institutions, both national and state-run as well as the strata of the nation itself.

During this 2,500-year period, so to speak, when injustice and lords of tyranny cast their shadows on this nation and were dragging the nation to a different course; during this fifty odd years that father and his son were on a mission to ruin this country and prevent the growth of our human resources and keep us backward in every aspect in order to misuse our natural resources in any way they desired with no one there to oppose them. Now that the regime has changed to an Islamic one, it is upon all the strata to try hard to purify everything that has remained from this *taghuti* regime; and the most important is the purification of the thoughts. I have repeatedly mentioned this and I deem it necessary to repeat this for every new group that arrives here as much as the Western experts who were commissioned with the study of the Eastern condition tried hard and they run propaganda in any manner they could in order to brainwash the people from believing in their Eastern selves and alienate them from their selves and replace their brains with Western ones. You just notice that any institute that is established in Iran, a pharmacy, for example, most of them bear a Western name; our streets: "Roosevelt" Avenue, "Churchill" Avenue, and so forth. The same is true for the hospitals and books that are published; they are either named after one of those listed above or something to that effect. If someone wants their books to enjoy a better market, they choose Western names for their

books. Here you have an author who becomes Western, for he/she has chosen a Western name, for buyers favor that more; the author has turned Western, too, for without that the buyers will shrink! The reason behind all this is that they voided us from the reality that we possessed, and from our own glorious works and replaced them with that of the West. At the present, too, whoever wants to follow his/her studies goes abroad even if the means are available here. Patients go abroad for treatment and they choose to do so even though there are good physicians here.

In my young years, when I contracted eye problem and poor eyesight, I went to Tehran. The famous physician during those days was Amin al-Mulk. A friend of him who was an acquaintance of my family referred me to him. That gentleman said that such-and-such person—he named a person whose name I forget—had gone abroad for his eye treatment. There, they had asked him, “Where are you from?” Iran, he had answered. “But is Amin al-Mulk not there?” he had been questioned. “Yes,” was the answer. “Then why have you come here?” he was asked. And there are now physicians who are capable of treating the usual diseases people contract. However, they themselves have become Western in such a way that they recommend to their patients to go abroad for treatment! These physicians have lost their identity; we all have and this was the result of the criminal conspiracies of the foreigners and their domestic elements. One of the former representatives of both the Majlis and the Senate during Rida Khan’s era—I am reluctant to bring up his name at this time¹—had said, “Everything of ours should be British!” Yes, if we want to become humans, everything we have must be British! The same is true with Ataturk.² There is a standing statute of him in Turkey with his hand raised as such; I was told that he has raised his hand in the direction of the West to imply that everything should become Western. This happens because we are oblivious to what we ourselves have in the East. Avicenna’s book, *Qanun*³ is perhaps used in the West at this very time. But we ourselves are ignorant of him. The Westerners used the medical and philosophical books that were possessed by the East and intend to return our own products to us and we are ignorant of that.

¹ Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh.

² Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), the first president of Turkey and the founder of secular system in Turkey.

³ Avicenna’s famous book in medical sciences.

The revival of the Eastern glories

What is necessary for all of us at the present time is to rid ourselves of this West-struckness. We should make ourselves understand the fact that we are Easterners and we are the people of the East, and should revive the Eastern glorious works. So long as we are entangled with this issue of lack of self-recognition, now and in the past, we will not be able to have an authentic independence. The principal part of independence is mental and spiritual independence. At one time a group of physicians had come here where I was talking about why the universities should be such that we do not have physicians and our patients should go abroad (for treatment). I said then that we do have physicians but despite that patients go abroad and why should it be like that? We ourselves should have (physicians).

The falseness of the Shah's claim of great civilization

It is my recollection from the era of Muhammad Rida that once one of his relatives had tonsillitis and they called in a physician from abroad for that patient. Now, is such a lie becoming of a person who claims that he wants to attain the "Great Civilization"! Should such an action come from a person who is the king of a country, so to speak, has not found someone in Iran to operate tonsillitis and had to call in a physician from abroad to operate on tonsillitis! Even in their dirty work, when they wanted to celebrate the monarchy festival; to celebrate that filthy monarchy, they brought in (tailors) from Europe to design a dress for such-and-such a person. Following three airline flights, they needed again to bring someone to redesign the dress. I recall that it was one hundred and fifty thousand tumans. But yesterday, a lady who was here corrected the figure as being eight hundred ... for that design. That opened the people's eyes to their being oblivious of the affairs; to see for themselves that what this man who is supposedly the head of a country and wants to take the people to what he calls the "great civilization," is into.

Just imagine, someone who calls himself the head of the country to indulge in a thing like that, to call in a physician from abroad for (operating on) his child's or his sister's tonsils. What kinds of damage will this cause a country's prestige! How would it weaken the morale of the people and that of the physicians; what harm would it do to the morale of the surgeons who are able to do the same kind of surgery here? What kind of injury will it cause to the people's thoughts? People would say, "We do not have anything." And now that we do not have anything, our young people would go abroad in multitude. This is not because things do not exist here; they do.

But the problem was that unless they went abroad, they were not given any job. And most of those who did go abroad did not pursue any education; they would go on excursion. But the deal is for this person who has gone on excursion to be given a diploma! I was told that—in America or Britain or elsewhere—they are very tough when it comes to giving a diploma to their own people who follow a course of study there. But when it comes to us, they become very lenient! Why? Well, because they do not want us to become someone. They will issue a paper right away and at their arrival the recipients will cast their paper to the (authorities') teeth! But no one bothers to inquire as to what that person has practically accomplished and what can he/she really do. This is because they (those universities) do not want us to advance; they tried to keep us backward and this is something that has been planned abroad.

The West fears the education of committed humans in the East

They fear humans; they fear a committed human who can confront them. They realized how Mudarris—may God bless him—then a member of the Majlis would not let many things to become a reality. The Russians on passing a bill on an issue that I do not recall now gave an ultimatum. And they threatened by saying, “The Russian army is on its way to Iran or it is arriving from Qazvin route, and you must act on this thing.” It is narrated in a missive by one of these foreigners—who have written on Iran's situation—he has written that what he should do if the Majlis keeps quiet! He writes that among the members there was a clergy whose hands were shaking. He came forward and stood up and said, “Now that we are due to be destroyed, why we should do it with our own hands? Nay, we reject.” After he did this, others gained the courage and rejected it, too. And they (the Russians) did not do a thing; it was all intimidation!

You should know well that all this is to scare others; no action is intended. These two powers are confronting one another: The East and the West and each are scared of the other. They do not act; but they do intimidate. During the time—especially recently—when I was abroad, I witnessed how some of them were intimidating: “Should you decide to go, this is what would happen and this is what we would do.” And I knew that all that was intimidation. They always act that way. They decide to intimidate and frighten; to bring their naval in the Gulf! They do not intend to take action; they only want to frighten us. But we should not be scared. Rather, we should change from this West-orientation to East-orientation. In other words, we should know ourselves and realize what we ourselves are up to;

what should our lives be like, what should our situation be like. I am not suggesting that we should not accept the Western and the Eastern sciences. No, we definitely should accept them, but we should not lose countenance, and underestimate ourselves. Suppose that there are two individuals, one Easterner and one Westerner, who have equal education. We should not lose our countenance that if the former used a Western expression or has provided a diploma in the West; we all focus our attention on him/her to the expense of ignoring the latter. All this happened because during the time they (the Westerners) were busy with their studies, they then transformed us to a completely different entity. Now, in the present revolution that was materialized we managed to curtail these people's hands and it is hoped that it will remain curtailed to the end.

The 2,500-year history of the great scientists

In our education, in our universities, we should be thinking of ways to find ourselves, for we have lost ourselves and need to find ourselves so that we can realize what we were. All the talks in the past revolved around the monarchy! The 2,500-year history, the 2,500-year history of monarchy is what made us fall on evil days. We have 2,500 years history of having great scientists, in particular during the early period of Islam in every field and in every subject. The diseases that they failed to treat in Europe, our physicians treated them with the use of herbal medicines, the properties of which have been discovered by those Europeans only recently and they found them in the book of Avicenna and those of others. But we ourselves are neglectful of them. If a physician uses the traditional way of treatment, he is not approved of at all whereas, I have seen some of those physicians who are not around anymore; they cured some chronic diseases radically.

The necessity of transforming the brains from their Western form

In any case, this is now an issue for us and for you and for our future generation that we should transform from the form that our brains have which is a Western one. And everything that is said revolves around the West! Our women—I do not mean this audience here but those who walk in the promenades! For them also the cosmetics and items for make-up must be made in the West! If something becomes fashionable today and as soon as they have found about it, in magazine, that such and such has done that, that product will immediately fill the shelves of the shops on the whole block! The changes will be effective the very next day and they will discard the old ones. This is because they see their Mecca in the West! They will perform

their prayers facing the West, for that's their Mecca! Such mentality should leave the memories. Those of you who are young, and have the power of thinking on this issue should contemplate and be persistent and think it over so that you can correct the situation.

Participation of all the classes in the reconstruction of the country

And I am glad for the changes that have come about recently, in the last couple of years and in particular during this revolution. There was found in our surroundings a spiritual change. That includes the case of the participation of all classes: the intellectuals, the scientists, the physicians in the *Jihad* for Reconstruction that are unprecedented here. The reason, for instance, the ladies who should be occupied with—let's say—other tasks, take part in the *Jihad* for Reconstruction to go to the wheat field and shear wheat. Although this is something that neither these ladies nor you gentlemen could handle productively, for you do not have the power of doing that, the peasants are able to do that. However, this is something that will give more power to those farm workers. When a farm worker notices that an urban lady is there to work for him that increases his productivity by several folds. Do not underestimate this. When you go there and pick a few clusters of wheat, that peasant who picks an acre of wheat farm in a single day, will work out two acres the next day; he finds the power. He realizes that it is worth it, and will value his labor. He notices that people from other classes, whether students who should be attending schools or those who have to be in their clinics are now there busy with harvesting and work on the wheat field. This will give a spirit to that community. These are the changes that make us hopeful. This kind of spiritual changes that has come about in the people, example of which are plenty, but my time would not allow me to describe the details. These changes will cause us to find a different situation and undergo change, God willing.

May Almighty God make all of you successful in order to separate yourselves from the West and separate your thinking from the West; and also to train the next generation not to have this West-struckness. Note that learning is one thing, and self-alienation is another. No doubt that we should learn everything, but we should not lose ourselves. We should learn things to put them to use for us and not for them! But now we learn for them. What we do is for them! I hope all of you are successful and victorious.

Letter

Date: September 6, 1979 [Shahrivar 15, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgment of receipt of religious funds

Addressee: Jafar Saburi Qummi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi—may his graces last:

Your respected letter is received to which was enclosed a check of eighty-five thousand tumans related to the two blessed Shares. I pray to the Almighty God for the continued success of Your Eminence in the path of propagation of the sacred tenets of religion. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 14, 1399 AH

Statements

Date: September 6, 1979 [Shahrivar 15, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: In praise of the self-sacrificing martyrs in the path of Islam

Audience: The family of Martyr Farrukhniya

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Everyday we are being confronted with the crimes that are being committed by the remnants of the former regime; everyday we must become saddened with these tragedies that are being inflicted upon us and upon our sisters and brothers. But that which gives solace to you and to us is that these things were done for the sake of God; and the thing which is for the cause of God remains secure. Islam has had many such martyrs; and at the dawn of Islam, the Noble Prophet has witnessed the martyrdom of many great persons. And after him, Hadrat Amir (a) was both martyred as well as witnessed the martyrdom of great people. And after him also His Holiness, the Doyen of the Martyrs (a) was martyred as well as was witness to the martyrdom of great martyrs. Islam has always had these self-sacrifices. The Holy Quran which has a right over all of us and to which we are all indebted, deserves that we sacrifice in its path.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to bless that martyr and to grant patience and reward for the mother and spouse and the rest of the family members that he has left behind. May God grant patience to all of you; and may He include this martyr—who is a consequence of your virtuous deeds—in the list of the martyrs that sacrificed their lives in the path of Islam. I express my condolences to you and share in your grief and in these sufferings. And this is a burden that weighs heavily upon our shoulders, but the important thing is that it was in the cause of Islam. I hope that Islam stays secure for all; and may our sacrificing martyrs be positioned in the frontline of the martyrs of the era of the advent of Islam. May God protect all of you and may you all succeed.

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

Statements

Date: September 6, 1979 [Shahrivar 15, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispute is against the pleasure of God and Islam

Audience: A group of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Abbasabad Unit

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

May God protect all of you and may you all succeed. The country belongs to you; it is your own home; and in addition, it is the home of Islam; it is the hope of all; it is an Islamic country; and the duty of protecting this Islamic country—which is your own home—is on you. If all of you, if you the youth do not protect it, then on whom should we place our hope for its protection? We must be hopeful of you. It is my hope that your name will be registered in the list of the fighters of Islam—who fought alongside the Noble Prophet at the dawn of Islam. God willing, may you be victorious; and a person who works for the pleasure of God is in any case victorious. The same reasoning that the army of Islam had at the advent of Islam—which was that if they would kill, they would go to heaven and if they would be killed, then too it would be likewise—must be your reasoning also. God willing, you will be successful and victorious.

May God protect all of you—and you should continue with this movement. You should be united in expression. All the disciplinary forces should be well coordinated. If God forbid, in these days there are differences between the Guard Corps and the military men, the military with the gendarmerie forces, it is against the pleasure of God; it is contrary to the objective of Islam. All of you should be coordinated with one another and move forward together.

And I hope for the ultimate victory, which means the realization of Islam in Iran in the truest sense of the term, and God willing, its spread to the rest of the countries, and the victory of the entire oppressed people over the arrogant oppressors. May God protect all of you; and may you all be successful and triumphant.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, September 6, 1979 [Shahrivar 15, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The rebels and corrupt elements' prevention of the implementation of reforms and development of Kurdistan province and the backward areas

Audience: The clergymen of Paveh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The rebels prevent the realization of the welfare of the people

Whatever lack of attention has been given with regard to these regions of yours and similar places to yours—especially in Kurdistan province—is because of these rebels and corrupt elements that have not given a chance so far to the government for reconstruction and looking into their needs. In order to realize what you just mentioned and which is a fact, the region must be peaceful. In a region where the rebels are constantly igniting fires and are even suppressing the people and are fighting against the defense and disciplinary forces that go there, you should not expect the problems—that pertain to the region and need to be peaceful—to be resolved. You should not be under the impression that the government is not concerned and do not think that the government is not going to take action especially in places that have remained backward from the time of the former regime. It is the rebels that are not giving a chance to anyone; in the name of looking after the interests of the masses, they are not giving anyone a chance to work for the realization of the welfare of the people. They want to cause disturbances in the region so that the government is not able to do anything and again the same old problems and the same backwardness that you all and everyone went through is repeated. God willing, as soon as the evil of these miscreants is eradicated totally, and God willing, it will be, these problems shall be taken care of.

Advice regarding the Sunni *ulama*

I have spoken with the government about all the Sunni *ulama* wherever they are and especially the *ulama* of Kurdistan province. They also have promised that all the strata and especially the *ulama* there are to be taken care of and their affairs looked after. Likewise, the theological school which is a school for the teaching of the Quran is respected and is to be taken care

of. The theological students who should gather there and establish a school are, God willing, to be looked after. But on condition that they are allowed to do their job, the area should be peaceful. These people do not allow the region to be calm. In the name of doing “sacrifice for the masses” and being “democrats” and for instance, in the name of establishing freedom in the world, they prevent the people from being free; they prevent; they do not give a chance to the government to think of solutions for these places. God willing, after they have been eliminated, then a different atmosphere shall prevail.

Looking into the needs of the backward regions and warding off the evil of the rebels

You should not be under the impression that action has been taken in other places while no action has been taken for you. They are busy with planning for all the places. But the former regime caused so much destruction that it cannot be rectified so soon. God willing, especially with regard to your region, for which a substantial budget has been allocated now, and should there be any deficit in the future, again it shall be reallocated and delegations are arriving there to look into the affairs, God willing, in all respects there shall be improvements. The important thing is that you yourselves as well as the *ulama* of Kurdistan and likewise, your youth should also help and offer resistance vis-à-vis the rebels and banish these rebels and drive them away so that an opportunity is given, God willing, for reforming things. Convey my greetings of peace to all your friends and to all the *ulama* there and to all the strata there; and give them the assurance that we are thinking about all and Islam is for everybody; and I hope that we all shall, God willing, live in peace and security under the banner of Islam.

Speech

Time/Date: Afternoon, September 6, 1979 [Shahrivar 15, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The perpetuation of the results of deeds

Audience: Personnel of the Communications Division of the military

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Divine deed incumbent upon Divine objective

This is a fact that a verse (of the Quran) states, “*Those who believe do battle for the cause of Allah; and those who disbelieve do battle for the cause of taghut.*”¹ This verse is a test of self-recognition. Everybody knows what he is doing; he knows what his objectives are; and on the basis of what objectives he is doing something. If the objectives are *taghuti* objectives, the deed becomes a *taghuti* deed; whereas if the objective is a divine objective, the deed becomes a divine deed and the path of understanding it is the person himself. We ourselves know that what we are doing—whether they are fighting or other things—whether our deeds are being done on the basis of *taghuti* objectives; against the interests of the country; against the interests of Islam or they are in the path of Islam; they are in the path of the nation. If they are on the path of Islam, on the path of the Islamic nation, then the one who performs the deed has performed a divine deed and is in the path of God; and if, God forbid, it is against the path of the nation and the Islamic nation and against the path of Islam, then he must know that this path is the path of the *taghut*, and the deed is a *taghuti* deed such that it makes no difference whether it is fighting or other things.

You who are in the communications division and are regarded as the nerve center of the army must know that in such an important task that you are engaged in, whether the objective is, God forbid, a *taghuti* objective or it is a divine objective; and whether in this communications division, God forbid, any treason is taking place, any act of subversion or not and that all the tasks are in accordance with the interests of your country and in the interests of Islam. In this very communications division one can judge oneself whether he is of the disciples of Satan or is the disciple of God—we ourselves can judge our own deeds. Before this statement of our deeds

¹ Surah an-Nisa 4:76.

reaches the Court of God and before it reaches the court of the Imam of the Time (a) we ourselves must take a look at this statement of our deeds, meaning the face of our heart on which all the deeds are sketched is the same manifestation of the statement of our deeds. We ourselves should know what our deeds are. Are we performing what has been delegated to us with sincerity, integrity, in the interest of the nation and in the interest of Islam? Whether it is me who is a cleric and am doing clergy-related work or you that are in the communications division and are engaged in communication work or those that are fighting on the battlefield—all of us must ourselves judge what we are doing.

Perpetuation of the result of the deeds

Brothers! Use the limited lifespan in the path of God. My beloved! Use this limited lifespan that we are living for the sake of God. This life shall be taken away from us; this world does not perpetuate for any person. That which perpetuates for all is the result of those deeds that are performed by us. Every deed that is performed by us has a consequence in the hereafter and we shall witness them. *“Any person who has performed a grain of good deed will witness it.”*¹ We shall see that itself. Every bit of charity that is performed by you; every humanitarian deed that is performed by you; every Islamic deed that is performed by you takes a form in the hereafter—and you shall see them. But if, God forbid, an inhuman deed, a deed that is contrary to the path of Islam; that is contrary to the interest of the Islamic country is performed by us, it takes a proportionate form in the afterworld and we shall see them. Do something so that when you depart from this world, you appear in the Presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted, with dignity. Do not do something that, God forbid, shows you in a different light there from what you were in this world. Your job is an important one; perform this important task well. All our tasks are important; we must all perform our tasks well.

May God by His will endorse you; grant you success in performing virtuous deeds. This task that has been assigned to you is a virtuous deed provided it is performed well. If, God forbid, you perform it badly, it is an impious deed and its consequence shall be yours to see. God willing, may you be successful and be of the guided.

¹ *Surah az-Zalzalah* 99:7.

Speech

Time/Date: 8:30 pm, September 7, 1979 [Shahrivar 16, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance of sustaining the spiritual transformation of the nation

Audience: Forty-one of the rally participants from the provincial city of Gorgan representing the people of that city

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The spectacular occurrence of the Revolution

Whatever I may forget but I shall not forget these sentiments. These sentiments; these youth who have come here all the way on foot from faraway places and have come to meet me.

How I wish that I too could come to see you on foot. But I pray for you and am your servant and the servant of the people of Iran. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the happiness of all of you.

The thing that is a source of amazement for me is not the issue of the defeat of the *taghuti* regime; it is the issue of the defeat of Satan and the transformation of you, the youth, into devoted human beings. In this movement, that which is very important for me is the transformation that has occurred in our nation. In a matter of two or three years, a spiritual transformation, an intellectual transformation has taken place; and these transformations of the mind and spirit are a source of optimism. God willing, may this transformation endure with you; and you move forward with the same transformation; and with the same transformation, God willing, you build Iran and the Islamic Republic in its truest sense—which is the implementation of the commandments of Islam. May God protect all of you; and may you remain for Iran and safeguard this movement. May God protect all of you; and may you safeguard this movement and God safeguards you.

Importance of sustaining the spiritual transformation of the Iranian nation

If you want that Islam be realized; that all the influences and manifestations of polytheism and disbelief be eradicated from this country, then you must safeguard this unity of expression and this movement. It is

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech has been dated Shahrivar 15, 1358 AHS.

important that you show gratitude and safeguard this transformation that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has by His Infinite Power created within you. This is a transformation that God has brought about. All these hardships and sufferings that you bear and embrace with open arms is a spiritual transformation; it is an invisible divine manifestation. Be grateful for it and safeguard it; and God shall grant you victory. As long as this transformation exists, you are victorious. God willing, may you all be successful and may you all be of the blessed.

Message

Date: September 7, 1979 [Shahrivar 16, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: General Amnesty in Kurdistan

Occasion: Shahrivar 17 Anniversary (the Bloody Friday)

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The bitter memory of Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS; the bitter memory of the great days that befell the nation brought in its wake the sweet fruit of the toppling of the palaces of oppression and arrogance, and their replacement with the banner of the Republic of Islamic justice. Is it not that the instructive decree, “Everyday is Ashura and every place is Karbala” must be the motto of the Islamic nation? It is the general uprising on every day and on every land. Ashura is the day of the seekers of justice; of a small band of followers armed with a big faith and love in the face of the palace-residing oppressors and the plundering arrogant; and it is its directive that it should be the motto of life on every day and in every land. The days that passed on us were the repetition of Ashura; and the squares, the streets, the alleys, and the districts in which the blood of the sons of Islam was shed were the repetition of the land of Karbala. This enlightening order is both an obligation as well as glad tidings. An obligation in the sense that the oppressed, despite their small numbers have a duty to rise up—like the Doyen of the Martyrs—against the arrogant oppressors despite their being well-equipped and having enormous satanic power. The glad tidings are that our martyrs are given the same ranking as the martyrs of Karbala; and the glad tidings are that martyrdom is the secret of victory. The 17th of Shahrivar is a repetition of the day of Ashura, and the battlefield of the martyrs is a repetition of Karbala; and our martyrs are a replica of the martyrs of Karbala; and the enemies of our nation are repetition of Yazid and his supporters. Karbala demolished the palace of oppression; and our Karbala caused the collapse of the satanic royal palace. Now is the time when we, who are the inheritors of these

¹ The date of the message in the press which has been issued on the anniversary of Shahrivar 17 based on the hand written and newspapers copy is Shahrivar 16, 1358 AHS and in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* it has been dated Shahrivar 17, 1358 AHS based on the occasion on which the message was issued.

bloods and are the supporters of the youth and the blood-soaked martyrs should not remain indifferent in order to carry their sacrifices to fruition; and with a steely will and clenched fists, should bury the remnants of the oppressive former regime and the mercenary conspirators of the East and the West under the feet of the righteous martyrs.

The disturbance in Kurdistan at the hands of a bunch of ungodly mercenaries who were equipped by the weapons of Godless strangers and was inspired from across the borders, was put down firmly by the valiant defense forces and the Revolutionary Guard Corps; and the leaders of the corrupt who were affiliated to foreigners are hiding in enclaves and have left the misled youth in their wake. As we have repeatedly announced, except for the treacherous leaders and those that have been partners in the treachery and crime, the other factions even the misled that have joined the Democrat Party on the condition that they surrender their arms to the defense authorities shall be treated in a brotherly manner and be granted a general amnesty. This general condition applies to the Kurdish brothers and strata. All come out of your sanctuaries and join your brothers and continue with your normal lives. The Islamic Republic government shall strive to alleviate their problems and repair the damages and mend for the underdevelopments.

My Kurdish brothers! Do not pay attention of the propaganda of the supporters of the Democrat Party. Return to your normal life in the cities. Do not harbor any fear of reprisal on the part of the government or on the part of the miscreants in your heart for the government is your supporter and the miscreants have lost their power and have been buried and will be buried. I pray to God, the Exalted, to bless and to forgive the martyrs of Islam, and to grant patience and reward to their dependents, and happiness and health to the great nation. May peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini.

Decree

Date: September 7, 1979 [Shahrivar 16, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the religious magistrate of the Guild Courts of Tehran and Qum

Addressee: Muhammad Hasan Amrullahi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 15, 1399 AH

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Amrullahi—may his graces last:

Your Eminence is herewith appointed to the position of the religious magistrate of the Guild Courts of Tehran and Qum cities for the purpose of looking into the complaints and grievances of the respected guilds that are referred to the abovementioned courts; and to issue and execute the relevant religious verdict. I pray to God for the success of Your Eminence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume edition), this decree has been dated Shahrivar 17, 1358 AHS, which based on the date of the hand written copy, is not correct.

Permission

Date: September 8, 1979 [Shahrivar 17, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Approving the designation of the Friday congregational prayers leader of Shahrekord

Addressee: The people of Shahrekord

[In His Most Exalted Name

Issued as per request of the respected people of Shahrekord—may they always succeed:

For the purpose of enlightenment, propagation, conducting the Friday and other congregational prayers and taking charge of the financial affairs as per approval of the competent jurist, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Qurban-Ali Durri—may his graces last—is hereby dispatched in that place. The Muslim brothers and sisters are hereby requested to benefit from his presence, and to cooperate with him along the advancement of the Islamic Revolution. In running the affairs of the committee of the said town, he is requested to assist His Eminence Thiqaat al-Islam Aqa Ramadani.

Meanwhile, it is to be reminded that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Durri is also permitted to collect the religious funds, to spend the *zakat* collections and Share of the *Sadat* in the prescribed expenditures, to spend one-half of the Share of the Imam (*a*) in exalting the Word of Islam and necessary expenditures, and to send the other half to the Islamic Seminary in Qum. And the people of the locality are permitted to pay their religious funds to him.

“And in the end, I do advise him and all his brothers to observe piety and to perform actions that are loved by and pleasant to Allah.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon all our faithful brethren.

Husayn-Ali Muntaziri
Shawwal 5, 1399 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Shaykh Qurban-Ali Durri—may his graces last—is hereby endorsed by the undersigned. I pray to God, the Exalted, for his success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 16, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: September 8, 1979 [Shahrivar 17, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The role of radio and television in the society

Audience: Radio broadcasting employees

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic Republic means a system with Islamic contents

I would like for all the strata of the nation, especially the strata that are in the service of the government, all various offices and, above all, the radio and television, to believe that the Republic is Islamic. There is a time when a person votes for the Islamic Republic—that is what you all voted for—and there is a time when a person is not knowledgeable about the contents of the Islamic Republic. This person should be informed that the Islamic Republic means the public votes or the majority votes for the system and that the contents of the Islamic system as well as the Islamic decrees are the agenda of Islam. There is a time when they know this but again they cannot believe that everything should be Islamic.

The objective of the nation of Iran: the domination of Islam

I would like that everyone has come to believe that this movement from its beginning to the end—that took nearly fifteen or sixteen years—so much trouble was endured; so much blood shed; so many young people lost; so many houses ruined; and so many households perished; and especially in the last two years that you all witnessed what happened. We should have come to believe that all this was for Islam. I cannot imagine and neither could any sensible person imagine that someone would say that we gave bloods in order for the price of melon to go down! Or, we lost our young people in order for the price of houses to go down. No wise people will want to lose their youth in order to find an inexpensive house. People want everything for their youth, for their household. That logic is an invalid logic, which some people may have tried to sell; biased people may have put words in others' mouths so that they would say, "We gave blood in order for, say, our agriculture to become such and such." Who would let himself be killed in

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is given as Shahrivar 18, 1358 AHS. However, based on press reports, the date Shahrivar 17, 1358 AHS is correct.

order for his agriculture to become such and such? Why do not they mention the very logic that these people subscribed to during all this time and in particular in the recent time? You all noticed that all the classes of people, including ladies, took to the streets; the youth took to the streets; on the roofs, in the streets and in the alleys and everywhere else they cried out, “We want Islam and we want the Islamic Republic.” It is for the sake of Islam that one can give their lives. Our saints, too, sacrificed their lives for Islam; they did not do it for the sake of economy, for economy is not worth sacrificing lives for. Everyone wants economy for his own sake and it is not right that one would kill himself for the economy to get better. This is not wise. Nor is it wise that they let their youth get killed so that they themselves can buy the bread at a lower price! This is not a wise thing to do. What is wise and was acted upon and we all noticed and you all noticed are to sacrifice everything in the path of Islam. This is what the Prophet of Islam (s) and other saints of Islam did, for there is no loser in this offering of sacrifices.

Materialism the source of decadence

They who talk frequently about economy and consider economy as the infrastructure of everything—because they do not have a proper understanding of what human being are—they imagine that a human is also an animal that all he cares about is food and eating! However, there is a difference between the food and eating of this “animal” and that of other animals; the former eats *chelowkabab*, whereas the latter eats straw. Yet they both are animals. They, who consider economy as the infrastructure of everything, regard human beings as animals. Even animals sacrifice everything for its economy; it is considered the infrastructure of everything to them. Even a donkey considers economy as the infrastructure of everything. They haven’t recognized what human being is all about. We must believe that our country wanted to sacrifice everything it possessed for the sake of Islam. They also come to me now and tell me repeatedly—in groups, individually—saying, “You pray for us to become martyred.” Now, is it wise to think that he is asking, “Let me become martyred so I can gorge myself?” Does he really want to become martyred for his belly? Is it wise that someone would request martyrdom for the sake of his belly? No wise meaning can be drawn from this statement. He demands martyrdom because he has perceived that there is no death in martyrdom; it is an eternal life. Thus, it is for this eternal life that he is demanding martyrdom. The infrastructure is “monotheism”. The infrastructure is the righteous divine opinions and not the belly. They who consider the economy as the

infrastructure, perverted the human being from the limit of humanity to an animal, like other animals.

The necessity of making the country Islamic in all respects

I want for all of us to have come to believe that the Republic is Islamic and that everything of ours should become Islamic. From the previous status, fifty years or fifty odd years of which I witnessed and you did several years of it—of course, none of you could remember fifty years. But you remember several years of it during this tyrannical regime and you noticed that it was all dependence on the West and on America. And you saw all its bitterness, too. Your tastes are still bitter from those things. You remember the imprisonment; now, if you did not go to jail yourselves, but your friends did; your fellow-citizens did—the imprisonments, the tortures, some of these are hard to repeat, but they fried some people in the frying pan; they would set the person on an iron frying pan and then plugged in the electricity and fried them! These bitter experiences exist in our tastes and those of yours.

We should now believe that the *taghuti* system must be abolished. Only the removal of that head and those of upper echelon but for the rest to stay put would not fulfill our intended objective. Everywhere, in all the government ministries, in all the offices, in the bazaar, in everywhere, it should be such that when someone sets foot in there he will notice that he has entered in an Islamic country where everything is Islamic. There is neither the use of short weights nor overcharging or extortion. There are neither lies nor fraud. There exists no red tape and no perverted magazines with pictures and propaganda of the sort, which ruined the lives of our young people. And there are no ugly things that you could have then on the radio and television.

The *taghut*'s objective: preventing the intellectual progress of the youth

The objective of those who had arranged these things were that everywhere you set foot one thing was obvious in that place and bright people would perceive that one thing. That thing was not to let our youth grow, but to train our youth in such a way not to care as to what is happening in their country. If the people were used to those magazines—the kind that you were seeing or had seen, with all those indecent pictures and subjects—and those movie theaters with all their contents, etc., and the then televisions, the then radios, the then schools, the then seaside-goers, and the then brothels. One thing was common in all these things and that was to make our youth indifferent toward their own problems. A young person who gets used to go to a movie theater everyday or every night, and watch that sort of acts,

will not think about who plunders our oil, where does our oil end up, where does our wealth go; these things do not occur to them at all. Theirs is comparable to a heroin addict; a heroin addict does not give it a thought at all as to what is going on with him. The only thing he thinks about is “what time;” the time for his heroin, or the time for his opium. And he who is used to go to those brothels, all his attention and devotion are those very brothels. Now, what is going on in this country and what is happening to it is none of his concern. He is not after it at all.

All these problems that they¹ brought about during the past fifty years—in particular during the time of the latter who was worse than the former—all these problems were being dictated in order to make our youth indifferent. “What do I care what happens to them?” They who go to the seaside and play together there do not give it a thought as to what the problems of the day are, what do the governments do, and what that treacherous man did to us. Such things would not even occur to their minds. There are all these programs of letting the youth and these boys and girls loose so they can do whatever they wish. And these intellectuals, writers, and liberalists—not all but most of them—either are not aware of what will these have in store for this country, or they know it but are mercenaries and that’s all they are after. They scream: O! The freedom is gone. O freedom! Well, what has happened now with the going of (your) freedom? The bars are limited or are closed. The brothels are banned—now whether all of them are being closed up, I do not know for sure—but they would not allow these boys and girls to take to the sea naked and do things together. This is what they see as freedom! And they know that this is the kind of freedom that has been dictated by the West for us but not for them. If that were what was going on, they would not have succeeded in their material advancement. They are dictating this kind of freedom for the colonized countries. These freedoms are what are called imported freedoms. And those unfair and yet supporters of “human rights,” according to them, and these unfair writers as they call them—I do not mean all but some of them—and these unfair liberalists propagate this kind of freedom for us and they emphasize on the kind of freedom that takes our country to its destruction.

The destruction of human resources through Western-style freedom

Any country stays a country because of its youth and human resources. What destroys the human resources will destroy the country. If a country lacks human resources, that country cannot be governed. And the freedom

¹ Rida Khan and his son, Muhammad Rida.

that these gentlemen want is the kind of freedom that will destroy the human resources; it will take that country to where it will not be able to express any objection to whatever they do to it. But not being able to express its objection does not matter for those whose only ambition is to wait for the summer so they can go to the seaside; all their ambition is to wait for the night to come so they can go to their movie theatre, and when would the special acts on the radio-television start broadcasting so they can sit down and watch them. They are unable, in the same way that an opium-addict is not able to leave his brazier and attend to, say, *Jihad* for Reconstruction; or, while at his brazier, he cannot think of what is happening to the country; what happened to our culture; what happened to our economy; he just cannot think (along those lines). And they want it to be just like that. Those who want to plunder us want to do it without any interference. “Why should we invent things? Why should we buy for ourselves headaches,” they would say. “Let’s open up the road to pleasure-seeking on their inexperienced young ones; let them engage in whatever merry-making they desire while we plunder their resources!” That’s right; let our young ones scream and engage in pleasure seeking while they (the plunderers) take away everything we have. This was our situation in the past fifty years. They were adding fuel to the fire and aggravated everything that had a common border with the above-mentioned activities that were ruining our youth and creating a sense of indifference in them. And now we would like for us to believe—either you who work for the radio and television or us seminarians who are in another place—to believe that a corrupted regime whose effort was focused on corrupting our youth and ruining them and making them indifferent about their own fundamental issues. Let us believe that that [regime] has gone so that an Islamic-humane system would come that is serious in all affairs.

The seriousness of Islam in material and spiritual affairs

Islam is not joking around. It’s all serious business. It contains no humor; it contains no absurdities; it contains no pleasures. It’s all serious business. It is serious matters. In both material and spiritual matters, Islam has both aspects. It’s all seriousness. Debauchery and nonsense and all other such things that Islam has prohibited are the same things that those plunderers are adding fuel to. Anything you see that they propagate, [you should know] that those are the things that Islam has prohibited. And those things that Islam has prohibited are the very things that destroy our youth. Islam wants combatants; it wants warriors to confront the infidels; to confront those who

make forays into our country. Islam wants to train *mujahids*.¹ It does not want to raise a pleasure-seeker who, while he is busy with his pleasure seeking, they take all his possessions away to disgrace him. And he keeps his pleasure seeking and dancing around. Islam is serious; it is a serious religion. There is no humor in it; there is no absurdity in it; there is no pleasure in it; there is no game in it.

The games that Islam has permitted are shooting, horse riding, horse racing, and shooting race. Those are also considered warfare, which Islam has permitted. It has even permitted betting on them. However, it is a serious matter; it is training.

They like us to maintain the same old situation: nominally, for us to be called “Islamic Republic,” but adhere to the ways and realities of *taghut* with all those problems associated with them. We should try, in the same way that we voted for the Islamic Republic—and there exists an Islamic Republic in Iran now—to make its contents Islamic. That means that the Radio and Television which you are a part of, be Islamic. There are no absurdities and pleasures and other things of that nature. All these should be reformed. Of course, our youth have been, from the time they opened their eyes and for years in corruption and in the centers, which have been filled with corruption all over and were raised as such, for the plans were for them to be raised up just like that. Now, if we want our youth to return to a sound and normal life, it will take a long time, but I hope they will make a comeback. Thanks to God, the changes that are and have been coming about are encouraging and our youth have changed overnight, in spite of the swift and fast changes...

The extraordinary importance of television among the mass media

Now I am talking about television; a thing that is more crucial than all other mass media. The television is more crucial than all other media and means of propagation, for it is both audio and visual.

In other media, even radio, it is audio alone. In—let’s say—newspapers and other press, eyesight is used. In radio-television, it is audio-visual. It is not like newspaper to say, for example, that its circulation is ten-, twenty-, hundred-thousands or one million, for it distributes countrywide. Nowadays, even when you go to a village, you can see a villager—who may not even be able to provide for his household, has bought himself a radio or a television set. This is true everywhere. In other words, the things that are broadcasted on television are picked up countrywide and wherever beyond the borders

¹ *Mujahid*: one who engages in *jihad*, who struggle for the attainment of God’s purposes on earth.

that the radio-television signals are transmitted. The things that are said on the radio and on the radio-television are not aimed at just one group; they are for the whole population; they do not belong to just one country; they go everywhere and they belong to all the strata.

Television must be an educational and moral medium

This system should be an educational system; it should be a system where all those things that ruined and could ruin our youth are omitted and are replaced by programs that are educational; ethical issues, cultural issues, and other issues that are useful for our youth and will educate them. This system should be considered sensitive and since it is an apparatus that is present everywhere and amidst all classes of the society, and is an all-terrain apparatus. You can see one here right now. If radio-television would broadcast these very words the next day, they will be heard everywhere. It is an all-terrain matter. If it is educational, it is educational for the entire nation. And if, God forbid, it contains perversions, it will pervert the entire nation. We now want our radio-television that were at the service of *taghut* before, to be in the service of God; to be in the service of Islam; and Islam wants all the issues to be taken seriously; the country's problems to be taken seriously; the spiritual issues to be taken seriously. There is seriousness in everything. Even these pastime affairs are somehow dealt with seriously in Islam. Even when a man wants to raise a family, there is seriousness in it; there is a good amount of care involved in getting married; there are certain guidelines to be observed as to what kind of man a woman should choose and what kind of woman should a man choose. There are directives as to what kind of man should a woman choose and what kind of woman should a man choose. And then about the time of the marriage, it should coincide with a blessed time. Then there is the quality of the marriage and the quality of everything to follow a special program. And then what programs there will be initiated for the mother's childbirth time. And then when she wants to nurse the baby, what kind of programs is devised for nursing purposes. And then the nurturing of the baby in the laps of his mother; how is the baby going to be nurtured? And then comes the training of the child under the protection of the father and how it is going to be done. And then how is the child's going to school handled. That is so because the plan of all the monotheistic schools, on the top of which is Islam, is a plan of human upbringing. The aim is to raise human beings. In fact, the Quran came in order to produce a perfect human being. The Quran is the human-maker. It is true with a farmer: If a farmer wants to turn in a good farm product, he should work on the soil and

prepare it in a way that is appropriate to produce. He should observe the conditions of the soil. When should he water; what kind of water should be used; what kind of fertilizer should be applied; when should the soil be furrowed. All this is because he wants to bring the land to fruition. He wants a wheat product. All this that I mentioned and many other things that I do not recall now, or which I want to avoid prolonging my speech, are for the purpose that Islam raises us like that plant that should be raised in that way and later when it comes to an animal to be raised in such a way until it has taken it to the position of a human being.

The training plan of Islam

Economy is not the infrastructure, for economy is not the human's climax. Man does not toil merely to fill his belly or sacrifice his youth in order to fill his belly. These are mere talks. Mankind will exist from here to ad infinitum. Human is no longer mortal. Human will exist endlessly. And Islam's plan is to make man such that he will be sound both in this and the next worlds. The straight path: neither Eastward nor Westward, just a straight path one extreme of which is in this world and the other extreme in the ad infinitum.

We want to our best ability, however meager our strength is, to the extent that we are able to change this country from its *taghuti* state to a monotheist-Islamic one. And this has to be accomplished with the help of all. No single man could do this. Even a whole population could not. Any one who is busy with a task should perform that job perfectly, to make that task divine and bring it out of its *taghuti* state. May Almighty God make everyone successful, God willing.

Speech

Date: September 8, 1979 [Shahrivar 17, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah Madrasah, Qum

Subject: Liberation from West-struckness; explaining the *Ayyam Allah* [Days of Allah]

Occasion: The anniversary of the 17th of Shahrivar

Audience: Different strata of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The objective of the prophetic mission of the prophets

The Holy Quran thus states, “We sent Moses to his community”: “*Bring thy people forth from darkness unto light. And remind them of the days of Allah.*”¹ God, the Blessed and Exalted, gives two missions to Hadrat Musa: One is to lead his people from darkness and the other mission is to remind them of the days of Allah. All prophets have been on prophetic mission to lead people from darkness into light. God, the Blessed and Exalted, states, “*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. Such are rightful owners of the Fire. They will abide therein.*”² Here, God places *taghut* against Him. God, the Blessed and Exalted, also states the occupation of the *taghut*. In the same way that Almighty God is the Guardian of the believers, and leads them from darkness, from all kinds of darkness and obscurity, into light, on the other hand, the guardian of the disbelievers is *taghut* who takes them from light into darkness. These are two adverse matters: Leading from darkness into light, removing of darkness and aberrations and leading the nation to light. On the opposite side, to destroy the light and steering the people to darkness; this is the job of *taghut*; and the former is God’s command.

West-struckness and aberration

All injustices are aberration. All backwardness is aberration. All attentions to the Mother Nature are aberration. All West-struckness is aberration. They whose attention is focused on the West; their attention is

¹ Surah Ibrahim 14:5.

² Surah al-Baqarah 2:257.

focused on the foreigners; their Mecca is the West; they lean to the West. All these are sunk in aberration and their guardian is no one but *taghut*.

The Eastern nations which, due to domestic and foreign propagations and due to the teachings of the domestic and foreign elements are drawn to the West, and consider the West as the Mecca of their hopes, they have lost themselves and do not know themselves; they have lost their own glories and ancient traditions and have lost themselves and have become daunted and have replaced their brain with a Western-made one. All these have *taghut* as their guardian and have entered darkness from light. All the misfortunes of the Eastern nations, including us, and all our difficulties and calamities lie in this very notion of losing ourselves. There is someone else sitting in our seat and that's why everything that exists in Iran is not sold unless it carries a Western name. A pharmacy, too, has to have a Western name. Our textile weaving factories, too, should have a Western emblem at the edge of the fabric and also a Western name. Our streets, too, should have a Western name. Everything else that we possess should have a color of Western nature. Some of the books that are written here by our own authors, our own intellectuals, should carry a Western name on them. Moreover, anything they write, they give a reference to a Western person. The problem is that both they and we are hit by West-struckness. If the books do not carry those names; if worsted cloth does not carry the name "Worsted;"¹ if the pharmacy does not carry that kind of name, a few people will pay attention to them. A book becomes an attention-getter only when it contains, from its title page on, Western expressions and Western words. We ignore our own words and our own phrases; we ignore our own glories in their entirety; we have buried them and use instead others' terminology. All this is because of the deep darkness into which *taghut* led us from light.

The spread of West-struckness by the Pahlavi regime

This very *taghut* of our own time aggravated this West-struckness. They attributed everything to the West. They have taken everything from the West. They took everything that looked praiseworthy to them from the West and injected it to us. Our universities of that era were also Western universities. Our economy was also Western; our culture was Western, too. We have completely forgotten our origin and in lieu of ourselves we planted a Western entity. As soon as a person gets sick, they say, he should go to Britain, or to (other parts of) Europe, this is in spite of the fact that there are physicians here, too. I recall that a relative of the damned deposed Muhammad Rida got

¹ Worsted is a type of woolen cloth, called "Fastuni" in Farsi.

tonsillitis; they brought him someone from Europe who did tonsillitis surgery, whereas tonsillitis surgery is a very easy operation for our doctors here. What does this tell to the world? Well, when someone imposes himself as the head of a country and others (outsiders) have recognized him as the Shah of this country but he does not believe that there are physicians in Iran who can operate on tonsillitis. What harm will this cause the medicine in Iran and to the physicians in Iran? What kind of treason is this to the Iranian nation which will be introduced as a nation throughout whose country there has not even one physician who could do tonsillitis surgery? And thus they bring one from abroad to do the operation. How much will this help the notion of colonization? How much will it help the West? How much will this undermine our nation's dignity? When he did this, the people were looking forward to learn what was this guy doing. They were under the impression that they, too, should send their patients abroad notwithstanding that we have physicians in our own country. I recall that in my young years, my eye vision had gotten worse, as it is also weak now. At that time Amin al-Mulk—may God bless his soul—was a practicing ophthalmologist. I made a trip to Tehran in order to have my eyes treated. An acquaintance of him who was also an acquaintance of my family, recommended that we go and see Amin al-Mulk. He—that gentleman—narrated that such-and-such Dawleh developed weak eye vision. He went to Europe to see an eye doctor there. The Doctor-Professor whom he had seen had asked him where was he from? He responds: “I am from Tehran, Iran.” The doctor had then observed: “Is Amin al-Mulk not there anymore?” The patient's response was: “He might be but we do not know.” As the narrator was saying, the doctor had said something to the effect that “Amin al-Mulk is even a better doctor than we are.” Yes, we have competent physicians but our brains have become Western brains. Even the physicians themselves are like that. When you go to see them, they themselves suggest, “You should now go to Europe.” This is because that's the way of those doctors' brains now. They have lost themselves; they have lost a mind of their own; they have lost their dignity and their nationality—we all have.

Independence through withdrawal from West-struckness

This nation will not gain independence unless it withdraws from West-struckness. So long as the condition of books written by our writers is such that they quote a foreigner's saying and those of a Westerner to justify a topic that is our own; unless you abandon this kind of dependence, you will not achieve independence. Till these ladies—and I do not mean this

audience, for you are the mass, but I mean those ladies—till they are giving it the thought that such-and-such a thing and such-and-such a fashion should be imported from the West, or such-and-such an ornament should come from there; until a thing is being imitated here immediately after it has been discovered there and until such imitations are not gotten rid of, you cannot become a human and you cannot become independent. If you want to become independent, if you want them to recognize you as a nation, and become a (real) nation, you must abandon these imitations of the West. So long as you follow this imitation, you could not wish for independence. So long as all our writers and our authors say is Western, and so long as they do not abandon that mentality, they should not hope for their nation to become independent. So long as these (Western) names are used on the streets, on the pharmacies, on the books, on the cloths and everything else—except the mosques that do not have foreign names! And that's because the clergymen—depending on their type—are not following this trend. Otherwise, everything is to carry a Western name; both those who use these Western names and you who like to read them. Those who like to read these names will not welcome them, unless they are Western ones. Those who are infidels are ungrateful to God's blessings and bite the hand that feeds them, they hide the realities; they are shallow individuals and are in opacity and they have *taghut* as their guardian. And what is *taghut*'s job? He leads them from light, from the absolute light, from guidance, from independence, from nationality, from Islam-ness, into darkness. Yes, he will push them into deep darkness.

East should find itself again

We now have lost ourselves. We have lost our sources of pride. We have lost our ancient traditions. You will not become independent unless this lost (thing) is found. Look for it and try to find it. Look for the East and try to find it. So long as we are like this, so long as our writers act the way they do, so long as our intellectuals think the way they do, so long as our liberals long for the Western-style freedom the way they do, it will be all the same way. They cry that there is strangling, that there is no freedom! What has happened that there is no freedom? Those *akhunds* do not allow men and women to take to the sea and roll over each other! Those *akhunds* do not let our youth to be free and go to the bars, to the casinos, and submerge themselves in the brothels. There is no freedom! They do not allow our radio-television to show ladies naked and those obscene, shameful and profane scenes so they keep our children and young ones entertained!

Imported Western freedom: stupefier of the youth's minds

This is an imported freedom that has come from the West. It is colonial freedom. This means that they dictated this to the colonized countries; to those who betray their country to promote those kinds of freedom—they are free to smoke heroin and do whatever (they please). They are free to smoke opium; they are free to frequent the casinos; they are free to frequent the fleshpots; they are free to frequent movie theaters. But to what avail? The result is that those youth, who need to be active for their country and the fate of the country, will be indifferent about the fate of the country. All their intention is focused on a night in the town; and when does summer come for them to go to the seaside! That's all they think about. An opium-addict cannot be mindful of a country. A person whose mind is addicted to music cannot be useful for the country. There are those who were deceived by outsiders, and those who without being deceived, act as the agents of foreigners. They promote music; they promote prostitution; they promote the things that destroy our youth. The result of these actions is that they deprive a country whose strength emanates from its young human resources, and for the youth to have the power to manage, but they deprive those youth of this power. The thought of what happens to the country and what the governments do to this country, and what Muhammad Rida did to this country—this thought will leave the minds. All the attentions and all the minds get into music. Instead of a solemn brain, there will sit a pleasure seeking brain. This person was supposed to be one who can think about his destiny. However, they have taken this power of thinking away from him. This is (the result of) the freedom, which we should call, colonized freedom. This freedom is not what the nation should have. Rather, it is a freedom that has been imported from abroad and that is what it has done to us; that is what it has done to our youth. Those youth who get used to these activities, those who get few days in the habit of these activities: to pleasure seeking, to those things, which they did in theaters, and were flaunting themselves. Such people will no longer think about who takes away our oil, or who takes away our iron; who takes away our (natural) gas. These youth will no longer think about these things. "What is it to me? Let me enjoy myself and do my pleasure seeking! I am not that idle, good-for-nothing to waste my time on these things." This is how they have trained us. So long as our unfair writers fail to save the youth, refuse to promote sound freedom and prevent corrupt freedom through their pen and pace, we should forget about having a free and independent country. Having a free and independent country will die on the vine.

Moses (a) was appointed to “*Bring thy people forth from darkness unto light.*” This is a mission. The mission of all the prophets is to lead people from darkness, from the things that are against the way of humanity, that are against the way of nationality, into light; to lead them into light and for him to be alive and luminous. A luminous heart cannot tolerate his sources of pride to be transgressed and for him to keep quiet. A luminous heart cannot tolerate his people to be dragged into such abjection and for him to see his fellow citizens around Tehran dwell in a pigeonhole and for him to keep quiet. And they want to raise you in such a way that you would be indifferent about all their affairs; they do not want you to ask why the destitute have remained poor while foreigners are taking away our oil and you do not commit that to your memory at all; not commit it to your mind that we also have such hardships. Do not judge on the present time when light has entered your hearts; you go back to the past fifteen years or twenty years before and ask yourself, “Was there any resistance against those who were taking away all we had?” No, there wasn’t. No one cared about what was going on. Once in a while a group would nag a little bit. Neither in our Majlis, nor in our mosques, nor in our universities was there any voice raised about all this; nowhere.

A word on the “Days of Allah”

The second command of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to Hadrat Musa (Moses) is: “Remind them of the Days of Allah.” All days belong to God. But certain days have a special characteristic, because of which they become the “Days of Allah.” The day on which the Noble Prophet migrated to Medina is the “Day of Allah.” The day that he conquered Mecca is the “Day of Allah.” It is the day of God’s show of force; it is the day when an orphan was expelled by everyone and could not live in his homeland, even in his own house; some time later, the Prophet conquered Mecca and all those bullies, the rich, and the men of might came under his domination, and he stated: “Thus I made you free, all of you can go.”¹ This is the “Day of Allah.” The “Day of the Kharijites” is the day when the Commander of the Faithful, drew his sword and mowed down those corrupt cancerous glands. This is also the “Day of Allah.” Those “holier-than-thou,” whose believing in God was not for real—though their foreheads were hardened with calluses—marks of stone-clay for prayer—were in fact the ones who murdered the Commander of the Faithful! They rose up against the Commander of the Faithful (a); they rose up against him though they were

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 97, *hadith* 6, p. 59; Bayhaqi, *al-Sunan al-Kubra*, vol. 9, p. 118.

from his own army. That was a consequence of the Siffin's events, and the Imam (a) decided that if those "holier-than-thou" remained in power, they would corrupt the nation; so he killed all of them save a few who escaped. This was also the "Day of Allah;" the days when God, the Blessed and Exalted [let certain events to happen] in order to punish the nations: He inflicts an earthquake; inflicts a flood; inflicts a storm; so as to lash the people out warning those to become (real) humans and upright. All these days are also "Days of Allah." These are the things that belong to God.

"Days of Allah": Khordad 15 and Shahrivar 17

One of those "Days of Allah" was Khordad 15. Khordad 15 was one of the "Days of Allah" when a nation stood up and confronted a power and created (such) a situation (for) the imposition of a five-month martial law. However, the nation was not powerful enough. Once again, (a good) gathering was not assembled. They were not awakened yet. So they were defeated. Not a real defeat, but outwardly. Otherwise, that was in fact the focal point of the nation's victory. The 17th of Shahrivar—this very day that we are gathering here—too, this day last year was also considered one of God's days when a whole nation, men and women, young and old, stood up and gave their blood in order to restore their rights. This is God's day. 17th of Shahrivar is one of God's days. You should remember. You should remember the "Days of Allah". If you did, these "Days of Allah" should not be forgotten, for it is these days that are human-making days. It is these days that will take out our youth from the fleshpots and into the battlefield. It is these divine days that will awaken our nation, as it indeed did. He commands, "Instill the Days of Allah' in people's memories." Do not forget: these great days that our nation went through. These were the "Days of God." Examples are 15th of Khordad; 17th of Shahrivar. The day when that wicked¹ fled the country was one of the "Days of Allah". It was on that day when a nation defeated a mighty power in such a way that he could not remain (in power). Not only his might, but everyone's might, the whole world had risen up against you. I was aware of this. The whole world rose, first to his support and to support his inheritor, which is the person of Bakhtiyar. Next, they stood behind them in order to keep him. America tried hard to keep the Shah. When he fled, they fought tooth and nail to keep Bakhtiyar in power. They were sending their emissaries to us saying, "He is one of us," "He is an insider!" But those were their lackeys. It is not unlikely for them to somehow keep an individual for ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, and under the

¹ Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

guise of nationalism—a false nationalism—so that one day he could be of service to them. It is (quite) possible for someone to go to a mosque for prayers for twenty years so that one day he could serve them. This is quite possible. And it is also possible for an individual to claim to be honest and nationalistic for ten, twenty years and even to swear at the foreigners and publish articles against them, in order to win the people's heart, for a rainy day. That day was the day when he (the Shah) left, and Bakhtiyar was to replace him in order to protect the foreigners' interests. Do not doubt this at all, for you noticed that it did happen and became a reality and you saw it for yourselves. They even told us that it was so early for us to go. "Do not go to Iran right now; do not go now". They wanted to reorganize their power structure and put an end to the confusions in the affairs so that there would be no likelihood of us going. That was another one of the "Days of Allah".

And one of the Blessed and Exalted God's great times was the night when they staged a coup d'état. From the morning of the night that we [arrived] in Tehran, there was martial law in force and no one was allowed to come out even in daytime. That night—we were informed later—they had planned to kill all the tribal leaders and eliminate everyone else who was asking for it so that would be the end of everything. But God did not will it. That uprising of the nation and that luminous uprising, a committed nation ... When later on they rose up, the other side's forces joined this side and continued to do so. It was a matter which was divine; it was one of the "Days of Allah". Do not forget that they collected all things and made up all sorts of ruses so that they could stage a coup d'état overnight and do away with all people who were probably able to do something and return the nation to their prior condition. God did not will that. This was one of "God's Days" when you noble and luminous nation with your faithful hearts were not frightened and despite there being a martial law in effect, you took to the streets on that day and neutralized what they wanted. They wanted the streets to be empty of people and for them to bring their tanks and position them everywhere and engage in that criminal act of theirs at night. God, the Blessed and Exalted, came to this nation's rescue. All the powers were with them. Yes, all the powers, not only a superpower but other powers as well. All those who go with the times, they all extended their support. Yet, God, the Blessed and Exalted, had mercy on you. He made you victorious over those great powers and curtailed the hands of the foreigners from your country and, God willing, will remain curtailed forever. Bear these times in mind; do not let them escape your memory. Bear in mind these great divine times, which emanate from the "Days of Allah". Do not let it escape your memory that we had a

15th of Khordad; the 15th of Khordad was the starting point of the Islamic movement in Iran. Do not let it escape your memory that we had a 17th of Shahrivar. The 17th of Shahrivar emanates from the “Days of Allah,” and we should not let it escape our memory. What a martyrs that we sacrificed on that day and what a blood that we gave while the foreigners were watching and so were their affiliates. Our people rose up and gave their blood, but they gained victory. The starting point of the victory and all other days that we are unable to count; the days that they were attacking (you) in dire atrocity and you, both men and women, confronted them with utmost courage. Someone was narrating to me and said, “I myself saw a twelve-year old child—or something to that effect—was riding a motorcycle and raced off toward the tank! The child was run over and was killed by the tank. There was found such a morale that made a twelve-year old child attack a tank empty handed and with no weapons. You, too, empty handed, [defeated] a 2,500-year-old monarchy and 2,500-year-old criminals. If someone would do a review of history, they might find not even one person who was not a criminal, with the exception of some being less and some more so. Even those who were called “*Jannat Makan*”¹ were criminals! Yes even them. One of them² blinded his vigorous son lest there comes a time when he would flaunt to power! They³ were that way, though were genuine criminals and the one who was genuine in committing crimes was the son. The father was not that genuine! The son was, because he had both inherited it and was in his nature! He was genuine in committing crimes, he kept us backward in the name of the “Great Civilization;” had intention to annihilate our dear Islam in the name of Islam; he intended to wipe out our sources of pride; he wanted to change our noble calendar. However, he was the greatest one in committing crimes. This was a person whom no one knows where he is wandering nowadays.

Do not let your sources of pride escape your memory

Do not let your sources of pride escape your memory. Our intellectuals, our writers and all classes of scientists and intellectuals pay attention to their sources of pride. Do not bow in the direction of the West when writing a book. You yourselves have enough to say. Why do you care about what has been said by whom? Why do you quote what a foreigner has said and thus make our youth depressed and takes them out of their mold?

¹ *Jannat Makan*: he whose abode is the paradise.

² Shah Abbas I of the Safavid dynasty.

³ Rida Khan and his son, Muhammad Rida.

The necessity of avoiding the works of the Westernized ones

It is for you, the nation, to boycott a pharmacy that carries a foreign name and boycott its products unless it has changed its name. If in a book—our beloved universities pay attention to this—if the author of a book is giving citations from foreign sources in their book, you do not read that book, just do not read it. If you act accordingly and other customers follow suit and turn away (from that pharmacy)—and since they need the customers—if the prospect customers turn away, these businesses will cave in and correct their ways. Obviously, when there is no demand for a product, it will not be supplied. Therefore, avoid the things that draw you to the West and trample your sources of pride and replace them with those of the West. Turn your back on those (products); turn your back on a writer of that kind; turn your back on their books. Do not buy the books that contain nothing but things about Lenin and Stalin and the hell! You do not have any obligation to buy books; do not buy those books; do not read those books. My time is up otherwise I was going to go into the details of the issue of the things that we are affected by tomorrow: universities and the conspiracies that they are supposed to brew in the universities. I am running out of time to talk about them. My time is up. But let me add that our youth themselves the majority of whom are committed, the majority of whom belong to this patriotic nation, and the majority of whom believe in Islam; they should not allow a bunch of people to come there and create a state of chaos and engage in acts of conspiracy. Turn your back on them. Do not read their books. I do not suggest setting their books on fire. No, setting things on fire is wrong. Avoiding their books is more effective than setting them on fire. When you set something on fire, people will imagine it has contained something important which has caused the burning of it. But when you turn your back on them, everything is over. Just do not buy their books; do not allow yourselves to be the customers of their books. No, do not be the customers of theirs. Suppose that they bring tons of books and unload them there. Do not rush on them; do not burn their books; do not tear them up either. Just do not read them and do not buy them. If you do not read or buy them, you will see for yourselves that in a matter of a few days, everything will be over. They bring these books for you to read; they want to (change you) from your Eastern state to becoming a Westerner and yet in its worst forms of dictatorship; they want to impose the worst forms of dictatorship on you. Do not buy those books.

God willing, if occasion arises, at some other time I will (talk) more on this topic; I cannot do justice to this topic in this short time.

Let me now pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, in the same way that He did this nation a great favor and He had mercy on this nation and saved this nation from the evil of the foreigners and of that of the foreigners' lackeys, He will continue to look with favor on this nation such that the foreigners will not infiltrate this country (again).

May the Almighty God bestow upon you prosperity, good health, glory, power, and diligence, and deliver you from these freedoms that are imperialistic freedoms and have been imported from abroad to this country.

Decree

Date: September 9, 1979 [Shahrivar 18, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching an emissary to attend to the religious problems of the Iranians in Qatar

Addressee: Sayyid Rida Burqei

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Rida Burqei—may his graces last:

With reference to the repeated requests of the respected Iranians residing in Qatar, it is appropriate for you to make a trip to that area and closely check the situation of the region and, if you see it fit, to stay there for some time and, like your previous trips to that region, exert your full effort in resolving the religious problems of the residents. It is also hoped that those respected gentlemen will extend necessary cooperation with you. I pray to God, the Exalted, for everyone's success in the victory of Islam and the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 9, 1979 [Shahrivar 18, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Extension of mission

Addressee: Ghulam-Husayn Muhammadi Golpaygani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Muhammadi Golpaygani—may his graces last:

A scroll, signed by a group of many of the respected staff and other personnel of the Isfahan Air Force Base is being received. They request for you to keep staying at that base and attend to the guidance, propagation and solving their religious and social problems. With due regards to the present sensitive situation, and Your Eminence's background and familiarity with the above-mentioned environment, it is appropriate that you accept the invitation of the respected gentlemen. It is also hoped that the respected personnel would not withheld any necessary cooperation with you in the way of the advancement of Islam's sublime goals and extend you their appreciation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, September 9, 1979 [Shahrivar 18, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Crucial duty of the clergymen; united effort at eliminating the chaos

Audience: Clergymen of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Clergymen: the guardians of Islam and the Islamic nation

Considering that our legislative assembly is dominated by the clergymen, we can speak frankly with the clergymen about the things that have occurred in this country and must occur.

Throughout history, the clergymen have been at the forefront of activities and the corrupt writings had camouflaged this activity of the clergymen so that either nothing was said or at times also the contrary was made apparent. After the migration of the Noble Prophet and in the course of the occultation of the (12th) Imam (*a*) until now, the ones that have safeguarded Islam and safeguarded the Islamic nation have been the clergymen. It was you who protected the people and introduced Islam to the people and enlightened the nation of Islam; and the one who is hostile to you is the enemy of Islam; those that are opposed to you are firstly, opposed to Islam; and they are opposed to you because they regard you to be at the service of Islam. That which is important for me is that we should all be united as single file. Regard me to be one of you. There is no class distinction involved. We are all in a single file and all of us must in this file, in this single line, be of service.

The crucial duty of the clergymen in the Islamic Republic

Now that an Islamic republic has been established—that I hope will be Islamic in content also—the responsibility of the clergymen has increased in relation to the responsibility of others. It has always been so, but now it has increased. The eyes are focused to see what the clergymen are going to do now that they have apparently come to power; what they are going to do with the people. Is it how the poisonous pens write about that we have been liberated from the Pahlavi dictatorship and have to suffer under the

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech has been dated Shahrivar 16, 1358 AHS.

dictatorship of the robe and turban of the clergy? If we give them the excuse, they will exaggerate it one-hundred times and circulate it both abroad and inside the country. If they notice something inside the country, they exaggerate a subject one-hundred times in foreign countries and in the Western and Eastern publications and so forth; and they write about us that so long as they were not in power they were constantly saying that there should be freedom and what not; whereas now that they have come to power, they themselves are behaving badly with the people. Now, the responsibility of you the clergymen—may God grant you success—is a heavy responsibility; in other words it is not like that of other individuals who have personal responsibilities. All have a duty to protect themselves and to observe the Islamic aspects; but because you are positioned at the head of society and are spiritual and guardians of the soul of the people, your duties are doubled; rather it is multiplied a hundred times; this means that to the same extent that your position is a respectable one and higher than of all others, your responsibility too is a great responsibility that is higher than all other responsibilities. If, God forbid, any one of us commits something wrong, those that are opposed to Islam shall blame Islam for it; they shall not say that such-and-such person committed a misdeed; they shall say that this is how the clergymen are; they shall say that this is also how Islam is.

The great duty: safeguarding the reputation of Islam

This is a great duty that you carry on your shoulders; safeguarding the reputation of Islam. Now that the Islamic republic has been established, we must safeguard this Islamic Republic and not allow the foreigners, our enemies to inflict shame on the Islamic Republic and Islam; and that too because of us. We and you must with absolute care ensure that we act on the basis of the religious criterion. Power should be in your hands in accordance with the criterion; it should not be against the criterion. Today, we are suffering at the hands of individuals that do not want to allow the Islamic Republic's ideal to be realized. Right from the beginning you noticed that they opposed the referendum in which the people themselves wanted to vote for an Islamic republic. They burnt the ballot boxes; some of them boycotted. Then when they were defeated in this arena, they again began to oppose in other arenas. We were faced with a lot of opposition in this Council of Experts; when they were once again defeated in this arena, they began to poison the atmosphere and create disturbances and disputes—all of these under various names. And next it was the Consultative Assembly and the subject of the presidential elections that was to take place; again you are

being faced with the same oppositions—a little bit more. If we should give an excuse to these people and our actions are contrary to the directives of the clergymen, this will totally be blamed on the clergymen and on Islam. Therefore, we are now caught with a big responsibility. In other words, to the same extent that your profession is an honorable one, proportionate to your profession is the burden of your responsibility. In the same way that the profession of the prophets was a great one, their responsibility was also great; except that they were able to cope with their responsibilities; and we must be serious in utilizing our capabilities as much as we can to safeguard Islam that has now been entrusted to us. We should safeguard this great trust which God, the Blessed and Exalted, has now put into our hands.

If the clergy perform their duties, they shall win over the hearts of the people

If you carry out your spiritual duties, you shall win over the hearts of the people; the people want you; and if, God forbid, some of you commit a wrongful act, it is possible that these hearts that are attached to you revert. The aversion of the hearts from you is the defeat of the clergy; the defeat of the clergy is the defeat of Islam. Until now, Islam has been safeguarded by this great barrier of the clergy. If, God forbid, this great barrier is demolished, Islam will be demolished. For this reason, the duty is extremely great; a very great responsibility lies upon us.

The harm of differences among the clergymen

The differences that I hear about sometimes among some of the personalities, for instance, that exists among some of the clerics are extremely unpleasant. On what subjects do we have differences? What should be the cause of our differences? We all accept Islam. We all also accept the Quran. We all accept the Imams of Guidance. We all know that this is the right way; that this is the only way. All were opposed to the *taghuti* regime. All supported the establishment of an Islamic republic. These disputes that are heard of once in a while, which I hear are, God willing, not true; but if, God forbid, there is a difference, it is to the detriment of both the concerned parties as well as for Islam. One should not be under the impression that if I oppose you, it is only to your detriment alone; it is to the detriment of both of us; it is to the detriment of both the clergymen of, for instance, a city; it is to the detriment of the clergymen of that city; it is to the absolute detriment of the clergy; it is to the detriment of Islam. Great importance must be given to this matter. Consider for example that in a place

where you are located, you notice that some personalities are opposed to some others; well, it is possible that there is a misunderstanding; it is possible that some mistakes have taken place. The gentlemen of the city themselves and the congregational leaders of the city themselves; and the sermonizers and pulpit speakers should go to the gentlemen and request them to forego their differences; to become friends; to become brothers; to join hands and be united. All of you want that Islam should develop and progress. Whatever that we all have is by the grace of Islam. We are nothing on our own; whatever we have is from Islam. If we are something, it is under the shelter of Islam. We must safeguard this Islam; and these minor differences that are present may not be correct in the opinion of the people even if both the conflicting parties regard themselves to be righteous. But again if they regard these to be righteous, nevertheless, it does not leave a good impression on the masses and perhaps it may cause the people to be a bit disgusted with the clergy and to say that, well, now that power has come into their hands, they are no different from what you see. They are telling us these things such as, now that the Islamic Republic is installed, they too have not been able to accomplish anything; they are not capable of doing anything. At the same time that when the clergymen are united, they can accomplish all the tasks well; they perform them better than others. This is because they are devoted to the position that they occupy. Whatever they may be, every prayer leader is devoted to his mosque; and every preacher to his pulpit; in any case, the devotion is present, it is a natural devotion. And we want that these things be safeguarded. Its safekeeping is incumbent upon Islam becoming powerful among the people. The more powerful Islam is with the people, the better shall be the circumstances of the mosques and the pulpits. It means that the congregation of the mosque is for the sake of God and the greater the power of the divine commandments in a particular region, the mosques will be more frequented; and the greater the power of these commandments, the pulpits will become more popular. If we are of those that want the mosques and the pulpits to become more popular, we must maintain our pillar of support—which is Islam—with total commitment and not permit these poisonous pens that now want to write against Islam or are doing so in foreign countries, inside the country to find an excuse to do so.

The clergymen are at the service of the heart and soul of the people

You are clergymen; the clergymen must be at the service of the soul of the people; they must protect their hearts. You are delegated to protect the hearts of the people. In two of the blessed verses of the Quran, it has been

stated, “*And be thou upright as thou art commanded,*”¹ while another *surah*: “*So tread thou the straight path as thou art commanded, and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee.*”² The Noble Prophet is reported to have said: “On account of the station of this *ayah* (verse 112), *Surah Hud* made me old.”³ There is also in *Surah ash-Shura* but he did not say that *surah*. He said *Surah Hud* because in this particular *surah* the Prophet has been commanded to be steadfast himself as well as to be responsible for the steadfastness of the people: “*and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee.*”

The steadfastness of our nation rests with the clergymen

Now, the steadfastness of the nation rests with you the clergymen; that is, the exhortation to “*Be steadfast as thou art commanded.*” A movement that has attained its objectives needs to be steadfast. It is necessary to be resilient in the face of an Islamic republic that has been realized, it must be sustained; and it is your responsibility to sustain the steadfastness of all those individuals that are with you. The ones, who are attached to the mosques, should take care of the people who frequent the mosques; the leader of congregational prayers must sustain the resistance of the individuals who frequent the mosque. If you are a sermonizer, you must safeguard the audience. Whoever you are and wherever you are, the responsibility of the affairs of the people rests with you. And the Noble Prophet states that *Surah Hud* caused him to become old because the resistance of the Muslim nation also was entrusted to him. This is something important. The resistance of every mosque and of every person attached to the mosque is the responsibility of the prayer leader of the mosque. The steadfastness of every listener is the responsibility of the speaker. The speakers must be resilient in order to be able to exhort the people to resilience. The prayer leaders must be resilient in order to be able to make others resilient. Therefore, we must know what our duty—which is the biggest duty—is. And after we know of the truth of our stand, we should be firm in our stand. There is nothing wrong in the truth of our position; we are on the right path; we are opposed to anything wrong; the monarchial regime was evil and you resisted vis-à-vis the monarchial regime; thus you are the truth; you resisted falsehood; it requires steadfastness. As long as there is no steadfastness involved, you cannot attain final victory. Now, we are at the halfway stage. We have not

¹ *Surah ash-Shura* 42:15.

² *Surah Hud* 11:112.

³ Ṭabarsi, *Majma al-Bayan*, under verse 112 of *Surah Hud*; Fayd Kashani, *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

yet attained cent percent victory. We have demolished a barrier; you demolished the barrier; the power of the nation demolished it; Islam demolished it; the Quran demolished it; we are inconsequential; it was the faith of the people that demolished this barrier; after having demolished this barrier, when you went over to the other side, you noticed that everything was in disarray. Not only is the university in disarray; even your theological centers are in disarray, even our pulpits are in disarray; even our altars are in disarray; even frankly speaking, our theological societies are in disarray; behind this barrier we saw that everything was in chaos and we must all cooperate in eliminating these chaos. It will not do to place the responsibility for it on a single person or a group. If you want to place the responsibility of rebuilding these ruins on the shoulders of the government, or for example, on the shoulders of the grand *maraji*, then it cannot be done.

Efforts toward elimination of anarchies

Each person in whichever place he is located must reform his own location. For instance, in an administrative office in which there are hundred or two hundred people working in various posts; if this individual who is occupying a certain post says that the head of the department should reform or other persons who are working in different positions, then this will not reform. He must manage that position which he is occupying and manage it properly; that other person should also manage properly what he is in charge of managing so that when all manage their jobs properly, things will reform. When the clergyman performs his duty well, when the prayer leader does his job well and the rest of the strata perform their duties well; when the farmer does a good job of farming, when the laborer does his labor well; when the factory owners manage their factories well and on the basis of the Islamic tenets and on the basis of humanitarian ideals—after all, these are the things that constitute a state. When its workers and employers; its administrators and government and its people and its clergy and its traders, and everything it has—each of them performs the duties that have been entrusted to them by the Blessed and Exalted God properly, all of this state shall after some time function properly. If we move aside and expect the government to do the job—the government cannot do it. If the government moves aside and expects that the clergy should do this job; the clergy can also not do it. It cannot be done single-handedly: “The hand (help) of Allah is with the congregation”.¹ If we all join hands we can do something. If right at the beginning of this victory—at the first step—you had, if the clergy had

¹ *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

handed over the task to the bazaar traders to defeat them; the traders had handed over the responsibility to the clergy to go out and defeat them; they had handed over the responsibility to the laborers to do the job, now neither you would have been welcome here nor me. I would have been either in Najaf or in France and you too would have been suffering in your own hometowns at the hands of the Security Organization. When you all joined hands, when you congregated, a flood was let loose; a great flood is started that demolishes an enormous barrier. This is how the human beings are; each of them is capable of doing a tiny part of the job. If this gathering wants to act alone and independently, it cannot perform.

Unity and attachment to Islam: the secret of victory

When the various groups link with one another and gather together and the objective becomes a divine objective, it succeeds; the important thing in this coming together was the single objective it pursued—which was for the cause of God. This was a spiritual transformation that occurred in the nation by the grace of God; and the secret behind the victory of our nation was the fact that everyone rallied and cried out for Islam. It was not that each person stuck to a different thing; this one something and that one something else. Those that air some opposition now would at that time not oppose; they were absorbed among the people. Our nation rallied around Islam, around the objective of an Islamic republic; they rallied for the rejection of the corrupt dynasty; this was a divine theme; God willed that this should be done; and we must safeguard this divine theme.

All of us must once again concentrate on performing our duties for the cause of God. Each person in whatever circumstance that he is in must work for God; and we should sustain this congregation by means of which we succeeded in demolishing this barrier and this gathering and this spirituality that has been created in the people; and the divine spiritual objective that has been created in the people should be safeguarded. So long as this is safeguarded, there shall be no defeat involved. Make sure that this is not taken away from you. So long as these two aspects of congregation and striving in the cause of Allah are present in our nation, our nation shall be victorious.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to safeguard this congregation and this divinity.

I thank you gentlemen for having come here to meet with each other from a close distance; and to mention the issues that needed to be mentioned.

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

Speech

Date: September 9, 1979 [Shahrivar 18, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: General efforts for advancement of Islam and cooperation with the government

Audience: Representatives of the Bakhtiyari tribes of Masjid Sulayman; and the *Jihad* for Reconstruction of Yazd

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The imperialist plans and deprivations

The plan was to keep our nation backward by whatever means that was at their disposal. The inhabitants of places that had a wealth of underground resources should live in poverty and deprivation on the surface. Our academic centers were programmed in such a way that our youth were deprived of proper education; and the state of our agriculture was as you witnessed that it was corrupted in the name of “reforms”; all our manpower resources were wasted. These were plans that they were delegated to implement. And this father—and especially the son—did a thorough job. They did as they were instructed by their masters. In the book, “*A Mission for My Country*” that he has written is appropriately titled; but the mission was on behalf of America and others in order to prevent this homeland from remaining a homeland! You should not think that these problems are present only in Masjid Sulayman and among the Bakhtiyari tribes there; this backwardness is present everywhere. Some of the cities whose leaders were their agents were looked after to some extent. While some of them have been attended to out of necessity; but in the same cities when you take a look at their surroundings, you see the same problems. You should go to Tehran and take a look at the shanty towns of Tehran and the places that are on the outskirts of the city; you shall definitely come to the conclusion that the state of those shanty town dwellers living on the fringes of the city and who were forced to migrate there from other places as a consequence of the “Land Reforms” is worse than the state of the residents of Masjid Sulayman and the Bakhtiyari tribes. Do not be under the impression that in those places, everything is in order and only Masjid Sulayman and such places are having problems. Those shanty town dwellers of Tehran—that when I was in Najaf they would bring me a list of the localities—of which I presume, more than thirty localities were listed. They had named that such-and-such

neighborhood were for instance, live in thatched dwellings; in such-and-such place, for instance, they lived in hutments and that none of them have even the basic amenities of city living; they neither had drinking water nor electricity nor asphalted roads. They had to carry potable water after passing through puddles and cover long distances to reach a water hole or reach a main road to fill water from taps in order to carry it for their infants. Several of them would live in housing that one cannot call a house; or have built a thatched hut or matting. This is how they are living. And this is a problem that exists in many places across the country. And from the surrounding areas too, these tribes of the regions come here and say the same things that you speak that you have nothing—they say the same things. But every person is aware only of his own environment and is uninformed of the environment of others; they think that other places are taken care of and only their own place has been neglected. Not at all; they had planned to take away all our resources and leave us hungry in a country that is rich; a country that possesses everything.

Eradication of rural deprivation

I hope that with the changes that has now taken place and their hands have been taken off and the hands of the plunderers have been cut off with the uprising of the nation of Iran and the oppressors have been banished and these remnants that are present shall also be destroyed and the country shall be yours; and the government also is an Islamic government so that its initial plan is to start the reforms from the villages and rural areas—and they are also busy doing—but there are so many worries and so much of chaos that although they are all busy doing their job, yet they cannot attend to all of them so soon. They must of course be given time; and God willing, it shall definitely be realized especially with regard to the regions that are rich in oil. These regions beneath which lie this resource while the people are sitting over them on the ground in hunger and starvation. Of course, those places must be developed and they are planning to develop them. Mr. Madani also has our acceptance. I hope that he continues with his activities and the government also provides assistance so that the problems are resolved.

The program of Islam: fraternity and equality

It is important that the thing which should be of concern to our brothers should not all be related to these material ideals and resources. We must be concerned with the revival of Islam. If Islam, if the commandments of Islam

are implemented in this country, all the material and spiritual aspects shall be taken care of.

The program of Islam is that there should be no difference and discrimination between the rich and the poor, and between the Kurd, Turk, Lor, and so forth. All are brothers and all are equal; and it is for everyone. You should continue with the movement that you have undertaken—the Islamic movement—with the same Islamic intention and its Islamic movement, and I am hopeful that we succeed in implementing this Islamic republic in the manner that Islam wants it to be implemented. If it happens that way then rest assured that there shall be welfare for all strata, both here and in the hereafter.

Be of assistance to the government

I pray that God grant you health and happiness; and all of you be the friends and close companions of one another and all assist one another and assist the government. Today, the government belongs to you; there is no distance between you and the government; and the government officials also are aware that it is an Islamic republic. The impositions of those times when any person would go anywhere and would be given an assignment to impose his will on the people everywhere does not exist in the Islamic Republic in this manner any longer. All are brothers with one another; and all shall carry this movement forward together and shall, God willing, attain happiness and health.

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

Message

Date: September 10, 1979 [Shahrivar 19, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Occasion: Demise of Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return.”

Shahrivar 19, 1358 AHS

Shawwal 18, 1399 AH

*“Some of them have paid their vow by death (in battle), and some of them still are waiting.”*¹ Longevity has this disadvantage that everyday one loses a beloved one and mourns the loss of a personality and is immersed in the sorrow of a brother. The esteemed *mujahid* and the most beloved brother, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Taleqani is no more in our midst and has joined eternity and become united with his noble ancestors. For that esteemed soul there is happiness and comfort while for us and our nation there is grief and sorrow.

Mr. Taleqani spent a whole life engaged in *jihad*, enlightenment and guidance. He was a personality who kept passing from one prison to another and from one torment to another; and at no point did he slacken and become indifferent in his great and sacred struggle. I did not expect to stay alive and lose my beloved and honorable friends one after the other. He was for Islam in the rank of Hadrat Abu Dharr; his eloquent speech was cutting and hard-hitting like the sword of Malik al-Ashtar; his death was premature while his life was bountiful. May God bless his esteemed father who was at the head of the abstemious; and his own soul which was a potent arm of Islam. I express my condolences to the nation of Islam, the nation of Iran, his honorable family, and those whom he has left behind for this great loss. May God bless him and all the *mujahids* along the path of truth. May peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:23.

Decree

Date: September 10, 1979 [Shahrivar 19, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to the problems of the Aligudarz and Azna tribes in Lorestan

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi—may his graces last:

According to the information received, there are some problems that have occurred in Aligudarz and with regard to the past experiences of Your Eminence in the region, you are requested to pay a visit to the towns of Aligudarz and Azna, as well as the tribal regions of that area; and take action as you deem expedient in consultation with the distinguished *ulama* of the region and the competent individuals for resolving their problems and establishing security in that region; and also to attend to the affairs of the weaker classes and meet their needs from the point of view of reconstruction and development and the rest of their requirements; and make efforts and take action for meeting their needs through the Relief Committee; and should the need arise, please get in touch with His Excellency, the Prime Minister and the rest of the ministers and concerned authorities. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of Your Eminence in this endeavor.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 11, 1979 [Shahrivar 20, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Cooperation of the nation with the government; rebuilding the country requires stability and calm

Audience: Representatives of the Sar Pol-e Dhohab tribes and the border residents of that region

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Aspiring for the realization of the sovereignty of Islam

God willing, may you all be successful. This is of the blessings of this movement that we all are gathered together. This is of the blessings of this Islamic movement that it has gathered the Islamic brethren under one roof; and God willing, the issues that are of consideration are put forward for discussion. And the gentlemen must know that this ideal which we are thinking about and which we hope will be realized with the aspiration of the entire nation is that Islam should govern in Iran; the rule must be the rule of God. And those things that the *taghuti* regime would do and which their agents would do and the problems that they created for our nation shall, God willing, be resolved by the efforts of all the youth of our nation; and the banner of Islam flies everywhere; in other words, it should be such that if we enter the Prime Minister's office, we see that Islam is present there. And if we go to the other ministries, we see that the circumstances are Islamic circumstances; and if we go to the tribal areas we see that there too the circumstances are Islamic circumstances; and if we go to the traditional bazaar we see that the circumstances of the bazaar are also Islamic. If Islam is realized in its true sense, in the manner that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has commanded to the Noble Prophet, then all the people shall live in welfare and happiness under the banner of Islam; not only the happiness of this world but the happiness of both this world and the hereafter.

Cooperation of the nation is the condition for the success of the government

We pray to God to grant us the favor to be able to perform the service that we intend; to have the power and strength to perform it; and this power shall be present when the nation is with us. If the nation is with us, we shall be able to perform the tasks as a result of the power of the nation. As you

witnessed that when the nation united, they were able to destroy such a great power. Now, too, when it is the time that those corrupt people are exterminated and cleansed and their remnants are destroyed, again it requires the cooperation of the nation.

Conspiracy of the enemy in sowing discord among the nation

Now, there are many conspiracies at work to divide the brothers from each other; at every place in a different form. Where the centers, for example, are the big cities, it is in the form of “party” and so forth. In border areas and places where our brothers from the Sunni school of thought are living, it is in the form of the demands of the Sunni and Shiah schools so that these two schools that are both Muslims get involved in conflicts with each other. At the same time—perhaps you all know—that in Kurdistan province, a group affiliated to foreigners was involved; and from what has been gathered from their contacts and we have been told, they were the agents of the former regime and are in touch with the Zionists; they have relations with Israel and with some other unidentified countries; and it is they who have created these disturbances in Kurdistan such that the people of Kurdistan are fed up with them. The government sent forces and these corrupt elements were either arrested or crushed, and some of them ran away. Later, those who were the agents of the foreigners began to write that the government of Iran or so-and-so person has mobilized all the people against the Kurds and against the followers of the Sunni school! This is while we had sent the forces to assist the brothers who were besieged. One must be alert at such moments that these individuals who want to create trouble; who want to cause a rift between brothers have nothing else in mind other than the fact that the interests that they and their masters had here has been threatened and their hands are being severed, so they wish to recreate those problems and bring back those same people to rule over us and destroy the lives of these people. In the course of history, all the tribes, all the border area residents were under pressure of these *taghuti* persons; they brought no welfare to them and now do not want to give time to the government to attend to them. They do not want to give the government the opportunity to do such a thing for the people so that once again there is chaos; and once again those problems return. Today we must all be awake and be aware of their plots. God willing, these plots shall be eliminated. God willing, the country shall be calm.

The main concern of the plan of the government is to attend to the poor

You should know that the main concern of the plan of this government is to initially, start with the poor; to start from the border areas the task of reconstruction and providing basic amenities such as electricity and asphalted roads and water and so forth that I know are either not available at all or are in short supply in many areas. The government shall, God willing, take action. May God by His will grant His favors to all of you.

[At this juncture, one of the audience presented a report about a group by the name of “Darbat Group” that had been organized under the supervision of a pious military officer in Sar Pol-e Dhohab and had undertaken to repulse the anti-revolutionaries and also presented a report of the rumor-mongering and fabrication of lies by the enemies of the Revolution together with a request to hand over the administration of the region to the clergy. In reply, Imam Khomeini stated:]

All of what you mentioned are correct but the government is also thinking of doing all of these things even regarding the Sunni *ulama*; and I have repeatedly told the Minister of Islamic Propagation and Endowments that these matters must be coordinated properly with them and it has been decided that a list of all those places that are in Iran be prepared and, God willing, acted upon and shall, God willing, be accomplished. And the same is true with regard to the problems that you mentioned; these also must be done; but you know that at present everything is in disarray. After a revolution there is always some sort of anarchy especially considering that all of these have been inherited from the former government. In the Islamic Republic—that is now five or six months old—these problems have not occurred in this period and have existed from before. And it must be compensated. This six- or seven-month old baby—this republic of ours—must be given some time. These disturbances that the corrupt elements have created should lessen a bit and then a comprehensive action be taken. Now also they are planning for every region, for every province; they have allocated oil revenues for this purpose and have planned to make it available to them and they shall make it available and I, too, emphasize that they make it available soon. I hope that, God willing, those problems shall be resolved quickly.

The need for calm to build the country

The main thing is that you should not listen to the words of these corrupt elements; they want to prevent development. At the same time, the government has also allocated a budget for this purpose; it has approved a

budget for every province for these affairs such as construction of public baths, building asphalted roads, for example, and schools. They are planning to do all of these things but on condition that the area becomes calm. They cannot do anything in a disturbed and war-torn area; if they wish to build a public bath in an area that is fighting a war, it cannot be done; there must be some peace and calm and, God willing, there shall be peace and these affairs shall be taken care of. For the clergy, too, you must speak to the teachers of this place; well, you are present there and know what you are lacking there. And I hope that these problems shall be resolved soon.

It would be advisable if you also discuss with Mr. Muntaziri about the clergyman that you want to take along with you; Mr. Muntaziri shall determine the person for these affairs.

Decree

Date: September 12, 1979 [Shahrivar 21, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Friday prayer leader of Tehran

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Muntaziri—may his graces last:

The late and honorable *mujahid* Mr. Taleqani after lifelong struggle in the cause of Allah and safeguarding Islam has departed from this world and plunged us in grief. The duty of safeguarding Islam is upon all of us; and I have chosen and appointed you—who are an esteemed and an honorable jurispudent—for the impregnable stronghold which that departed soul had safeguarded so well. The Friday prayer which is a demonstration of the political and social power of Islam must be established as splendidly and eloquently as possible. Our nation should not think that the Friday prayer is any ordinary prayer. With the splendor that it has, it is a solid backing for our sapling movement and is an important and effective element for the advancement of our Islamic Revolution. With their participation, our great and beloved nation must safeguard this Islamic bunker as splendidly and emphatically as ever so that by its blessings, the plots of the traitors and the conspiracies of the corrupt elements are nullified. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the perpetuation of the movement and the glory of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 21, 1358 AHS

Decree

Date: September 12, 1979 [Shahrivar 21, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of religious magistrate of the Revolutionary Court of Karaj

Addressee: Husayn Akbari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Husayn Akbari—
may his graces last:

Your Eminence is hereby appointed as the religious magistrate of the Revolutionary Court of Karaj, who in the absence of the previous religious magistrate, will attend to the outstanding files of the accused, and issue and implement the relevant religious verdict with reference to the amnesty order dated mid-Shaban 1399 AH.

I pray to the Almighty God for the success of Your Eminence. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini.
Shawwal 20, 1399 AH

Statements

Date: September 12, 1979 [Shahrivar 21, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Resistance in the face of difficulties; the power of faith of the nation

Addressees: Family of Martyr Muhammad Baqir Rahmani Bijari (Commander of the Revolutionary Guard Corps of Bijar); a group of members of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction; employees of the Wali al-Asr (a) Fund; members of the Islamic Republic Party of Qazvin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Manly resilience in the face of difficulties

The movement is for the cause of Islam; and martyrdom is also for the cause of Islam. That which is for the cause of Islam is an honor and dignity. I hope that our martyrs will link up with the martyrs of Karbala. And that God grants patience to their bereaved families; and that He grants strength and resistance to you brothers and to all of us. One must show resilience in the face of difficulties. If we retreat in the face of difficulties and become lethargic, our movement cannot move ahead; but we must rise up manfully and resist manfully in the face of difficulties. You, women and men, have revolted courageously and amputated the hands of foreigners and amputated the hands of the plunderers from the treasures of your country; and you must move ahead courageously, and resist.

The triumph of the power of faith

In the same way that faith, faith in God has existed in your hearts; and that faith guided you toward God and gave you the sense of resistance; and God created a fear in them; and with the satanic power that they possessed, yet they were defeated; safeguard this faith so that this movement advances. Be devoted to God; have faith in God. In the same way that at the advent of Islam a small and unorganized population overcame a very great power with all the equipment that they had; it was the power of faith of this small population that caused them to triumph over a big population that was well organized and equipped. And in Iran also it was the same—the incident was much like at the advent of Islam—that you all with less equipment opposite a great power that was equipped with all sorts of weapons of war, revolted and God assisted you and defeated this big power. From now onward also, you must move forward with the same power of faith.

Our youth aspire for martyrdom

My message to all friends; to all the devoted; to all the prolific youth—both women and men—is to safeguard this power of faith. You are on the right; and you have faith in God. God is your Supporter; and a person who is backed by God does not fear anything. For us martyrdom is a great blessing; and our youth aspire for martyrdom; and a nation that aspires for martyrdom is victorious. And you the nation are, God willing, victorious. I pray that, God willing, all of you attain happiness—both in this world and also in the hereafter.

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

Speech

Date: September 13, 1979 [Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to focus on and plan the present issues of society; opinion of the experts about the constitution and diligence in selection of the experts

Audience: Women students and students of the Dar az-Zahra Center of Homayunshahr in Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to pay attention to the present situation of the society

...I must say a few words. First of all I would like to apologize to you respected women for the trouble of having to come to this hot place where we are now face to face with you.

The intellectual development of every society necessitates that a person in whatever stage he is in must pay attention to that same stage; and also the individuals and the groups in whatever position they are in; and every group in whatever circumstance that exists in that group should pay attention to it. To think about things that have occurred in the past and has passed and that thing that shall come later is good from a certain perspective; and from a certain perspective, it prevents a person from achieving that objective that he has in mind. Now if we focus all our attention on what we have done and what we did to emerge victorious and focus all our attention on the distant future, our minds will forego those issues that needs to be attended to now. As there are various groups present and each group is assigned a particular task, if they should pay attention to the tasks of the other groups, they shall deviate from their own task. We must now focus our attention on what our actual objective is; not to think too much of the future and neither of the past. The past has, by the grace of God, passed well; and I hope that the future also, God willing, be good. But the condition for the future to become good is that the present should become good; meaning that every step we take, we take care to see how we should take that step and where we should put down our foot.

The need for the opinion of thinkers about the constitution

Now, we are faced with the constitution; and the experts of this constitution—those who must ratify the constitution—each person whatever view he has about the constitution, he must now give his views and not sit

back so that others give their views on his behalf. Both you the respected women and the rest of the strata, whether they belong to the strata of the clergy or are from other strata, must not give the opportunity to others to give their views while we sit back and wait to see what happens. Our present duty is that we should write down the views that we have on the constitution and hand it over to the place where it must be handed—which is the Senate Assembly.

And in the newspapers also if we wish to write; what is of greater importance is that those individuals whom we wish to elect for giving their opinion on the constitution and judging whether this constitution is in agreement with Islam, is in agreement with the interests of the nation; we must identify them and then elect them so that other individuals who are opposed to the destination of this movement; who have no faith in this movement; who have no regard for Islam and the good that is in Islam are not by any chance elected and they do not take to drafting a constitution for us. So, now that we have taken this step we should not think about what we have done and we must not think of what is going to happen later; we must think of what must be done at present.

“Equilibrium” in intellectual development

The intellectual development of every nation is in that it recognizes the opportune moments and knows what to do when. Many of the perversions that occur for a person is because he does not recognize the opportune moment such that he does not propose a matter that must be put forward now and instead proposes a matter for which the time has not yet arrived. All of you must now—the entire nation, both women and men, young and old, from the clergy to the university students—all must think of the present; that this step that we now want to take is taken correctly; and the next steps at their own opportune moment. Now, we must not think for example about how our schools are; how is our agriculture; what is the position of our factories. Now is not the time for these things. Now, all the thoughts must be focused on how is our constitution; give our views. And again all our thinking should be focused on which individuals we must appoint for drafting the constitution and for ratifying the constitution. This step now, this present step is our objective and other talks and other tasks and all of these are ill-timed. Recognition of the right time is one of the matters that have a lot of influence in the development of every society.

And I hope that you ladies who have always been at the forefront of this movement and have almost guided others and others have found greater

strength in the knowledge that you were at the forefront, shall God willing be successful; be healthy; be happy. And in the same way that until now with unity of expression and strength and power of faith you have reached this stage; from here onward also, step by step—for Islam needs the presence of all—you should move forward so that, God willing, all the subjects that are in agreement with Islam are implemented. Peace be upon all of you.

Speech

Date: September 13, 1979 [Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: General efforts for the realization of Islam; liberation from the West and achieving total independence

Occasion: Demise of Mr. Taleqani

Audience: Female teachers and tutors of the Quran from Kashmar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The late Mr. Taleqani has gone and passed away with honor. It needs to be said that he served and engaged in *jihad* almost for a whole lifetime and departed; and we must see what we should do before we also depart.

Share of the women in the triumph of the movement

We all have a share in this movement; and you women have a big share. It means that with the coming into the streets and squares of the struggle by the women resulted in the men gaining strength and vigor; while their morale was also boosted with your arrival. You have a big share in this movement, but now we are midway; most of the distance has not been covered. Our lofty objective was not only the departure of Muhammad Rida and amputation of the hands of foreigners; that was a prelude, meaning that they were a thorn in our path that must have to be eradicated so that we would be able to reach that destination which is the main destination and to realize that subject which is our main subject and is the main subject of Islam.

General efforts for the realization of Islam

We all voted for an Islamic republic; you also voted; it is not enough only to vote; the vote is only to the extent that now our country is officially an Islamic republic. But it shall become a true Islamic republic when you the women perform your duties. And these gentlemen also perform their duties and all of us consider ourselves to be obligated and have a sense of duty. A country that after the departure of the destructive elements is a war-torn country; it is a Westernized country; it is a country that is backward in every respect and has been defeated from all aspects; and our national dignity has been taken away from our hands; and its culture, economy and everything it has is in confusion and chaos. This shall not be rectified with a single "Islamic republic" phrase. It will also not be set right with the departure of

the thieves and the plunderers; it demands action. Now, we have a duty to make up for these losses that have been inflicted upon this country; whether they are spiritual losses whereby they pushed back our youth—both women and men—from the condition that they must deserve by means of the corrupt propaganda that they engaged in; and whether they were material losses that drove our country to poverty; in the name of “land reforms” they brought misery to our farmers and pushed our country to destruction; and whether it was the schools and our culture that they kept backward and did not permit a proper culture to develop and progress. These chaos must be set right by you and us; at the hands of this nation and government; no one can set these things right all alone. If the women think that they should step aside and leave it to the men to do the job or that the men think that they should step aside and allow the women to do the job or that both of men think that the government should do the job; and or all three of them think that the clergy should do the job—these thoughts are not correct because the tasks are so complicated and chaotic, and the problems so numerous that each individual in whatever area that he is in has a duty to build that area well. If you are in a location where, for example, you must attend to the education and training of the younger women; you must train them well. If you are in a place where you must engage in propagation, your propagation must be right; and every individual wherever he is placed must perform well in the position that he is occupying. If he is in the ministries, behind whichever desk he is sitting there he must perform the duties that are assigned to him well. If he is working in other offices—whichever office he is working in—he should perform his job correctly. Not like the situation before where everything was in disorder and our offices were transformed by him into offices that are not mentionable; the same with our ministries and the same with the other strata; and our youth had been trained in such a way that they no longer felt any commitment in relation to the problems that would occur to them.

Change in the affairs from Westernized form into Islamic

In whatever place they are in or to whichever person they are entrusted or to whichever group, each person must in his own place; each group in its own place; each person in the position he is occupying must perform his duties for the Islamic republic. It means that this Westernized form be changed into an Islamic form. Until now, I must say that almost all our things were Westernized; everything was Westernized. Now after we have severed their hands it must not be in this manner that once again we follow them; that we forget all our things and follow the West or the East. We must be aware

of who we are and what we are; and what our country needs and who it needs.

If we revert these spiritual links, these attachments that our youth have and our universities have that have Westernized all our things to their original condition, and we discover ourselves, then we can become an independent nation and a free nation and not be dependant on others and stand on our own two feet; and do our own tasks ourselves; but if we are neglectful of this aspect and once again the same thinking and the same circumstances remain here, then no longer is there any hope that we can remain independent and be free, that we can think freely and act freely.

Efforts of the West to prevent the intellectual-cultural growth of the Iranians

It is the duty of all of us to shun this Westernized form; we should change our thinking; we should change our actions; our cultural situation must undergo a change; our judicial system must be changed. All these are gifts of the West. Our courts of law in the manner that it existed in the *taghuti* era were a present that was imported from the West. This must be changed into another situation. And the same was true with regard to our culture. All the things that they had used in order to destroy our youth were gifts from the West. This means that they had prepared the means for the destruction of both the women and the men and to thwart their humane development. They had prepared all the means for this objective. They would go to the cinema; the cinemas were such that they would be corrupted. Wherever they would go, the same issues were present. We must change ourselves so that we can stand on our own feet and be aware that we are Easterners and we are Islamic and our objective is Islam.

May God protect all of you and cause you all to succeed in serving this country; now that the country belongs to you, it is your duty to safeguard it. Peace be upon all of you.

Speech

Date: September 13, 1979 [Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Coordination among the forces of the Revolution; the necessity to safeguard the dignity of the clergy

Audience: Clergymen of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for coordination among the forces of the Revolution

Our problems now are not just one or two; the problems are too many and approximately it must be said that the various groups have not been coordinated; whereas what is required is coordination. This is evident not only in the government and the nation; rather the national groups themselves are also not coordinated; it means that the coordination that was present is gradually giving way; and the same is the situation among our own strata and the gentlemen themselves. In the process of the Revolution a desired condition had come into being; it means—of course, all revolutions are in this manner—a unity of expression and a particular attention to the objective; all were gathered for a single objective and that objective was Islamic and doing away with the evil of the former Shah and so forth; the coordination was good. And with the same coordination these basic issues were resolved; that is, an issue that no person in the world gave it a chance; and here too the majority or all did not consider it possible for such an event to take place and that a nation with bare hands triumph over a power that was not only inherently powerful; rather, it was supported by all the powers and not only America and its likes; rather the powers of the Muslim governments were all backing it with only the difference that some were backing openly while some others in some other form. In any case, this coordination that existed among the nation and among the strata of the clergy was able to overcome these enormous problems and reached to this stage; to the stage where their evil was done away with; if on the basis of priority also there is something remaining, it can no longer be very important and they too shall be done away with.

Abstention from actions that are against the teachings

And that which is important in my view and is our duty and whose burden lies more on the shoulders of the clergy themselves is that the

republic is Islamic and everybody voted for an Islamic republic. In an Islamic republic if, God forbid, an action is taken that is contrary to the teachings such that, God forbid, the face and façade of this republic is manifested differently abroad, especially as the enemies of Islam and the enemies of the clergy are many and are waiting to see something and to magnify and enlarge it so that maybe this Islamism is proffered to people abroad as being no different from the monarchy. As of now, the pens of the foreigners have since quite sometime become activated and are engaged in harping on the same issues; that of the dictatorship of the turban and the robe! And this is worse than that dictatorship.

Do not give an excuse to the enemies of the Revolution

Of course, we cannot do anything to stop them from writing and speaking about us unless we submit and hand over to them everything that we have. But after we have disarmed them and severed their hands from the resources of the nation, we should no longer expect them not to say anything. Whatever we do they are going to talk; they are going to find faults and say what they want; but what is important is that we should not give them an excuse. We have one problem with the nation itself and one problem with the foreigners. Among the nation also there are many individuals who are unhappy that the clergy have taken over some of the trivial tasks. Most of them say that the clergy should go to the mosque, recite the prayers and mind their own business and the affairs should be in their hands. When I was to be freed from the prison, they came and asked me to go into a room. It was a very big and well-furnished room; I went there and saw that the head of the Security Organization at that time that has now been executed—Hasan Pakravan—was there with Mawlawi.¹ He began to talk and said that politics is a matter that involves telling lies; slandering; deception, and so forth, and finally said that it was rascality! And that we should leave politics to them. I told him that if it was so then it belonged to them! If this is what politics is all about then it was better that it was left to them. They removed the same words out of context and wrote in the newspapers that they had arrived at an understanding with so-and-so person that he should not interfere in politics. When I went to the pulpit I also told them what the matter was in fact. They now wished to say that politics involved such matters and the distinguished *ulama* who are supposed not to engage in slander, should not engage in deception and should not do this and that, should respectfully go to the mosque and wear their robe and recite the prayers and well, speak on a

¹ Deputy Chief of the SAVAK at that time.

couple of religious topics to the people and return home; and that they are very respectable and deserved to be given their respect; and the country should be handed over to them! They are not made to manage the country and it is best that the country should be run by them. As a matter of fact, this was their logic.

The imperialist thesis: “Religion is the opium of the society”

And many of them are afraid of Islam; and if they are afraid of you also it is because you are the manifestations of Islam and want to realize Islam abroad. Before this movement came into being, they were theoretically afraid—all of them both inside and abroad—of those who were attached to Islam...who were at the head. For this reason they tried to make all the religions to appear insignificant in the eyes of the people and then took on Islam and regarded it on the same level with other religions. They tried to tarnish the image of Islam in the eyes of the people. They would speak generally about religions and say that religions were the opium of the society. What they meant was that religions were fabricated by the bullies, the capitalists, the kings, and chiefs in order to put the people to sleep like an opium that when given to people benumbs them so that they can plunder the wealth of the people while they are sleeping. This is how they would show religion and the clergy as well; that they are courtiers; that they are British. The British themselves would create this suspicion so that people should say that they were indeed British! That they were courtiers; and that these clerics were so on and so forth.

I have repeatedly narrated this story that some years ago I and Mr. Hairi—Mr. Murtada Hairi and his brother Haj Aqa Mahdi—were seated in a bus and were traveling toward the south of the city from somewhere. There was a group of people in the bus and one of them made a snide remark saying that he had since long not seen such figures. It was during the reign of Rida Shah or perhaps toward the end of his reign—I do not recall exactly—that he made this remark. His remark was directed at the three of us who were turbaned and he continued to say that we were created by the British and that they had gathered us in Najaf and Qum and that we were their agents! He gave some description of this sort. We also did not say anything and kept silent. This was the situation then and it is now. Now, they are also trying to isolate you so as not to have say on the daily lives of the Muslims and their needs, you pursue some other vocations, and “To tame the vicious kicking mule is

ours.”¹ This is their objective and it is possible that, God forbid, we give them the opportunity; give them an excuse which they use as a pretext to write and to say things against you. The important thing is that they do not want Islam to become a reality abroad; they are afraid of Islam especially now that they have witnessed it with their own eyes. At one time the issue was academic and the matters that they would mention and engage in propaganda was for academic matters that they would say that if Islam comes to the forefront such-and-such things will happen; that if the clergy come to power such-and-such things will happen.

The aim of the enemy is to smear the clergymen

In the course of this movement these people saw manifestly that this was the problem: Islam possesses such a power that it can defeat the big powers with bare hands; and the clergymen are such people behind whom this nation stands and whatever they want, whatever they decree, they perform them. Now, they have openly witnessed this matter; now, their fear has multiplied a hundred times and they are struggling to tarnish your image and make you appear in front of the nation in such a way that the people turn their backs on you and say that until now they had nothing in their hands; now that they have attained something, they too are like those people. What they mean to say is that these clerics had no authority in their possession but now that it has come to them, they too are the same as the others and are doing the same things. If a single crooked step is taken, they shall magnify it a hundred times for the people and shall write about them in their articles or in their newspapers or in their books and publish them mostly abroad and also inside the country...

Dialogue with Madam Fallaci, the well-known Italian journalist

Yesterday, one of the journalists who wanted to write a book; it was quite some time that one of the gentlemen had suggested that she should come here to meet and speak with me and talk about the issues. She wants to write a book—she was a foreigner, a woman²—and she wanted to ask me questions and I should answer them. One of the things that she said was this that when she had seen me I had appeared a very calm person and I did not look like such type of a man; but in the foreign countries I was made to appear differently. Of course, I knew that abroad they were saying that I was

¹ It is a hemistich of poem of the famous poet of the 10th century AH, Wahshi Bafqi, in narrating the story of dividing the inheritance of two brothers.

² Oriana Fallaci: correspondent of the Italian newspaper, “*Courier dela Sierra*” (?).

a Hitler! Just today they brought me a photograph of Hitler with his hands on his hips with my photo superimposed on his head and I have drawn out a sword in order to chop off their heads! I told her that I had heard about them; I had heard that such-and-such a person had ordered the breasts of women be cut off! Now that she was here, she should go and ask the people about the facts of the matter. Then she asked me whether I regretted that they would write such things. I said that from a certain aspect I regretted which was that why a human being who should be humane must be so perverted to write about something that is nonexistent; write such things to secure his interests; of course, from this aspect it is regrettable. Islam has arrived in order to enlighten all the people; to guide them on the straight path. And of course, I regret that people are such, but on the other hand, we must not expect them not to write such things about us because we have thwarted them from plundering our resources. They had fixed their eyes on our resources and on us; the nation of Iran severed their hands; and when their hands were severed, we should no longer expect them to sing our praise. They must say whatever they wish to say; we must continue on our path.

The great responsibility of the clergymen

My objective from this prolongation of speech is that in the same way that your position and standing is a great and respectable position, your responsibility is also great. To the same extent that your status is high, your responsibility is also many. If, for example, let us suppose that a committee is under the supervision of some of you gentlemen and an incompetent person there does some mischief, those who want to quarrel with us shall not say that there was an incompetent person in that committee who did this mischief; they shall say that the clergymen have done this mischief! They shall ascribe it to the clergymen; they shall not say that such-and-such committee is in this manner; they shall say that the clergyman is of this type. The prestige of the clergy is now attached to our deeds. It has always been so, but now it is more so. It always existed in the *taghuti* regime and we were nonentities; you also were nonentities and were under the pressure of oppression and were oppressed. Innocence brings popularity. Now, an Islamic republic has been established and it has become Islamic and the *taghuti* regime has been destroyed and an Islamic-humane system has come to power and you also have become in charge of an affair in order to assist this movement; and by the grace of God, it is with the help of this stratum that these tasks are being accomplished. Now it is not like this that if you did something at that time and since the people regarded you to be innocent and

were popular as a result, the people would not quarrel with you. But today that situation does not exist anymore; today they will quarrel with you. If a person in a committee, which some of the gentlemen are heading commits a wrong, they will generally condemn the committee and because they are at odds with men of learning, they will in particular ascribe that misdeed to the man of learning who is in that committee and say that, "Basically, the clergymen are such types! The clerical society is basically of this sort, they are disorderly! Now that they have achieved something, they have started to create trouble; this society is basically like this!" When the propaganda becomes too much, the people also begin to believe it.

During the reign of Rida Khan, I was witness and perhaps none of you remember; I remember those issues—that is, right from the beginning when he came to power with a coup d'état, until the present, I have been witness to all the issues—the propaganda that they did had an effect on the nation. Although they would see the crimes that these people were committing, but their propaganda was powerful and had an effect on some strata of the nation as well.

I have narrated this story often; and because in my heart there was an issue that was disturbing me, I now say it once again. The late Shaykh Abbas Tehrani—may Allah bestow His mercy on him—had said that he wanted to come from Arak to Qum and went to get into a car to hire and come when the driver of the car objected saying that they had given an undertaking not to give services to two groups of people; one, the *akhunds* and the other, the prostitutes! This was our situation in the era of the father; whereas all of you remember how it was and what happened during the reign of the son.

The reputation of the clergy and Islam is tied to the actions of the clergymen

Well, now both the son and the father have left; there is no returning for them but we must take note of the fact that the reputation of the clergy and the reputation of Islam are now tied to our deeds. If our actions are in accordance with the precepts of Islam, both the clergy will be safeguarded and Islam will be safeguarded; and if, God forbid, they see that we have once again started to fight and dispute among ourselves and take issue on what this committee or that committee has done; if they see us doing these things then the clergy shall lose its reputation; and with the loss of reputation of the clergy, Islam shall go on the retreat.

It was this class that brought the clergy here; the people also follow them; now it depends upon our deeds, meaning the responsibility that we have to shoulder now is far greater than the responsibility of the clergy during the era of the *taghuti* regime and is greater than the responsibility of the clergy in previous eras. In bygone days such issues had not occurred at all; the people were there and there was the clergy and the commandments of God. And the issues revolved around what a feudal lord had done somewhere or what a king was doing somewhere else; but these problems that are now important were not present at all. Now the world has become like a single family; a word that is uttered here is broadcast tomorrow throughout Iran and to whichever place where the radio and television signals can reach; it is broadcast in all the villages and hamlets; throughout the world and the country. If we perform our own Islamic and clerical duties, the reputation of the clergy shall be protected and shall be insured in such a period of time. For later also if we gain spiritual victory in this Revolution, this spiritual victory shall remain and if, God forbid, in this Revolution we gain no victory and lose our reputation, then we must step aside and recite the funeral verse of the clergy, and following that, the funeral verse of Islam for a long time. For this reason, to the extent that it is our duty and it is the duty of the gentlemen, they must strive to mold themselves as well as the committees that are under their control and also the revolutionary guards that are under their supervision in the form of Islam so that whoever comes to visit the committees should feel like he has arrived at a mosque and everything there is Islamic; whoever sees a revolutionary guard should see a devout Muslim man. If we are able to do such a thing such that our committees and our revolutionary guards are cleansed spiritually, we have emerged victorious in this movement and the victory shall, God willing, be permanent and Islam also shall come out triumphant.

Therefore, now, we have a duty; that is, a divine, religious, moral, and judicial duty which we must begin with our own selves first; and after we have begun with ourselves we should communicate it to those things that pertain to us; to those organizations that are under our supervision; and we should bear in mind to train a society that has gone through oppression and evil for 2,500 years—and for fifty odd years in this horrific darkness.

Split between the youth and the clergy

And they had influenced our youth in such a way that they had other thoughts about you; in the same way that you had other thoughts in relation to them and both the thinking were imported and influenced by propaganda.

The way that the university would think about you all as “a bunch of clerics” and so forth; and also the way you would think about the university students as an “a group of hip and so forth”. Both of these were propaganda to divide you. The strata of youth who must hold the destinies of the country in their hands sometimes later should be separated from you. Basically, the plan was to separate you from the active strata of the youth; this meant that the class that is informed and enlightened and are to become the administrators of the affairs were to be separated from you and you also from them so that the two powers who are the two intellectual strengths of one nation were to be in confrontation with each other so that all their work is negated; neither the university student would be able to perform his task properly nor would you be able to work properly. Both of you would be made to confront one another so that they could do as they wished and we would be indifferent to their matters; while we would be busy quarrelling among ourselves. This was a plan which they had in mind in addition to a thousand other plans that they had designed, which I cannot now mention. For the present, to the amount that is appropriate for this meeting and that I now mentioned to the gentlemen is that we must safeguard this reputation of the clergy and the reputation of Islam; and you must tell all your friends and colleagues that the responsibility is heavy. Today it is not like before; today it is a sensitive and dangerous time for all of us. I am now optimistic that, God willing, things will work out. The issues that the gentleman said are right. But we should emphasize to him that there was no grudge involved; but he is making a mistake. I told him and he has been told repeatedly that he was mistaken. And it is necessary to emphasize to him so that such mistakes are not repeated and it is quite likely that I shall speak about it today...to talk about the position of the clergy and what must be done about it; and what job those who want to deal a blow to the clergy are engaged in. It is possible that, God willing, this evening when there is a gathering in the Faydiyyah Madrasah, I shall make a speech that is in the interest of Islam and the Muslims. May God protect all of you; and may He grant you success and assist all of you.

Speech

Date: September 13, 1979 [Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 21, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: In praise of the struggles of Mr. Taleqani; the need for resistance and liberation from dependency

Audience: Family of the late Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

Condolence for mourning a servitor *mujahid*

I do not know whether it is me who has to convey condolences to you or it is you who must express condolences to me; or both of us together. I express my condolences to you for the loss of a great father; and you to me for having lost a beloved brother; and all of us to the nation for having lost a devoted servant; and all of us to Islam for having lost a *mujahid*. But we are from God and have come from there and shall return there.

We are from God; we belong to God; we have nothing of our own; whatever is present is from Him and we shall return to Him. And we must see how we have come here from there and how we are living here and how we shall go there. Are we who are here at the service of God, the Exalted, and at the service of the creatures; are we engaging in the sacred struggle in the way of God; are we following the straight path of divinity or are we deviating from it? If we are deviating whether to the left or to the right; whether to the left that is interpreted as the path of those inflicted with the wrath; and whether to the right that has been interpreted as the path of the astray opposite the straight path. If we traverse through this straight path; from the place where we start from, the path should be straight; it should not deviate; it should neither be eastern or western, be on the straight path; there should be no right or left involved and we move straight from here to the end, we shall be happy and shall make a nation happy. And if, God forbid, we deviate to the left or we deviate to the right then we are deviated. And if we occupy a position among the nation, we shall cause a nation to deviate. The late Mr. Taleqani was on the straight path; he would think straight; he

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech has been dated Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS, but based on the press report, the date of the meeting has been noontime of Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS.

would act straight. He deviated neither to the left nor to the right. Neither he was Westernized nor inclined to the East; he was Islamized; he pursued the teachings of Islam and was useful for a nation; and his departure is a loss; but he has linked to the place that was prepared for him in advance; the position that has been prepared for him.

Resistance and intellectual independence

And we must think that we also must be straight. If we are straight and invite the nation to resistance in the face of this Westernization that throughout history and especially in these past fifty and some years has pulled us in that direction; from one side they pulled us toward the East; from one side they pulled us towards the West and caused us to lose our identity. They caused our youth to become mediocre in relation to their potential; we are duty-bound, all of us are duty-bound; all the gentlemen and the respected ladies have a duty to invite the people on the straight path; the same path of Allah which is the straight path, and to avoid deviations. Deviate neither on the side of dictatorship in its absolute form nor deviate toward the West which is the path of oppression and injustice in the name of human rights; which is the taking away of all human rights.

The deviation of the non-monotheist doctrines

The doctrines that are present in the world other than the monotheist doctrines are deviant doctrines that the individuals who crafted these doctrines did with an objective in mind and for a conspiracy; in order to trap the unaware youth. Those who would claim to be on the side of nations, to be the servants of the nation, to be the brothers of the people and would use words such as “brotherhood” and “fraternity” would draw inspiration from one another.

Perhaps some of you remember or none of you remember that when the leaders of countries had planned to come to Iran and have a conference here, when Churchill¹ arrived, as what has been known and reported, he came to the airport and went with a taxi to his place; when the president of America² arrived, he too went in like manner; but when Stalin³ arrived, the aircraft that was carrying him also carried his cow along lest the milk that he drank from this region be contaminated! He arrived with a lot of protocol. That is how he would live in a royal and ultra-royal style and we were told that he also had a

¹ Wilston Churchill, the British prime minister during the World War II.

² Franklin Roosevelt, the American president during the World War II.

³ Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader after Lenin.

carriage made of gold! And I do not know but what I witnessed was that they would bring a lot of things for the American troops who were here and the British troops who were here. I even remember that they would bring lime grounded into a powder; they would bring clothing for them; but what I witnessed myself was when we were traveling from here to Mashhad by bus, these Russian soldiers who had been told that we were brothers with them and that there was no difference between us and them,¹ they would beg for cigarettes! They would beg from the people, from the passengers.

They were deceiving our youth! Both sides were deceiving; both the West was deceiving us and had made us a plaything and the East had made us a plaything; and until these deceptions are present; until these Westernization and Eastern influences are present in our nation, there is no hope for improvement.

Liberation from intellectual dependence on the West and the East

Now, we must concentrate all our efforts to free ourselves from this intellectual dependence. Our thinking is dependent; our culture is dependent. Now, we must try to extricate ourselves from this dependent culture; whether it is the culture of that side which is all immoral and whether it is the culture of the other side which is all corruption; in other words, all of these are for putting us into a trap; for putting mankind into a trap.

Style of administration at the advent of Islam

We shall pursue this straight path which is the path of humanity, which is the path of Islam and we can tell the difference from their administrations; at the time when Islam had not come to us so that it would have this side and that side like a fur cloak; at the time when Islam was direct during the era of the Prophet himself (*s*) and the era of Ali ibn Abi Talib (*a*); when you observe that era and the leaders of that era, the commanders of Islam of that era, the person who was positioned at the head of the administration for sustaining the order of the state, when you note how they lived, what was their own condition such that the one who was the Prophet of Islam would sit in a mosque which was unlike our mosques and the mosques that are existing now; a mosque that maybe did not even have a mat to cover the floor; a one-meter high wall or approximately of this height that was thatched with the leaves of the date-palm and made into a ceiling; a mosque with a single room and not so many! There was only one room. When they would be seated in

¹ That is, between the leaders of the Soviet socialist country and state, and the masses over there.

the mosque with his companions, one who would enter from outside would not be able to differentiate which one of them was the Prophet and which ones were the others. They would need to ask who the Prophet was! This is how they sat—just like the rest. There was not even a blanket like this one here to sit on that would be regarded as a privilege; and you all know how Hadrat Amir (a) was like. On the same day that they swore allegiance to Hadrat Amir and chose him, on the same day that his matter had been resolved, he took his pick and axe and went after his job. He would labor! He went somewhere after his job. This is how his administration was; he would himself work. This is an administration which if it says, “We are brothers” is being honest; that is, it is a brother who is lower than his brother; the rest of his brothers. Hadrat Amir is its head; as it is mentioned in history, in the utensil in which he had prepared ground barley flour, as he would consume barley bread, he had sealed the head of the utensil lest his daughters out of feeling that they had for him, add something such as oil to it and change the taste of the barley bread! This is how they lived; and he would state that he was concerned that some persons maybe living in the far flung area of his administration that may be hungry; who may not have bread to eat and he, too, wanted to be like him. Such an administration is an administration whose ruler can make a claim of brotherhood with others; of togetherness and being united with one another although he is not as well off as the others. He had an animal hide which he would spread under himself and his wife Hadrat az-Zahra and they would sleep on it. In the day they would spread fodder on the same animal hide to feed their camel. This was their living. These governments that claim to be for the masses should take a look at their own condition and then also take a look at the condition of their masses! Those that talk about human rights and claim to have established an assembly for human rights and say such things should see how they have behaved with human beings; where have they granted the human rights to them. We were one of those human beings, we too are a group of mankind; it is fifty and some years that they have taken away all our rights; that they took away all our things; these people who champion human rights are the ones who slaughter human beings en masse and cry out for human rights! When in Iran they execute Nasiri¹ or Hoveyda² they create uproar, why they have been killed! Is this anything other than that they wish to deceive us and give a bad name to our movement? They do not understand human beings let alone human rights. They have no regard and respect for humanity. All that

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri, head of the SAVAK during the Shah's regime.

² Amir Abbas Hoveyda, former prime minister during the Shah's regime.

they think of is the economic aspect and aspect of looting the people. Nothing else is involved; the infrastructure is the economy; it is the “infrastructure”! Everything has originated from there; a person who does not know what a human being is, also says such things.

The nation is the follower of Islam and it carries forward the movement

In any case, the problems of the country are many; and we needed a personality like Mr. Taleqani. But it is not so that with the departure of Mr. Taleqani, we have been defeated. Islam is present despite the departure of the Prophet. The revelation came that if the Prophet is killed or dies, then will you revert from your religion? Islam is present; its Prophet also departs, its Imam also departs, its *alim* [scholar] also departs; everyone departs. And our country—by the grace of the Almighty God—has awakened and an awakening has come into being for the strata of our country and our country has discovered itself; our nation has awakened and is now moving ahead on its own; it has arisen on its own; it shall tread the path on its own. And I hope that God blesses that servant and also makes all of us become servants; and may He favor our nation by making it more awakened in treading the path.

And foremost, I express my condolences to the ladies and next to the gentlemen; and you should know that I share in this sorrow. May God guide all of us on this straight path.

Letter

Date: September 13, 1979 [Shahrivar 22, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission to use the Share of the Imam (a) for establishing a theological school in Pakistan

Addressee: Muhammad Fadil

[In His Most Exalted Name

The Blessed Presence of His Eminence Grand Ayatullah al-Imam al-Khomeini—may his benign existence endure by the grace of God:

While extending my greetings, salutations and sincere wishes, kindly accept my apology for the inconvenience in informing Your Eminence that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mufti Jafar Husayn—may he always succeed—who is considered to be one of the distinguished *ulama* of Pakistan, and has a valuable and effective share in the propagation of the Jafari school of thought and its jurisprudential decrees, has established a theological school by the name of Jamiah Jafariyyah in the city of Gujranwalah which has a population of about one million inhabitants and lacks a Jafari theological school; and he has taken steps for the purchase of land. Through a letter, he has requested me to seek permission of Your Eminence for using the Share of the Imam (a) for construction of the building. With regard to the need for establishing the aforesaid seminary in the region, Your Eminence is kindly requested to issue the permission. May by the Grace of God your benign existence endure for the Muslims.

Muhammad Fadil
Shawwal al-Mukarram 21, 1399 AH]

In His Most Exalted Name

He is granted the permission. It is hoped that, God willing, the proposed seminary becomes a center for propagation of Islam. May peace be upon our Muslim brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: 9 am, September 14, 1979 [Shahrivar 23, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: General consensus; the enemy's fear of the Islamic nature of the system; position of the clergy; importance of the Consultative Assembly

Audience: Representatives of the Council of Experts; members of the Islamic Republic Party

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

General consensus in solving the problems

The issue altogether is that you have discussed the problems of the country; and this, too, everybody knows that the problems are many, but at present the solution is that all should have a consensus together. The government with the Revolutionary Council, everybody with the Islamic Republic Party and if possible, with other parties with whom one can arrive at a consensus and there should be no clashes, for example, between the government and the party, or the government and the council, or for instance, the radio and television broadcasting with others. At a time when clashes are hundred percent harmful, meaning that at present we need calm and we need understanding. There is no doubt that the problems are many; and there is no doubt that they shall not be solved so soon; meaning that you want a radio-television broadcasting network that was for fifty and some years at the service of the corrupt regime and the personnel who are employed in it would think in those lines and were rooted in them should now all of a sudden be transformed into pious individuals; be transformed into Muslim individuals whose thinking is Islamic and nationalist. This is something which we all aspire but it shall not be set right so soon. If you want that the government should within this short period also be able to perform these tasks—this too is not possible. Or you want that the members of the government should be hundred percent of our type, this also is not possible. I can see that there are individuals among them that are not in this path. But the solution at present is not in creating a clash and, for example, creating disorder; suppose we go after the government and repeatedly say that this individual should step aside, that one should step aside, this one should step aside; go after the television broadcasting and say that this one should leave right now and

tomorrow another person should take over; another group is opposed to him and he should be changed; and the same with the rest of the strata.

Handing over responsibilities to devoted persons

In my opinion it appears that today we must strive to overlook to the extent that is possible, the valid shortcomings so that perhaps some stability is established; so that the job of the Council of Experts is concluded, God willing, with the efforts of the gentlemen sooner and we go after the Consultative Assembly and set the Consultative Assembly in order and hand over the job to the nation and to the representatives of the nation. And by handing over the tasks, God willing, to the nation and individuals that are devoted, and we are able to and you are able to have elected representatives who are, God willing, hundred percent Islamic, patriotic, intellectual and possess all the requisite qualities, then, God willing, with them the tasks shall be reformed.

But now we want to create disorder everyday, and well, I have seen from that time until now that whoever has been appointed to a job and headed a place, a group has immediately come forward and questioned the decision. For example, after intensive investigation and so forth the gentlemen have nominated a person for the position of chief of staff; as soon as he was appointed, suddenly they started saying such-and-such. It is not possible that we as soon as four persons are found who say no, put aside the person who has been selected and replace him with someone else; then again another set of people come and obstruct him. This will result in our inability to accomplish any task; we must now seek assistance and not weaken the government such that well...some of the gentlemen have decided to, for example, to weaken and destroy the government. Any person, any individual who is in the government, I notice that they suddenly come and say that he is the one who was the most dangerous of all! He was the one who was the most treacherous and such statements that sometimes are not because of ill-intention; but because of ill-recognition. And the Council, for example, whose individuals we are familiar with and know what type of persons they are; and those who do not know them, criticize them just like this, in a general and collective manner saying that it is a council that does not know its job, that it is not known how it is running and so forth.

The Council of Experts, elected by the nation

A Council of Experts that has been elected by the vote of the people; everybody knows that this Council is a council that was not imposed, nobody

had imposed it; the people themselves have elected; except that you suppose that the Islamic Republic Party had fielded candidates; the world also is such that individuals become candidates; others also had fielded candidates; now they have been defeated. Those who have been defeated protest why they have not been elected! Well, you are not elected because you had no popularity among the nation! No one has blocked the people from voting! You were the ones who would prevent the people from voting otherwise the Islamic Republic Party did not prevent people from voting for others. But they say no, they did such and such a thing so that we have been defeated. Well, very good, now we suppose that what they say is right—it is a lie—but let us assume it is true; if suppose a section say that we are on friendly terms with Mr. Beheshti¹ and Mr. Beheshti is popular with the people and because of his popularity people voted for him; is this against the truth? Is there any coercion involved? Or the people themselves have come to such a conclusion and take action. Now also you are seeing that any person from any side comes and says something about the Council of Experts.

The enemy's dread of the system becoming Islamic

And the thing that has added to the problems of the Council of Experts and the Islamic Republic and about all of these issues is the dread that a lot of people have of Islam. They are afraid lest an Islamic system comes into being such that they can no longer do as they wish and to plunder to their hearts' content! In my opinion, the problem is that altogether when one hears what they say one sees that they are uncomfortable that a group has been elected to the Council of Experts which are the ones who want Islam and the laws of Islam, and who are to draft the laws for the Islamic Republic. They are uncomfortable and protest why they have not been included! Well, you were not elected! One or two among you who have been elected were elected by rigging! Those persons also do not belong to the people; they had rigged. They are playing games; was Qasimlu² elected by the nation? Even the Kurdish people are opposed to him. Well, he had a bayonet in his hand and had every sort of facilities at his disposal and introduced himself as a candidate. I wish he had come. I had hoped he would come here and they would keep him here! ... Longer.

¹ Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti.

² Abdur-Rahman Qasimlu, Secretary General of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan.

The presence of the clergy in the Council of Experts

They fear Islam and that system which the gentlemen intend to establish—God willing, they will succeed—an Islamic system in which there is no pillaging and plundering and these Westernizations and these deviations. And these are all the discomforts. They do not care too much about how the clergy is; if the cleric was also of their type, they would not be concerned with him at all. But they know about the clergy that he wants to work for Islam and for this reason they question why there should be so many clergymen in the Council of Experts. Well, because it is an Islamic country, the people have voted for them, voted for the gentlemen; and not every cleric is sent there. The chosen clerics are the ones whom the people have elected and sent them there because they want to create an Islamic republic. Yes, if they wanted to establish for example a Western republic, in that case the individuals would have been different. In that case, the clergy must in essence be set aside. But we that want an Islamic republic and want to draft laws for an Islamic republic should we go and get the individuals from Europe? Should we go and find individuals that are supporters of Europe and supporters of the West and supporters of the communists? The gentlemen should go and find those individuals so that these gentlemen are not displeased! Well, even if the gentlemen would go and find them and nominate them and the nation would come to know that they are in conflict with the path of Islam, they would have rejected even the gentlemen. The people have not entered into a contract of fraternity with the gentlemen.

The popularity of Mr. Taleqani

The people accept them because they are Islamic and are guardians of Islam—all of us are in this manner—and as persons that are the servants of Islam; otherwise, we are not exceptionally beautiful so that people should accept us because of that. They know that we are their servants and that the servants have affection for them. These people who displayed so much affection for Mr. Taleqani, was it really because—as that person wrote—he was a democrat and for this reason the people displayed such an outpouring of affection; the things that the people would kiss; they would kiss that pickaxe that his grave had been dug with; was it because he was a man who was a democrat? Was it so? Or no, he was a cleric and the people regard the clergy as being manifestations of the prophetic mission and the manifestation of the Imamate.

And in the statements that I made yesterday which perhaps you will hear tomorrow, was that we should take note of what the people say. It is such that

at one time we go into a room, sit down and write whatever we wish; this was for this reason and that was for that reason! At one time we want to see what these people who have brought about this Revolution and that express such sorrow and mourning were saying. Was it other than this that they were saying, "O our master, O our leader, O the representative of our Prophet, we miss you." They regarded him as the representative of the Prophet and for this reason they would kiss that pickaxe. It is like kissing the shrine of Her Holiness Masumah; the affection is not for the gold, silver and the metal, rather it is an outpouring of affection in relation to God and in relation to the Prophet and in relation to them. They dread these matters! When an aged descendant of the Prophet passes away from among this population, this is what happens whereas when a thousand persons belonging to the Democrat Party are killed, the people rejoice! This is what they fear. And we also must not corroborate them because they too want to have a stronghold somewhere and are struggling to find a solution for themselves; but we must think of what kind of blow has been dealt to this nation of ours so far and how it must move at present in order to avoid those blows being dealt to it.

Half a century of treachery of foreigners

For fifty and some years, we were dealt with blows by the foreigners; from inclination toward foreigners; from that all our things were devoted to them; we were struck blows; now those blows should again be repeated by us. Should we repeat the same route? Or no, we should overcome this route with another revolution. At least those that have no faith in our religion which is the most progressive religion, well, they should experience it. For fifty years they experienced the other side; for five years they should experience this side. Then if this side also turns out to be the same and if the same displays of power and those killings and those plundering are also witnessed on this side, then they should come forward and say that both should step down and another solution must be thought about. But without experiencing and without them trying to understand what it is going to be like from now, to understand from the individuals; individuals that are present now as compared to the individuals who were serving in that regime...if, for example, this individual is not decisive and is not very capable—that is one issue. Another issue is that they disagree and say that this individual is doing those things that were being done in the previous regime such as stealing, plundering, subversion, and serving the foreigners; these people are also doing the same things. I do not believe that it would be fair if they wish to say such things. This is unfair. We know the individuals;

we know which individuals are in the Revolutionary Council. The persons who are in the government—with the exception of a group—some of them we know very well that they are not untrustworthy in that sense of the term in the manner that they keep on saying to us that there is no difference with that regime! Is it fair that we say this system is not different from the previous one? That regime which would loot all the people and beat them up and pillage them; take away their wealth and property and burn them; whereas now there is neither a prison for the ordinary people nor for non-criminals and there is no plunderer and no forceful confiscations and taking away; now, suppose that someone commits a theft in some place, this too is an inheritance from the former regime; otherwise if an Islamic system is established, their hands will be amputated.

Opposition to the clergy is a pretext for opposition to Islam

And the important thing is that they are afraid of you for this feature; for Islam. All the oppositions to the clergy are because of Islam and not because of the clergymen; the clergy is not something that is independent. All the oppositions are also because they regard Islam to be in conflict with their interests and the interests of those that are working and thinking for them. And those that are forcing these people to take such actions also see that with the arrival of Islam, there is power in Islam. That was one issue which they felt that Islam had such a power as to have toppled a regime that had all power at its disposal and with all those shelters—that they would constantly pressurize us when we were in Paris; constantly they would bring pressure on behalf of America that you should not behave with them in this way; and after the departure of the Shah do not do anything to him, that they are good and that we should allow them to do their job; well, now, they are seeing that they combined all their powers together and on one front was our nation that had nothing except the cry of Islam; and now those who are in abroad have come to the conclusion and have seen that this is a power; and it is possible that this power will until the end not allow them to act as they wish in this country, God willing; for this reason they are afraid; and they also must oppose, they have no alternative. Outside also they would undertake all those activities and write so many things; well, it is because of this reason that they are afraid of this issue. And yesterday a woman¹ had come here and interviewed me and one of the things that she said was this that she found me to be very calm and composed whereas in foreign countries they had painted a different picture of me; she asked whether I was not displeased by this. I

¹ Oriana Fallaci, the Italian journalist.

replied that from a certain aspect it did hurt which was that why a human being should be such that to achieve his own end, he should say something that is contrary to the truth! You have come here, well, go to the people and ask them whether until now any breast of a female has been cut off for someone to have given the order for it. I did not tell her this, but this is a fact. It is said that they had dreamt of Satan having a handsome face! They said well, but this picture was contrary to what they had drawn for them. They said that the pen is in the hands of the enemy! This is the question. Yesterday also they brought a sheet of paper and said that this person is a Hitler. Hitler had placed his hand behind his back and was staring at a caricature of mine...and I had drawn out a sword while a whole lot of skulls and heads—all of which I had chopped off—were drawn beside my caricature!

Praising the enemy is repudiation of the system

And we must also not expect that they should speak well of us; if they speak well then it is obvious that we are the renegades! In those days I would say that this regime¹ did not understand that the way to bring about my downfall was to praise me! Everyday they would engage in using foul language; the more they would abuse, the people would think that it was because I was against them. Had they begun to praise and accord respect and so forth; we would have gradually been finished! If America praises us and the American newspapers sing our praises, it is then that the people must question the issue; there must be some reason why they are praising us! Of course, they must condemn us; they must also condemn you and they must also condemn the Islamic Republic.

At any rate, they are apprehensive that this system which it is hoped, God willing, will become a reality abroad, has made them to become apprehensive; a group of traitors have become apprehensive; and also a group of respectable people; but they do not pay attention to the fact that this is not the case; the issue is not that if a jurisprudent is approved in the Revolution Council that, for example, he must possess such qualities; they think that since it has become so, thus the world has come to an end! They will make a mess of the people! That these jurisprudents will do whatever they want and then such-and-such thing will happen and they will be defeated. This is an Islamic country. It is a country whose people kissed the pickaxe with which the grave of the late Mr. Taleqani was dug. We want to work for this people, we want to draft legislation for this people; it is for this people that we want to endeavor; it is they who vote for them. If we

¹ The Pahlavi regime.

pressurize them to vote for this gentleman, tell them they must definitely vote on this issue; then of course both we as well as they are at fault. But if we hand over the issue to the people and tell them that this is the gentleman; do you accept him or not? It is possible that you will put this one thing to public vote that whether they accept that, for example, a first rate *alim*, for example, supervise these matters. Let the 35 million—except those who have joined hands and were not able to garner one million votes—see that here also it is the same or the issue is that they want to impose our will upon them. If this is the issue then it is you who are saying things against it, who are the dictators and wish to impose your will upon us.

Dictatorship is against the direction and opinion of the nation

Dictatorship is to impose something that is against the direction of the nation; that is, in conflict with the opinion of the nation. You want to impose this subject on the nation that, for example, you tell them to put aside this subject of religious jurisprudence; that we overlook the fact that our government is an Islamic government—it was God; it was God that brought this about—we have climbed down several positions and have behaved in accordance with the wishes of the gentlemen, or more because we in an instant set up an assembly with the vote of the people so that they could come forward and say which aspect of the voting was by force. Where had they brought pressure? Where had they installed a system in which they were told to vote in this manner? Or where they took away a ballot box and rigged it? They should come forward and say so wherever such a thing has taken place so that it will be annulled. But to disregard the public vote; and secondly the gentlemen also have confirmed that it was right; and thirdly, it was put to the vote of all the people—so where is the problem that those gentlemen are raising such a hue and cry? Is it except that the same anti-Islamic vein that urges them to say these?! Sometimes they are unaware of it and sometimes they are aware of it. This is the issue.

Importance of the Consultative Assembly

And now the subject that I must speak about here both to the gentlemen that are in the Islamic Republic Party as well as the gentlemen in the Council [of Experts] is this that we must look to the composition of the Consultative Assembly—this is important. If a Consultative Assembly that is in line with Islam is established, we shall go after our own job; they too shall become busy doing their own task; they shall do their job; we can no longer be repeatedly bothered till the end. The nation itself is doing its job; and when a

nation does its own job then whoever that protests or raises his voice or cries out is inconsequential because well, the nation itself wants. Once I had said that if the nation wanted to say that it wanted to have dictatorship, you have no right to say no to them. If suppose because the West is not dictatorship—which of course it is and is worse than that—but our nation wants Islam and there is absolutely no dictatorship involved in Islam—never there was and never there has been absolutely and never there shall be. And we must try to establish, God willing, an assembly that is proper; and you should not be afraid of these statements. It is that the better that you make it, the more they will criticize it. This incident I have mentioned once or twice that the late Mr. Fayd¹—may God bless him—was among the prominent *ulama* of this place. At a time when they had decreed that the clergy must sit for an examination and you cannot imagine what disgrace it had created for us, inside the Faydiyyah Madrasah, I was going to meet him. He said that well, these people wanted to distinguish the good from the bad and there was nothing wrong with it. I told him that they were afraid of the good! They wanted to identify the good and then destroy them! Yes, if they wished to destroy the bad we would have approved of them, but it is the good that they want to destroy; they were afraid of the good. Rida Khan was afraid of Mudarris; he had nothing to fear of the man who approved of him. The foreigners were afraid of the likes of Mudarris; and not of a person who agreed with them; or to whom it would make no difference whether this system was operating properly or that system—he obeyed the system. He obeyed as long as his car was of a good make-up even if that car was gifted to him whether by Umar Saad or by Imam Husayn—it makes no difference to him at all! It is because the yardstick for him is the automobile. To a person for whom the life of the world is the yardstick, who has no religion, only a good material life is important to him, it is welcome if this lifestyle is given by Rida Khan to him or whether you give it to him—it makes no difference to him because the automobile is the same whoever grants it to him.

Electing representatives with Islamic inclination

This is the issue; God willing, you should find those that are religious and those that lean toward Islam; start right now. This time your troubles have increased because the Council of Experts was for a short term, whereas the assembly is for a long period; and there are advantages in it. You must be very meticulous; you must work very hard; nominate your candidates and

¹ Mirza Muhammad Fayd Qummi (d. 1329 AHS).

introduce them to the people as your candidates; the one who works for Islam and propagate that Islam; the sword should be in your hands; the sword also is in your hands; get the job done with this sword; this cutting sword of Islam; but a sword that destroys the traitors and protects those that serve it. Inform the people that your candidates consist of these six-hundred or five-hundred persons for example—whatever their number. And of course do not be apprehensive if they say that it consists of the mullahs and *ulama* and that it has become a priestly affair. Islam has made it into a priestly affair; what has it got to do with us. And I should say that the clergy and the religion of the clergy means to be Islamic and follower of the Islamic religion; all must be in this manner. And then you can go to the Consultative Assembly with peace. If you do not go to the Consultative Assembly yourself or, God willing, you go, get elected, then you go there in peace and relax while the nation itself shall do the job. Now, if you permit, I shall take your leave.

Speech

Date: September 14, 1979 [Shahrivar 23, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Description of the dimensions of Mr. Taleqani's personality; the power of Islam and responsibility of the clergy; the necessity to sustain the power of the youth and the university students

Audience: Various strata of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

"Verily, to Allah we belong, and unto Him we shall return."

In praise of the personality of Mr. Taleqani

We have lost a brother; and our nation has lost a father; and Islam a *mujahid*; all of us are aggrieved and affected by this great sorrow. May God bless him and grant you tolerance and patience. After long years of service, suffering, anxiety, and sacred struggle, he is no more among us and has, God willing, been united with his pious ancestors. We must learn lessons from the events that occur and gain knowledge and be warned of certain issues.

Why upon the death of Mr. Taleqani this upheaval and this explosion occurred in this country and in the rest of the countries? What happened that caused this explosion? We shall analyze his qualities and his aspects and then let the nation be the judge. In our analysis, we must not sit in a closed room and think and hold the pen in our hand and be under the impression that we are analyzing; we must study the condition of the nation and see why they accorded this respect to Mr. Taleqani! What was present in him, and what motivated the nation? Mr. Taleqani had various aspects to his personality; firstly he was a messenger; he was a servant; he was an intellectual; he was a commentator of the Quran; he was a devoted individual; he was opposed to the previous regime; he was opposed to the left or the right. Which one of the aspects of Mr. Taleqani aroused the people in such a manner and plunged all the strata into such a sorrow? Each one of these qualities can be found in many individuals and yet such a thing does not occur.

What we can understand from the circumstance of the nation and the outpouring of the nation is two or three important issues that resulted in this explosion in our nation and this extraordinary outpouring of our nation; one was this spirit of resistance and opposition with the system of oppression. Right from his youth until his soul departed and joined his pious ancestors,

his motivation was opposition to the tyrants, oppressors and plunderers. He never tired and consequent to this attitude was numerous imprisonments; every once in a while he would be transferred from one prison to another. If, a nation that is opposed to a regime; a nation that has suffered at the hands of the *taghuti* regime; a nation that considers all its miseries to be from the *taghuti* regime and its masters, if it sees that someone has resisted, has opposed with all his strength whether in his youth and with the power of his youth or whether in old age and the weakness of old age and has suffered in this opposition and resistance; has been imprisoned; that he has been exiled, has been humiliated, has perhaps been tortured; a nation that sees that a person opposes in such a manner with its enemy, with someone that has destroyed all its national and religious reputation, this nation shows its gratitude toward him, meaning that this gratitude it expresses for its own servant. But this was not all of the motivation. This resistance was and is also present in some other personalities, but people do become affected and sorrowful, but this explosion does not happen.

Attach resistance and opposition with the system of oppression to the fact that he was a clergyman and would do this thing. A clergyman, a person who because of his spirituality was popular among the people; when they witness his devotion to service, this explosion is attained. You saw on the television at the time of his burial; you heard the slogans of the people; what was the slogan? The motivation of the people can be gauged from their slogans. In rooms and behind closed doors, the writers do not sit down to earn a position for themselves; to create motivation! Academic and illusionary motivations other than actual motivations are palpable. What were the people saying? What slogans were they chanting? "O the successor of the Prophet! You are being missed." This was the breath of the people; they regarded him as the successor to the Prophet; but a successor to the Prophet both on the spiritual front as well in physical resistance, in his opposition to the system of oppression. Succession both in confrontation with injustice, in opposition with the tyrants, in resistance against oppressors as well as in spirit, in spirituality; but the motivation was: "O successor to our Prophet". You saw what the people would do with the pickaxe with which they had dug his grave and had removed the soil with; they were expressing their love to it, they would kiss it, they would touch it; they would fight with one another over it to kiss it; why did they kiss it? After all a pickaxe is not something that should be kissed. Were they kissing the pickaxe because Mr. Taleqani was a democratic person? For the same reason that they kiss the shrine of the Immaculate Imams and our prominent personalities; that same

reason compelled the people to kiss his pickaxe; it was not because of his intellectualism; it was because they regarded him to be the successor to their Prophet. The people regard Her Holiness Masumah as the daughter of their own Imam that they kiss her mausoleum. The mausoleum is a bit of gold and a little iron; why do they kiss this iron and gold? There is a lot of iron and gold in the world. Well, they even earn coins, but do they ever kiss them? This motivation is the affection of the people for the origin. Why do they kiss the *Hajar al-Aswad*¹ and touch it and seek its blessing? Why do millions of people circumambulate a house made of mud and stone every year? It is because their motivation is a divine motivation. Whatever pertains to the order of God is to be respected. You kiss the cover of the “Word of Allah” and touch your eyes to it; well it is a cover, why? Because within this cover lies the words of God. Everything is for God. To whomever we accord respect, it must be for the sake of God. Our nation which a few days ago would kiss this pickaxe did so with the motive that Taleqani was the deputy of their Prophet. They themselves would cry out, “O deputy of our Prophet! You are being missed.” Why do you want to give up this power? Why do you have such a lowly and bad taste? Why do not these youth who wish to serve their country and themselves now make use of such a power? Do not they see this power? Do they not see that an old man of seventy and some years who did not have any strength left to engage in political activity in that sense, who is overcome by the infirmity of old age, who is ailing, when he is gone he create such an upheaval among the people of Iran and in the rest of the countries and stupefies the West and the East? Why do you wish to relinquish this power? Why do you repeatedly break this power? Why for anything that happens you take away the credit from Islam and want to give a Western name?

Make use of the power of Islam

O nation! O the intellectuals! O the enlightened! Make use of this power. It was this power that drove the *taghuti* regime to hell; you were not capable of doing this. Why everyday you see these manifestations of divinity and the power of God and yet you do not wake up? What disease is this that some of our enlightened are suffering from? I do not say to all of them; some of them. What disease is this that some of them are suffering from that when a nation throughout Iran beat their chests and commemorate someone as a “deputy of

¹ *Hajar al-aswad*: a black stone located in the eastern pillar of the *Kabah*, 1.5 meters above the ground placed on the wall. *Haji* pilgrims try to touch this stone during the circumambulation for blessing and luck as part of the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (s).

the Prophet”; that when they want to write they say about him that he was an enlightened man and for this reason the people...! You too are an intellectual; why do the people not recite a funeral verse for you! Sir, do not give up this power! Those who love their country, who do not want to allow a plundering regime to come to power once again, who want to confront their enemies, if they have brains they should use this power; they should come and connect to this turbulent sea; I advise them. Tomorrow our universities shall reopen and once again a bunch of people who regard themselves as enlightened intellectuals and who regard themselves as being such and such for Islam, for the nation and regard themselves to be their servants again pour out and cause disturbances and prevent the motives of the nation to blossom in the way that it is.

Necessity to connect to the power of the nation

Our friends are also not aware! They too; our friends also do not understand that they must not relinquish this power. This is a divine power. “The hand of God is with the congregation.”¹ Can you deny that Mr. Taleqani is dead? Can you deny that an outburst has occurred following his demise? Can you deny that this outburst has occurred from within the core of the nation without me or you engaging in publicity for him? Can you deny that it is the core of the nation that cries out, “O deputy of our Prophet, we yearn for you”? Where can you deny such a thing? Can you deny the power of the nation? This is the power of the nation; connect to this power. O drops! Connect to the sea in order to be safe; otherwise you shall be dissolved and be destroyed. O the lowly thoughts! Awaken and link up with this sea; the sea of divinity; the sea of the message; the sea of the Glorious Quran. Come out of this Westernization! Sir, it is fifty plus years that these Westernized thinking has brought upon you all these tragedies; come to your senses. Think a little about Islam. Do not demolish this great barrier that demolished the big powers; you cannot also demolish it. However much you may want, you cannot demolish it. Gentlemen! The nation is attached to God. Our nation is against those who deny the existence of God. The nation is attached to the clergy; it regards them as the deputies of the Imams; it regards them to be the deputies of the Prophet. The slogan on the demise of Taleqani, “O the deputy of our Prophet” speaks for itself. The reason why I mourn is because the deputy of the Prophet has passed away; not because a democrat has died! Not because an intellectual has passed away; because the deputy of the Prophet has departed. You should undertake a study of the condition of

¹ *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

the nation; do not sit at home and think of the motivation and write whatever you can against the direction of the nation and keep on writing; writing is of no use; but why do you not connect with this nation? Why do you not speak about the facts? You keep on writing about the “reactionary clergy”; the reactionary clergyman is that very thing that they have injected into you.

The enemies of Islam have introduced the clergymen as being reactionary

The enemies of Islam have injected into you the phrase, “the reactionary clergyman,” in order to separate you from the clergymen. These pens that regard the clergymen as being reactionary either lack understanding and have not studied the circumstance of the clergy, or have a grudge and are paid for writing; they get payment for writing. It was the clergy that rescued this Iraq from Britain; the clergy pulled it out from the throat of Britain; it was Aqa Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi¹—may peace be upon him—who took it out from the throat of Britain; is the clergyman reactionary or is it you? That half a line edict of Mirza Shirazi²—may Allah be pleased with him—extricated our country from the throat of the foreigners: “From today, to use tobacco is forbidden; it is opposition with the Imam of the Time.” This one sentence compelled the nation to rise in opposition. Why are you damaging this power? Be humans after all. It was the clergymen who in Iraq went to the warfront and were taken captives. The same late Mr. Khwansari³—may Allah be pleased with him—the late Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Khwansari is one of those personalities who went to the frontline and was taken prisoner of war; for a long time he remained a prisoner of war.

The goal of the enemy is to break the power of the clergy

Do not break this power; it is not expedient; it is not in the interest of the nation; it is not in the interest of the country that a power which has clenched

¹ Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi, known as Mirza-ye Mujahid II, was one of prominent Shiah *maraji* and one of the students of Mirza Shirazi the Great. During the World War I and in the event of the British forces' occupation of Iraq, he was the leader of the people's struggle and the Shiah people of Iraq against the British occupation. His famous order was: “Demanding for the right is obligatory upon the Iraqi people”.

² Mirza Muhammad Hasan Shirazi (1230-1312 AH), 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.

³ A grand *marji at-taqlid*.

its fists opposite the big powers and has driven them out of the arena should now be paid in this manner and thereby such a power to be broken. This great fortress of Islam and this great fortress of the clergy are both hated by the foreigners. They are inimical to both Islam because Islam has been bad for them; Islam does not permit them to destroy our resources; as well as the clergy whom they regard as opponents—and this they want to break.

When Rida Khan came into power, all his attention was focused on breaking this power of the clergy. All his attention was on this, but he was commissioned; but he was not a functionary who was exempt. He used all his powers to remove this garb from their bodies.

In the Dar ash-Shifa Seminary, I had a chamber; at the peak of the suppression of the nation, suppression of the clergy, I had a chamber there. After my friends would finish their day's work, we would gather there. One day a secret agent came into the chamber, sat down and said that it had been decided that there would be just six clergymen in the whole of Iran; this was a decision taken because they were afraid of these turbans; why? Because these turbaned clerics were recognized as "deputies of our Prophet; we yearn for you;" people would listen to them; they were afraid of these mosques.

Recently they had kept a retired colonel as agent in every mosque! It was because they were afraid of these mosques. They tried to disrobe the clergymen and to downgrade the clergymen from the position that they occupied and praise is to Allah, they were not able to do so. Is it now your turn? Now, it is the turn of each one of you to go on nagging and complaining about the clergy; a clergy that has done so much service to the nation and has rescued this nation so many times from danger. Now the gentlemen have come forward with their pens in hand and with their actions and words in criticism of the clergy. I do not wish to say that whoever wears a turban is such and such, that he is deputy of the Imam, he is not; there is no such thing. But those that engage in breaking them do not break the bad ones; they are hostile with the good ones and are friendly with the bad ones! The bad ones that are in the same position as them and collaborate with them and who were and are at the service of the regime; they are not on bad terms with them. They are hostile to those who are good! They are opposed to Taleqani. I say do not break this power like you would break a bowl. This is a divine power which you should make use of.

The great responsibility of the clergymen

I have also told the gentlemen clergy repeatedly and I say it now too, that firstly, your responsibilities are many; a great responsibility lies on your

shoulders. This nation that are all chanting, “deputy of the Imam” and “deputy of the Prophet” if, God forbid, they see a wrong in you, they will break the clergy. If the clergy is broken, Islam has been broken. The clergy has safeguarded Islam; if it is broken then Islam shall be broken. If at this point of time it is broken by us, we have committed treason against Islam and the Quran. Watch yourselves, be careful! You should concord your actions to Islam. If, God forbid, any one among you is deviant, expel him from your ranks.

Safeguarding the power of the youth and the university students

And another advice that I have given and give to them is that you must safeguard this power of the university students and the strata of the youth; do not challenge them; all belong to the same nation; all of us belong to one country and home; both of you should protect this home of yours. The destinies of this country of yours shall after sometime be in the hands of these university students; they shall become its ministers and so forth; protect them. In the same way that I ask them not to lose this power, I ask you also not to lose this power; be brothers; be together. I say to the university students not to divide into so many groups; you have enemies; you must be well-equipped to face the enemy; to be well-equipped is to unite into a single group with unity of expression; if you form into a single group, our devoted Muslim youth who—praise be to Allah—are in the majority in the university, if they repeatedly not divide into groups and sub-groups and join together then a few persons that are corrupt and astray shall either join with them, or get lost and go away. You should not wait for the government to come and prevent them or the nation to come and prevent them; you with your own gathering and without creating any conflict, without any fighting, with your own coming together and your own unity of expression should thwart these plots. Tomorrow the university is reopening; thwart these conspiracies. The plotters are your enemies; they are the enemies of your nation. Both the clergyman must be a friend and brother of the university student and also the university student be such with the clergyman so that these two powers, these two thinking intellectual powers are able to protect their own country.

The time has passed. May God guide you and us. May God bless the departed souls of the servants of the nation. And may He shower His blessings on the late Mr. Taleqani and grant all of us happiness and health; and our country independence and freedom.

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

Letter

Date: September 15, 1979 [Shahrivar 24, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to telegram of condolence

Occasion: Demise of Mr. Taleqani

Addressee: Hafiz Asad (President of Syria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hafiz Asad, President of the Arab Republic of Syria:

I have received the telegram of condolence of Your Excellency on the occasion of the sorrowful demise of the *mujahid* brother, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani. What is evident is that the name of that blessed deceased shall be recorded in consideration for his valuable services to Islam and the Muslims, and likewise, because of the incessant and tireless struggles of the deceased against tyranny, oppression, despotism and imperialism of the East and the West; and in the history of the freedom fighters and seekers of truth and justice.

While thanking Your Excellency and hoping for your happiness and good health, I beseech at the Court of the Exalted God for the welfare and glory of the brotherly nation of Syria, and for victory and happiness of all the Muslims of the world under the banner of the beloved Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 15, 1979 [Shahrivar 24, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to telegram of condolence

Occasion: Demise of Mr. Taleqani

Addressee: Yasir Arafat (Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Respected *Mujahid* Yasir Arafat, Head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization:

The telegram of condolence of Your Excellency on the occasion of the demise of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani is hereby received and is a source of consolation. Because of his services to Islam and in consideration of his persistent struggles against oppression, tyranny and dictatorship of the East and the West, the name of the deceased shall be recorded in the history of the *mujahids* in the path of truth and freedom. It is appropriate that while thanking Your Excellency for the telegram of condolence I should express my condolences for the passing away of the deceased to you who are yourself a forerunner in the struggle in the path of truth.

I seek forgiveness of God for the deceased, and beseech the Court of the Exalted Truth to grant Your Excellency increased favor to engage in the struggle in the path of realization of the rights of the Muslim brothers of Palestine.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 15, 1979 [Shahrivar 24, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Avoiding conflict; logical confrontation with the subversive elements

Audience: Professors of the University of Shiraz and heads of the Education Ministry in Fars province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shunning differences

When this movement has come to an end there shall be batches in high schools and universities and especially in the universities and at every place—where the teaching centers are located—there shall be groups that will create trouble; and from Tehran and other places also they have come here and asked what is to be done. They are thinking of presenting a plan but the important thing is that those that are among the subversive elements are in a minority. The majority is not subversive elements and this majority must shun any differences if at all they exist among themselves and with their gathering without causing a confrontation or physical fights, they should remove them from the scene with their protest gathering so that they are not able to engage in any activity. The important point is that those who are themselves in the universities where the Ministry of Education is present, whether they be professors or whether they be youth who are there, they should themselves thwart them in a reasonable manner because these people have nothing to offer. The subversive elements have nothing to say; they only want to create disturbances. If any of them makes a claim, go to him and ask him what he has to say. Ask him to talk. You will come to know that they have nothing to say. Their only language is to create disturbances and prevent anything from being done and this matter is in the hands of the university students, centers of learning, and the professors and non-academic staff to help in this affair. God willing, we also shall take certain steps and the government also plans to do something about it.

I shall look into this matter to see what it is and what must be done about it.

[A person from the audience said: “What we say is that if the mutual rights of the student and the teacher that number about ten million throughout the country is made clear to us from the viewpoint of Islam, so that any person whether he be a student or teacher wants to deviate from that

direction, we shall confront him severely. I mean that if the mutual rights of the student and the teacher is clarified for us and you please do us the favor and give a message on this subject, so that any person who strays from this path...]

I also want to prepare you for this that if we at any time write something and publish it; you should be prepared, for it is you that are important. We shall advise them and if, God forbid, at any time we notice that they are plotting we shall behave with them differently; but the important point is that in the universities, the gentlemen themselves, the students themselves, the teachers themselves, the doctors themselves, those that are present there should not have differences among themselves. At any place if the gathering are all Islamic and the majority are such and the deviants are placed in the minority, then if there are no differences among the majority themselves, they shall destroy the others quickly. The important thing is that sometimes there are differences among themselves. Differences among themselves cause them to infiltrate and prevent anything from being accomplished. You should try not to create differences among yourselves in whichever school or university you are studying; there should be no differences among the pious and Muslim gatherings anymore; they should not split into groups such that each becomes a different thing. They are groups but on the principle issue that must be attained, the criteria must be Islamic criteria. The moral behavior and ethics and these things must be purified. They must be united on certain common issues although there may also be differences of taste; it should be apart from this that all must together thwart an immoral act.

Let me give you this example; these Bakhtiyari tribes were at that time very powerful; they were two clans; I knew this thing; one clan was the Ilkhani who had a population while another clan was the Haj Ilkhani and they too had a population. They were usually on bad terms with each other; they were opposed to one another. I had heard that if an enemy would be found for one of them, both of these opposing clans would come together and drive out the enemy. Then after they had got rid of the enemy they would go back to their former hostilities and differences.

It is a logical matter that when all of you are Muslims; that all of you intend to carry, God willing, this Islamic movement forward; the majority are with you; that is, an absolute majority is with you, but differences should not cause to quarrel with one another opposite them. If you unite opposite that type that is the main enemies of the Revolution and the main enemies of Islam, if you unite against them, they can longer do any thing. But the important thing is that you should come together, be united with one another.

You should also be able to advise them; to persuade them to keep quiet. And if you are unable to do so and they do not heed, of course, we shall act with them in another way.

[At this juncture, one in the audience mentioned certain issues about the divisive role of some pseudo-clergymen.]

The Imam replied: “Well, that also is now a menace that also I hope, God willing, that they be guided.”

Speech

Date: September 15, 1979 [Shahrivar 24, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The source of sufferings of the Muslims

Audience: Palestinian delegation sent by Yasir Arafat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Solving the problems of the Muslims through unity of expression

Although this tragedy¹ was unpleasant and weighed heavily upon us, we must be resistant in the face of tragedies and problems; and God willing, with resistance we can solve the problems. And I implore God to grant us the spirit of resistance and likewise to our brethren in Palestine and in Lebanon. Despite all the calamities that you are faced with, I am optimistic that with the steadfastness that the gentlemen have and Abu Ammar² has, you shall overcome your problems and the affairs of the Muslims be reformed.

Convey my greetings of peace and good health to Abu Ammar and tell him on my behalf that your problems are our problems in the same way that our problems are your problems. The Muslims must be a single hand against all the oppressors. And I hope that with the unity of expression between we and you that is by the grace of God present, and with unity of expression with the rest of the strata of Muslims and especially the Muslim governments, it shall result in the elimination of our sufferings and your sufferings and the sufferings of the rest of the strata of Muslims.

We know and so do the Muslims; rather the important Muslim governments also; everybody knows that what we have got and inherited are two problems. One is the problem between the governments themselves that unfortunately they have not been able to resolve as yet and that problem is the differences between themselves, and that they know that the source of all the sufferings of the Muslims are these differences; and we also have been counseling on this subject since approximately twenty years; we have repeatedly written, spoken and called upon the leaders of the governments to maintain this unity; but unfortunately, so far it has not been achieved. And the second problem is the problem that the governments have with the nations whereby the governments behave in such a manner with the nations

¹ Demise of Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani.

² Nom-de plume of Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Front.

that the nations do not support them. The problems that are created for the governments and that must be eliminated with the help of the nations because of the understanding that is not present between them. If the nations do not add to the problems of the governments, they are in the least, indifferent. And perhaps I have spoken on this subject repeatedly that it would be good if the governments take a lesson from our previous government and our present government. If a problem would occur for the former *taghuti* regime, the nation would either add to the problem or remain indifferent to it.

Importance of the support of the nation for the government

And now our government, on the basis of it being an Islamic government and has no intention of doing injustice to the nation can depend on the nation to solve its problems. You saw that a big problem occurred for us in Kurdistan province; and as soon as it was announced that such a problem has occurred, people from all over Iran came to support and was ready to move toward Kurdistan in order to eliminate the disturbance. But we, in order that they should not be inconvenienced, and were certain that the disciplinary forces could solve the problem, requested them to be patient. And I know that any day that a problem occurs for us, our nation will strive to eliminate it and they have announced its willingness to us.

If the governments also behave with their nations in such a manner, there shall be no problem remaining for the Muslim states; and I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to awaken all of us and resolve these problems so that we are liberated from the clutches of the criminals of history.

...and we beseech God to solve the issue of Palestine in a manner that is to the benefit of the Muslims. I thank you and Abu Ammar. And I pray for all of you. And I consider it an Islamic duty to pray and am hopeful that God will resolve all the problems with His own hand.

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

Decree

Date: September 16, 1979 [Shahrivar 25, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to participate in the meetings of the Supreme Council of the Revolutionary Guard Corps

Addressee: Hasan Lahuti

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Lahuti—may his blessings last—Head of the Guard Corps of the Islamic Revolution of Iran:

By this decree, this is to inform you that it is necessary to participate in all the meetings of the Supreme Council for Coordination and Decision-making of the Guard Corps and supervise the proceedings directly, and to send to the undersigned weekly reports of the workings of the Guard Corps.

It is necessary to remind you that attention must be paid more than ever before to the Islamic behavior of the Guard Corps so that the Guard Corps becomes a perfect manifestation of the soldier of Islam. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the success and corroboration of Your Eminence in enlightenment and guidance of the Guard Corps that is of greater consideration than anything else.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 25, 1358 AHS

Speech

Date: September 16, 1979 [Shahrivar 25, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Invitation to perform Islamic and humanitarian duties

Audience: A group of Lion and Sun Society personnel dispatched to Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

General efforts in letting the movement reach its destination

In the same way that you noticed that with the help of all the strata of the nation we attained this miraculous victory, it was with the help of all and devotion to the Origin that such a miracle was made possible; now that we are midway and need to make use of the available powers; we must not think that the subject has passed. Those that exploited this country have not shifted their greedy eyes from this place; they are planning to engage in subversion and to the extent that they are able to, they want to prevent the restoration of peace in this country; to prevent this country from governing itself and becoming self-sufficient; they wish to thwart such a thing from happening and thus they hatch these plots that you are seeing. They created Kurdistan in that manner and it is likely that it will happen in other places as well. And with regard to the fact that we are midway and are again going to face problems, we should all help. Helping does not mean that you who are delegated by the Red Lion and Sun Society¹ do some other work; it means that you perform well in what is assigned to you.

In non-Islamic and *taghuti* rule, your conscience was not too much inclined to obey them; even if you obeyed, it was an obedience that was imposed but now that it has been transformed and an Islamic and national government that is rooted in you has taken over, there is no such thing as an imposition any more; and it is not a system that is a system of injustice, tyranny, oppression, and such things. We must feel a sense of Islamic-conscientious duty so that with that Islamic duty and with that humanitarian duty, we do a good job.

¹ The name "Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran" was changed to "Red Crescent Society of Iran" after the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

Service to the people

And I am happy that such a transformation has taken place among all the strata in Iran. Now, on this subject of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction, well, one sees that persons from everywhere that are also educated—especially women—have come to work. Just today in an interview that I heard, I saw the person says that they worked right from sunrise until sunset. This is a transformation that has taken place, meaning that everybody with enthusiasm and feeling that they should serve the people are busy working and this motivation is also certainly present in you, too. There is no doubt that now that there is no longer any compulsion or should I say, an imposition and such things, you yourselves are volunteers; and if there is a problem, you shall solve it yourselves. Therefore, that which is the source of happiness for us is that this Islamic transformation that was founded through the hand of God and no person was able to bring about such a transformation, especially the spiritual transformations whereby a group of young men came from America sometime before this and declared that they had come to serve under the *Jihad* for Reconstruction and go to the villages. I told them that well, I was aware that they did not possess the physical strength to harvest the crops with your hands or do masonry work or such things; but that they should know that their services are nevertheless valuable. When you come from America and go to such-and-such a village and the people see that a group of educated youth from America, some of whom are perhaps engineers and some are doctors, are doing the job of harvesting, this boosts their morale such that the peasant who would be able to harvest, for example, a single acre in a day will harvest two acres the following day; this requires strength. Do not think that your job is light; no, your job is extremely great from the spiritual aspect. When these landless peasants that had until now been troubled by the soldier or a gendarme and had only seen this or extortion by them are now seeing that a doctor, an engineer, or a student whether local, or from abroad, goes there to help them; they had not seen so far that a group of women who live in the provincial cities go there and harvest in their midst and together with them—they had not witnessed such a thing; they could not imagine such a thing; now that they are seeing the birth of such a spirit of humanity and this has been brought about under the shelter of Islam, and the superficial powers are not able to bring about such a transformation, such an Islamic and humanitarian transformation, this boosts their morale and makes them so happy such that it multiplies their strength and efficiency. Therefore, a humane and spiritual transformation has taken place that gives dignity to human beings; that boosts their confidence. And I hope that this is sustained

and in the manner that they are now alive and vigorous, they remain so and with this vitality and with this sagacity, they cause this country to advance in a way that individuals find their own route so that the absence of individuals does not cause any disorder.

May God protect all of you; may He grant you happiness and success, and resolve all the problems. However, there are some problems in the government; at present there are many and they must be solved with the effort of all; and I hope that, God willing, they are solved.

Decree

Date: September 17, 1979 [Shahrivar 26, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sending representative to Khorramabad

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Jafari Varamini

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Muhammad Jafari Varamini—may his graces last:

With regard to the experience and information that Your Eminence has of the region of Khorramabad and Lorestan, you are requested to undertake a visit to that place and attend from a close distance to the problems of the committee and the needs of the inhabitants; and with the help of the distinguished *ulama* and knowledgeable individuals, take steps for the security of the area and elimination of the problems; and in case it is necessary for the elimination of their problems, please take action through the Relief Committee of Tehran and possibly get in touch with the Prime Minister and the rest of the ministers and relevant authorities. I beseech God for the success of Your Eminence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini