



*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	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

چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
پ	p

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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Endeavor to fulfill the content of Islam

Speech

Date: September 17, 1979 [Shahrivar 26, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: All out dependencies in Pahlavi regime and preventing the younger
Occasion: Martyrdom of Imam Jafar Sadiq's (a) and the anniversary of tragic event in Faydiyyah Theological School

Audience: Families of martyrs of Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Society's Islamic-human transformation

Both the song you sang and the matters you presented were pleasant, moving and a guiding light. I should say that you have already gone the way there has remained not much opportunity for me to take up. I am satisfied with the fact that our people have found their way and are traversing the path. The spiritual transformation the nation has undergone is inspiring. I hope that we would face few problems in traversing the path.

When the society transforms from a *taghuti* configuration into an Islamic and humane frame, the things you do are Islamic and humane. You do things with great willingness and interest. This is a psychological change and a spiritual realization. We should be optimistic to this development, as we are. It is hoped that we will see a very bright future for Iran. You will hopefully see prosperous days ahead.

Taghut's objective in hindering the growth of the nation and the country

The things you called faulty have their roots in our culture. The question is not that which area suffers from flaw, but that which area is flawless? Attempts were made to bar this country from making human, economic, cultural and military growth. Throughout the course of history, particularly in the recent fifty odd years, plans had been charted out to check us from making progress, holding back efforts to produce sound university and high school. The mission aimed to frustrate the growth of centers capable of producing enlightened people. When primarily Rida Khan joined the game he assumed an Islamic appearance, dropping in passion play session, gatherings for description of tragedies of Imam Husayn (a) and theaters for that purpose in the month of Muharram. Initially, he came forward applying this tactic as his weapon. After he fortified his power base, he embarked on

the works he had been commissioned to do. Suppression of the clerics was his chief mission. The *Faydiyyah* School you see used to chamber the theology students. All its chambers were occupied by two to three students. In the mornings, the students could not stay in the chambers. Before sunrise, they moved to gardens. They used to do so because detectives and cops would detain them and divest them of their frock. Numerous attacks were organized against this class. They could not act accordingly with universities in those days, because they were afraid of the world community. They could not attack universities in the same light. At that time, they proceeded by restoring to propaganda and teachings that ran counter to the correct religion. They had colonial plans. They were of the opinions that if these two institutions were strengthened, the masses might follow them and frustrate their plans. Consequently, foremost among their plans was to suppress both the clerics and academicians.

Deception of the Pahlavi regime”

In the time of the second one,¹ he also sought to implement his plans hypocritically. He had teachers for this purpose. He began using deceptive approaches in several areas. Primarily, he assumed a religious character. He got Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi also tried to implement his plans hypocritically at first. He had some teachers in this regard too. As an example, he put on airs of religiosity and published the Quran. Every now and then, he made a pilgrimage to Imam Rida's Holy Shrine and performed prayers. This was one of the ways, the other practice he had worked out to push forward with other classes was the propaganda that he was set to usher in the country to the “Great Civilization”. The book “A mission for my country” was written by someone else and given him by line.² He could not write nor did he have the time to write. This was also a ploy to keep the people unaware of the fact that he was destroying to the people. Actually, however, they were presenting to be doing so and so for the people and working to industrialize the country! There is a saying that goes the crow tried to imitate a partridge’ but forgot its own way! The proverb “every man to his job” applies to him. In fact, he did not want to take a partridge as a model; he wanted to delude the people he wanted to delude the people. They intended to beguile the people and indulge

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

² It was said that the books “A mission for my country” had been written by Shujauddin Shafii and “The Great Civilization” by Amir Tahiri, editor of daily Kayhan, publishing them with Muhammad-Rida Shah's by line. Regarding the second book, all those familiar with diction of Amir Tahiri testify the subject.

them in the false spree of moving towards industrialization. After one or two years, we would grow in to be so and so country. Empty claims! We would cope with the superpowers! We would be like Japan that is today jostling the U.S and whose industry outpaces the U.S! They said we would become like Japan. What did they do?

Significance of Iran's agriculture and its destruction during Shah reign

That which was essential to grow in Iran and on which Iran's economy depended was agriculture, which was ruined. Under the guise of industrialization, agriculture was spoiled. Later on, some problems emerged. We turned to a market for American wheat and other grains we had to buy at exorbitant prices. They sold us the surplus they had no way of being disposed of by burning or throwing into the sea. The other problem was that their plan caused farmers to move from all around the country to Tehran's suburb and big cities. These poor people who used to farm in their districts built up the great number of shantytowns and ghettos in Tehran. With the excuse of abolishing feudalism and making all landlords, they ruined agriculture. How heedless we were! Our people were also either heedless or under the bayonet. They consisted of a number of simple farmers. Every ten of those poor farmers lived in a hut. I wonder if you have seen their huts on television. I saw them once or twice—a sorry sight, a literal hole. A bunch of children and adults emerged from these holes. They were farmers whom the regime wanted to make landlords, but totally disturbed their life. We had a rich agriculture and were able to reach autarky and export our products. If correct plans were taken for agriculture, Azarbayjan alone would provide our country with enough products and the surplus exported. Such is the case in Khorasan. I do not know if you have come across this account in newspapers or not. They pride themselves on purchasing several hundred thousands in worth of objects! They are proud of buying wheat and barley. They have ruined a country's agriculture and still give a shout of joy for purchasing what from the U.S. and not die of starvation this year. This was the approach they adopted. They undermined all those humane potentials or pushed them back. When I was in Paris, people from all around the world including Germany, which was nearby came to meet me. Those working in the Atomic Energy Center in Germany and the Iranians engaged in this field also came to meet me. The Iranians said that the job they were doing was harmful to Iran. They complained of being denied of mastering the technology! They want to keep us at a level so we cannot understand the relevant technology. Even if it is made, it is harmful for Iran. Such plans were underway as to send the

youth abroad and keeping them in the dark. I am not much in the know about today, but in time of the former regime, our youths were sent to America and all around Europe to get diplomas. AS I have been told, the diplomas given to our youths were different from those awarded to theirs in terms of quality! Our youths were given the diplomas immediately without mastering the field. However, the certificates were awarded to their own students with great care. I have been quoted time and again about this approach. Why? It is because they did not want us to grow and stop this power to emerge. They feared this empowerment. They are afraid of *akhund* as they fear the university class. They plan to brush aside. When the nation is deprived of these two classes, it cannot thrive. They are against these two powers.

Souvenir of the West, ruination of our youth

Now, thank God, a transformation has come about in our country. When we notice the ladies as of the situation formerly provided for them under the mask of free men and women, our women realized all these plans were tricks played upon them. Neither man nor woman was free in former time. The same is held true for the press and radio. There was no liberty; all was word and propaganda. The freedom they sought to provide for our country is now proposed by some of our writers! Is it freedom to ruin our boys and girls? This is the freedom they seek, a freedom that I construe as import freedom or colonialist freedom. It is a sort of freedom offered to countries they want to be dependent, freedom to use heroin, alcoholic beverages and corruption centers. You know that as we have been told hundreds of corruption centers in which most heinous corruptions prevailed stretched out from Tehran to Shemiran! These items are free! However, pens and expression are not free! These should not be free! By freedom they meant procuring pubs more than bookstores and corruption centers more than centers of learning in order to attract our youths to corruption centers. A youth in the prime of life gravitates towards corruption when it is facilitated. A group of people, who should be effective, is indulged in corruption, cannot reflect or inquiring, who has pillaged oil resources. This is what they want.

Thank God, that which gives good tidings to us is the evolution that has emerged. Our youths have quitted those centers and surged into the streets chanting anti-colonialism and anti-dictatorship slogans. They have grown so much that they are automatically engaged in nurturing the children without the need to affect them by propaganda.

Human and Islamic upbringing of children

Provide these children with human and Islamic education, which is the same as humane education. If this country becomes Muslim and the education is Islamic, no power can stand against it. As you saw, the power that defeated that big power was the very power of faith and the cry for martyrdom. Still, they are calling for martyrdom, be they women or men. It was this power that brought the progress of the prevailing corruption to a stop and defeated them. Maintain this power. To have an independent, safe, profitable and self-sufficient country, you should not oppose to the foreign industry and the relevant know-how. We do not reject foreign science and technology. We are opposed to the freedom imported from the west and encouraged by such people—the imported freedom, which ruins our youth. We are not against industry. Basically, they cheat us by way of civilization. West and east deceive us by claiming that they want to train us. They want to halt our progress. They want to make us needful of advisors. They want to render us needy in terms of advisor in the military, culture and everything. By advisor they do not mean teaching us, but to keep us up to a limit. We are against this.

Clergy's opposition to false civilization

The clerics are not opposed to progress; they are opposed to the version of progress asserted by Muhammad-Rida. They voice opposition to this civilization—"The gate of civilization", which destroyed all our things. The clergy is against the notion of "free women and free men" they proclaim, not against freedom. Freedom has its place, but not unrestrained freedom. Does freedom signify everyone can do whatever one wishes? I want to take heroin, gamble and commit evil acts. None of your business! The clerics are opposed to this version of freedom, not the freedom of the pen and speech, industry and enlightenment. If you develop industry, no one will oppose you. They ran the steel mill several years ago. Now they still argue that some years more are required to complete it if we do not want to sustain a loss. Foregoing this, we will lose millions monthly. We incur a loss in these transactions. Once bitten, twice shy. We are afraid of their suggestions, because they have done evil to us. We have never got signals that they are interested in training us for instance in industry. The industry they have brought is the one that you see. Their steel mill requires many more years to bear fruit or not! I cannot recall how many millions in loss per month! They spoiled our culture and agriculture and made our army dependent. They disturbed everything. They picked up whatever they could of our moveable

property and jewelry as much as they could and fled. Be it that God maintains this hopeful transformation. Train these children. I feel a sense of heavy responsibility to shoulder when I see a child who has lost his father or an old father who has lost his son. Yet, what comforts us is that it has been for God.

Ashura lesson

What is done for God is rendered easy, as you sang in this song dealing with Karbala. Well, the same issues were experienced in Karbala, but they were for God. Since the events were for God, they were easy. God willing, what you do is also for God. As you sang, "*Everyday is Ashura and every land is Karbala*". This is an instructive expression. It does not mean that every day is literally Ashura and hence we should mourn everyday. It implies that you should consider what has been accomplished in Karbala and what message Karbala events brought. This message should be remembered everyday. Karbala was the arena of confrontation of Islam with paganism, justice against injustice and a few but highly faithful men against the many but unfaithful ones. Be afraid of neither being small in number nor of defeat. There is no defeat at work. If you get killed, you will enjoy eternal bliss; if you kill, you will also experience bliss. May God keep you safe? God makes you all successful. I am always at your service and pray for you.

Speech

Date: September 17, 1979 [Shahrivar 26, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Divine miracle—the nation's martyrdom-seeking spirit

Occasion: His Holiness Imam Jafar Sadiq's (a) martyrdom—Anniversary of Faydiyyah Theological School atrocity

Audience: Families of the martyrs of Islamic Revolution—personnel of Islamic Revolution Central Committee personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Provisions for the afterlife, monotheism and serving Islam

I do not know in what words to thank the youth who have made sacrifices in this period of time. All I can say is that this struggle is for God and that we are from Him. Verily, to Him shall we return. Sooner or later we will return. So much the better we take a provision for the journey we are making naturally. This provision is that of monotheism: the provision to serve Islam.

I cannot set a value for the struggles and service of a youth who keeps vigil all nights at the risk of his life. How much is the remuneration for this practice? Can anyone reward these deeds other than God? Are nature and its boons reward of one who has risen for God or put his life at risk for God? What comforts us is that the Almighty God reckons you with. Foregoing this, we cannot appreciate you or, God forbid, reward you. We do not have such power. All that matters is that you are from God and worked for God; He will reward you. The reward given by God is valuable. The value of your deed is what God offers you. *"Surely Allah has bought of the believers their persons and their property for this, that they shall have the garden."*¹ Paradise, the bliss of meeting visage of Allah and His friends, is enough for you. Apart from this, no one can set a value in worldly sense for deeds done for God. What is related to the world of nature is inferior to what is done for God.

Fear of God in the hearts of the nation's enemies

You rose up and struggled for God. God willing, you will continue the struggle to the end and lead this revolution to victory for God. Working for

¹ Part of verse 111, *Surah at-Tawbah*.

God brings you victory. You stood against such a devilish power and its corollaries that intimidated, bullied and threatened us. This was the power of faith, which advanced you forward, not material power. In material terms, they were in no way proportional to us. What astonished the world and frustrated all their plans was how people with no sophisticated weapons and regular army could accomplish this order. There was no system. There was no idea of preparing a military force. We had no regular army and equipment to stand against them. Do you think if it was not for God's will, which dissuaded them from confronting us and filled their hearts with fear, any progress could be made? They could destroy Tehran overnight. Everything was available for them. They could wield destruction on every place that there was a living being. They did not cancel their plans "for God". God changed their minds of committing what they wished and filled their hearts with fear so that they would not deploy the weapons they should. This was one of the miracles, which occurred in this regard.

Coup failure, a miracle

Another miracle was the conspiracy they had woven for the coup in those very last nights when we were in Tehran. Prior to this, they conspired to impose martial law in the morning. We were not aware of this; they announced that people should not turn out in the streets. Then, law enforcement forces would control the streets and deploy tanks. They wanted to kill everyone whom they considered likely to have a role in this revolution. We were totally unaware of this plan. Everything occurred "*from where he thinks not.*"¹ As an instance, it was said to break the strike and the martial law. Well, people did it and they could not stop people or destroy them. Thereafter, those clashes erupted. The late Qarani,² May his soul live in peace, was here. He told me at that night the clashes between people and the state forces lasted for three hours and a half. In three hours and a half, empty hands overpowered the tanks, cannons and machine guns. This was God's victory. This defeat was God's favor. Try to keep this favor.

Link yourself to the unfathomable ocean of divinity. Connect your hearts to the origin of goodness. Everything is from Him. God is the One to sustain all. All victories come from Him. All that is good is derived from Him. Whatever evil acts are from us and whatever good emanates from Him. Join

¹ Part of verse 3, *Surah at-Talaq*.

² Martyr Waliyullah Qarani—the first Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces after the victory of Islamic Revolution.

Him. We are faint drops and indeed non-entities, yet if we join the ocean of divinely compassion, we will become everything. We will find power.

Victory of a few believers over army of unbelievers

In early days of Islam, a small number of Arabs who had not undergone any military training and who had no equipment brought about those victories. They were more empty-handed than you are at present. Every several of them had one sword, date baskets and date strings. Every several of them had one horse or camel. This was the situation. Their number was insignificant. The entire Islamic army numbered around 30,000. When the Romans lined up before Muslims, their vanguard consisted of 60,000 soldiers. As history relates, the army of Islam numbered 30,000 while their vanguard numbered 60,000 backed by 70,000 or 80,000 more. One of the generals on the Muslim side remarked, "If we fight them as usual, their vanguards only are twice as many as ours, hence we should do something to scare them. Thirty soldiers should follow me. We will fight them all." Fighting the 60,000 troops! He was told that it was impossible. They made noise until he agreed to be accompanied by sixty soldiers. These 60 combatants launched a night assault and defeated the enemy. Sixty faithful soldiers, who were fighting for God, defeated those 60,000 vanguards. This motivated the Islamic forces to conquer both the Romans and the Iranians, who commanded all sorts of equipment. History has it that even their horses had golden trappings, but they did not have faith. They were empty from within. All they had was form and weapons. They were however hollow fighters with no such spirit as treasured Muslim fighters who believe whether we kill or are killed, we will go to heaven. They did not have this spirit but Muslims did. It was this spirit that conquered.

Martyrdom-seeking spirit, source of victory

I am assured that God willing you are victorious, because I see such morale in our nation. It has not found expression once or twice. From Najaf to here, I came across handsome adults who were at the prime of their youth, one of whom came to me in Najaf, sat down and pleaded with me to pray for him to be martyred. When I came here, men and women had the same demand. A woman who had already lost some of her children said, "I have one or two sons and am ready to offer them too." It is this spirit that lends us confidence. This is superior to all tanks in the world. This is the spirit the Almighty God has bestowed upon us; we should keep it. This is a trust. Try to keep it. Do not be afraid of anything nor be concerned any time as long as

you keep this divine spirit. Do not think why you were not praised, why you were not rewarded or why no one joined us. God is with you. The Imam of the Time (May God's peace be upon him) prays for you. What is there to be afraid of and why? Why should we, who are traversing on the path of God and who rose against this devilish power that ruined our youths, Islam and everything, be afraid? Should we fear of being killed? Well, let us get killed. All our youths were already killed. Are we scared of being overpowered by them? Even if they do so, we are not afraid, because we are right. When we are right, if we are victor we are right and if we are the loser we are victorious. Rest assured of this. Connect your hearts to this source of good. Pray to God. Turn your hearts to this source these nights when you are patrolling in the dark with gun over your shoulders. Join the vast sea of bounty and be afraid of nothing. Do not expect anything from anyone. Do not turn to anyone. Do not recognize any power other than that Omnipotent power. He is all; everything is from Him.

May God bestow confidence and full faith upon you and rank you alongside the martyrs of Karbala. May God succeed us in efficient fulfillment of the responsibilities we are now shouldering?

Speech

Date: September 17, 1979 [Shahrivar 26, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracy of separating religion from politics—Comprehensiveness of the Islamic ideology

Occasion: His Holiness Imam Jafar Sadiq (a) martyrdom—Anniversary of Faydiyyah Theological School catastrophe

Audience: Ladies from Langarud Tayyibeh Pirasteh Training Centers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

West's conspiracy, separation of religion from politics

In advance, I would like to appreciate the ladies who have come here from far away to offer condolences. I also express my condolence to them.

What is significant in this revolution is to know the situation of the revolution and consciously pursue the goal of the Islamic Republic. So far, the *taghuti* regime had driven all Islamic decrees in the entire country, education and non-educational cadres, ministries, army and other places to run against Islam. Order had come to withhold Islam finding expression in Iran in its real sense. The foreigners who wanted to exploit us without difficulty struggled to sap the progress of Islam in the country. They spared those laws not posing a threat to their benefits. However, they struggled to bar the realization of the aspects that ran counter to their benefit. They attempted to make everyone believe that religion is separate from politics. Religion is a set of rules and decrees concerned only with prayers with the clerics preaching subjects that would not interfere with their business and nothing else, thus enabling them to indulge in their pillage and oppressing the nation. The religious strata should mind their acts of worship and ignore what is going on and what the foreigners were doing to this country. This is what the government planned to do during the *taghut* period. They tried to hinder the clergy's participation in politics. Perhaps many of them had come to believe that they should not interfere in politics. It is related that one of these corrupt agents told someone that they wanted to maintain the clergy's sanctity. To this end, they should not participate in politics. This is the ploy adapted by western states; their clients imitated it under the guise of

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is mentioned as Shahrivar 25, 1358 AHS.

maintaining the clergy's sanctity. This means that the clergy should just go to mosques and perform prayers, forgetting the country, statehood and the parliament—leaving these affairs to pillagers and minding their own business. This was planned a long time ago and fanned while the father and son were in power. This is their word.

Necessity of participation of all strata in politics

Our word is that not only the clergy, but also all strata should participate in politics. Politics is not a legacy left only to government, parliament or special figures. Politics signifies passing some enactments, laws, etc. to control a country. All citizens have the right to intervene in politics in this sense. It is women's right and duty to participate in politics. The same holds true for the clergy. Islam is a political religion; everything including even acts of worship in Islam is associated with politics.

Friday prayer and political congregations in Islam

Consider the Friday prayer, which was prohibited in time of *taghut* regime. Sometimes it was held stealthily in a mosque. The way the Friday prayer used to be held was not proper. The proper Friday prayer is what we are practicing today. It was performed for several weeks. Unfortunately, Mr. Taliqani passed away and, thank God, a paramount individual and a dutiful clergy has taken his place. He¹ had suffered imprisonment terms and torture and is well experienced. Friday prayer is a political congregation in addition to being an act of worship. Political issues and Muslims' problems must be posed in Friday prayer sermons. The same should be done in congregational prayer where people come together in every neighborhood to be informed of the country's situation and problems and to find solutions. Congregations of people in Mecca and other big assemblies in Mina, Arafat, Mashar and Medina, which hail from all Muslim lands and from all walks of life and who are able to afford and make the pilgrimage are all political issues. Congregations in towns and villages are political too. Unfortunately, owing to the propaganda that confined mosque-goers to mosque, we could not utilize both big and small congregations. It was like this because of the propagation, which had been the cause of confinement of mosque-going people to mosques.

¹ Mr. Muntaziri.

Significant role of mosques

The mosque is the propagation center. In early Islam, soldiers and armies were dispatched from mosques where political decrees were made. When a problem came up, they used to call for the congregational prayer, pose the matter and discuss it. The mosque is the political congregational center—the larger and more crowded one is called the Friday prayer. According to the size of the city, people should get together at a place every week. A big city like Tehran will have a bigger congregation. An intellectual preacher should familiarize people with their political, social and cultural duties by explications in sermons. There should be a congregation once a year or for two feasts and a public one for all Muslims. Those who can afford to make pilgrimage to Mecca are required to attend it. This is a political one where people from all countries can discuss the problems of the Muslims. Unfortunately, though it is held freely in Islam, we do not utilize it. Just consider how costly and difficult would be the invitation of the Emir of Hijaz to congregate 500 people outside of *Hajj* time. God Almighty has obliged millions of people to get together freely without any problems for the governments, but we fail to use it. This is the result of widespread propaganda by foreigners and their clients that religion has nothing to do with politics. For themselves, they say, “leave politics to the emperor and religion to the Pope and his followers” and for us, “leave politics to Muhammad-Rida and go for preaching, mind your own business and maintain your sainthood”. This was posed somewhat quite conspiratorially and roguishly in those days, something that I do not like to explain anymore. These are the troubles we encountered; I hope in the revolution such things are no longer observed.

One great outcome of this revolution is the transformation all people including men and women have undergone. That change for the better is the sense of responsibility. We are all responsible for training whatever is good for them in this world and the hereafter.

Universality of Islam

Islam is not a religion that considers only one aspect of life. It covers all aspects related to the world, politics, society, economy and even otherworldly life of which people of the world are not aware. Theistic religions were sent to deal with both aspects and to chalk out plans for both this and other worldly life. Monotheistic religions are not merely concerned with one aspect of life while ignoring the other. Islam in particular has insisted on association of religion with politics. Decrees relating to prayer,

Hajj, *zakat* and the *khums* are all politically oriented. Its *Hajj* and *khums* aim at administration of the country. The laws of *hudud*, *tazirat*, *lex talionis* and others were all brushed aside, being superseded by western laws. I hope this enlistment will make men and women feel a strong sense of responsibility. It was this very sense that sent people to the streets to shout out at the enemies and drive them out. This was your direct participation in politics, which the opponents encouraged to avoid. They tried to make women not only indifferent, but also corrupt, also serving as responsible for corruption of others.

Outcome of Western freedom, corruption and ruination of men and women

This was their end. They spread the idea that they freed women and men. They liberated 15 millions of women! What sort of freedom were they seeking? Were men free so that women could be free? In what field were we free? In what field were men free? In what sense were we free? Were men free? Well, of course, they were free in some respects and they were encouraged to establish corruption centers. Those women and men who were of their own ilk were free to do whatever in those centers of corruption. You well know what was going on at the beaches. They were free at the seaside. This was the “free man” and “free women” they prescribed. Foregoing this, was any of our newspapers free to raise a single word in those days? Who amongst you was free to say a word? That is why you were not free. The freedom they preached was equal to corruption, pain and trouble. This freedom ruined our young strata during these years. Thank God, a great development occurred in the recent years and you brothers and sisters came to realize that you are the ones to run your country. You are the ones to expel the corrupt strata and you did it.

Significance of education

You should educate girls and boys. Of course, it is an honorable occupation, but it takes on many responsibilities. You hold a noble yet responsible occupation. You are responsible for Islamic and human education of children. Train these girls in Islamic and human education. Develop their spirits into an Islamic and human one so as to be useful for your country. In contrast, the enemies worked to corrupt our youths and make them indifferent to their own problems. The heroin-taking youths cannot think whatever befalls them and the country. This is exactly what they were looking for. The youth who is accustomed to go to cinema of those

natures cannot reflect what has befallen the country. This is what they sought. I hope that with the development you have undergone and the attention you have drawn towards Islam and the Holy Quran, God willing, this country would be reformed.

Superiority of Iranian revolution to other revolutions

Know that so far there has been no evolution as good as the one in Iran. The revolutions in the world have claimed millions of lives and destroyed millions of houses. Let us just look at the October Revolution in Soviet Union. It is said that 60-odd years have passed since the revolution, yet no improvement has been made nor people are free. The leaders of the revolution have failed to give expression to the goals of the revolution. However, our five or six-month old revolution has accomplished many of its aims and is proceeding to set things right. It is because it is an Islamic revolution. The difference between Islamic and non-Islamic revolutions lies in the fact that when a revolution is Islamic, the masses of people will accompany it. When people support an idea, it will advance rapidly. Corruption in such revolutions is meager. I do not say there is absolutely no corruption. Any revolution is inevitably affected by such impurities, but none of them has occurred as appropriately and quickly as that in Iran. I hope that God grants you health, glory and majesty and that we all serve our country and Islam so that all our affairs would be corrected.

Speech

Date: September 17, 1979 [Shahrivar 26 1358 AHS / Shawwal 25 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Destructive role of Pahlavi regime media—Necessity of public attempt to solve the problems

Audience: A group of scholars and theology students of Qum Theological Seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Corruption in Pahlavi regime's mass media

Confusion follows any revolution. I am not unaware. What you pointed out is not something of which I am unaware. I know about it. Not only in there, but also other places are the same. That is to say, so far we struggled to remove a great barrier, the regime. However, a great deal of time is required to reconstruct a country, which they have ruined during 2500 years or at least the years we have seen. They spoilt the culture, mass media apparatuses such as newspapers, radio, T.V and whatever you can imagine. They destroyed things meant to improve the country and to be instructive and educative for the country, such as cinema. Cinema can be a didactic means for the youth if controlled and managed by the right person. Radio and T.V could also be instructive. So are the magazines and newspapers. Nevertheless, corruption was on the rise during the 50-odd years. Things that could be informative acted adversely, generating corruption. The magazines, newspapers and T.V abounded with obscene pictures and advertisements and articles worse than pictures. The then leaders had procured excessive corruption centers. They exerted all means at their command to destroy this country and they did it.

Necessity of public attempt to solve problems and to reconstruct ruins

The institutions left by the former regime were all perverted. Changing from a corrupt institution to a conventional and a highly-significant one takes more than five or six months or even a year. This is not impossible. I do not say not to make efforts. We should make effort. If we do not, never will the situation improve. However, you should know that in spite of all the efforts, something grown up with corruption could not be corrected overnight. Do not expect to be confronted with the lofty heaven as soon as this wall is pulled down. When you remove the wall you will see that all is corruption behind wall. That imperial regime disseminated corruption throughout the country under the guise of "Great Civilization", reforms, industrialization

and the mumbo-jumbos that they repeated, bringing destruction to us. When the wall was demolished, we found nothing but corruption. Whatever we have inherited is corrupt. You saw one aspect; wherever you go, the same situation prevails. Corruption prevails everywhere, but this cannot be taken as an excuse. We should all cooperate and work in a body to put right such a country. You should not look forward to the government and government to the clergy and both waiting for others to rectify the matters. This is a responsibility everyone should shoulder. *“You are like shepherds and you are all responsible and answerable.”*¹

The exercise of influence and all other factors have now brought about worrying knotty troubles. We are not negligent; we are striving, but this is not something to be done overnight. Things should be corrected step by step. This requires step-by-step effort. Every institution you drop by you sees a number of corrupt people at the helm. The remnants of the regime and opportunists have interloped and a group of deviants attempt to mislead the country. Another group pretending to be Islamic are moving against the course of Islam.

Fears of groups of Islam and the clergy

There are different groups with different forms and single persuasion opposing both Islam and the clergy. This is a common feature among all of them. All these corrupt groups are afraid of two things. One is Islam; if Islam is practiced in a country, there is no longer any room for them. However, they need some room to accomplish their ends. If they tilt towards Islam, they would be provided with room to act. But they prompt the misgiving that if they come under the canopy of Islam, they will suffer. Of course, some of the things they want, Islam cannot grant them. They demand unbridled freedom. They want to be free to drink and indulge in gambling, which are prohibited in Islam. Therefore, they are scared of Islam. Second, they are afraid of the clergy. They are afraid and have suffered a blow from them. Rida Khan and his son were also scared of the clerics. They always planned to corrupt them from within and thus inflict their blow at the clerics.

Now, what are we to do? First, I start with my part. Gentlemen! Everyone has fixed his eyes to find a fault with you and the clergy and make capital of it. They are going to knock you down. Those who are looting our country and interested in corruption received a deathblow from the nation through the clergy. They want to compensate for it. They try to present an ugly image of the clergy among the nation and throughout the world.

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

Necessity for clerics to engage with their self-edification

First of all, we should edify ourselves. When we call ourselves clergy, we should be heavenly and spiritual. We should introduce ourselves as the clergy and teacher in society. What happens if, God forbid, a teacher does something wrong? God forbid, if it grows more, the clergy will fail. Defeat of clergy is defeat of Islam. It is the clergy who have preserved Islam up to this level and who have saved, collected and promulgated all Islamic laws. If, God forbid, we make a trivial mistake and it grows more till people take a dim view of us and imagine that we are taking steps against Islam, they would turn their back to us. And the day this happens, God forbid—May God never deem it—Islam would be out of our hands. Then certainly every one of us should shoulder a divine duty. Not only me, but also every one including all the clergy have this divine duty as a fixed obligation to refrain from taking a misstep and to maintain those with whom we work. According to his role, every one should do this. For instance, a prayer leader should act according to his role as a person who officiates the people of the city. One who is student of theology at a school should act according to his role and deal with those with whom he has connection? We are all responsible when we lay claim to substitute a spiritual, human and Islamic regime instead of that regime. Following this, we must introduce Islam. If, God forbid, the nation finds something wrong with us, something that should not have been done, at this juncture when we want to bring Islam to power, the clergy will fail. Defeat of the clergy will lead to defeat of Islam. This is the responsibility vested in us. Every one of us should refine oneself and those within one's radius.

I am informed of the current confusions. This is not something new to be highlighted by you. It is something I have heard for months. I am hearing it every day. I take action every day, but under these circumstances, it cannot be figured out immediately. I hope we all cooperate and work together to improve the situation. As we have done so far, I hope we will do from now on. May God confirm you all!

Speech

Date: September 18, 1979 [Shahrivar 27, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Nation's cooperation to fight against the outlaws—Reforms in need of calm situation

Audience: Clerics of Naqadah families of Kurdish martyrs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

No room for racism in Islamic Revolution

As far as Islam is concerned, Kurds should not imagine that Islam runs counter to their interests or that Islamic Revolution is against their interests. This rule applies to Turks and others as well. From the outset the country was intended to be Islamic in all areas. God willing, with the help of all individual members of the country this idea would realize and wherever we set foot, we should see Islam. If we go to an office, we would like to see Islam. If we go to mountainous area, we should see Islam. We have such a thing in mind. Therefore, no one should be worried about Islam. When one is not worried about Islam, one should not be worried about Islamic Revolution as well. If any wrong is done or any difference emerges, it should be investigated.

Need for public cooperation to fight against outlaws and conspirators

Following the story recently taken place in Kurdistan, yesterday heads of the forces, including chiefs of the gendarmerie and commander of the army, were here. I advised them to investigate the case. The names of certain individuals had been given having committed so and so acts; this must be investigated. If there has been an individual who has, let us suppose, slaughtered the people, he must be punished. If it has been a lie, there would be no problem anymore. Anyway, it has not been a question treated with ill intention or, let us suppose, bring about tumult. This is what they have done. Now, they have fled to the mountains and woods and congregated there. Tomorrow, perhaps today, the chief of the gendarmerie will visit the region to stop such problems and purge the region. All that matters is your cooperation with the government. Kurdistan and Azarbayjan are your own hometowns. The Kurds and Turks are two clans that believe in Islam, the prophet and the Quran. There should be no difference between two Muslims. The two clans should be in common terms with each other.

Develop understanding even with troublesome people and advise them. If the advice did not work, remove them.

Reforms hinge on peace and security of the country

The problems in progress in Kurdistan will be set right. Likewise, if something happens in Azarbayjan you must cooperate to settle and the country would be peaceful. When it grew calm, then it would be possible, for instance to improve, supply drinkable water and make asphalt and school. All these efforts call for peace. I hope calm will be secured and these problems settled with the assistance of people of Azarbayjan and Kurdistan and all the people. When peace was restored and the problems settled, then we can present Islam everywhere so that people would have an easy life under the flag of Islam and rectify their affairs in this world and the hereafter.

I appeal to the Almighty God for your success. I ask everyone to set the differences aside or at least decrease the differences and help the state forces with their affairs.¹

As regards this party,² God willing, there will be no problem anymore. Its leaders fled and got lost and this party will be finished. Then remain people and Muslims and those interested in Islam and the Islamic Revolution. When there are only them, they are brothers. God willing, mischief-makers will be destroyed. Plans are in the offing to embark on the purge. God willing, all those who are in the mountains and woods will be done. You will remain with a glorious human and Islamic life God willing.

¹ Here one of the Kurdistan *ulama* begins to make a speech.

² Kurdistan Democratic Party.

Decree

Date: September 18, 1979 [Shahrivar 27, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of representative to attend to the condition of war-torn Lebanese people

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Sajjadi Isfahani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Thiqat al-Islam, Sayyid al-Alam Sayyid Muhammad Sajjadi Isfahani, May his blessings last long,

With regard to your background and familiarity with the situation of war-torn people of Lebanon and the region, you are required to travel to Lebanon and study the situation of oppressed people of the region at close range and become acquainted with their conditions. To attend to their predicament, provide a report so that, God willing, the government would take some measures in this respect. May God curtail the grip of adversary! I implore God to bestow success upon all and bring victory to Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 26, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: September 19, 1979 [Shahrivar 28, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching a representative to Tonkaman, Karaj

Addresses: Residents of Tonkaman villagers

Honorable residents of Tonkaman, Karaj—May God Almighty assists you,

Following the scroll signed by the respected people of the region and personal request of a number of local representatives on re-dispatch of His Eminence Thiqqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Ali-Rida Jawadi—May his blessing last long—to the region. After negotiation with him, decision was made to return to the region to fulfill his religious duties as before and carry out religious affairs and taking measures towards development of the region. It is hoped that the residents would cooperate with him to this end and acknowledge his efforts. I also appeal to the Almighty God for success in serving Islam and Muslims and in fulfilling divine duties. May peace and mercy of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 27, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: Morning, September 19, 1979 [Shahrivar 28, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Azarbayjan's share in Iranian revolutions—Islam, religion of brotherhood and prosperity

Audience: Clerics and Tabriz representatives

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Azarbayjan pioneer in Iranian revolutions

... We know that Azarbayjan has always taken the initiative in these matters both prior to and after the constitutional revolution. Azarbayjan's scholars have suffered a lot. We have witnessed how the late Mr. Angaji and the late Mr. Mirza Sadiq were sent into exile. We had the privilege to meet him here. Having returned from exile, Mr. Mirza Sadiq preferred to stay here until the end of his life and we met each other for a long period. It is certain that Azarbayjan with the devotion to Islam have always stood firm against any threat to our country and our faith in light of their ardor and unfailing faith. Now, we look forward to the entire nation, particularly the people of Azarbayjan. As you observed, when a nation willed something, no one could stand in his or her way. Our nation decided to remove the Pahlavi family and the illegal and non-Islamic monarchy. All powers sought to keep it, but they failed. It was because a whole nation willed it. Iran is the nation's home; the nation wants his home; no one can oppose it.

Guarantee of Iranian nation's victory

I have sometimes pointed out in my speeches that though it is unlikely a power would come and, God forbid, occupy Iran. Let us suppose it is possible. However, experience has proved that when a power occupies a region, they have later been assimilated. If the Soviet Union or America decides to invade and occupy our country with the resources they command while we are deprived of those resources, we will overcome or assimilate them after a while and convert them to Islam. If they do not embrace Islam, they can no longer stay in our country. They cannot divert the attention of a

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is mentioned as Shahrivar 27, 1358 AHS.

nation committed to Islam. They cannot distract our nation from Islam by their papers, pens, lectures, these violations and the so-called democratic uprising. Iran is a country whose people are entirely Muslims, excluding a few, a country in whose referendum the adversaries joined forces to stand against Muslims, while the latter voted 98% or more for the establishment of Islamic Republic. Despite overwhelming majority, the nation did not put pressure on anybody. Let me say all were free. No one obliged people to vote for Islam. Nevertheless, the opponents worked to sabotage and boycott. They set some voting boxes on fire. Some 98% or more of people were on one side facing a small group of people. Such a country that is composed of more than 98% Muslims and where everyone is interested in Islam cannot be easily distracted with pens and speeches. They are wasting their time. It is feasible; if not, God would guarantee your triumph. I hope no one would stand against this development emerging in our nation, all being interested in one thing: Islamic Republic.

Islam, religion of brotherhood and prosperity

Let me extend my best regards to my Azarbayjani brothers via you. Let them know that we always pray for them. Language, geography and similar differences which are non-Islamic and inculcated by arrogant people are not all what we count. Islam has come for all human beings and securing prosperity for human kind. In the Quran, God says to the prophet, “Why do you grieve for the unbelievers?” The prophet used to grieve for the unfaithful. In this battle a number of prisoners had been chained and brought before the holy prophet. The prophet stated: “Look, I have to chain them to take to paradise. We captured them to teach them manner and send to paradise.”¹ The holy Prophet Muhammad and the other heavenly prophets focused primarily on the prosperity of humanity regardless of the region. Although the prophet himself was an Arab and from Saudi Arabia, he said, “Arab is not superior to non-Arab and vice versa. What really counts is the obedience to God and piety. In this case, we are all brothers and kind to people of all nationalities and wish them to be rectified. But a number of people runs riot against those who want to correct all; this group commit murders. Islam stands firm to destroy them like a cancerous tumor that must be operated and remove or else it would decay the body. Those who ran the riot in there and were destroyed by Muslims and army were exactly the very cancerous tumor. If they were left alone, they would do so and so to Azarbayjan tomorrow and go to other places the day after tomorrow and

¹ *Musnad Ahmad Ibn Hanbal*, vol. 5, p. 249.

destroy Sistan and everywhere. They must be demolished, but brothers are brothers. I pray for you all.

May God grant you safety! May you all be successful and sanctioned!
Give my best regards to all the gentlemen there.

Speech

Date: Before noon, September 19, 1979 [Shahrivar 28, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1399AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Iranian nation's troubles during the Pahlavi regime

Audience: Tehran education organization officials and staffs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Role of repetition in education

What I am going to tell you is nothing new; you know them very well. But in hardships every one should repeat the hardship. These repetitions bring about circumstances that may affect the situation.

You are all aware of the fact that the Quran is a miracle. Subjects are repeated in a number of occasions in the Quran. Obviously, there is something special about that kind of repetition. It has been sent down for man's development and self-discipline. Subjects dealing with man's structure cannot be raised all at once and passed by. They must be repeated. They must be inculcated into one's mind. To train children, you should read to them several times with different ways to be ingrained in their hearts.

Clergy's situation in the era of Rida Khan Pahlavi

I have pointed out some matters that I would like to reiterate now. Our problem in the course of history, especially in the recent 50-odd years, was that those who thrown us the gauntlet had done it wittingly, not at random. If one studies carefully, one will see that they devised special plans for special objectives. From the outset, Rida Khan ascended the throne through a coup. You may not remember those events. Most of you do not. There may be a few among you to remember. But I recall them very well; I witnessed the events. Primarily, he gradually put on a sanctimonious mask, as did his son, acting hypocritically. To cite an example, in Muharram I remember that, as I was told, he visited all Tehran's religious theaters and participated in the mourning ceremonies there. He also held some ceremonies to mourn the tragedy of Karbala and preached it. When he gradually gained power and solidified his position, he started to show his true color. He

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is mentioned as Shahrivar 27, 1358 AHS.

banned all religious assemblies and ceremonies around the country. In Qum, Mr. Saduqi¹ had mourning gathering prior to call to Morning Prayer. Only a few people participated. Probably, this gathering was also banned. He started closing all efforts bearing on religion one by one, embarking on crack down on the clergy. I used to teach a small group of students at Faydiyyah seminary. One day, there was only one student, who told me that the other students had all fled to the countryside. The students of the seminary, as I was told, also fled to surrounding gardens before dawn and returned late at night. Plans had been concocted to ban wearing the clerical garment altogether. The clerics strongly resisted.

Universities in *taghuti* regime

In universities that were in worse conditions in time of Muhammad-Rida, they did not act like this. They adopted a subtle approach. Recently, the theological seminaries were also treated insidiously. In universities they sought to appoint teachers to raise the students in a way that they would lag behind. In moral terms, they wanted the students not to undergo Islamic education; they propagated materials to lead our young people to moral degeneration. Their schemes to pervert our students call for a voluminous book to enumerate.

Their plan was to withhold these two institutions that could be useful for the country with others following them from fulfilling their duties efficiently. As regards the clergies, they took another measure since the regime did not have such a control on the clerical institution and their students. They initiated defrocking the clerics, pressing them to perform military service and the like to subdue the seminaries. As regards the culture-oriented layers over which they exercised control, they sought to preach a culture favored by them or those planning to exploit us. They wanted to destroy these two powers, as the rational faculty of the society, with no one daring to raise any voice to plunderers. In all the works done at that time—the time of father and son with greater force in time of the son—they had one thing in common: educating them other than what they should be trained.

***taghuti* regime's policy on youths**

We are not so naïve as to assume that a great many liquor shops were opened across the country without a design. So many centers of corruption

¹ Mr. Muhammad Saduqi Yazdi (Imam Khomeini's representative and the Friday Prayer leader of Yazd).

were set up everywhere, particularly in Tehran, providing whatever the youth wished. They frightfully encouraged centers of corruption. We cannot believe that the magazines and the press that misleads the youth were set up without plan and haphazardly. This is not the case. It was a subtle plan to sap the power of our active and efficient youths, rather installing their own men in universities and high schools. To this end, they worked to open the way for the youth to indulge in pleasures of all sorts. Any time the youth wished to wine and dine, facilities were available. They encouraged this state of affairs and engaged the attention of the young adults to these centers. What would be the result? The result was that the younger generation who should be useful for their country would be indifferent to vital issues. A mind that is addicted to listening music—I do not mean the present day music that is something educative—would grow sick. Such a mind cannot think what is befalling the country. Such a person is not concerned as to what is happening in the country; he or she would be like a heroin addict, things that accustomed one. Let us take the cinemas and theaters they had erected. These were all plans to withhold our youth and us from thinking about important matters. Our youth should not have contemplated on these matters. Everything was provided for them. Well, a youth in the prime of his life will be attracted to centers entertaining them lavishly. All these plans aimed to subjugate or at least restrict the forces that could educate our youth. The youth should have been trained to be concerned only with seeking pleasure. They were not, however, content with this. They struggled to ruin our youths by resorting to other means, opening corruption centers of different sorts. The agents of the regime were unanimous to make us devoid of what we were and drain our brains replacing a serious mind by one devoted to debauchery and western mentality.

Meaning of freedom in *taghuti* regime

The freedom prevailing in our country in those days was restricted to some degenerative ones. People were free to drink alcohol and gamble, with men and women intermingling on the beaches. They were free in joining such centers of corruption. That in which people had no freedom was objection. No one was free to raise a voice against them and in favor of the national interests. There was no freedom to write a single word against him. His motto of “free men and free women” was right, but what was the freedom? It was what I describe as “import freedom” and “colonialist freedom.” These were all schemes, not something haphazard. The mind of the father and the son did not function as properly as to work out such plans.

Thinkers devised the ideas and those trained in such fields. Then, someone wrote for him¹ a book entitled “Great Civilization” replete with mumbo jumbos to delude us and infuse the idea that people would think in one or two more years in power, they would develop the country to cope with Japan. This is what he claimed. They kept asserting that Iran would join the superpowers. His own mind did not work. Others were behind those plans and dictated their orders to him and spread out propaganda.

Mental transformation of the youth in Islamic Revolution

This was a précis of the last 50 years. They went through with it and ruined our youths. If the situation persisted, we would be quite disappointed at everything. Nevertheless, it was God’s will to come to our relief. It was a supernatural power. No power had the ability to introduce such a transformation in one year or so. It had led this country and nurtured men and women in a different way at least during 50-odd years and indeed, in the course of history. Everywhere you look, people have undergone a change. The very same youths gravitated toward Shemiran, are now gravitated toward reconstruction effort. Those women and youths who had a detached view of the country and were indifferent to everything entered the scene and we saw how well they fulfilled their responsibilities. It was a spiritual transformation by the Almighty God. A group of youths came to me the other day voicing to join the reconstruction efforts. This is a transformation. US-based young adult leaving there to take the trouble to go to rural areas for construction purposes! I told them of course, there is no difference between you and them, “you cannot work as peasants for you have had different ways of life. Nevertheless, be informed that hopes about country and system has arisen when a peasant or a farmer sees groups of students, engineers and doctors have left the US to harvest in Iran’s deserts. It gives them a great power. Working hours will increase from 5 or 6 hours to 10 once they see you. The farmers who used to harvest one acre of the farm, does twice more now. Women’s participation and their works alongside the men would be of great value in the eyes of the farmers, women who were not used to such works. Although, the women cannot play important roles in this field, the value of what they do is so great. It will expand and sweep all around the country gradually.

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Cultural transformation of the nation

You who are thinking of accomplishing positive cultural activity are exposed to an imposed alien culture. When you have come to believe that you should discard the alien culture and lend credence to our own culture, you have undergone a development brought about by God. Things are done through unusual ways; if the nation could defeat this power, this was not something ordinary. Could we do it? An important thing God did for this nation was that He dissuaded the leaders from taking full-scale action.

Instilling fear into the heart of enemy

Do you think if they wanted to take a full-scale action and raid us by air and land with their forces, we could accomplish this so soon? Even in that case, we would have the situation of Afghanistan whose innocent people are still under pressure. It was something that frightened the chief officials. God helped us. Sometimes God's help comes through terrifying the enemy. Islamic history has it that at times God helped the holy prophet by injecting fear in enemy. Maybe it crossed their minds that the Arabs would eat them. That was so dreadful for them. Suddenly, a group of them would flee facing a few men in whom they had such beliefs. That was victory through terrifying. They asked them what the people could do. Their masters were scared as well. This fear was a victory God bestowed us. Following this, forces loyal to them, joined us. This was not an ordinary thing. Suddenly, we saw their land and air forces join people and facilitate the situation. As we were informed, when was due to leave, he had ordered to bombard Tehran, but they circumvented. Lately, they were to mount a coup. We were in the dark. When they declared the day of martial law we were unaware. In the morning later, we became aware this was done to empty streets from people, dispatch law enforcers, deploy them with their equipment and besiege the streets. They planned to stage the coup at night and eliminate anyone opposing them. It was God's will that people did not care and, surged into the streets and foiled their plot. Their plan was to evacuate the streets and deploy tanks in dull streets and getting prepared foiled too. This was a divine and invisible act. It was not a work of man. These were all implemented unusually.

Teaching, prophets' occupation

I hope thing will improve through your efforts. You hold a noble profession of producing real human beings, the job of prophets. All prophets from Adam to the last held one and the same occupation: producing real

human being. They were sent down to mend the way of people and guide them. You are entrusted with this divine task, which is the profession of prophets. You shoulder heavy responsibility, as did prophets. Prophets were responsible to fulfill their duty, which we should follow as much as we can. The gentlemen should struggle to produce real human beings within their domain.

Returning to values and wiping away western culture

Change the mentality of the youth who have realized that whatever we have comes from abroad. In fact, those sent to our country are ruinous. They never give us things that are useful for us. They send things that are not useful if not harmful. Divert your attention to find your real self in cultural affairs. We have lost ourselves. We ignored all causes of eastern glory and sought western glories. If what they send us were what they used, it would be right and that at natural grades. But what they deliver us is different from what they use. The advisor coming here to mend our culture, for instance, wants to supplant western culture to serve the west. The same goes true for their military advisor who does not want to establish a system serving Islam, Muslims and the nation. Their advisors work to set a system that would confirm or disregard if the west pillages our country. Whatever comes from the west or east as souvenirs is but destructive to us.

Clerics not opposed to progress and civilization

We are not against progress. One of the propaganda ploys employed by Muhammad-Rida when observing a rebellion and revolution in Qum was to portray the clerics as being opposed to all aspects of civilization. They preached that clerics want to ride a donkey rather than a car. In one of his speeches making such a statement, I replied: "While you were making this statement, some of our religious authorities visited Mashhad in a plane.¹ How do you say we want riding on donkey-back?" Propaganda was spread to cripple the activity of this class and those to be displayed by the youth, teachers and students. Thank God, they are gone. God willing, they are finished. At this juncture in history, your time has come to take over the issue of culture. Keep it in your mind that you should deny their proposed culture, not their civilization. What they want to deliver us is not civilization. What they give us is only degeneration. That is, what the Shah's "civilization gate" granted us! What did he bring save destruction?

¹ Mr. Milani—one of the great imitation authorities.

What can this poor government do now? This dam has been broken, but what is behind it is destruction, which the government alone cannot remove. To correct things calls for cooperation of all strata in society. Every one should work to the best of one's ability. I do not mean you must engage in mending a financial department. No! This way, things cannot be corrected. You must do your best in the area of culture. You should be watchful lest you should not be cheated by the west. We have been victim of western deception.

Genuine democracy in Islam

A journalist came to me the other day and asked, "Why do you say Islamic Republic and eliminate democratic?" I said to him, "Firstly, democracy and democratic have different interpretations. Aristotle, former westerners, laic westerners and Soviet Union interpret it in different ways. We need to draft a clear and transparent law. We cannot apply a common term that everyone defines differently. Secondly, the saying 'once bitten and twice shy' applies to us. The West treated us badly; they ruined us. Now can we again employ the term the west wishes to impose on us? We are afraid of this. We have our own terms. What is the use of seeking the west? Thirdly, I said to him that we get annoyed at one who thinks Islam is devoid of the so-called democracy. Islam is a comprehensive religion that can meet all of your and the nation's demands. Adding proviso to this issue implies that Islam is an empty religion. We feel uneasy if you think we have nothing and should import from abroad. What are imported are those that are harmful to us. Those who pick up their pens and write in favor of the west have grown sick in as much as this idea has been injected in them.

Situation of Iranians' education in foreign countries

They went abroad since their childhood and brought up in an environment designed for them. Even outside of Iran, things are not the same for us. Even the diplomas they give us are different from theirs. The courses provided for us are different from theirs. They teach us colonialist subjects and grant us colonialist diplomas. The situation provided for us differs from theirs. These helpless people lived in that colonialist environment and had such education. Many of them who failed to complete their education only went swimming in Seine River.¹ We were told the Euphrates!² Now, they have come here, sitting in their rooms and writing articles for newspapers to

¹ A famous river in France.

² A famous river passing through Iraq.

build up a reputation for themselves. They write what they were dictated. They do not leave this nation alone to find its identity and find out that they are integral to this world. This part of the world, the east, was once among progressive countries. However, the west brought about this desperate situation. Avicenna's books are perhaps being taught in their universities now. We brushed aside whatever we had and could not find what we lost. We turned to a "yet mouse,"¹ something that is neither eastern, nor western nor Islamic and nor European.

Salvation from westernization

Yes, we are eastern in the sense of "colonized Eastern." We are also westernized in the sense of "colonized by the Western." We should get out of this. As long as this disease infects us, no recovery is conceivable; we should be relieved of this disease. Everyone must strive to cure this disease. Proper training and programming are required. We subscribe to all sciences and developments except those brought here to ruin us under the mask of progress, freedom and development.

May God protect you all! I hope you are successful. Now that the country is in your hands and, God willing, would remain so to the end, you should educate these children and young adults kindly as you do your own children.

¹ It denotes an in-between creature, referring to the story of a student who defined "yet mouse" in the verse; "Cat is a lion before mouse, yet mouse before leopard" in the sense of an animal that is neither mouse nor cat, but something between the two.

Speech

Date: September 19, 1979 [Shahrivar 28, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Factors contributing to victory of the nation—Islam's sovereignty in the country

Audience: East Azarbaijan tribal people, Kerman's Finance Office staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Two objectives of the revolution

I appreciate all the brothers and sisters who have taken the trouble to come here from remote places to meet in this humble room to highlight some of the issues I have reiterated in previous meetings.

Our goal in this revolution was two things: one primary and the other secondary or one prelude and the other end. The prelude was that some dependent groups and persons hindered the settlement of the country. On top of them stood Muhammad-Rida and the US respectively inside and outside of the country. Others were also involved, yet these two played greater role. They prevented our human forces from growth. They barred our culture to be a proper one. The foreigners devised plans and this man being subservient to them and acting according to their dictates, blocking the country to flourish. They worked to make Iran a market for American commodities and make Iran dependent on the US in every respect. This man who wanted to retain his position found that remaining in power hinged on obeying them blindly. Thank God, this prelude that consisted of removing the obstacle from the way of the nation was accomplished by efforts of the nation from all walks of life.

Source of victory of the revolution Islamic motivation and unity

Two factors were involved in the victory achieved by the people. One that is above all was that all sought divinely purpose. Islam was the incentive. They were chanting Islamic slogans and shouting, "*Allahu Akbar*". People considered them to be against Islam and insisted that they must go. Following this, the basic objective will realize. Calling for Islam instead of monarchy was one side of the matter. Later, it resulted in unification of all strata, which was the second side of the matter. The people rose from all around the country, set their personal desires aside and focused on one issue. The code of our victory was unity of expression and faith. It was a

miraculous victory, not easily attainable. In fact, this victory was unattainable except by God's will. Our opponents and the enemies of the nation commanded all war equipment including power, tanks, cannons, machine guns and the military men. They also enjoyed full-scale support of the U.S, the Soviet Union, England and even Islamic states. They benefited from all war materials and the support of superpowers and their friends, but I should say, God Almighty blunted their weapons. They could crush the nation in one day given the forces at their command, burning down Tehran, but their weapons were rendered ineffective; that is, God willed that fear overtake their chiefs. The remnants having faith joined the nation and the others were scared. In the early days of Islam, God bestowed victory upon Islam by injecting fear in the heart of the enemy, who feared a small number of Muslims. This fear led to defeat of the enemy. If the Almighty God had not injected this fear in them, they could have destroyed us in a day. It was possible for them, but they could not use their weapons and did not bombard Iran. They could bombard Tehran; the senior officials had occasionally given such an order, but the juniors mutinied. God bestowed us this victory. We had no military training and war materials. They had the military training and equipment. They could destroy the electricity and water systems in Tehran and provinces and leave you thirsty, but God deterred them. God did not let them use their weapons. Whether because of fear, dissuasion or anything else, they were crippled. Consequently, the night they were going to stage the coup when we were in Tehran, we were informed that they have declared martial law in the morning to keep people at homes and deploy tanks and cannons in the streets to kill their possible opponents, but God foiled their plans by people's surging into the streets and disobeying them. This was something done by a hidden hand and brought you victory.

Purge of unrighteous employees

We are in the middle of the way now. We have removed the obstacles; these corrupt roots can no longer block your way. The obstacle has been removed, yet we need to start reconstruction and purge. I am aware that there is a combination of righteous and unrighteous employees in all the offices. There is a combination of righteous and those pretending to be righteous in our country now. Previously, they sided with the former regime. Now that they see power has come to this side, they have changed their masks. It is more than clear that today we have inherited a confused country. God willing, the plan of public purging will be drawn up. However, we have to wait a while. Currently, the country is facing lack of law. Obviously, our

fundamental law is Islam. Nevertheless, according to international regulations a constitution law must be drafted and that based on Islam. We do not have a president and parliament now. This must be figured out. According to the plan, righteous people should take the office in all strata. The unrighteous ones who have become righteous or let us suppose have repented should also remain. The sly unrighteous ones who work sabotage and who refuse to repent must be removed from offices. If they are guilty of some crime, they must be tried. This requires a gradual process. What is significant is to maintain the two factors leading you to this stage. Act as you did in time of the revolution when none of you who took to the streets or shouted on the roofs and stood in front of canons and tanks thought if for instance you were a civil servant, you would not object as to why your salary is low. In those days such a thing was not at all raised. If, for instance, you were engaged in farming, you were not concerned as to whether the farm has dried this year or not. No one was then concerned about these issues. All shared a single purpose: the enemy should go and an Islamic Republic set up. After any revolution, such spirit starts to fade little by little. After the revolution it should diminish. We are in the middle of the revolution now. In case of necessity, we need slogans, demonstrations and strikes as before to forge ahead the revolution.

Destination, sovereignty of Islam in the country

Do not let this revolution and what has caused the victory to be enfeebled. Bear in mind forever that our objective is to prevail Islam. God willing, in the same way that we will remain Muslim forever; likewise, we should always seek to have an Islamic country, with Islamic ministries, offices, markets, agriculture and blue-collar jobs. If it is Islamic, you should not be afraid of anything. If you could establish an Islamic country, give way to no fear in your hearts, for Islam is sympathetic toward mankind, not simply towards you. Islam has come to save man from deviation and lapses degenerating mankind. The holy prophet grieved that the unbelievers did not convert to Islam and were not amenable. If Islam finds reality, your aspirations and wishes would be fulfilled in this and the next world. Islam is for all developments, civilizations and industries, but against whatever debauches our nation and the younger generation. It utterly rejects dependence and calls upon us not to depend on others in industry, agriculture, offices, economy and culture. The foreign advisors should not control us; we should manage our own affairs.

Goal of foreign advisors

American advisors should not be allowed to put our system right. They do not want to correct; they only want to destroy. They do not intend to teach us, but to stop us from learning and halt us. They do not let our universities run appropriately. Therefore, a dependent university always comes a cap in hand. Let us give up the mental dependence. We have nothing and they have everything. This mentality has been imposed on us by spreading propaganda. The propaganda operations launched in the past few centuries have gained acceleration, inculcating the idea in our youth that you are nothing and the East and West have everything.

Our culture is rich

Our beguiled youths have been alienated. They are not what they say. They cannot understand more than what they do. They cannot understand we have a country and must be independent. This mentality has its origins in the fact that they were taught and nurtured under foreign culture during the last fifty-odd years when we have witnessed. From their childhood, they were nurtured to be dependent. As a result, the younger generation does not think that we are human, believing that we should be attached to so and so country.

Iranian-Islamic thought instead of westernization

The first thing that the nation, universities and colleges are required to do is to replace eastern and European minds with Iranian and Islamic ones. In the same way that they changed the minds of our youths; likewise, we should react and brainwash our children, replacing their mind with Islamic one to be relieved of mental and cultural dependence. If we were rid of mental dependence, all dependencies would terminate. Our dependence in economy, culture and other areas is rooted in our mental dependence. The time we give up this dependence, all other dependencies would be over. However, our minds fail to grasp that we have a rich culture and country, a country capable of providing for the needs of 150 million populations. Unfortunately, we are 30-odd million people and live in such wretched conditions. It is because they entangled us in such conditions. They did not want you to benefit from your culture and economy. They disturbed everything so that we would always stretch our hands before the U.S and the Soviet Union loot our country without our understanding.

Denying westernized intellectuals

Many of us including those claiming to be open-minded are getting upset that they have lost their foothold here. The reason is that the mentality of the intellectuals—not all of them, but many of them—is no longer an eastern one, but European. They even deny ourselves and believe we are nothing and far from our humanity. It was the Shah's rationale that we are not qualified to be free. Carter has recently stated that it is too early for us to gain freedom. He imagined that they have granted us freedom. That buster said that we were given too much freedom very early and this caused us to raise a howl. The same holds true for them. They held the idea that Iranians do not develop to assign a parliament deputy. Even now, they believe we cannot shape our destiny. How is it possible while these men and women threw their enemies and superpowers like trash out of Iran? Why do we not develop? You do not develop since you cannot feel their progress and comprehend Islam. People surged into the streets, stood before tanks and canons and sent them to hell for the sake of Islam. Our nation develops and comprehends well. If they did not, could they hail a 70-odd year-old-man who is their servant's? This is growth. Understanding demands one to appreciate one's servant.

Complimenting Mr. Taliqani

You appreciated Mr. Taliqani because he was a practicing *alim* (religious scholar) attending to the pains of the people. He was not an intellectual or a so-called democrat. People do not know what democrat is. Those who know realize that the term is wrong. People appreciated him because he was a diligent and hardworking scholar who served the people and resolved their problems, suffering years of political imprisonment only for the sake of his own compatriots. Then people felt duty-bound to acknowledge whatever contributions he made and pay homage to him. Now, let the columnists write whatever they wish. People took to the streets and mourned for him, shouting on his funeral ceremonies that he was substitute for prophet. Now, whatever the intellectual writes and argues that he was highly admired because of his membership in this party or that party, people do not know that front at all. Let us see how people would react if the leader of this front dies. No one will pray for the forgiveness of the dead! People's mourning is only for the sake of Islam. Do you think that they made all these sacrifices just to make that kind of goods cheaper or more expensive?

People offer their blood for God. Are they foolish to sacrifice their life? They only make sacrifice for God. Our nation launched this revolution and seeks martyrdom for God in the same way that prophets did. Our people

come and ask to pray for us to be martyred, because they believe martyrdom brings salvation. They act according to Islam that preaches that one who achieves martyrdom; one will enjoy so and so reward. People have achieved mental growth. Think not that the gentlemen who traveled to, I do not know, abroad can make progress, while it is not clear if they have at all studied.

Warning to westernized intellectuals

The people proceed, think and appoint their deputies with their innate perspicuity, open-mindedness and without being affiliated to western and eastern mentality. Likewise, they elect their president and parliamentarians. Now, let these writers say whatever they want. No place is left for them in our country unless they mend their way. If they join the masses of all walks of life, they can make the best use of this culture and country. They are then our brothers in faith. But if they insist that this country is not a free and democratic one and has not arrived at a point to elect MPs and that we need a guardian, this is what the US wishes. Who is going to be our guardian? The American advisors! These intellectuals do not know what they are doing. They are insulting a brave nation that has come to this point thanks to their growth and will bring the revolution to its end. They have not yet appreciated this nation and what the people have accomplished.

Participation of tribal people in safeguarding Iranian borders

I hope that in the same way that the Almighty God granted you success to remove the obstacles; likewise, His Majesty Aryamehr would not return. It is also unlikely for the US to return and rule over our country. It is over. I hope that as you succeeded in removing the obstacles, the tribal people at the borders will purge the country, reconstruct the ruins and safeguard our borders whole-heartedly. We will all follow you. I am myself one of your followers. However, we all will be obedient to God. God wants you to safeguard the borders where gendarmerie or army is not strong enough. However, your young adults are strong and can safeguard the borders. Do not let these persons smuggle arms from abroad and, God forbid, run riot. Take care of the affairs and help your government in this case. Wherever you are help this revolution and maintain it so that it would, God willing, come to fruition and have a clean Islamic country free from heroin, alcoholic drinks and prostitution centers that ruin our youths. We want a country in peace and prosperity. I pray for you and I am at your service.

Speech

Date: September 19, 1979 [Shahrivar 28 1358 AHS / Shawwal 27 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of *wilayat-e faqih* in the country—revolution of wings in the course of Islam and the nation

Audience: Officers, Air Force Technical Officers, noncommissioned officers, non-military personnel of 8th base of Air Force fighters situated in Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Role of *wilayat-e faqih* in the Islamic government

I would like to appreciate all strata of the nation and military forces. I thank the group of military forces who came here from Isfahan. Today, all strata of people and military forces, in particular, should be aware that the country is all theirs. Now, our country has been delivered from foreigners, betrayers and those willing to ruin everything. I assure all strata of the nation and all law enforcement forces that if *wilayat-e faqih* and *faqih* supervise the affairs of the Islamic government, no harm will be done to this country. Speakers and writers should not be worried about the Islamic government and *wilayat-e faqih*. As prescribed by Islam and our Imams, *wilayat-e faqih* will do no harm to anyone nor will it bring about any kind of dictatorship or act against the interests of the country. If the government, the president or anyone else acts in contrast to the interests of the country, *faqih* will bridle them.

Do not move against the path of Islam and nation

Do not be afraid of Islam, *faqih* and *wilayat-e faqih*. Follow the same path taken by the nation and move along with them. Do not separate yourself from the nation. Do not hatch plots. You should follow the nation and sympathize with them. Do not find so many faults with Islamic programs. You who are Muslim but are not properly versed in Islam and Islamic laws and who are Shiah but unaware of the commands of Imams (a) should not work so much sabotage. The nation has voted for the Islamic Republic; all should follow the nation. If you do not, you will fade away. Do not take the way that is contrary to the path of Islam and the nation. Do not think the plan charted out by Islam will destroy Islam. This logic is the logic of an unwise person.

Do not say that we believe in *wilayat-e faqih*, but that by *wilayat-e faqih* Islam would be ruined! This implies denial of Imams and Islam. You make such a remark *because you never understand what you are saying*. Follow the nation that has voted for the Islamic Republic altogether. In the face of the nation, a very small number around one and a half percent mustered up all their forces and voted against the Islamic Republic. Follow the absolute majority of the people and obey Islam, the holy Quran and the prophet of Islam. Do not raise so much voice. Do not withdraw from the Assembly of Experts. This implies withdrawal from the nation and Islam. Do not stonewall the Assembly of Experts, as this would be contrary to the path of Islam and nation. Do not disgrace yourself before the nation. You should act properly. If the nation finds that you are running counter to them, they will discard you. Act wisely, speak wisely and vote wisely. Do not vote inattentively, unintelligently and imprudently.

Necessity of speedy ratification of constitution in Experts Assembly

I ask the Assembly of Experts not to keep the people waiting so much. Obviously, bills should be studied, but not delayed. The authorities should not postpone the assembly unduly. We would like the issues to be carried out sooner so that, God willing, the National Consultative Assembly would be established, the president elected and national concerns settled at our hand. The gentlemen should do their job as soon as possible. Those who suppose that they should disagree with the affairs not accepted by intellectuals and westerners in the name of intellectualism are in the wrong. May God have mercy upon the wrong doers and may He forgive their sins! May God bestow well-being, prosperity, dignity and majesty upon you friends and the entire nation! May God bestow power and glory upon Islam and may He curtail the power of the criminals in our country! May peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you!

Message

Date: September 20, 1979 [Shahrivar 29, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Duties of superintendents of caravan and the pilgrims to the House of God

Occasion: Upcoming *Hajj*

Addressees: Muhyiddin Anwari, Fadlullah Mahallati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhyiddin Anwari and Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Mahallati (May your blessings last long),

On the eve of one of the grandest Islamic obligations with enormous human, spiritual, political and social contents; that is *Hajj* ritual, and at the threshold of establishment of Islamic Republic thanks to the glorious revolution of the noble people of Iran, it is necessary to hold this sacred obligation free from the vestiges of *taghut* and return to true Islam. You are, therefore, appointed as superintendent of pilgrims to the House of God. You are requested to consult with competent authorities in order to elect a delegation composed of virtuous, committed and faithful figures. Having chosen the delegation, you are required to supervise all the affairs concerning *Hajj* with their cooperation. God willing, this holy duty will be realized with its spiritual content in the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this respect, I found it necessary to remind you of some important points:

1) It is necessary to remind the respected scholars and clerics of the caravans to hold some meetings prior to the departure and make the pilgrims familiar with religious issues and human duties.

2) All brothers and sisters in faith should bear in mind that one of the most important philosophies of *Hajj* is to foster understanding and to solidify brotherhood among Muslims. The scholars and clerics are obliged to share their essential political and social concepts with others, providing them with plans to remove those obstacles under the supervision of scholars and authorities once they return to their own country.

3) This year when Iran stands at the threshold of Islamic Republic and due to the unfair propaganda of foreigners, Muslims of different countries might be unaware of the real depth of Islamic Revolution, the respected scholars, preachers and scientists are obliged to introduce this sacred revolution with any possible means. They have also the responsibility to remind Muslims all over the world of the true destination of Iranian Muslims,

which is indeed establishment of Islamic government under the banner of Islam and guidance of the holy Quran and the holy Prophet of Islam, bringing to their notice that our Muslim brothers think of nothing but Islam and the establishment of a just Islamic government.

4) Iranian brothers and Shiites of other countries are required to avoid all ignorant actions triggering separation within the rank of Muslims. They are also required to attend the gatherings of Sunnites and avoid performing congregational prayers in houses or installing loudspeakers to oppose the prevailing policy, also refusing to genuflecting on the holy tombs and doing things that are occasionally inconsistent with the canon.

5) To represent someone present to say the prayer of circumambulation is not correct. Everyone must perform his own prayer separately one way or another. Refrain from hiring someone as your representative to perform your rituals and from making troubles for others.

6) Perform the circumambulation of Kabah customarily and as done by others. Avoid doing what ignorant people perform. Whatever triggering the enfeeblement of religion must be absolutely avoided.

7) It is necessary to comply with the judgments of Sunni people in stations even though it may be contrary to your belief.

8) In this year when many of our brothers and sisters in faith have suffered from damages and harms at the hands of *taghuti* government due to the Islamic Revolution and many disabled people during the events of the revolution are in pressing need of help, it is advisable for those who are going to perform a recommended *Hajj* to spend their money on fulfillment of the needs of their brothers and sisters in faith, as spiritual of this practice is preferable to recommended *Hajj* before the Almighty God. Those who squander a lot of money on souvenirs and lots of formalities and giving parties extravagantly once they have returned from *Hajj* are highly recommended to spend these expenses on helping the needy disabled sisters and brothers of their own so that the Almighty God may endow His grace and blessing upon them. I beseech the Almighty God to restore the glory and majesty of Islam and prosperity of Muslims. I also hope that everyone will succeed in bringing this sacred revolution to fruition. May peace, mercy and blessing of Allah be upon you and all the faithful!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 28, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: September 20, 1979 [Shahrivar 29, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Mission of Islamic associations, Foreigners' intervention in turmoil's, Opponents of *wilayat-e faqih*

Audience: The universities Islamic associations' representatives Nationwide

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Duties of Islamic associations

I am due to point out a few issues when universities are going to be opened. God willing, I will then highlight the details. Now that you gentlemen are members of the Islamic associations, the number of Muslims in universities should be higher than others. The others are in minority; that is, those who are deviant. Now that you represent Islamic universities and Islamic associations, I would like to advise you to perform the Islamic duties. No one will recognize Islamic unless we ourselves act upon the Islamic principles. It is not sufficient to claim we are Islamic. Likewise, Islamic Republic will not be accepted unless its content is also Islamic. It is unacceptable to claim that we are living in an Islamic country, while every part of it is non-Islamic. This will be a meaningless expression. This also applies to Islamic associations no matter where they are. Now, there are many Islamic associations either in universities or in other places. Perhaps many of the offices have these associations as well. The primary duty of those founding the associations is to follow the path of Islam and to act in accordance with the Islamic principles. Their conduct must be Islamic. They should have undergone self-discipline. If they are refined, God willing, they may succeed in being more rectified. If not, they should endeavor to edify their self. I mean they should adapt all their affairs to Islamic precepts and gain insight into Islamic precepts in all its dimensions as much as they can. For what has Islam come? What does it want to say? What kind of ideology is Islam? They should be able to differentiate between Islam and other schools that have their claims but are not real. Then, they can set to work.

Danger of misusing Islamic associations

Islamic activities in universities are much more delicate than in other places. That is to say, real human beings are made in universities. In later years, the destiny of our country is in the hands of those who graduate from

universities. As you know, since the destiny of the country is in the hands of young people who are graduated from universities and engage in different activities, those struggling to sap the progress of the country are sensitive to university. They do not want our country to have useful universities. This is one question that should be given regard so that they will not be able to penetrate into Islamic associations and deviate the associations under the guise of Islamic associations. The foreigners who want to take away all that belong to us so that there would be no university to stand against them are devils. The universities should not be spiritual-oriented to stand against them. Their agents may infiltrate into Islamic associations and deviate them, bringing about other issues in the name of Islam. Members of the associations should be vigilant lest others should penetrate into their rank, exercising their dictates. In many places, this state of affairs has happened. It was the case previously. Under the name of Islam, the Quran and the like, they have presented things to society that were irrelevant to Islam and contrary to the path of Islam.

Necessity of vigilance to recruit new members in Islamic associations

This is an important matter to be taken into consideration. Unless you look into it with all your intelligence, you might face some difficulties. You must look into the record of those who are going to join you. You should give a lot of care to your members. There are so many who are recruited according to their appearance or merely claiming that they are Muslim. They may perform the religious rituals more efficiently than you, but once you look at them more carefully and study their situations, you would find that their way, conduct and manner are completely different from yours. The Islam preached by them is different from what is presented in true Islam. There are such people among them. Therefore, you should be very careful about the individuals you are going to recruit. You should know them like books; you should be well informed of their records and personalities. You should know what objects they seek. Once you have gained insight into these matters, you will be able to establish a true Islamic association, which would be helpful to our society and can purify and refine our universities. Of course, that is a difficult task to accomplish. If we are going to accomplish such a task in all of our universities, it would be much more difficult and burdensome. However, we should tolerate the problems. Those who are going to accomplish such a positive task or render the great service of purging the corrupt people in universities across the country, they encounter

an arduous task, but they should bear the difficulty because it is a valuable job.

Significant advice to all Islamic associations

Worthwhile activities may always be associated with more difficulties. Therefore, I advise all the Islamic associations throughout the country at the threshold of inauguration of universities to take notice of the following points: Firstly, the individuals themselves must be committed to Islam. They should be careful about their conducts. Do not give them excuse by arguing that you who claim to be Muslim are not observing Islamic conduct and ethics. One should primarily begin with one. One who wants to refine a society cannot do it unless one is refined. A group that is going to purify a center to be committed to Islam cannot rectify others as long as they have not corrected their way. One who commits an act in contrast to Islam cannot advise others to do it. Well, the question would arise as to why you yourself do not do it. What is important is, as I already pointed out, that some people might interlope into the associations under the cover of Islam, while their path is different from yours. They might disorientate you and gradually pass on their deviation to others. They might forge a group to stand against you. You attempt to implement Islam, but they work to give expression to a different thing and that in the name of Islam. This cannot be done unless the new comers are identified. Those who want to join the associations should be known. Their record, family, place of living, education and fields of study are some examples of what is to be investigated. Precise investigation should be conducted so as to have pure associations capable of performing a positive Islamic task benefiting your country.

Educating humankind, aim of all prophets

The occupation you are holding is valuable. All religions were sent to produce real human beings. Basically, the subject pursued by all prophets from Adam to Muhammad was man. They were concerned with man, because the whole world is summed up in man. Man is the paradigm of all creatures. Man is endowed with all the characteristics of all creatures with something above other creatures. If man were rectified, the affairs of the whole world would be settled. If prophets had been successful in accomplishing their mission—self-discipline of man—the world would have been a different place; the situation would have been quite different from what we are observing today. However, they did not succeed due to the sabotages worked after prophets. From this aspect, what prophets should have

not been achieved, because unrefined people administer the world. What you are trying to achieve now is a branch of the prophets' objectives, producing real human beings. You want your universities to nurture real human beings. This is what others work to halt.

The extent these foreigners are scared of real human being are not afraid of other things. The entire world is at their command, but if a handful of real human beings were found somewhere, they would destroy the former's life. Therefore, they struggle to obstruct the emergence of real human beings in countries where they plan to exploit. Since Rida Khan's time when I remember all the events, they struggle so that refined man should not find his/her way into the National Consultative Assembly. Efforts were made to ban refined and Islamic people to take the helm in ministries and departments. Almost all assemblies were like this. There existed a few refined persons who created inconvenience for the regime. Similar problems persist today. Again, they have fixed their covetous eyes on here. They do not let Eastern countries and Iran particularly because of its sensitive geopolitical situation live conveniently due to the resources they treasure. are cast upon this land.

Domestic unrest provoked by foreigners

Neither the East nor the West will leave Iran alone. They exert all efforts to bar Iran's reform. They are the ones who provoke all the unrests in the country with the aim of disrupting the country's settlement. You noticed that before the Shah fled the country followed by his malicious successor,¹ great efforts were made to retain him in power. After he was forced to abdicate, enormous efforts were made to block the establishment of Islamic Republic. They were scared of Islamic Republic, not of its republic but of its Islam. Those whose pens were subservient to foreigners or were westoxicated, embarked on writing that there is no need in using the term Islamic, insisting that the term republic or democratic republic would suffice. Eventually, they were satisfied with Democratic Islamic Republic. They are scared of Islam and Islamic regime. Now that they have suffered a blow by Islam and Muslims destroyed the regime by Islam, the others who have now come to sit at this table had not role. Those involved were the oppressed men and women who took to the streets and bazaar, stood against tanks, canons and machine guns and accomplished the job. Now that the mission has been accomplished, all of a sudden we saw people from Europe, America and every nook and cranny in our country have turned out to be revolutionary and

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

opponents of the former regime while they were staunch supporters of the royal regime. Whoever comes here claims to be the opponent of the former regime and suffered so and so during all those years! They imagine I have come from Mars and I know nothing about their records! Once almost all were royalist believing in “God’s order is the Shah’s order.” They struck a blow for the banner hoisted by the royal family. Now that the flag has been lowered and an Islamic banner raised—I hope this banner will perpetuate—they have come under this flag, striking a blow for it! However, some of them make mischief by acting against this banner while being under its canopy. There are some who seek their advantage; they are less harmful. Well, they reap their benefits, yet are of little harm. However, there is a third group that is either crooked or mentally flawed or might be intelligent and work according to a plan. Others might have prescribed them to act as such and they do. They are obviously threatening.

Argument of the opponents of *wilayat-e faqih*

It is this group that writes and struggles to eliminate Islam. They make endeavors to wipe out what is associated with Islam by showing sympathy with *wilayat-e faqih*, which is now at the center of controversy. Well, they realized how dangerous it would be for them once an Islamic government is established. This is what they never want to see. Sometimes, their spokesman announces that let the clergy maintain their sainthood. What they mean by the “clergy’s sainthood” is to let them pray from the pulpit in the mosque and leave politics to the king. The follow thesis drugging that church should be left to the pope and politics to the king. The domestic proponents of this thesis preach that are also saying the clergy should go to the mosque and say prayers there and teach lessons. There is no objection, but this freedom is to a limited extend. You are not allowed to use mosque against them or school to make troubles. You are not entitled to go any further. Just to the extend you sell activity would be preserved, everyone admiring one to be sacred and refined, one who will never oppose even if the oil of his country is exploited. He would only say let them take it; worldly things are not worth raising objection against! They are looking for this kind of sacredness. They are not aware that Islam, the Prophet, Immaculate Imams attached value to these concepts while retaining their sanctity. Their divinity and sacredness were all maintained, but they used to eliminate those who acted against humanity. They were also in charge of political affairs of the country and it was not contrary to their sainthood. You mean the clergy are more sacred than Amir al-Mu’minin (a). Or do they not attach sanctity to commander of the

believers, signifies that the clerics should preserve their sanctity and not be concerned with the government and currents of politics in the country? The Prophet of Islam and Amir al-Mu'minin (a) had not maintained their sainthood, because they were involved in political affairs? Prophet used to appoint governors and dispatch them to certain places, so did Ali (a). They used to get into the battles and therefore, they had the political affairs of the country under their control. One who says let the clergy just remain sacred is another way of saying that Ali was void of sacredness since he shouldered the governmental affairs and the like. The same goes true with the Prophet. Therefore, this would be obvious that you do want us to be sacred. You are just trying to make mischief among the clergy, so that you can put them aside and foreigners can come to power. Due consideration must be given to these affairs. Be utterly cautious with the speeches they deliver. They include some tricks by which they are trying to deceive the nation awaken the people. Make speeches and write articles to defy their words, writing speeches. Cast the blemishes. That are sometimes on account of their failings and at other times due to their mischievous nature in their teeth wake them understand that a people who has voted for the Islamic Republic with an absolute majority of 98 or 98.5 percent object. They would never dare say that we oppose to this part of Islam or we never want this part. That would be against the path taken by the nation. The nation has approved and voted for the Islamic Republic. It is just like saying that the nation who has voted for Islamic Republic now wants monarchical system, the people has been ignorant. Now that the nation has said yes to Islamic Republic, we oppose to them and demand a monarchical government again. They are charging the nation with ignorance and foolishness while our nation voted for the Islamic Republic so wisely. These matters must be taken into your accounts.

Qualifications of Wali-ye Faqih

Once the universities are open again, you will face such individuals who will sometimes pose as Islamic. Then they will raise issues like *wilayat-e faqih*, saying that *wilayat-e faqih* is dictatorship. In Islam, however, if a *faqih* happens to act like a dictator, he will be no longer a *faqih*. Islam does not accept everyone as *Wali-ye faqih* except the one whose practices Islamic tenets and whose way of life and policy full conforms to Islam, the one who practices politics based on Islam. Islam appoints one to supervise that has devoted all his life to Islam and Islamic issues and the one who is not crooked. Such a *faqih* not to allow everyone does whatever one wishes. They argue that rule of *faqih* leads to dictatorship, inculcating that it is the same

dictatorship with turban and stick. These are words dictated to them and now they are retelling them. They are exactly like babies who repeat word by word what is told them. From now on, you will face these problems when the universities open. You are required to deal vigilantly and wisely with these people. You should consult with one another as to how to deal with them. They come in the name of freedom and they are seeking a weird kind of freedom. They want an absolute one, but the freedom. Everyone defines them from his or her point of view. You will certainly face these problems.

Reason and logic instead of conflict

Treat those individuals attentively without any conflict. Conflict is not proper. You should act in a way that strips them of pretending to be in the right. If you get involved in conflicts with them and let us suppose that you will beat them, that you have resorted to force and beating them because you are short of logic. If any of such individuals happen to come in university and raise a issue, go over to them and ask them what exactly they say. Once they might aim to make ado. Most of them are like this. Their leaders provoke them to raise Cane. In such cases, arrange a meeting with them and let them voice their opinions. You will see they have nothing to say. Their sole aim is to create tension the universities open and carry out their programs. Confront them without being engaged in clash with them. If they have a gathering of one hundred people or even a thousand, you should gather ten or twenty thousand people facing them. Raise your own issues without conflict. This is how it must be done. I hope, God willing, dealing with those affairs will never reach that level. Nevertheless, once we come to realize that they are hatching plots against us, there would be another course of action to take.

Having heard my words, I hope you will act accordingly. A group consisting of informed, faithful and committed figures should be present to supervise the affairs.

Within two or three days, I would deliver a long speech addressing the universities. God willing, you will all be successful. I pray for you all and I hope you will succeed in rendering the kind of service you have in your minds. Recruit new members in accordance with their records. Multiply your members and, God willing, you will be successful.

Speech

Date: September 20, 1979 [Shahrivar 29, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Gradual reforms in post-revolution era

Audience: Torbat Heydariyyeh Islamic Associations Female members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gradual reforms in post-revolution era

One issue deals with the deficiencies and inadequacies with which not only you are faced, but the whole country. After any newly emerged revolution, no one should expect that, as soon as the pillagers are dispelled, they see a beautiful garden behind the destroyed wall of obstacles. They have been trying during all these fifty-odd years to destroy all human and non-human forces. They had the press, radio, television, movies and the media all at their command to degrade the young generation, ruin our country, and enjoy themselves for a while. Having overthrown such a regime by that revolution, you should not expect to have everything according to your wish at once. This all must be done gradually. Some revolution like the Russian October revolution, despite having many facilities, could not reform their country after sixty-odd years; still leaders of the country are treating resorting to dictatorship and pressure.

Superiority of Islamic revolution to other revolutions

Thank God, Iranian revolution is superior to the ones, taken place in the world. It must be called "White revolution", not in the sense meant by Muhammad-Rida. It is a revolution that has made less damage. Through great damage was inflicted, it was less than that in other revolutions. The Islamic revolution has been able to attain much. It has toppled a power that supposed to be unbreakable. Now, it is in need of positive steps to be taken in reconstruction. God willing, it must be achieved by the help of all and gradually.

Frustration and disappointment, troops of devil

You say we need to be reinforced and refreshed. Who on earth has ever had the power and force that you had?¹ What kind of force could ever defeat such a power, armed to the teeth and such trained personnel, without any paraphernalia of war and arrangement? They enjoyed military trainings and systematic forces. However, you men and women had never received military training nor were you in possession of weapons. What was the power that defeated them? That was the power of faith and Islam. That was a divinely power that overcame the devil's troops. Why should you ever become feeble or weary? You are endowed with an extraordinary power with which you broke the obstacle that left the world astonished. There was no possibility for anyone to remove this obstacle. Whenever enfeeblements and disappointments are about to penetrate into your soul, keep in your mind that God watches your back. Remember that it was the power of faith with which you could lead the revolution to this stage. Try to save this power so that you will never be disappointed. Never let enfeeblement penetrate into your souls. Despair and laxity are the words of devil. Hold out hope all the time and be confident. You will emerge victorious. If the revolution or uprising comes to for Islam and for God, it would emerge victorious willy-nilly.

Reconstruction, duty of the whole nation

Thank God, the strata of our nation have undergone a new development, which was quite astonishing. People including young and old, students, businessmen and workers who were not concerned about such matters came to think of setting things right within a short period of time. If a nation starts thinking of an issue that will gradually be rectified come to conclusion. What is significant for us is to know our duties. As a clergyman, I must consider it as my responsibility to serve the people best and as much as I can. You, ladies should feel responsible to reconstruct a ruined country that is still in chaos. You have the responsibility to raise children to the best of your ability.

Ridding of the West-intoxication Disaster

What counts is to train and enlighten those who were remote from daily issues and who have no knowledge of Islam? The biggest disaster befallen the nation during all these years, is that their mentality has undergone change, being oriental toward the west. Their thoughts and attentions are all

¹ This saying refers to the talk of the representative of visitors who said, "This gathering has come to the Imam's visit and is ready to listen to Your Eminence's statements so as to take power and ability and to strengthen its endeavor, determine and believe.

focused on saying that we do not have anything and we should import everything from foreign countries. This is the problem that must be solved. They must be made understand that we ourselves have everything and the West needs us. It is this need that drives them to take the side with Muhammad-Rida with all their force because they know that they need him and thus should exercise control over this country and exploit its resources. Our country is rich and is able to fulfill its needs. Its area is vast enough that can accommodate reportedly one hundred and fifty millions. Its resources are so valuable. I hope its human resources would also grow. Women who had no role in daily issues must get involved. The strata of people who had never thought about being involved in these affairs must take part now. Those who thought western and who invited people to western mentality with their pen and option should come to their senses and invite people to what we have. We have everything. Our culture is rich: our country is rich. However, they hindered these affairs to be implemented.

Self-discipline and self -purification

Now the country is all yours and the foreigners' grip has been curtailed. I hope this state will persist to the end. You should care to reform all your affairs. First, reform and purify yourselves, engage in refining yourself, act upon the Islamic teachings that are to produce real human beings. Then try to train so that we will develop into people desired by Islam, not the one sought by colonialist. May God endow you all with success! The problems you pointed are under consideration. They will be solved gradually. We have recommended speeding up the process. They argue that they are doing their job. However, there is a great deal to be done. That is quite challenging and they are right. There is too much work ahead. I hope that all the problems will be settled. Never give in to disappointment. You gained a victory that left the world astonished. Such a power that has found that victory is not succumb to disappointment. God willing, by the power of your faith, you will settle all the affairs of your country. May God keep you safe! I will pray for you and I am at your service.

Message

Date: September 22, 1979 [Shahrivar 31, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Foreigners' attempts to sweep the Islamic content of the scientific and cultural programs

Occasion: Opening of academic year

Addressees: Professors, collegians and students

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Peace belongs to knowledge, university and students that are the light the path leading the nation towards elevation, prosperity and virtue.

Greeting to the youth endeavor hard for uplifting the dear Islamic country with the weapon of knowledge and its advancement; sparing no efforts in achieving human-Islamic ends.

Peace belongs to the collegians and professors who have suffered from deprivations, mental and physical tortures during the long years of suffocation, standing bravely and firmly against bullies and tyranny and did not surrender to evil powers.

Greetings to dear ones who defended the deprived people and the oppressed people in the hardest times of the Islamic revolution, never fearing the invasions of troops on cultural-training centers and encountering them selflessly.

Salutations to all students including elementary, high school and university students, scientists and professors throughout the country turning their scientific and sacred places into strong castles and unbeatable redoubts and defending their country's independence and freedom, crushing the devilish bunkers with the support of the great nation and burying the bloodthirsty enemy.

Now, O sisters and brothers and dear children of Islam universities, high schools and elementary schools! You are about to enter a very delicate and determining stage. The adversaries of Islam and the pillagers of the country are going to penetrate into the great redoubt of Islam, which is the hope of the nation and very determining, through deceptions and intrigues. They want to divert your attention from the right path, the deprived and the depressed people, through their evil agents and prevent you from achieving your real goal by working sabotage in the scientific centers. I found it

necessary to inform you of some important points, so I might pay back a portion of my debts to Islam, the deprived people and to you and fulfilling a portion of my responsibilities before the Creator and His creatures.

Mental dependence greatest dependence

1) As I have pointed out time and again, the greatest dependence of the oppressed nations on superpowers and arrogant powers from which all other dependences originate. As long as intellectual independence is not achieved by the nation independence in other aspects will not be attainable. In order to gain independence and to leave the prison of dependence on others, one should wake up from the artificial dream imposed on some strata of the nation, particularly the scientists, thinkers and intellectuals, discovering their national and cultural treasures and heritage. The greatest disaster for our nation is the intellectual dependence that makes them believe that everything comes from the West, that we are poor in all aspects and that we should import all our goods from abroad. You, the professors, teachers, university and college students, writers, intellectuals and scholars, should endeavor to wash away your brains from this sort of dependence and save your own country and nation by this great and valuable service.

Ignoring the Seditious

2) With the opening of universities, colleges, high school and elementary school, certain groups may work sabotage in the activity of universities' under alluring names and propaganda, preventing students from attending their classes. Collegians and students should treat them coldly and thwart their plots. People know they are the ones who were separate from the path of the nation and in the path of *taghut* right from the very beginning of the revolution till now. They are the ones who were dissociated from the Islamic revolution and moved against it and who struggled to undermine the referendum. They also disobey the votes of the absolute majority of the people. They are against the nation and interests. They are dependent upon the West, East and the former regime. Do not pay attention to their propaganda. Stay away from them as you did from *taghut* and the *taghuti* regime.

Unity of Student groups, secret of victory

3) What I have repeatedly underscored as secret of the victory is the unification of collegiate groups and formation of an Islamic-national group against the deviants who struggle to create discord. They strive to lead astray

you the dear youth who are the hope of the nation and on whom the promotion and prosperity of the country depend. They work to prevent you from taking steps towards progress of the country and with holding you from preoccupation in science and literature, contribute to advancement and emancipation from old-age and neo-colonialism. Beware that differences and dissensions are the sources of all miseries and slaveries. Some corrupted agents may find their way to universities and other training centers and start provoking disunity among you by calculated plans. You are required to identify them vigilantly and show their true identity to the young generation, so they might be aware of their intrigues and try to frustrate them.

Endeavor to gain knowledge and skill

4) The dear students are required to base their activities upon the attainment of knowledge and skills in different fields of study so as to meet the needs of our nation the country would gain autarchy through your hard work. It is unfortunate that in the past, everything was based in a way to make us dependent and they did everything in their power to make us go cap in hand to others. Try hard to overcome this dependence and meet the needs of your own country. Never ignore the power of your faith. Avoid depending on foreigners and insure your independence in every dimension. Never fear the outcries of the West and west-intoxicated elements. Verily the Almighty God will stand by you.

How to treat the followers of other religions

5) Islam is a religion supported by cogent argument and logic; it never fears the freedom of expression and the pen. It is not afraid of other schools, which have been proved ineffective and doomed to failure endorsed by their own scholars. You, respected students, should not treat the followers of other religions harshly and severely nor should be engaged in commotion conflict with them. Talk to them and invite the Islamic scholars to discuss the matter with them. One of their plans is to draw you in conflicts and make illegal use of that. We agree with freedom and logic. However, if we face intrigue and sabotage, we have another duty to fulfill.

I beseech the Almighty God not to allow this happen at all.

Necessity of fundamental changes in educational centers

6) One of the very important issues in all organizations, especially universities and high schools is to introduce fundamental change on programs particularly educational programs and approach, so that we can

save our culture from west-Intoxication and colonial trainings. During recent half of the century, foreigners particularly America have been trying to eliminate the national-human content of our culture and scientific programs and replace them with colonial and despotic ones. The culture promulgated in time of *taghut* put our country on the verge of collapse, but the Almighty God came to help this nation. Nevertheless, without correct radical changes and cultural and intellectual, mental and spiritual changes would be impossible. We may approach our destination by hard work and all-out efforts made by governments, university chancellors, teaching staff and collegians. God willing, we will be relieved of dependence and affiliation and we will save our dear homeland.

Necessity to purge cultural-educational centers from corrupt elements

7) One of the important issues, which are a prerequisite to reforms, is to refine all centers particularly cultural and scientific ones. Councils composed of learned and faithful individuals committed to revolution and with the support of chiefs, professors, collegians and teachers, must help purge the cultural-educational centers from corrupt elements and agents of the former regime. As long as these agents, who are at the service of aliens at a wide scale, particularly scientific and educational centers, are not purged, we will not be unable to gain intellectual dependence and will be unable to stand on our own feet.

Unity of theological seminaries and universities

8) The old and modern scientific and cultural center, the clergy, cultural scholars, theology students, university students constitute two significant poles and two pensive brains of the society. Foreigners have always struggled to separate these two poles and divide these two sensitive and humanizing centers. Separation of these two pillars and pitting them against each other, and thus defusing their activities in the face of colonialists and exploitative powers, would be of the greatest disasters of the present era. This would spoil our country and us altogether and pervert our young generation that is of the most energetic treasure of our country. This evil conspiracy *taghut* to which different strata of people vigilant scholars, must be particularly thwarted with full force and prudence, opening the way leading to understanding and solidarity as soon as possible. Once these two thoughtful poles are united, the country would reach its real growth, development and perfection. The scholars and scientists are required to make efforts to unify these two precious strata. It should be born in mind that

neither university excluding theology school would get independence vice versa. My dear ones! If you want Islam, and the country to the order of God and obey *“And obey Allah and His Apostle and do not quarrel then you will be weak in hearts and your power will depart.”*¹ Difference and dispute will lead you to defeat power and impacts in humanistic community. *“And cling to the covenant of Allah altogether and be not disunited”.*² I beseech the Almighty God to grant you success in fructifying the Islamic Republic and administering justice and equity. May peace, mercy and the blessings of Allah be upon you?

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:46.

² *Surah Al-e Imran* 3:103.

Statements

Date: September 22, 1979 [Shahrivar 31, 1358 AHS / Shawwal 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Settlement of Pahlavi regime's excessive ruination by public endeavor

Audience: Langarud Educational staff

[The Imam stated] corresponding problems, now prevails across the country and must be removed gradually. We will soon release a message to the nation in this respect.

[During the meeting, a number of Bushehr residents submitted a report on the spread of corruption and fornication in the region and offered some suggestion to counter them.]

[The Imam stated] They struggled to ruin the whole country, and destroyed the thoughts and actions of the youths in the country. In post-revolution period, we will remove this ruins and moral and social corruption gradually and through the efforts of people of all walks of life.

Decree

Date: September 23, 1979 [Mehr 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to problems in Larestan

Addressee: Sayyid Mujtaba Musawi Lari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Mr. Sayyid Mujtaba Musawi Lari—May his blessings last long,

I hope, God willing, you always be safe of calamities and engaged with carrying out your divine responsibilities. Given your precedence in Larestan,¹ it is advisable that you take a travel to the region to dispose of the problems and settle the local disputes. While fulfilling this great duty, you are required to familiarize the honorable people with their responsibilities at this juncture, calling them to unity. May God prolong your success in serving Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399 AH

¹ A large district in Fars province.

Decree

Date: September 23, 1979 [Mehr 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Jahrom's Friday prayers leader appointment

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Ayatullahi

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Mr. Haj Sayyid Husayn Ayatullahi—May his blessings last long,

I hope you always be safe of calamities, engaged with carrying out your religious and social responsibilities and be successful. We received a scroll inked by many honorable inhabitants of Jahrom requesting you to make office the Friday prayers as before. You are advised to accept their invitation. I appoint you as the regions Friday prayer leader. God willing, you may familiarize the respected people of the region with their sensitive and heavy responsibilities at this juncture while performing Friday prayer. I beseech the Almighty God to grant success to everyone. May peace, mercy and the blessings of Allah be upon you?

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: September 23, 1979 [Mehr 1, 1358 / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399]

Place: Qum, Fayd Elementary School

Subject: Children's pure nature—Islamic education of children

Occasion: Beginning of academic year 58-59 (1379-1380)

Audience: Qum—Fayd elementary school students¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Children, nearer to Celestial work

Today marking the first opening day of school and education I have come to meet this little of elementary schools students, because they are nearer to man's primordial nature. *All human beings are born according to their nature. However, after their birth, their parents convert them to Judaism, Christianity or Zoroastrianism.*² These children are very near to celestial world. They were not exposed to the tensions we underwent from nature or during the *taghuti* regime. Our youths were banned from undergoing human education. These children who are here in sworn and pushing one another to draw nearer to me are my dear children whom I hold dear. They are near to heaven and remote from nature's contaminations. I hope their teachers to make a studious effort in their human and Islamic education and remote from the evil teachings in the past.

Teachers' responsibilities toward children

Schoolteachers must pay more heed to these children wherever they are. These children are the hope of our country in the future. Today's children constitute tomorrow's people and scientists. It is they who will direct our country in the future. Next to us they are the ones to fledging maintain independence and freedom of the country. Teachers must praise these fledgling children and hold them back from the bad deeds we have committed. Islam guarantees all freedom and independence. If you raise our children Islamic upbringing, your country's independence and freedom are guaranteed. Appreciate the value our children I appreciate their childish

¹ Imam Khomeini along with Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini went to Fayd School that is located in one of the southern quarters in Qum and visited the school's classes. When the locals came to know about the Imam's visit, they gathered in the school. While speaking to the students, Imam Khomeini delivered a speech.

² *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 1, p. 35, h. 18.

affections. I love them all as you love your dear ones. They are the apple of my eyes and the hope of country's future. I beseech the Almighty God to endow prosperity and well-being upon the children who must serve as a source of our pride in the future. I pray for you all. May God help these blooming buds flourish in Islamic milieu and training. May God keep these tender children safe under His protection and keep the light of true nature burning in them. I do not make my speech long, as these children are under pressure and feel uneasy under the warm sunshine. May God grant you prosperity and the country independence in light of your existence!

May peace be upon you and upon God's pious worshippers!

Statements

Date: September 23, 1979 [Mehr 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Account of spies, different from majority Muslim people of Kurdistanis

Addressee: Muhammad Mukri (Islamic Republic of Iran's ambassador to former Soviet Union)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We have treated them with utmost cordiality and brotherhood. The account of a very small account of a very number who has ties with Western and Zionist spying centers and occasionally linked to Socialist states are different from the overwhelming majority of Muslim people of Kurdistan.

[At the end of the meeting, the Imam prayed for Mr. Mukri's success in his mission.]

Decree

Date: September 24, 1979 [Mehr 2, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 2, 1399AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Friday prayer leader in Kuwait

Addressee: Sayyid Abbas Muhri

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Abbas Muhri—May his blessings last long,

I hope you always be safe of calamities and engaged with carrying out your divine responsibilities. Considering the element of time and the need for Muslims to be aware of the day's developments and each other's problems through more glorious congregations, you are required to make official the Friday prayer in Kuwait. You are hereby appointed as Friday prayer leader in that country. It is hoped that the honorable believers will avail of the opportunity, and hold glorious assembly, not with holding cooperation in holding and joining the Friday congregational prayer. I implore the Almighty God to grant you all success. May peace and mercy of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: September 24, 1979 [Mehr 2, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 2, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Different issues in Iran and the world

Interviewer: Oriana Falachi

Q: Primarily, I would like to offer my condolences over Mr. Taleqani's death.

A: I wish her success and thank for her expression of condolence.

Q: I hope that the Imam would answer to the questions I pose with ease considering the patience I see in him although some of the questions may sound ridiculous and some others bothersome.

A: Please tell her if the questions are long, I do not have time. I do not object if she limits the number of questions to a few ones. Select among the important questions lest it should not take a long time.

Q: Your Eminence, Imam Khomeini! Iran is in your hand and your words are fully accepted and become law in this country, taking an executive form. In the country, there are some people who think there is no freedom in this country. What is your Eminence's comment?

A: Tell him that Iran is not in my hands; it is in the hands of the nation. The nation may freely turn to anyone who serves them and who works for their interests. You noticed that on Mr. Taleqani's death there was no bayonet to force the people to surge into the streets. People took to the street freely, making the entire Iran tempestuous. This does not mean there should be unbridled freedom. This is not freedom. Nevertheless, it is freedom that drives people to turn to some personalities whom they know are divinely oriented and whom they love and admire on some divinely standards. This is liberality.

Q: As you had pointed out in a speech in Qum a long time ago, you aptly described a modern man as one who thinks freely, who decides freely and who chooses freely. How is it that the Communists and other minorities, whether political, religious and national, cannot express their thought freely in the country?

A: Tell her that you first presuppose a matter and then ask the reason. There is freedom of thought in our country. There is freedom of the pen and

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is written as Shahrivar 21, 1358 AHS but Mehr 2, 1358 AHS

is right.

freedom of expression, but there is no freedom of conspiracy and corruption. If you expect us to let plots being hatched against us and lead our country to anarchy and corruption and if this is what they mean by freedom, nowhere in the world can you find such freedom. If you mean freedom of thought and freedom of expression, Mr. Bani Sadr invited the Communists and others of different views to voice their opinions. They were absolutely free for a period of five months or more. Nevertheless, we recently came to realize that, inspired from aliens and those aiming to destroy the country, they were engaged in conspiracies, sabotages and setting fire to crops and ballot boxes, displaying those treatments by applying guns. They were behind the troubles around Kurdistan. If we neglect, they will proceed. If by freedom, you mean freedom of speech and expression and thought, it already exists. That which has been banned is what was absolutely denied in post-revolution period in countries where revolution broke out and whose leaders claimed to provide complete freedom, but absolutely banned those engaged in brewing plots. We gave them respite for five or more months until it was demonstrated for the people and the world that it is not the question of freedom of expression, but freedom to conspire. This freedom to hatch plot cannot be provided by anyone in any part of the world.

Q: You already know that correspondents usually ask these questions. Why then dissident newspapers, particularly Ayandegan, were for example banned?

A: Daily Ayandegan was the one that had connections with our enemies. The daily was involved in conspiracy and had relationship with the Zionists. It was inspired from them and wrote against the interests of the country. All the newspapers conspiring to return the former regime were banned. After the investigations if they were proved to be irrelevant to the plots, they will be free. The prosecutors general had understood that all these newspapers were conspirator and corrupt being inspired from the shah and the Zionist machinery, thus issuing order to ban them temporarily to launch a probe. It is not against freedom; it prevents plots; it is a measure taken everywhere in the world to ban such plots.

Q: His Eminence Imam Khomeini! Those who are now voicing opposition are predominantly from among people who struggled against the former regime and suffered tortures. How is it possible to deny leftists the right to express themselves, while they have struggled so much and suffered pains?

A: This is impossible. Not a single one of them has fought or been tortured. All of them have taken advantage of the government and the nation's sufferings and writing against our people.

Q: I mean the political groups like Tudeh Party, Fadaiyan and Mujahidin.

A: The same holds true of parties. If they do not conspire in the context of their freedom and have not acted in contrast to freedom, they are exempt. As for your view that they have suffered and have been active in fighting the Shah, this means that you are not much informed of our situation. The masses of people have suffered. A number of these party members were abroad and now they have returned to take benefit without having suffered any pain. Another group lived here in havens or team houses. After people sustained those sufferings, offered blood and did all the works, they came and are benefiting. Nevertheless, no one has stopped them; they are free.

Q: I persistently mean the leftists who served imprisonment terms or suffered torture by the Shah.

A: They had no role in our revolution. In fact, they were all opposed. The few groups that are now active against us followed a specific ideology and insist on their ideology. Our revolution was Islamic to which the leftists were opposed. They are more opposed to us than to the Shah. They are conspirators as well and work to revert to the previous situation. I am of the opinion that they are feigned leftists, not real ones, who have been contrived by the US. Therefore, it is not like what you think that leftists are a group that played a role in our revolution. They had no role in our revolution. Of course, they have taken some measures for their own ideas that are irrelevant to our revolution. Our revolution has no connection with the leftists. And the leftists rendered no service to our revolution. They have only been engaged in stonewalling. The leftists weave all the present plots. These leftists are feigned, not real leftists.

Q: Your Eminence Imam Khomeini! Would you please tell us whether this nation fought for freedom or Islam?

A: Definitely for Islam. Within Islam is contained all the concepts the world assumes to be democracy. Islam contains all these notions. Our people have fought for these realities on the top of which stand Islam. Within Islam is contained all these notions.

Q: Could you give us a simple definition of freedom?

A: Freedom is not something to be defined. People are free to think. No one obliges them to hold this or that opinion. No one obliges you to to this

way. No one pushes you to choose this one. No one impels you to live in certain place or choose certain jobs. Freedom is something transparent.

Q: Are people free enough to choose their government system? Is this freedom available for the nation too?

A: In the way prevailing in the world, people of Iran can also elect their representative. The representatives can approve or reject the government based on what the people have entrusted them. People elect the president. People accomplish all these; people can do it freely.

Q: His Eminence Imam Khomeini! Why did you cross one word from the outset; that is, democratic and observed that "Islamic Republic" not a single word more or one less? You crossed the term that is so dear. It is so dear to us and you eliminated it. This subject is still under discussion in the country.

A: Yes, it has a story of its own. One question is that this misgiving generates the idea in one's mind that Islam is empty of democracy. Therefore, there is need to be associated with an epithet. It depresses us to argue that we want Islam but associated with democracy, while within Islam is contained all the ingredients of democracy. Islam has everything. It is like saying that we want Islam provided that we can believe in God. This is very saddening to us for one to have such an idea in mind. First and foremost, the term democracy that is so dear to you has not a clear-cut definition. Aristotle defines it one way; the Soviets have a different definition; capitalists define it differently. We cannot incorporate in our constitution an ambiguous concept defines differently by different groups. In its place, we put Islam that clarifies the middle way. This is not conflicting with anything. However, there are people who have not understood Islam. Foreigners have nothing to do with Islam. Those inside the country do not know what form of regime Islam provides. Therefore, they take one thing for granted. Let me give you an example from freedom and democracy. History has something to say about Imam Ali (a) when he was the Caliph whose realm of authority extended from Hijaz to Egypt, most of Asia and parts of Europe. The Imam who was leader of such a vast territory, commanded such a power and assigned the judge, when a dispute erupted between him and a Jew, the judge invited him to answer to some questions. He sat in the presence of the judge. The judge was due to do him honor. The Imam rejected and said a judge should not respect anyone; we are all equal before law. When the judge issued a verdict against him, he admitted. I would like you who are informed of all governments and everywhere give me an example of such a treatment. As you may know, in all the governments in the world from beginning to the

present day show an instance of such a sample standing above the example quoted above.

Q- No, I have no example at present to give you. Instead, you have accomplished a revolution, but still there are rich and poor people in your country. Do you authorize several parties that are objectively democratic to replace other group if it fails to win as is the case in Britain where sometimes the Labor Party and at other times the Conservative Party comes to power? Do you give permission for economic justice?

A- We have now a six-month-old child. In the past fifty or so years, with the condition and complications in which Iran was embroiled, what expectation you have of a six months old child that has been kept backward for the past fifty or so years in our time and 2500 years in history? Now, we are at the beginning of the path; we are encountering with all the ruinations inherited from the former regime. No destruction has come about in our time. In our time, all are attempting to improve the people's conditions and the situation of the farmers, factories and the like. Do you expect us to improve the conditions in a few months or years to the extent that all our people live in comfort, with all the complications being removed? Can all the confusions imposed upon us be corrected in so short a time? We want those whom you call communist and democrat, etc. to give us respite to attend to the problems of the people and administer the country the way they want. Our economy is now bankrupt; we should lay the foundation for a healthy one. We are now stripped of opportunity; we are in a confused situation; these very people whom you call democrat and communist, etc have caused all the complications. These people are all the troubles we have. If these problems are removed, parties are free. We never bar freedom. Islam does not also deny freedom. As is the case in all parts of the world, we do not act more than staving off plots.

Q- As I look at your face, there is assurance and peace in your mien. However, the world has portrayed a stern, harsh and grim image of you. Is the image portrayed of you not painful? You are described as new dictator of Iran. Are you not piqued by this experience?

A- It is obviously irritating one from aspect: how far our enemies go to act contrary to humanity. We regret these people behaving against humanity and going beyond fairness. It is annoying from this aspect. According to teachings of Islam, we should deplore the defects in human beings. From another aspect, it is not at all important to us, because we are traversing a rightful path, a path that is against super powers and the interests of countries that want to swallow the wealth of weaker nations. I cannot expect them to

sit and watch, while we block their attempts. Of course, it is not unprecedented and new. We were wise to such acts. Often when a weaker nation stands against a big power, these accusations are leveled against the former. We should not expect those who have been hired by the Shah and by big powers not to take severe measures against us. Well, we see outside of our country there are elements engaged in triggering disturbance in our country. We see exactly that they are intriguing. We know that in their newspapers, they incriminate us in whatever way they wish. Perhaps you read in newspapers writing that women's breasts have been cut at the order of Khomeini, doing so and so with women. Obviously, it is enemy, but I am sorry that the enemies act so unfairly and against humanity.

Q- Those who do not fear you and I saw in front of your house and also in Tehran crying "Khomeini, Khomeini," generates some feeling in one emanating from some sort of fanaticism. Do you not see this threatening to progress of man and growth of human being?

A- It is not fanaticism. It is freedom to express friendship. This is, borrowing your words, democracy in friendship. They have felt that I act according to their interests, that we do not want to oppress them and that we do not want to force them to do something. They favor Islam and feel that I am obeying Islam and acting according to Islamic laws. These two feelings prevail in people. One is that they know that Islam is a regime within which is contained justice. They also know me as one who is obedient to a regime that seeks justice that we want to administer. For this reason, they display their sentiments. It is not a rigid fanaticism without any logic and foundation. I will not feel any threat in this.

Q- Do you see the threat of fascism in Iran today?

A- Not at all! There is not such a threat. As long as the nation has regard for Islam and obeys the faith and we want to establish Islamic government, there is no fear. There will be no dictatorship. There is no threat of this notion finding foothold in our country. We would be threatening when communism overpowers us, in which case trouble and dictatorship would begin to emerge or when a regime like that of the Shah catapults into power. This is also menacing. As for the regime we seek, it is what the nation seeks. Dictatorship in it is a cardinal sin. Fascism is a capital sin in the sight of our nation. Never we would pose such a threat.

Q- In this fascism, the popular aspect is strong. In Italy, where we have lived, and in Germany, Mosilini and Hitler relied on such thoughts. There is always threat of some sort of dictatorial government being created by masses

of people in graduate. Such a regime is entirely leaning on public opinion. However, it acts exactly like despots.

A- Our people are Muslim. Islamic teachings have been taught to people by our clerics as they themselves have learnt. All these Islamic ordinances are grounded on justice; freedom, people's latitude and sublime concepts. All these notions exist in Islam and people also abide by them. It is indeed rationally possible for the country to reverse from Islam and turn to communism. If such a thing happens, all the people have backed down from Islam and became communist. Then, this threat looms on Islam. However, as long as our people are Muslim, no such a threat can be posed. For a people not believing in Islam or following communism or other schools, this threat is there. However, our country is not at all exposed to such a threat.

Q- Another question that has caused uproar in the West deals with the executions. It is noised about that some five hundred people have so far been executed in Iran and that without lawyer and appeal. Do you still favor the procedure?

A- Either the West has not known these individuals or deliberately feigned ignorance. Firstly, the number is not five hundred, but much less. They were individuals most of whom openly killed people in the street in cold blood or ordered the killings. This has not been something ambiguous for our people feeling doubtful as to whether they were innocent or not. Perhaps they have something to defend themselves. But one who attacks a population with tank and hits and overruns the youths under the tank and then one death sentence is issued in lieu of killing thousand people, can one be given respite to defend one? Obviously, the pen is in the hand of the enemy to write whatever he wishes. However, this is not reality. Neither the number of those executed here are so great nor have they been tried against standards. Each of them have killed many people and caused corruption. They have burnt women, saw the legs of prisoners in prisons, roasted the prisoners and connected them to electricity. Obviously, these people were executed; they were given the right to defend themselves. It is bandied about that they were denied lawyer. What can we do when the pen is in the hand of the enemy who wants to depict such a picture of us?

Q: What is your opinion about the Shah? Have you issued an order to assassinate him abroad? And do you think it is possible?

A: No. I did not issue any order. I would like him to be extradited and tried in Iran. If I could, I would keep and transfer him to Iran and openly tried him for the fifty-odd years of tyranny he has committed, compensating for his treasons. If he were killed, the assets he has stolen and taken abroad

would be lost. However, if we keep him and transfer him to Iran, the assets might be retrieved.

Q: Are you interested in detaining and transferring him to Iran in the same way that Ashman was nabbed and taken to Israel?

A: I would like him to be transferred and tried in Iran.

[To the translator:] Tell him that the late Mudarris who was the staunch enemy of the Shah, once the Shah was on a visit to foreign country. When the Shah had returned home, the late Mudarris had told him "I prayed for you so much." He had taken great pleasure in that his enemy had prayed for him. Mudarris had said the point is that if you had died, the properties you have pillaged and handed over to foreigners would all be lost. I prayed for your health to return to Iran so that we can regain the assets. The same holds true for the son who has transferred our assets abroad more than his father's.

Q: If the Shah redeems the assets, will you let go of him?

A: With respect to his treasons, there would be no word with him proportion to the amount he redeems. However, he has committed treasons to our nationality that cannot be compensated and passed by. He has committed treasons against Islam. We cannot compensate this as well. The crimes he committed in killing people in groups in 15 Khurdad are not redeemable. As we were notified, the mass slaughter of Khordad 15 was at his direct order. His crimes are unforgivable. If he can resurrect the victims of Khordad 15, there would be no more objections.

Q: Only the Shah or all his family members?

A: Anyone of them committing treason. Along with the royal family members, the Shah's crown prince can come and live in Iran like other citizens. He has done nothing against us. No one will do any harm to him. However, the like of Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister, is among the criminals and will be punished based on her crimes. It does not have anything to do with the other members of his family. There is nothing to do with the ones who have committed no treason.

Q: Has his son done anything wrong?

A: The court will decide. There are allegations, but we do not know.

Q: You are hopeful of his return to Iran be tried. Are you sure this will happen?

A: This is almost a wish.

Q: Rest assured that you will lose nothing. I will frustrate all the propaganda against you.

A: Do not think much of yourself!

Q: It is said that those executed were not all political dissidents and SAVAK (members of the Shah's notorious secret police); they had committed buggery and adultery. I explained that it is not the case. They were businessmen who kidnapped children and you were given false reports.

A: The heart of the point is that if a finger of a body is decayed, what should be done to recover the body? Should the rotten finger be allowed to be there to disintegrate the entire body? This finger is unhealthy and must be cut off. Once, it is said that people are free as postulated by certain groups. Women are free so that these people would enjoy. Well, so much the better! Once, this is what they mean by freedom. However, we cannot approve of this. are dead set against it. The other time, it is meant that maintaining the order in the society is maintaining health in the society. Islamic policies are implemented to purge the society. The farm harmful weeds must be picked and thrown away. We cannot tolerate those who are leading the society to astray and debauch our boys and girls. We cannot let them do, as they will. The appropriate strategy must be adopted, whether hard for you or not, to correct the society. It is the need of a society that you seize a thief and put him behind the bars. Why did you take his freedom? Alternatively, you detain, imprison and retaliate on a murderer. Why do not you let him do as he wishes? Why? The reason is that it may lead the society to astray and corruption. Preventing some of them, the society will be rectified. We request this correction, which requires the proper policies.

[To the translator]

As regards what has happened here, as you said, tell him these events were like such issues.

Q: [Occasionally, for example, some people may commit buggery. One is ill. Suppose similar problem. Why are they executed?

A: This triggers corruption. Corruption must be removed to correct others. This is among the side issues.

Q: It is said that an eighteen-year-old pregnant woman has been executed for committing adultery.

A: This is a lie. It is impossible in Islam. This is among the accusations leveled against us.

Q: Newspapers wrote about it.

A: I am not in the know. How should we know what has happened. The case has been taken to court, which has issued the verdict.

Q: Is it all right to conceal women under Chadors (long grown covering women from head to toe)? The women participated in the revolution, sacrificed their life, were imprisoned and struggled. Wearing Chador is an

old-fashioned custom. Now, the world has undergone change. Is it right to conceal them under Chador?]

A: Firstly, it is optional for them. They have chosen it. What right do you have to strip them of this option? We communicate to women to turn out with chador or Islamic dress. Out of the 35 million populations, 33 will come out wearing Islamic mode of dress. What right do you have to bar them? What sort of dictatorship are you applying to women? Secondly, we do not press for any specific covering. For women of your age, there is there is no strict regulation. We are checking the young women wearing strong make-up and trailing behind them a throng of people. You need not feel pity for them.

I am going to get up. You need not feel pity for them.

[To the translator:]

Translate these for her.

Decree

Date: September 24, 1979 [Mehr 2, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to religious and social events of Tuyserkan

Addressee: Ahmad Sharif Muhsini Gorgani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ahmad Muhsini Gorgani (May his blessings last),

Pursuant to request of the respected residents of Tuyserkan, you are required to stay there to preach Islam, practice Islamic ordinances and take care of religious and social questions of the people. Meantime, you should make them aware of their important duties at this critical juncture. I pray God to grant you success. It is hoped that the esteemed residents would appreciate your efforts.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 2, 1399AH

Speech

Time: September 24, 1979 [Mehr 2, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of preserving Islamic ideology and system—significance of duty of Revolutionary Guards

Audience: Hasan Lahuti (Commander of Revolutionary Guards Corps) Abbas Zamani (operation commander) and IRGC Personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Preserving the ideology and country

You and we have two kinds of responsibilities: One is minor and the other major. The minor responsibility is to protect the country and system, to advance the revolution and to observe individual order and training. This is in itself important but secondary to the latter, which is to preserve Islam. If we succeed in the first responsibility, it will be a great success. If we fail, it will be a great failure. However, if we save Islam, we will not lose much. However, by preserving the image of Islam, there would be no final defeat for us. Our defeat would be confined to military activities. If we manage to save Islam and do not suffer defeat, we will eventually be victorious. If you notice, since the time of the holy prophet and Imam Ali's caliphate, many wars were fought. The battles were all Islamic oriented with the aim of educating the society. No single war could be found in Islam not being fought for construction of society and preventing those who did not want to let the society make progress. The holy prophet fought several wars; in some of the wars, he suffered defeat. While he suffered defeat in the wars, his school was not defeated. The school remained intact. Imam Ali (a) also lost some wars. Even in the war against Muawiyah, he was finally defeated. They defeated him deceitfully. Nevertheless, since the school was protected, he did not lose; he rather gained victory eventually. Now, his victory is clear. All Islamic nations are looking up to him. Formerly, if some Sunnite brothers did not want to talk about Muawiyah, it is not clear such is the case now. Muawiyah has become so defamed that Muslims do not believe in him any longer. While Imam Ali finally became defeated in the battle of Siffin, he was the victor because the school was protected. Muawiyah's real identity was also disclosed to those who did not know him well. Such was the case with regard to Imam Husayn (a). Well, he came to Karbala and battle erupted between his small number of followers and numerous groups,

culminating in his murder and defeat and the captivity of his family. At the same time, however, he defeated Yazid. Yazid was so disgraced in the world that he became mortal forever. This was because Islam was saved. It was a monotheistic and Islamic school that remained in force. From this aspect, there was no defeat.

Real failure is when Islam is vanquished

We are now on the horns of a dilemma. We may, God forbid, suffer defeat in our school. If, let us suppose, our nation had, God forbid, failed in the struggle against the Shah and, in fact, against all the countries accompanying him, it would be a defeat followed by victory. If we had failed, we would not be moped in my opinion, because our school was protected. Actually, protection of the school would finally lead to victory of right over wrong. But we are now confronted with a two-pronged road. Islam with its beautiful image might be misrepresented to foreign countries or domestic enemies at our own hands, bringing about the defeat of our school. Those whom we always argued to be holding devious schools should not be given excuse. We have claimed that Islam can mend the way of peoples and that Islamic school is exhilarating and capable of actualizing man's potentials. We made such claims and still do so. There is room for fear that if our deeds run counter to our words, our enemies would put it down on Islam's account and not ours. They might argue that Islamic guards and *Mullahs* act as such. They are looking for excuse to see a mistake and aggrandize it hundreds of times as much as what it is. They are making such remarks on the supposition to present the Islamic Republic as a regime troubling people like the former regime. However, they have found not much excuse.

Iranian revolution, the White Revolution

The revolution accomplished by the people of Iran was more peaceful than any revolution in the world. It should therefore be called a "white" revolution, not in the sense applied by Muhammad-Rida, but that we obtained hundred times as much as we lost. Nevertheless, we have not achieved what we desired. What we have achieved is that we have removed the major obstacles on the way. There are still some barriers.

The wrong done by officials

There are words that today we are acting the way the imperial regime did. Islamic Republic has been established, but we only speak of Islam,

Qoran and faith. Our action is the same. Words have changed, but meaning is the same. A republic has replaced a royal regime. However, the same approach and program as in the past are being repeated. You and I shoulder a big responsibility. You, the nation and anyone else under the protection of Islamic Republic is responsible. This responsibility is not personal. If it were personal, there would be no concern. Let us suppose Mr. Lahuti,¹ Mr. Abusharif² or I am accused. This is insignificant. The question is that the school is subjected to accusation. They work to accuse our school. They are not concerned with individuals. That which ran counter to their goals and that which brought them defeat was our school. It was our school that defeated them. Our school produced these young adults who seek martyrdom. One cannot ask people to die; only a school can do it. It is not reasonable to say that I will die so that some goods may become cheaper or more expensive. People do not sacrifice their life for these petty things. It is the people's faith that drives one to make sacrifice. It was again faith that drove Imam Husayn (a) and his few followers against a wicked emperor who commanded enormous forces, but who lacked humanity and faith. Imam Husayn was killed but defeated Yazid. If, God forbid, you and we do something in the revolution you have accomplished, all are responsible. The clerics and guards are both guardian of Islam. The entire nation must guard Islam; "*All of you are responsible and supervisor of each other.*"³ In the same way that a shepherd takes his herds to graze in grasslands and fresh waters; likewise, we are responsible. If the shepherd fails to do this, the herd owner would call the sheperd to question as to why he did not take the herds to meadow?

Enjoining good deeds and public responsibility

We are all like the shepherd; we are accountable to God and our conscience. We all must observe this rule. I should give due consideration to you all and each of you assist other people. This approach has obliged all to ask all "why". This obligation has required everyone to enjoin the good. If a so-called low-ranking individual in the eyes of people sees a high-ranking person make an offence, Islam pushes him/her to confront the offender, saying, "Stop doing the evil act". It is related that when Omar was the Caliph, he said if I make a mistake remind me of that. An Arab drew his

¹ Mr. Hasan Lahuti.

² Abbas Zamani—the then commander of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps.

³ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

sword and said 'we will stand against you with this sword if you make an offense.¹

This is Islamic training not to give consideration to anybody as far as implementation of the commands of God and initiation of Islamic revolutions are concerned irrespective of whether he is a father or son and boss or subject. No consideration should be given. The question should be whether one is behaving in accordance with Islam or not. Anyone acting according to Islam should be appreciated, encouraged and treated kindly. If one acts in contrast to Islam, everyone should remind one of one's violations and forbid one regardless of being a prominent cleric or a chief. We must take care lest our deeds should tarnish the image of our revolution or presenting things in a way different from the path charted out by God.

Significance of the duty of the guards

Now, you bear the noble label of a guardian of Islam and Islamic Revolution. Islamic Revolution Guard is not simply a logo, but a reality. It is this reality that drives you to put out the sedition if someone is found somewhere to act against Islam. It is a fact that if we are guards, we should guard ourselves not to move against Islam. If a guard commits an offence, it will not be argued that this guard has done it, but that all guards are like that. Then, you have a grave responsibility. We also do. If a *mullah* does wrong, all Mullahs will be questioned. If a Komite officer does wrong, all Islamic Komites would be accused. The enemies are waiting to target the "class" rather than "person" extending their accusation to "Islam." Our enemies are like this; they want to slam the center of which they are scared; that is, Islam. Sometimes, they come in the name of turbaned class and at other times in the name of Islamic guards, Komites and courts.

Vigilance versus ill wishers

We are duty-bound not to let spiteful individuals raise excuse. Everybody of us should guard one and one's friends. One should not only say prayer but also make others do so. One should not slander people unduly; one should also prevent others from doing so. This is, for sure, his divine duty to check you. Enjoining good deeds and forbidding evil acts are two Islamic principles aimed to reform a society. Islam has assigned everybody to enforce good deeds and to block corruption. It is not that you do good deeds and avoid evil acts. Your duty is far more than that and includes others

¹ *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 12, p. 562.

as well. There is no difference in this respect among all strata of people. All should obey God. Serving as a guard is a noble task, because it is to render service to Islam and to protect Islam. Its responsibility is great, because if, God forbid, a guard acts contrary to the principles of Islamic guardianship, those who want to misrepresent Islam will find the excuse to do so. Our school might then suffer defeat in which case we are all done for. If at this time when this revolution emerged and drove out the bullies and plunderers is now replaced by similar plunderers, our revolution would be destroyed and our school would suffer defeat. This is the responsibility of you and me and all; we should preserve Islam.

Breeze of Islam in Iran

I implore God Almighty to protect persons such as Mr. Abušarif whom I have met in a few occasions but whom I well know. As regards the other gentleman,¹ who is the apple of my eye and with whom I am familiar for a long time has suffered a lot from this corrupt regime. Somebody told me now that he still bears some scars left on his body from severe tortures but has resisted. You should appreciate his value; he is not an ordinary man; he is an extraordinary person. I hope that this revolution will proceed with your assistance and the image of Islam will be portrayed properly. We have a commodity, which, if presented, will be accepted by the whole world. But we are denied to present it; that is, Islam. Now, a breeze of Islam has blown in this country. People come from everywhere and say all love Iran. Just now a man who had gone abroad had come and was telling me that in the meeting attended by some fifty or so of their intellectuals and ulama acknowledged Iran. When talking to people in different countries, all were keen to know about Iran. Now, several people were here from Bangladesh; they also confirming that their people had fixed their eyes on Iran.

The entire world has now fixed their eyes on Iran to see what we are doing. Did we tell a lie about just Islamic government or, God forbid, we told a lie and we are unIslamic and different from just Islamic government. If they regard us as non-Islamic, it will be fair. But, if they argue that this is Islam and these are its guards and those are its clerics, it will be a great failure.

My brothers, take care of yourselves! Beware that the responsibility is great and you should protecting yourselves and the ideology. The IRGC commanders should enjoin your guards to give regard to these issues so that, God willing, a country would be set up, an Islamic country, smacking of the

¹ Mr. Hasan Lahuti.

holy Quran and the prophet of Islam wherever we set foot on. May God protect you all!

Speech

Date: September 25, 1979 [Mehr 3, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 3, 1399 AH]

Place Qum

Subject: Necessity of publications being Islamic and free from deviations

Audience: Muhammad-Taqi Jafari—Islamic publishers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Policy of publications

Islam has set the policy and we follow Islam. All the publications you are going to handle must be Islamic and free from deviations. Certainly, a body should make the judgment. The gentlemen must determine a body of experts in these affairs so as to supervise the books before being published. The books should be published only after being approved in terms of their conformity with Islam because it is likely that a book begins with some lines corresponding to Islamic principles and follow with non-Islamic and deviant materials. Then those who want to serve Islam should take care lest this tool should turn out to be contrary to their aim. Those experts who are familiar with deviant schools of thought must supervise the books. Before publishing a book, get it studied by the experts; if they approve of it, get it published. Surely, a great service you can do for Islam is to spread Islamic teachings through publishing appropriate books. God willing, you will be rewarded for this service. However, it must be immune from any offence. This must be done under the strict control of a body consisting of several persons appointed by you and are approved of by, say, the ulama of Tehran. Then those individuals will review the books with your company. May God protect you all! The task is very invaluable, since it is the circulation of divine rules. It is also a delicate task that must be done without blunder. No deviant book should be found among them. This calls for teamwork. May God help you! I am too busy and have little information about these people. A group must be assigned for religious books.

[One of the audiences: A team supervised by Mr. Jafari can be assigned in Tehran.

Mr. Jafari: I am preoccupied with teaching in three or four faculties and have no time doing this. As *taghuti* professors have been purged out, I had to accept the task, so it is hard for me to undertake the responsibility.]

The Imam: Well, people can be assigned under his supervision.

[Mr. Jafari: I told the Imam we try to find people in this regard. It is a hard task for me.]

The Imam: Okay, when they are assigned, let me know. Good luck.

Speech

Time: September 26, 1979 [Mehr 4, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Comparing Pahlavi regime with the Abbasid and Umayyad states—philosophy of mourning for Imam Husayn (a)—Need for protecting Islamic Republic with Islamic substance.

Audiences: Tehran's Fatimites mourning gathering

Comparing Pahlavi regime with Umayyad and Abbasid states

Pahlavi regime and former regimes like Umayyad and Abbasid states were similar in that all of them did not want Islam to be realized as it is. Both were apparently Muslim in that they took such steps as holding Friday congregational prayer. However, they did not want Islam, as prescribed by the holy prophet and his household, to find reality. Islam was a religion whose leaders were the holy prophet and Imam Ali (a), who led a simple life. If they wanted to present Islam as represented by the household, they could not live in palaces and in luxury. They lived in glorious palaces while people were in slums. After the death of some of them, their gold was broken with a pickaxe into pieces and distributed among people. Islam does not accept capitalism in the prevailing sense of the word. Islam has some principles. So, they did not want it to be as it is. All royal regimes including the former regime had been corrupt from sole to crown. I do not think that you can find two or three kings who have been the right people. Those known as "heaven-dwellers" are in fact "hell-dwellers". Among them were one who made his son blind for such and such reasons¹ and the one who is known as Anushiravan, the Just² who has blackened the history with his oppression and cruelty. Before this late regime, Umayyad and Abbasid regimes and other royal regimes had accepted Islam on the face of it, but in reality they did not want Islam as it was. They wanted everything for themselves. They wanted to expand Islamic territories to increase their influence. They wanted everything for themselves and their bands. But, this corrupt regime wanted these for others. When Rida Khan came to power, he started with hypocrisy. This gentleman said he did not remember,³ but I do. I

¹ Referring to Shah Abbas I - the Safavide.

² Khosrow I, known as Anusiiravan, the just from the kings of Sasanide Dynasty (531-accession to throne) who murdered all his brothers and their male children at the outset of his reign.

³ Referring to the speaker before the Imam's speech.

was in the know from the outset. When he was established, his first aim was Islam, but he did not announce the aim. The ulterior motive was to annihilate Islam under the auspices of strangers. Then he began with clerics. He blocked religious gatherings. They started from this point so that they can destroy the very foundation, of which the foreign powers were afraid.

Foreigners' extensive studies to exploit the East

They have done extensive research on the eastern countries including Iran; they are aware of Iranian resources much better than Iranian themselves. They have studied tribes to see what they are after and how they can be trapped. They wanted to unite clans within cities not in the name of Islam.

Rida Khan's hostilities to clergymen

During the reign of Rida Khan, I witnessed that they had turned everybody such as poets, writers and speakers against clergymen. These people had, of course, some link to the regime. A poet, for instance, said "we are ashamed of having *mullahs* and Qajar around here in Iran." They regarded *mullahs* as a matter of shame and were hostile to the Qajar. I heard at that time that they had arranged a session to picture Arabs' victory over Iran, wherein the bare-footed Arabs occupied their palaces. Here, some began crying, "Islam conquered Iran".

Even at present, some feel sorry that Islam has prevailed over their nationality. They are, in other words, against Islam. Now some writers, speakers and west-oriented intellectuals say that we want our nationality, not Islam. When they speak about their nationality, they associate it with the kings who are wellknown in history.

At the outset, Rida Khan held mourning gatherings and participated in such sessions. Even in Muharram, he attended all mourning sites. After the simple-hearted nation had believed in him, he disclosed his real identity. He banned all mourning sessions across the country. He set the situation such that no cleric could come out. They took some clerics to police station and cut their traditional cloak short with a knife to make it look like a suit and then set them free. They had forbidden the drivers to pick up clerics. Some drivers showed their servility to clerics. They aimed all this at Islam not clerics. The clerics were seen as the main obstacle on this way. So they had to remove the obstacle before destroying Islam. The theory of "Islam without clergymen" is in line with this approach. Some of those who are entertaining the idea are aware of it and some others are not.

Philosophy of elegy sessions for Husayn (a), the Doyen of Martyrs

The idea has now been inculcated in our youth as to how long are we to practice the mourning ceremonies. Let us mount protest. They do not understand what mourning ceremonies are for and who has maintained this basis up to present time. One cannot make them understand it. They do not know that this mourning and crying mend man's way. These mourning gatherings for Imam Husayn (a) are propaganda against oppression and against oppressors. Expression of oppression against the oppressed should be maintained. These same people once cried for the slain youth, but they are now deluded, saying 'forget those youth'. Those who regard Imam Husayn (a) as the foundation, which has kept Islam alive, indoctrinated the youth. The holy prophet said: "*I am from Husayn.*"¹ This means he preserves the religion of Islam and his self-sacrifice has preserved Islam. Then we must protect it too. These youngsters are inattentive. Obviously, they consist of a group who has been indoctrinated by individuals who want Islam to cease to exist. They want to destroy mourning ceremonies. They do not know that the mourning arouses people's emotions to the extent that they are ready to do everything. When they see how Imam Husayn sacrificed his youth, people do so much easily. And it was with this sense of loving martyrdom that our nation advanced the concept. The very concept, which was reflected from Karbala on our nation, made them long for martyrdom whose master was Imam Husayn. They do not know that these concepts have preserved Islam and that those who know this suggest otherwise and deceive people.

Arrogant powers oppose clergymen

Those who talk and write against clergymen know that clergymen have protected Islam, which is in contrast with their interests. This is the Islam, which supports the oppressed. "*We decided on and determined the oppressed tribe of that land, they were made leaders and heirs of Pharaoh rule.*"² Islam has made the promise, which will be fulfilled. Top class considered people as by the low class. This was the logic of arrogant people who looked down on the people. Then, who were the high class? Mr. Aryamehr and his bands! They were over the top. They did not count on the whole nation saying they are nothing.

¹ The Holy Prophet (s) observed; "Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn." *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 177 and *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 43, p. 261.

² *Surah al-Qasas*, 28: 5.

Meaning of the oppressed in the holy Quran

The meaning of being oppressed could be traced to the diction used in the Quran i.e. the oppressed not the poor. It means that they have the power of faith, but those in offices regard them as the oppressed. Some people, who do not understand this, resist the term. My contention is that you are not weak; rather they regard you as weak. You have the power of faith whereby you forced back such a great power. It was the power of faith along with the love for martyrdom and self sacrifice that made an empty-handed nation conquer the oppressor.

We must preserve the basis that is Islam and the Islamic Republic. You must try to keep these Islamic gatherings. Both aspects should be preserved, not like the gatherings held in the past when they did not confront with oppression. It was due to same propaganda. We should not simply say our prayer and go after the business at home. The pulpitors preach a few moral points and confine themselves to their homes. We should confront with oppression.

Meaning of “Everyday is Ashura and everywhere is Karbala”

The sentence; “everyday is Ashura, everywhere is Karbala,” has a great connotation which is not understood. People think that they must cry everyday. However, it is not the case. What over role Karbala played on the day of Ashura should be replicated on other lands? Karbala was the setting where Imam Husayn and his followers of a few confronted with Yazid’s oppression. They countered with the emperor of the time and devoted themselves but did not yield to oppression and defeated Yazid. This should be done everywhere and everyday. Everyday people should think that “today is Ashura and we must resist repression”; and here is Karbala and we must play the role played there’ because it is not exclusive to certain land or certain people.

Public obligation in confronting with oppression

All nations must not fail to stand against oppression. According to some quotations whose veracity is not clear, an advisable thing for the pious in expectation during occultation is to have an available armed gun¹ to fight against oppression. As a branch of forbidding the creedal error, it is mandatory to resist oppressive systems, which are particularly against Islam.

¹ The sixth Imam (a) has observed; “Every one of you should be prepared for reappearance of the Savior even by holding an arrow”. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 52, p. 366, h. 146. *Makial al-Makaram*, vol. 2, p. 423.

The former system was akin to other royal systems in that it wanted to do everything for itself. It was not clear whether it is against the basis. A system, which is against basis, does not want Islam and Islamic gathering to persist. Instead, it is in favor of non-Islamic entities even though nation and nationality.

Nationality in the light of Islam

We want “nationality” in the light of Islamic teachings. We will do anything for the Iranian nation only in the name of Islam not nationality or Magism. The bounds of nationality are those of Islam, which support the idea to protect Islamic nations. Defending Islamic nations is an obligation. But it does not mean that we put Islam aside and cry for nationality and “pan-Iranism”.

Destroying Islam is the basic aim of colonialists

They studied anything ranging from our resources and their durability to ethnic groups and nomadic tribes to see how long they can take our reserves away and turn the country into a military base. But they found Islam as a stumbling block and decided to dispose of it by people. They decided how good it is to do so with the aid of some Iranians and were successful to a great extent. Once, if a *mullah* talked about a political matter, they were branded as “politicized” and nobody said prayer with him. Then, what was the matter? This was a plot to push *mullahs* out of politics and to separate Islam from politics. In their view, a *mullah* had to sit at home reading the Quran. At most, he was to give people some words of ethics. The plot aimed at isolating Islam from politics and taking hold of the latter and putting the former aside.

Islam and Politics

The day when I was to be released from prison and to be imprisoned again, Pakravan¹ told me—“politics signifies telling the lie and engaging in deception. It is ‘mischief’” he said. Then, leave it to us. He wanted to do his mischief at this point; that is, he wanted to cheat me. I told him that we did not have such a politics of fraud and deception. He left and told the press that “we have arrived at an agreement with Khomeini and he is not going to deal with politics any more. Briefing people about our conversation on the pulpit,

¹ Hasan Pakravan-Deputy Prime Minister and chief of SAVAK (acronym for the Shah’s notorious secret police) who was counted among the Shah’s friends and trustees and who had been delegated by the Shah in several occasions to talk to the Imam.

I contradicted him. They want to deceive us into learning politics with the idea that politics is deception. Politics is no fraud or deception rather it is a reality, which runs a country. Islam is a religion of politics. Friday prayer, for instance, is a political gathering, which unfortunately has been lost for a long time and become an object of sarcasm.

***Hajj* is a political congregation**

The gathering of *Hajj* is one of the political aspects of Islam people who can afford it from among any Islamic nations to come together in a place to talk about their problems and get them solved. No power could make such gatherings that Islam has made. All Islamic nations and their heads could not take a population of half a million to somewhere, even if they make exorbitant expenses or advertisements. But the God, the exalted, has sent people there with the verse, “*It is essential that people pay pilgrimage to the House.*”¹ Unfortunately, little use is made of such gatherings. Before the revolution whenever our pilgrims moved there, Aryamehr was to be praised, while these gatherings are essentially socio-political. In such gatherings, the speakers and writers of all Muslim countries should put forward the problems, which the Muslim world wrestles with. They should identify the sources of problem and decide how to treat them i.e. the states that have inflicted those problems. They must try to enforce unanimity. “Covet to God’s rope” is a good model to follow. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has provided the means but we cannot utilize it; we are incapable of seizing the opportunity offered by God through such a *Hajj*, a uniquely enormous congress. People, who go there, have trivial matters like buying souvenir and presents, in mind. They do not think of what they should. They simply perform *Hajj* rituals and then do not talk about the preoccupations of Muslims. Hopefully, the reality of Islam will be revealed and *Hajj* will be performed properly.

Necessity for preserving the revolution

You must protect the revolution. You conquered a great empire, if not the world, with empty hands. Now, they argue that Iranians do not know what they have done. But, it is well reflected outside Iran. Everybody who comes from abroad including a group from Bangladesh, acknowledge that Iran is now under the spotlight. Iran has set an inspiring example for all Muslims. But beware that we are nothing; it was God who helped us to win over the Shah. You conquered through chanting, “God is the Greatest” and

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran*, part of verse 97.

through the force of your own faith, while you were empty-handed. Faith in a God, took everybody from children and the elderly to men and women out to battle an oppressive system. It was Islam, which did all this, not people. You must preserve Islam and this Islamic revolution. May God keep you all to protect the revolution!

You should not worry while you have the revolution. Do not listen to those who say Kurdistan and Baluchestan are such and such. They are our brothers who helped expel the evildoers. You should not think that we, who crushed a great power, are afraid of a party like Democrats and a few youngsters. It is not the case at all. God has ensured your country. And he will never leave you alone, if you fulfill your duties. If you pay attention to Islam and act accordingly, God will support you.

May God grant you health, grandeur and power! I will serve you all!

Speech

Date: September 26, 1979 [Mehr 4, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Mental transformation in the nation—honesty in information, technology

Audience: Members of Islamic Association of Pars News Agency—Islamic Association members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Victory of the revolution owes to nation's mental development

The verse you just recited, “*God will never change the mood for a people unless they do themselves*”¹ is a reality and an order at the same time. It is a reality in the sense that if some change takes place within a nation, it will stimulate evolutionary, global, and periodic changes, too. And it is an order, since the change you make must be followed by some profitable changes.

You noticed that the progress made by Iranian nation owes much to their self-development. We were a nation so shaped by negative propaganda and the stranger's dominion that we accepted the former regime as it was. That means a change in the mood has been made by the propaganda and deviant trainings in the nation whereby they were ready to undergo any oppression and oppressors. The change had turned people having a healthy nature into ill, unhealthy beings. The pens were running contrary to national interests but parallel to imperial interests. Everything speeches, writings, actions and deeds—had been distracted from the divine nature, wherein an evolutionary change was also brought about, i.e. the control of strangers.

Evolutionary change followed mental development

Thank God, a reverse change happened in this revolution wherein a nation that had got accustomed to oppression and pressure turned into a nation that no longer wanted to accept any form of oppression in a short period of time. Then, they rebelled against tyranny by chanting “God's great” and “we do not want the regime.” It was a change that brought about another change, which was mental; a real change, which involved toppling the former regime and establishing a new regime, which will hopefully be Islamic. Therefore, God will not effect a change unless we change ourselves. Naturally, if we change in terms of accepting oppression, a tyrant will

¹ *Surah ar-Rad* 13: 11.

dominate us. And if we changed in terms of defending our country against plundering and tyranny, God will provide the means—as we observed. We have seen both sides of the coin. One side was that the nation was under strain and stress of oppression for a long period of time because of their departure from the basic divine nature. They had become indifferent to tyranny. Such a mood was partly due to being under strain for a long time and in part, to the propaganda that you should throw away your own values and give way to American ones. So, God fostered a change that you had made it on your own. When the nation woke up and changed in the wake of Islam, nobody was afraid of the system. Those who were once afraid of a policeman faced America. Those who were unquestioningly obedient to the police, rushed out into the streets chanting “down with the Shah”. It was a change in spirits, which provided proof for the verse, *“Truly, Bad never changes people unless they change themselves”*. You changed yourselves with your own hands. That is, the state of yielding to oppression turned into resisting it. Then, God, Almighty helped you to oust the tyrant.

Spiritual change in nation

You should try to maintain the development you have undergone with the assistance of God with your souls transforming into ones that views martyrdom as salvation and subservience as shame. Beware lest you should get back to the former state. It is a divinely tradition that affairs are accomplished in chain of cause and effect. If you prepare to yield to oppression, this causes the oppressor to emerge. The more we yield to the tyrant, the more he puts strain. If we prepare to block him, he will retreat. The more you put pressure on him, the more he pulls back. If you pull back, he will come forth and if you step forward he will step backward. This is a divinely tradition that you put a stamp of proof on it. When you took a step forward to remove *taghut*, the dictator left forever. Now, you need to protect this revolution and not worry about the remnants of the former regime. They are nothing to be afraid of.

Honesty in information transmission

What I want to say about Pars New Agency is that, sometimes it airs biased news. They magnify a trivial matter and talk about something that does not probably exist. This must be rectified. A news agency should broadcast everything as it is that is, it should not either understate or overstate a matter. New agencies must be trustworthy in transmitting

information. If there is a conspirator in your news agency, he must be purged so that everything might become all right.

I wish you all a great success. I hope the same for your Sunni brothers. We have to unite and keep the mood that has drawn everyone's attention to God and to the Islamic nature of the country and the republic, so that God can sever the strangers' hands.

Speech

Date: September 26, 1979 [Mehr 4, 1358 AHS (a.m) / Dhu'l-Qadah 4, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Unity in Reconstruction—Vigilance in the face of conspiracies

Audience: Kurdistan Naqshbandiyyah tribe's *ulama* and envoys

In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

I thank you for taking the trouble to come to express your kindness to me. You know what happened to all strata of nation during more than fifty years of the reign of this dynasty. You know what calamities people suffered, what crimes the regime committed and what treasons they committed against the Public Treasury. They committed all sorts of treason and crimes against people. They took our resources and fled. We are now in a condition that everything ranging from economy and culture to army is at stake. It is essential that all strata of nation, in any position, to unite to reconstruct the ruins of Iran. We have expelled the thieves and defeated the bullies through the force of faith and Islam. Now, time is high for reconstruction whose importance is more than the first step. The nation lives in a critical era, then, we must unanimously settle our differences and build the country anew.

The people and *ulama* of Kurdistan should be, according to their national and religious duty, conscious that the calls made by some ignorant or seditious people for separation are inspired by the strangers who want to sow the seeds of discord so as to come back to Iran however, in another form. You must take Islam and the Quran into consideration and rise up to reinforce Islam. May peace and mercy of God be upon you all!

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* the date 58/7/12 has been cited, but reference to report of the print media, the date 58/7/5 is the correct date of 58/7/4 meeting.

Speech

Date: September 27, 1979 [Mehr 5, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Goal of the revolution—strangers' plots in Kurdistan and Sistan and Baluchestan

Audience: Sistan and Baluchistan Majlis deputies

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Saving Islam and delivering Iran from confusions

I thank the gentlemen and His Eminence Mr. Kafami¹ for taking the trouble to come here from afar. I hope Mr. Kafami and you brothers in faith communicate the issues that are shared by other regions and that are to be highlighted at this session to the honorable residents of Baluchestan and Sistan.

That which we had in mind from the outset or I can say the nation had in mind and we took up action following the nation was that the complication observed in Iran and the threat used against Islam forced us to confront the big powers working to hamper the realization of the nation's aspirations by following the nation.

Deluding the nation to plunder the country's resources

This has been a program designed by strangers many years ago to rob Iran of its rich resources without anyone standing against them. Therefore, the plan was to beguile the nation and to eliminate those who were not fooled. They made attempt to discredit them among the nation and if they failed in so doing eliminate them physically. If the class that can awaken the nation were left on their own to awaken the people, they would not let the strangers plunder the nation's enormous resources, which should be used by the nation who would then live in abject poverty. Therefore, the main point which they saw to be menacing; that is, Islam should be destroyed. The main point posing a threat to them was Islam. If they undermine Islam, they would enjoy peace of mind, doing here whatever they wished and tightening their grip. Iran is geographically in sensitive situation. Moreover, Iran treasures numerous resources of which the Iranian nation and we are unaware. Perhaps, we are unaware of many of them while they are wise to the

¹ One of the *ulamas* of Sistan and Baluchistan.

resources. Now, if they can defeat Islam and destroy it, then the task would be easy for them. This was their course of action. Their objective was to remove Islam.

Undermining Islam by striking at the clerics

The way to eliminate Islam was to dispose of the clerics. They knew that as long as the clerics are there, they would protect Islam. The goal was to remove Islam and the way to do it was to eliminate the clerics and separating them from the nation. Therefore, they embarked on extensive propaganda to separate the clerics from the nation. They are still engaged in this attempt. When the nation is isolated from the clerics who would be stripped of any means to preach, the aliens would accomplish their ends. The nation alone cannot do anything. As long as the nation does not rely on Islam, they cannot do anything. Reliance on Islam comes about when those inviting to Islam seek only to invite to Islam. They should be present at the scene to invite people and mobilize them. Formerly, they had come to realize in scientific manner that if Islam gains power, it would not let them achieve their interests. They well knew that clerics staunchly preserved Islam. This revolution drove them to feel that what they had appreciated from scientific perspective has found expression in the form of the Islamic Revolution. I mean that they observed that a nation under the guidance of clerics in different cities coupled with faith developed within them vanquished such a great demonic empire while all powers were backing it. The US and England rendered greater support to it than others. They threatened, recommended and begged to keep the Shah. Then they insisted on Bakhtiyar¹ remaining in power. They saw the nation did not let these powers to remain in Iran, despite all their efforts and power they commanded. Our nation had no power nor was there any order to push people forward in orderly manner. The job was done by divine power. Now, they have realized that there is a power within this nation and within Islamic nations that can destroy a big power commanding everything, while the former had no arms, tank and war materials.

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar—the last Prime Minister of the Shah regime.

Necessity of the nation's vigilance

Now, they have come to realize what the story is. They found that they suffered a defeat and are now attempting to make up for their failings. It is time for our nation to thwart their plots vigilantly. The Kurds did not spark the fracas brought about in Kurdistan. The skirmishes were provoked by strangers who wanted to loot us in compliance with their confederates like the chiefs of the Democrat Party. They struggled to give rise to fratricide in there in order to withhold the nation from consummating the revolution.

Strangers' conspiracy for Sistan and Baluchestan

We are afraid that the same happens in Sistan and Baluchestan. The same plot is likely to happen there, too. They do not care if 50,000 people die. They are those who slaughtered many people in Vietnam to achieve their goals. Unlike Islam, which says "whosoever killeth a human being for other than man slaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind."¹ They do not care for human beings. Their concern is material exploitation i.e. exploiting the resources and strategic location of these countries. The plot they had for Kurdistan is likely to be carried out in Sistan and Baluchestan. They want to sow the seeds of discord between Shiites and Sunnites whereas in Islam there is no difference among groups of people. Islam has come to reform humanity. It is for all human beings not for Muslims only," Islam addresses all people. It has come to release people from darkness and from the hands of *Taghut*, and to lead them to enlightenment. Our Sistani friends must beware lest they should be deluded by these elements, as the Democratic Party cheated some Kurdestani people. Lest you might let strangers deceive our youth in a different way thus inviting aliens to enter suppress them whereby ordinary people get into trouble. The problem is that those who kick up a row run away when we take a measure to stifle the row, and the miserable youngsters are trapped and get into trouble. You must consciously invite people to unite and be brotherly toward each other. This should be done without any mistake so that people cannot claim that the troops have come to massacre the people of Kurdistan, while the troops had gone there to save the Kurds who welcome them. Now, most people want us to set up army and gendarmerie bases there. A similar incident may happen in Sistan inculcating the idea that the troops have come to put Sistan on fire, for instance. Is Sistan not part of our Islamic country? Is there any difference between Qum and Sistan and Baluchestan? There is no

¹ *Surah al-Maidah* 5: 32.

difference between them. Take care lest these demons should play a trick to create anxiety and disorder there with the same story happening there, as was the case in Kurdistan.

Goal of the Islamic establishment invitation to truth and Islam

In fact, the government has the power to crush the mischief-makers everywhere, but we do not want this to happen. It is not a case of show of force. We want to call people to truth and Islam and to make an Islamic country. This backwardness is traceable to the reign of *taghuti*. Sistan and Baluchestan may be much better than other areas where people come from and complain about the lack of facilities. They wanted to keep the nation in poverty and take out its resources. God willing, if an Islamic government, the one wished by God and His Prophet, is formed, all problems would hopefully and all people would live together peacefully in this and in the next world.

May God protect and help you all! And I thank you again and thank Mr. Kafami. Hopefully, you can benefit from him there. Good luck.

Speech

Date: September 27, 1979 [Mehr 5, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 5, 1399AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Explaining the clerics' services and their grave responsibility

Audience: Eastern Tehran Clerics

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity for clerics to be vigilant

Whenever my eyes are cast at these bright faces and divine forces, I become glad.

I hope that at this time when you and we need to present Islam to the world as it is, you would be successful. As you have so far been successful and, thank God, victorious, you will emerge triumphant through your plans and gatherings. All my concern is that we, clerics and turbaned people, who should safeguard Islam and present it as it is according to our divine duties, give excuse to the enemy. I fear lest those who are liable to engage in controversy with us, as they have done recently in a pamphlet, we provide them with pretext. Now that they do not have any pretext, they contend that clerics exercise despotic rule! The clerics want to practice opportunism; the clerics want to preempt all government institutions; the clerics are monopolist; the religious strata are monopolist and such irrelevant remarks everyone writes while sitting idly at home without any regard for what the clerics have so far done and in what conditions they are.

Clerics' services in advancing the revolution

They are ignorant of the role of clerics who pulled you out of these niches or else you would have been buried there up to now. You were either in favor of the regime or if not, you did not dare to raise any voice. Some of your leaders told me outright let the regime remain. You did not dare to drop a line against the regime. The former regime had buried you and the clerics disinterred you.

The clerics whom you call monopolist rescued you from confinement. They were the ones who rid you of the captivity; they did not monopolize anything. There are over one million ordinary persons across the country many of which are living in ease in our departments. Now, if you can find fifty clerics in these departments, then you can call clerics monopolist. The

revolution has reached this stage thanks to the power of clerics and Islam, as our nation was interested in Islam and those serving the faith. Instead of appreciating the clerics who helped you return to Iran from abroad. You did not dare to cross the borders. It was through the efforts of our nation led by the clerics that you could return to the country. The clerics also rescued you from your place of retreat, helping you to dispose of silence and cry out your demands, renewing your broken pens. While they do not demand any rewards and positions, you level undue accusations against them rather than appreciating them. You regret that our nation suffer so and so! Who are you to say “our nation”? The nation has nothing to do with you!

Referendum of Islamic Republic, victory of religion

The nation is the one ninety nine percent of whom voted for the Islamic Republic, while you argued that the term Islamic should be eliminated. You who are making such statements also uttered such remarks in those days. You who voted “no to Islam” mustered up all your forces and obtained one or so percent of the votes while you were involved in forgery! Ninety-eight or so of the votes belonged to the masses of Muslims, the religious people. In fact, religion was the winner and now you fear religion. Who are you to say we are afraid lest the clerics would do so and so to the nation!

Our nation is the one who elects clerics or at least those who think like the clerics when it comes to the Assembly of Experts. There are a few exceptions that withheld their votes for Islamic Republic due to your fabrications and propaganda ploys. You take no account of the nation and then speak of our nation! Your nation i.e. Iranian nation is the one who knows what to do when asked to send their representative to the Assembly of Experts. The Experts Assembly is an assembly to distinguish and implement laws not running counter to Islam. We want Islamic Republic; we do not want, for instance, democratic republic or western or eastern style republic; we want Islamic Republic.

Response to the enemies’ accusations

When we say we want an Islamic Republic, people understand whom to send to Majlis to distinguish Islamic rules. You want people to elect you who do not believe in Islam! If you do, it is a fake Islam not being involved in any affairs? Then you want people to select you; the nation has elected clerics; then it is not your business. Who are you to say “our nation”? What do you mean by “our nation”? The nation is the one who has determined its destiny and who has entrusted its constitution to a group of clerics in Majlis. What is

wrong with this? You mean we must force these gentlemen out and bring some democrats in their place. It cannot be done by force. You want to evade laws of the world. What are you afraid of? You are afraid of the nation's victory. You who falsely advocate democracy tell me what has disrupted democracy? Was the referendum held out at bayonet point? Did people vote for the Assembly of Experts at gunpoint?

Are they opportunist who took pains in prison and in exile or you who came to take benefit after they had paved the way? What dictatorial step have they taken? What dictatorship? Show me where they have resorted to force, pressure or dictatorship. Do you want to acquit those adjudged by the Islamic courts? Do you mean that those like Nasiri¹ have been executed dictatorially? Now you pick your pens and mourn for Nasiri, Howeyda,² and Muhammad-Rida Khan, while you call yourself nationalist! If we do not prevent the nation, they will pose a threat to you. We prevent people from doing any harm to you; the nation has freely and peacefully elected some experts to detect whether the rules are against Islam, while you say the gentlemen must be put aside. Well, if those who are appointed by the nation go away, what good would it do for the nation? Ask people what they want to find out. They want Islam and Islamic rules. Then, why do you confront the nation? Now that the clerics have helped you to breathe in a healthy atmosphere, are you acting against them? Is that right? Is it fair to treat those who took you out of seclusion this way? They have taken pains to invite people to Islam; people have responded to their call willingly. Now, you argue that you are afraid of Islam, religion and religious monopoly. What have they monopolized? Where? They have set you free. Which of them are among those one million and a half people who have governmental occupations? A few of them have supervisory duties, of course. They supervise affairs to make sure lest nobody should commit an offence. I wonder how unfair you are. Why are you hostile to Islam and clerics? The former regime slammed the clerics, Islam and religious people under the pretext that the nation must be so and so; Islam must be such and such. Now you make similar arguments.

Clerics must avoid any offenses

You and all *ulama* of Iran and Islam are now in a critical juncture. If one of your offspring or youth commits an offence, those who do not want Islam to emerge victorious will accuse you of wrongdoing. It has been their logic. We have been tied up by Pahlavi dictatorship so far; from now on, we

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri—chief of SAVAK (Shah's notorious secret police).

² Amir Abbas Howeyda—Prime Minister of the ousted Pahlavi regime.

are going to be entangled by dictatorship of *Aba* (sleeveless cloak) and turban. Everybody knows that you have not behaved dictatorially so far. You did not force anybody to take part and vote for certain individuals in the elections; people voted for their candidates freely. You have done nothing but prosecute those who have offended the people and who killed our youth for more than fifty years. This has made them complain. I see traces of 'Magism Nationality' is in their blood. I am not talking about these Magis who are noble people and who do not do any harm to us.

Legal divine duties of clerics

If, God forbid, you and I act contrary to Islam, those who are hostile to us will start invasion. They accuse Islam, not clerics. They argue that the Islamic Republic is a royal regime with a different wording. Then, we, clerics, have a divine legal duty to protect the dignity of Islam and the Islamic revolution apart from saving our own reputation. If we do or say something, which these enemies put down on Islam's account, we will provide the means for defeating Islam by misrepresenting it. This is an important matter. We are all clerics involved in this case, which is to save the face of Islam. This would be materialized if we take care of our steps.

Lest you might suppose that it is a personal matter rather it has to do with Islam.

We are now in a situation where we have two possibilities ahead: One is our failure in protecting Islam and its dignity and the other is our success in presenting Islam as it is.

Islam is a precious school

I have frequently noted that we have got a precious faith that we were incapable of presenting, like one who has a good commodity but cannot take it out so as to offer it and find a customer. We have so invaluable a stuff that other so-called 'progressive' schools are nothing in comparison to it. We could not offer it; Islam was buried within the books and did not get out. It was buried in the minds of *ulama* and was not displayed. We could not utilize Islam properly and could not present it to the world. They are afraid lest we would present this school. You should know that those who are writing against clerics and Islam are afraid lest we would present Islam to the world. In that case those who were entertaining false issues should draw aside or join the nation. The opportunist and fraudulent ones should go away or join people.

Enemy's fear of all-encompassing presentation of Islam

If Islam were presented, it would be accepted not only by Iranian and Muslim countries but also by the whole world. If we had such a capability to implement Islam in Iran as it is, they could not continue plundering. They are not afraid of clerics or republic; they are scared of Islam.

Decree

Date: September 28, 1979 [Mehr 6, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Kazeroon legal judge for revolutionary court

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni-Kashani

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Kashani, may his blessings last long,

I appoint you as the judge religious of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Kazerun to attend the courts, deal with the cases and enforce religious edicts. You are called upon to release those to whom Shaban 15th, 99 amnesty applies. I wish you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 6, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: September 28, 1979 [Mehr 6, 1358 (noon) AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Difference between royal systems and the Islamic Republic—Good News of giving expression to Islam in Iran properly—necessity of turning to God Almighty

Audience: Etkā Organization officers and personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islamic Republic and the royal system

I deem it necessary to notify some problems when I face people like you. This is what I have told other groups; there is a difference between the Islamic Republic and the corrupt royal system in that the heads of the royal systems are typically afraid of the nation they have betrayed. So they bring up the army in a way to confront the nation so as to protect them against the nation. In such systems, army and the nation were against each other. The army intimidated people. People tried to work sabotage as far as they could. If one of them, say Muhammad-Rida, wanted to cross a street, the street and all its surrounding houses would be controlled or even evacuated by the security agents. If a woman happened to pop up, the guards would take care until she crossed. All this was done because the Shah was afraid lest the nation—who was his enemy—would assassinate or harm him. The army, security organization, gendarmerie and the like were at the service of that *taghuti* regime. The *taghuti* regime had trained them to treat people aggressively so that they could not harm the regime. It has been always the case. When a military man entered bazaar, he wanted to treat people imperiously and stir hubbub. People turned their back on him and hated him. They also hated the police and the security organization worst because the latter was worst of all. That was the way a *taghuti* regime and its serving army, gendarmerie and other law enforcement behaved. They had mobilized any means to safeguard the Shah and threaten people so that they would not raise any voice.

But the Islamic regime is the one whose leader was the holy Prophet. He sat with ordinary people in a ring so that nobody coming from outside could distinguish him from others in the mosque. There was no throne ...

Their mosque was lacking in mats; its walls were not as high as a man. When somebody came in, one would ask, "Who among you is the Prophet?" It was not like the Shah's regime when one entered, one could readily

recognize who Aryamehr was. Imam Ali (a) who was the leader of a state of which Iran, Hijaz and Egypt were subjects, picked his shovel and pickaxe after people paid allegiance to Muawiyeh and went to do his business. He was not afraid of people because he had not betrayed them. Whatever he had done was for the good of his people and all Muslims. Such a person should not be afraid of people because they support him.

People and Pahlavi regime

I have seen that during the reign of Pahlavi regime, what people did when a problem occurred to the Shah and the system. Those who could struggle to increase the problem and those who could not were indifferent, saying, "It is your problem". You do not remember the time when the three countries invaded Iran in the World War II. People and everything belonging to them were at stake. However, when Rida Shah was expelled, people congratulated each other for the relief. I advised the second Shah not to do anything so that after he left, people would jubilate, as they did when his father left. You observed what people did on the streets when he left—I was not here since they did not care for people. They not only failed to help the nation, but also confronted it and spent their energy on suppressing the people. So they should not have expected people to help them whose priority was to suppress the nation.

People's support of the government in the Islamic Republic

In this government, which is not still completely Islamic, we saw people's participation in the case of Kurdistan. They were not only from among military men or guards, but also from different strata of people. Fortunately, the army and IRGC settled the problem; there was no need to dispatch ordinary people. Why is it so? Now, people see that the government means no harm to them. It does not arrest anybody for absurd charges. It is a government whose prime minister mingles with the crowds being jostled by people who support him. When a problem pops up, they think that the government is their own and help protect the national interests. This should serve as an example for army and other law enforcement. They should take lessons from studying people's behavior under the rule of both systems. During the reign of the Shah, the nation did not cooperate with the system, but now, in this system, people support the government. The Reconstruction *Jihad* could not succeed if it were established in former times. However, it succeeded with a call for help. Young people can come from America to

improve rural areas. You may have seen these ladies and gentlemen on TV helping the nation reconstruct the country as their homes.

Mutual understanding, not show of power

We should take lesson from this and know that a state could be run only through mutual understanding, not showdown. Whenever people realize that the army belongs to them and wants to defend their interests, they will appreciate it in different ways such as giving flowers, chanting slogans in their favor, etc. But if they see the reverse i.e. being molested by, says the army, they do not dare to refer to a police station for a complaint. It was the case in that regime. Those who called themselves “guards” used to annoy people; those who ought to support the nation harassed them. Thank God, now all of them serve the nation; the nation serves them in return. There is reciprocity. You scratch their back and they scratch yours. This should be kept in mind.

Pledge for realizing Islam in Iran

I reiterate that Islam has not yet been materialized in Iran in terms of its content. It is only Islamic in name and appearance. If Islam appears in Iran as required by God and His Prophet, it will become evident what the Islamic government means and how it is different from the *taghuti* government. Moreover, your brotherhood will be strengthened, the country will be improved and treasons will disappear. I hope this is realized and we join hands to serve God and Islam, to build up the country and to save it from the enemies. Those who have lost their interests in Iran are looking forward to installing a regime like the former one or worse than that. I hope they do not succeed any more.

What sounds promising about the nation is that they have become aware. Wherever you go in this country, you will see how enlightened people are; they know what their duty is. It is much hopeful to observe that the nation rises up for God, not for an individual. God is everything and others are nothing. He is the source of all powers and you do not have any power of your own. Man and even the closest angels or the prophets have nothing of their own; Goodness is the origin of everything.

God as the source of all powers

Turn to Him and keep in mind that this victory is God-given. They wanted to destroy the country within two hours but God prevented them from doing so. God did a great favor to us in that they did not decide to bring tank

and gun in order to kill people and destroy Tehran. They had woven such an intrigue during Bakhtiyar's tenure when they declared martial law. Later on, it was said that they were to take tanks and guns to the streets to beset those who were likely to oppose the regime on that night. God did not let this happen. We are nothing and God is in charge of all affairs. Do not forget to heed God. Turning toward God is the source of good for your world and the hereafter. Hearts become secure with the memory of God: "*Be aware that only recalling God calms your hearts.*"¹ It is a great blessing for man to feel secure. You are not afraid of me and I am not afraid of you. This is the sense of "security". Formerly, if a gathering were held somewhere, the participants feared to go out. Certainly, if we held such a gathering at that time, we would be imprisoned. I want you to maintain this blessing, sit together and talk in a friendly climate. Take note of God and keep caring for the nation. You should regard yourselves as servants of the nation; they are great servants of God. Do not look down on people. God will take into heaven those who are not proud of them and who are not engaged in corruption. As for that Abode of the Hereafter, We assign it unto *those who seek not oppression in the earth, nor yet corruption.*² They neither patronize people nor are they engaged in corruption to lead a country astray as you witnessed.

May God protect and support you all! May all problems be solved! I will pray for you and I am your servant.

¹ *Surah ar-Rad* 13: 28.

² *Surah al-Qasas* 28: 83.

Speech

Date: Afternoon, September 28, 1979 [Mehr 6, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity for trying the traitors

Audience: Representatives of oil industry staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Role of oil industry staff in the revolution

First, I should appreciate oil industry staff for their assistance on advancing the Islamic Revolution and implore God Almighty to grant them health and happiness. I know where you work is one of the most critical centers for both the nation and government. I have been informed of your problems.

Recently, I have sent Mr. Ishraqi¹ with a body to investigate the problems. They have briefed me of some matters, but if you have some documents, give it to Mr. Ishraqi. This man (Nazieh,² managing director of NIOC) has done whatever he should not have done and of which I am not aware. I want you to collect documents so that he can be tried.

Necessity for trying traitors stands to the interest of Muslims

Certainly, we do not mean to harm anybody. We want the problems of Iran to be managed according to Islam and national interests. Since our country is Islamic, it should be run in line with Muslims' interests. If somebody is capable of running a responsibility, he could be preserved. And if he had a fault in management or committed treachery, he would be tried. Be sure that we will not neglect the NIOC's and your efforts. Following Mr. Ishraqi's investigations, which will be reported to the government and to those in charge, those betraying Islam and national interests will be tried and punished. I ascertain you that those who have committed an offence will have the chance to defend themselves in the court. All offences made against Islam and Muslims in the oil company should be investigated. After

¹ Mr. Shahabuddin Ishraqi, Imam Khomeini son-in-law.

² Hassan Nazieh, first Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Directors of National Iranian Oil Company was appointed after the victory of the revolution by the Prime Minister of the interim government, Mr. Bazargan. The representative of the Oil Industry Personnel had raised a detailed complaint on his activities with the Imam.

investigation anybody in any position should be tried if found guilty and be released if proved innocent.

May God help you succeed! Make sure that you are now serving your country and the nation. Formerly, strangers benefited from your efforts. Hopefully, these problems will be solved. May God help you all! I am the servant of the whole nation and pray for you.

Message

Date: September 29, 1979 [Mehr 7, 1358AH / Dhu'l-Qadah 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Recognizing socio-political and ideological aspects of *Hajj*—duties of Muslims

Occasion: Upcoming of *Hajj* Time

Audience: Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
“Cling to God’s rope and not get dispersed”¹

Greeting to all Muslims around the world from the east to the west. Salutation to the pilgrims of Kabah! There is no need to mention that Islam is a monotheistic religion, which fights against blasphemy, worshipping idols and selfishness.

Islam conforms to human nature; the faith frees human beings from the shackles of nature and temptations of demons both outward and inward. It is the religion of the politics of cities and leads people to the straight path independent from the east and the west. It is a religion whose politics is mixed with its worship and its policy is to worship God. Now that Muslims from around the world are heading toward Kabah and *Hajj* and this great precept is going to be fulfilled in a holy place and time, Muslims should make use of its political content besides its ritual and social message. Everybody knows that holding such a massive congress is impossible by any official or government. It is God’s order to hold such a great gathering, which is unfortunately not used to the benefit of Muslims. Such gatherings in general and *Hajj* in particular have political dimensions of which one could be discussing the Muslims’ basic and political problems through sessions whose participants are clerics, intellectuals and those who are committed to Islam and resolving those problems on their way back to their countries. One of the responsibilities in this gathering is to call Muslims and Islamic nation to unity and to bridge their differences. This duty lies mostly with orators, speakers and writers. They must try to create a front so that Muslims might get free from demonic colonial powers through unison and the slogan of “there is no God but God” and conquer their problems through Islamic brotherhood.

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran* 3: 103.

Dear sisters and brothers! Defend your Islamic and national prestige in any country; resist your enemies i.e. US, international Zionism and the superpowers and defend Islamic nations and countries fearlessly; reveal the oppressions of the enemies of Islam.

My dear brothers and sisters! You all know that the eastern and western superpowers are taking our material and spiritual property away and keep us in poverty and dependent in terms of politics, economics, culture and military. Come to your sense and find your Islamic character. Do not succumb to oppression. Intelligently disclose the sinister plots of the world imperialists with the US on top.

Today, Muslims' first *Kiblah*¹ has fallen into the hands of Israel, the malignant Middle East cancerous tumor, killing our Palestinian and Lebanese brothers with full force. Israel makes use of all demonic means to cause disunion. Every Muslim must get equipped against Israel. Today, African Muslim countries are under the yoke of America and its agents and other strangers. Today, Africa should raise its innocent voice. They are now crying out submissively. *Hajj* should today respond to this innocent outcry. Moving around Kabah signifies that you should not rely on anything other than God. Throwing stone at *Aqabah*² implies repelling human and genie Satan. Through stoning, you promise God to ward satanic superpowers off the Islamic countries. The Islamic world has been captured by America. I want you to take the divine message urging Muslims around the world not to serve anybody other than God.

O, World Muslims and followers of the monotheistic ideology! Difference and disharmony is the cause of all problems with which Islamic countries wrestle. The secret of victory lies in unity of expression and harmony. God the Exalted says, "*Cling to God's rope and not get dispersed.*" "*Cling to God's rope*" is a call for harmony among all Muslims. Every Muslim should avoid dispersion and grouping for the sake of Islam. Dispersion is the root of all misery and backwardness. I implore God to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims and unity of expression to Muslims of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Al-Aqsa Mosque.

² Stoning.

Speech

Date: September 29, 1979 [Mehr 7, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conditions of the disabled of revolution and attending to their needs

Audience: Families of Martyrs and staff of Isfahan Orthopedic

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expressing sympathy with the disabled of revolution

I feel sorry more and more when I face and hear about four millions of disabled people. I do not know whether this four million belong to the revolution or not. In any case, there may be many who have been disabled during the revolution; it is a pity to have such disabled youth. There have also existed many others whom we have lost. However, in lieu of that loss we have gained a lot. They have saved the face of Islam and Iranian nation, which the enemies worked to besmirch. God awakened the nation to thwart this demonic plot and to remove this *taghuti* barricade.

I hope we can repair these damages and fill the gaps in Iran. I wish the disabled people would be cured. God will reward those who deal with the disabled. May God grant you health and bliss so that you can do good? You should try to serve your brothers who have been disabled on this cause. I will respond to your request¹ after studying that. Thank you all. May God bless you all!

[After the speech by one of a martyr's spouse from Isfahan, Imam Khomeini said:]

I express my condolence to you and the other relatives of martyrs and sympathize with you and the nation who have endured the sufferings. What makes disasters easy to bear is the fact that you have suffered the afflictions to support the divine orders and Islam. Our leaders have sacrificed everything they had for Islam. May God grant you patience and bless them!

¹ The audience's request was to shift Isfahan Orthopedic Center to the Ministry of Health.

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of National Defense Minister

Addressee: Mustafa Chamran

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Mustafa Chamran,

At the suggestion of the prime minister of the interim government and the general approval of the council of revolution, you are appointed as the national defense minister. May God help you and the interim state to fulfill the duties you have assumed and win God's satisfaction!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of minister without portfolio in education and research affairs

Addressee: Yadullah Sahhabi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Yadullah Sahhabi,

At prime minister's suggestion and general approval from the council of revolution, you are appointed as the minister without portfolio in charge of education and research affairs. I implore God to help you succeed in fulfilling your tasks and winning His satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister without portfolio and the Chairman of Planning and Budget Organization

Addressee: Izzatullah Sahhabi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Izzatullah Sahhabi,

At prime minister's suggestion and general approval from the council of revolution, you are appointed as the minister without portfolio and superintendent of the Planning and Budget Organization. May God help you fulfill the duties you have assumed and win His satisfaction!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister without portfolio

Addressee: Dariush Foruhar

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Dariyush Foruhar,

At prime minister's suggestion and general approval of the council of revolution, you are appointed as the minister without portfolio. I implore God to help you and the interim state with fulfilling the tasks you have been assigned and wining His satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Oil Minister

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Muinfar

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Ali-Akbar Muinfar,

At prime minister's suggestion and general approval of the council of revolution, you are appointed as oil minister. I implore God to help you and the interim state fulfill your duties and win His satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of minister without portfolio in executive affairs

Addressee: Husayn Bani-Asadi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Husayn Bani-Asadi,

At prime minister's suggestion and general approval from the council revolution, you are appointed as the minister without portfolio in charge of executive affairs. I implore God to help you succeed in fulfilling your tasks and wining His satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of minister of Labor and Social Affairs

Addressee: Abdul-Ali Espahbodi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Abdul-Ali Espahbodi,

At the suggestion of the prime minister of the interim state and approval of the council revolution, you are appointed as the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs. I implore God to help you and the interim state fulfill the task you have been assigned and win His satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of religious Judge for Karaj Islamic revolutionary court

Addressee: Ahmad Mutahhari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Thiqaat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ahmad Mutahhari, May his blessings last long,

I hereby appoint you as religious judge in the Islamic Revolution Court of city of Karaj to attend courts and issue orders in accordance with the standards of brilliant canonical law. With a view to the amnesty granted in Shaban 15, 1399, I wish you would be successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of religious Judge for Mashhad Islamic Revolutionary Courts

Addressee: Ismail Ferdowsi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ismail Ferdowsi, May his blessings last long,

I hereby appoint you as religious judge in Islamic Revolutionary Courts of Mashhad to attend the courts, to investigate cases and to issue orders with regard to Shaban 15, 1399 AH amnesty and enact them as per legal scales. I wish you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Religious funds—dispatching preachers to Shahrída

Addressee: Mumayyiz

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mumayyiz, May his blessings last long,

I received your letter and learned about its content. Concerning the share of *Sadat*, the faithful may pay it to the needy *Sadat* themselves and regarding the dispatch of preachers to Shahrída region, you should write to the body in charge of dispatching preachers. I wish you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of acting minister of education

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Rajai

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Muhammad-Ali Rajai,

At the suggestion of the prime minister of the Interim state and the approval of the Revolutionary Council, you are appointed as the acting minister of education. I implore God to help you and the interim state to succeed in fulfilling the duties you have assumed and win His satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS (A.M.) / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Significance of *Hajj* and mission of *Hajj* pilgrims

Audience: Mahallati (the Imam's representative), NaSir Minachi (Minister of National Guidance, and Supervisor of Endowment Organization) and Managers of *Hajj* caravans from around the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Enormous responsibility of *Hajj* caravans

I want to draw your attention and Kabah pilgrims' to the fact that this year's *Hajj* is different from that of previous years. Formerly, *Hajj* caravans were accompanied by *Taghuti*' servants. Then, if turbaned people made a blunder, it would be counted as *Taghut*'s blunder. It would not harm Islam but reinforce it.

One of the most important systems that should become Islamic is the *Hajj* caravans. Since many look forward to seeing any differences between this year and past years' *Hajj*, they want to see if our claims about the replacement of the *taghuti* regime with the Islamic Republic is right and whether those who represent an Islamic government are really Islamic. Does their behavior correspond to Islam or not.

Now, you have to fulfill a great responsibility i.e. saving the face of Islam. If a turbaned man committed an offence during the reign of *Taghut*, he would be dubbed as *Taghuti*. However, if he does the same today, they will say that he is Islamic not *Taghuti*.

If during the time of *Hajj* and its rituals, you do not evince any difference from the era of *Taghut*, it will be reflected to the world that it is the same *taghuti* regime in disguise of Islamic Republic. You are likely to destroy the reputation of Islam.

Going to *Hajj* is going toward Allah

Keep in mid that *Hajj* is not as a trade journey. It is a travel toward God. You are going to God's House. Whatever you do must be divine. From the very start your travel is toward God, Almighty. Like "travelers toward God" such as prophets and our religious leaders, you should travel toward God all your life without going astray.

You go there and recite “*Labbayk*” to God. This means that “you called us and we responded to your call, lest you might do something that God rejects you. You must not get involved in business affairs during this journey because it is a spiritual travel. I am addressing you all ranging from clerics to ordinary people. It is a travel toward God not the world. Do not spoil it with worldly things.

In this divine journey, you stone Satan. You would stone yourself, if you were among Satan’s troops. You must become divine so that your stoning can become divine. You stop at holy stops lest you might contaminate yourself with a sin, which may disgrace you before God and defame Islam before the world.

Now, Islam’s reputation rests on you. Then you must epitomize Islamic Republic in the eyes of other Muslims. It is the Islamic Republic *Hajj* not *taghuti* regime’s. Your responsibility is greater. Today, not only you but also all strata of the nation and the government are liable before God and Islam. We must prove the claim that the Islamic Republic has replaced *taghuti* regime and that everything has changed.

Necessity for Islamic Transformation

If we found no changes in the state, nation and *Hajj* caravans, it would be claimed that it is the same *taghuti* regime although the name has changed. We want to change the essence. *Taghuti* regime should be converted into an Islamic human regime in terms of content. You must be very careful and safeguard yourselves.

Take this journey as the travel toward God. Keep in mind that you are likely either to gain a good reputation before God or to fall down. May God grant you health, welfare and honor and give Islam dignity, honor and power!

Speech

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Extending the sovereignty of Islam

Audience: Staff of Foundation of the Oppressed in Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Strangers' intrigue; blocking the rule of Islam

You, who are dealing with a lot of properties on the one hand and with the poor on the other, should take care of those who want to contaminate the revolution by any means. If you make a mistake those who are either neutral or pious will warn you, but those who are looking for a weak point will magnify your mistake. They target the ideology, not individuals. There are some people within Iran being guided from outside; they do not like the revolution, the Islamic ideology to be realized as it is outside of Iran because in case of its realization, all the plunderers' aims and wishes would come to naught. So they are after finding fault with anything. For instance, when there is a massive turnout in an election, they claim that people have been forced, to vote, while they have clearly turned out at will. Such a claim was made in the case of the Assembly of Experts and people participated knowingly and freely in the election; they claimed that the elections had been rigged. Those who write booklets and papers at times will repeat their claim when the nation turns out to vote freely for the right Islamic candidates in parliamentary elections because they are essentially against Islam. They will also find fault with presidential elections. All of them have the common purpose of not letting the Islamic Revolution bloom because they are afraid of Islam.

Conspirators' fear of Islamic system

When "Islamic Republic" was announced, some people voiced objection to the term "Islamic", suggesting only republic or democratic republic. They are afraid of Islam, not of republic that could be found anywhere. They are not also afraid of the democratic republic because democracy has been imported from the West; they are afraid of Islam. This may have two reasons: a) they are either not properly familiar with Islam because of misrepresentation of Islam by westerners or b) have not been cheated and consist of those who plot to brush Islam aside.

When they found out that there is a power in this country which enables people to overcome all other powers, they decided to prevent this power; namely, Islam from thriving. The situation is worse than before because they are now like a wounded snake. They have come to realize that there is a power within Iran whereby the nation can force back all demonic superpowers. Now, they intend to defeat it. So, all of us have a great responsibility. As a clergyman, I am responsible. You also have a responsibility, since this critical activity deals with taxes and draws more attention to you and you are likely to be accused of corruption by conspirators.

Export of revolution depends on preserving prestige of Islam

We are now in an era where our revolution is likely both to succeed and to fail. In the latter case, the failure will not be limited and will last forever. Then, everybody everywhere should keep in mind that he is dealing with the honor of Islam. It is not a matter of the poor, not of the foundation; it has to do with Islam. The honor of Islam lies in your hand. If the nation managed to protect it and to prove the claim for an Islamic Republic with an Islamic content, it would be a lasting victory.

Make sure that if Islam were materialized in Iran as it really is, other countries would follow this procedure one after the other. There are some cases at present. The heads of some countries are trying to stunt such revolutions fearing that our revolution spreads to other areas. Their efforts are exercised in vain since it will spread to other countries. Now those coming from other Islamic countries say that they are looking up to Iran and want to establish an Islamic system in Iraq, Kuwait, Egypt and other parts. If we do the job well that is to install Islam as it is in Iran; other Muslim countries will follow us: besides, we will achieve victory. We want all Muslim countries to be Islamic and Islam to rule over the world or Islamic justice to prevail everywhere.

Collective responsibility, saving the face of Islam

It was the very interest in Islam that turned us victor. We are now obliged to protect the dignity of Islam, to maintain its interest and to reinforce it. We should know that we are dealing with God and that everything is in His control. We should internalize the belief that it was His will that we gained a partial victory. However, if we take care of our behavior, God will help us gain the final victory of the oppressed countries over the arrogant people.

I cannot make a statement about the quality of your job and its circumstances. You just do your job and contact the revolutionary council in case of any problems. The only thing this servant of the nation can do is to pray for you. I wish your success. Keep in mind that this worthy service has a great value before God who takes care of His poor creatures. He will also favor you who serve His poor creatures. Do your job properly and ask God for rewards. Stop caring about what others say about your performance either good or bad. You should take care that God Almighty accept it. Look at it as a worship to be accepted by God. May God protect you and help you proceed on this Islamic and human direction. I thank you all for taking such a trouble. God will support you since you take troubles for the sake of Islam and God.

Speech

Date: September 30, 1979 [Mehr 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Women's role in the history of Iran during the last hundred years—defining real freedom

Audience: Female teachers and students from Mashhad, Amol and Abadan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Women's role in pre-Pahlavi era

Firs of all, I should appreciate these little ladies for what they have just sang. I thank all sisters coming from Khorasan, Amol, and Abadan and pray for them.

We must take account of what they—the Shah and his followers—meant by freedom and what role women played during and after reign of Shah. One who has studied the history of Iran during the last hundred years knows that through all noble revolutions such as Tobacco Revolution and the Constitutional Revolution, women accompanied men. They participated in social and political activities along with men. Like men, they protested in the case of tobacco treaty and took part in Constitutional Revolution; all this date back to Pahlavi regime.

Women's role in the revolution

During and after the collapse of Pahlavi regime and in the revolution that the nation launched, women were pioneers. Their action was more valuable than that of men because by staging demonstrations before guns and tanks, they boosted men's morale. We witnessed that they had a great share in this revolution. From the very beginning of the revolution until now, they have participated actively in all affairs including reconstruction efforts. All this happened at that time; there is no need to talk about their present activities with which you are familiar.

Women's condition during the Pahlavi reign

What did women do in time of the former regime when some shouted "free men and free women"? What we observed was that a few women attended Rida Khan's tomb in a disgraceful manner and thanked him for

granting them freedom. What freedom did he grant men and women? The freedom they desired and the freedom sought by those who are now writing against Islam and clergymen was the one dictated by the West in order to corrupt our youth. They want men and women to be free i.e. women go to parties and display themselves before the eyes of men. They like such a freedom, which culminates in the corruption of men and women. In their view, all forms of obscenity should be free. Could such a freedom enable you, free men and women, to talk about current problem?

Which man could write a single word about the problems imposed upon the nation by strangers and their internal puppets? Which newspapers were free? When were radio and television free? When were people, youth, academics and clerics free? During these fifty years, really useful freedom was denied from the society. We did not have freedom. Women could not take part in social activities or talk about the nation's problems, which were imposed by the eastern and western powers and their puppets. Then we covered three periods of time with which you are mostly familiar and which has been recorded in the history. The last hundred years could be divided into three parts: From the beginning till the time of the Constitutionalism, after it up to the era of Rida Khan with the condition of the freedom on those days and from Rida Khan's coup till the end of the regime. We will consider these three periods and present it to those who are weeping for the former regime and who oppose Islam in the name of "freedom" and "democracy". We only present these three eras. Although the time of Qajar was not favorable to Islam, Muslims were more powerful in those days; the government was too weak to confront clerics and the nation. Then, we will consider the time when Rida Khan came to power and suppressed both the clerics and the nation until the decline of the Shah and after that. Let us see if people had freedom in the first two periods or during the time of Rida Khan's coup until the collapse of his son.

Description of freedom after the revolution

The freedom women have now is good for themselves, for Islam and Muslims and for the nation. That is, they are free to enter society, to serve the country and to criticize the administration and its officials. They are free in social matters and basic issues, which concern the interests of the country and nation without any conditions. You cannot find anybody talking in favor of the country to be repelled. Formerly, women took part in every activity of which the Tobacco and Constitution were the most prominent besides men

and talked about the national affairs. During the third period in which you were active, the nation gained victory.

Denial of real freedom in Pahlavi era

But the freedom Rida Khan and his son wanted was not freedom at all; it was the destruction of the nation. Take freedom to be of two kinds: Concerning the press and radio and television, there was no freedom at all; all writings and speeches that addressed national interests were censored because all our problems had their roots in the government and its heads. If you wanted to say something, you would begin with treason and crimes Rida Khan and his son had committed. You were not free to talk about these. More over, you couldn't criticize the state, police and the army. The kind of freedom that was in line with national interests had been denied; pens were broken and tongues were cut out. Nobody dared to utter a word of criticism. All means of communication used to praise one who had squandered our anything. The other kind of freedom that was harmful to our youngsters and drew their attention away from doing something for their country were Casinos that were open to youth besides brothels.

From Tehran to Shemiran, there were too many brothels to count. This kind of freedom existed to that time and was contributed to which was harmful to the nation. After that regime, the situation has improved before and even better than before. Before the *taghuti* regime, Qajar ruled the country; they were also corrupt but not so much as these people. These father and son beat the record of corruption!

The freedom, which the nation, men, women and writers enjoy, is the real freedom because it is to your benefit. You are free to come out and ask for your demands and stay critical of the state and whosoever committing an offence. Everything, which serves as a means for human development, is free.

Describing two kinds of freedom

What Islam has prevented are gambling, drinking and all types of obscenity whose means were available in the reign of this traitor. They are forbidden in Islam. Then we have two types of freedom of which the useful kind was forbidden during the era of these two wrongdoers. The freedom they wanted was that women came out with improper make-up to seduce the youngsters. Now, those who are against Islam are after this type of freedom. The other type, which is useful freedom, does not concern them. Those who

said our country and nation are such and such do not participate in reconstruction of this country.

Allegations of people's supporters

Those who are chanting "people, people and people" set fire to people's harvest instead of collecting it. You along with your sisters and brothers took the trouble to help reaping the harvest, while those who claim to support the masses of people set fire to people's harvest. They are those who explode oil pipelines; they are democrats and their followers who want to spoil our oil industry, agriculture and everything in order to prevent the establishment of the Islamic Republic, which would kick them out. Those who are moving against the nation are afraid of this. Then, their call for freedom was not real; rather it was aimed at spoiling the nation. These remnants of the former regime misuse the freedom they have been granted by the Islamic Republic. May God protect you all and help you to serve the country and train these children with Islamic and human teachings, which are good for both the country and their morale; it is good for both worlds.

Decree

Date: October 1, 1979 [Mehr 9, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of representative for attending Qatari-Iranians' problems

Addressee: Jalali, Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Jalali—Khomeini, May his blessings last long,

Following the request made by Iranians who live in Qatar, it is necessary that you go there to consider their problems and shortages and to familiarize them with their social and Islamic duties and to warn them against dispersion. May God help you succeed!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: October 1, 1979 [Mehr 9, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Value of self-sacrifice in the cause of Islam

Audience: Paveh martyrs families, IRIA ground force commanders

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Peace of mind in self-sacrifice to Islam

We have a narration, which says, "Everyday is Ashura; everywhere is Karbala." This can be interpreted in different terms. One could imply that the sorrow we feel when we see the disabled people and the bereaved parents who have lost their children, for us every day is Ashura. I do not know how to condole you who have lost your beloved ones and how to beg your pardon. You know that Islam is so honored and great that the holy Prophet (s) and his Household sacrificed everything they had for Islam. If we, as believers in Islam and followers of the holy Prophet and Imams, do the same for Islam, we will have a peace of mind.

I offer my condolences to ladies and gentlemen coming a long way from different parts of the country. I thank you and pray for you. May God bless your martyrs and give you health and welfare. I hope these martyrs' names to be associated with the names of martyrs of Badr and Karbala and your names with the survivors of Karbala and Ohod.¹ Since many people are sitting outside, I do not bother you anymore. I will pray for you and am at your service. May God respond to all our prayers and accept our services for Islam. May peace be upon you!

May God's peace and blessing be upon you!

¹ Name of a famous mountain where occurred one of the battles of the holy Prophet (s) against infidels of Mecca that led to defeat of Muslims.

Decree

Date: October 1, 1979 [Mehr 9, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Mission to cities of Langarud, Rudsar and Lahijan for looking into the problems and creating unity

Addressee: Muhammad Jafari Gilani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Jafari Gilani, May his blessings last long,

Regarding your precedence in Gilan region and the fact that some problems have taken place there, I ask you to pay a visit to the cities of Langarud, Rudsar and Lahijan to remove the problems with the assistance of ulama and local authorities. Call the honorable residents to unity and familiarize them with their great duty at this period of time. I wish you success in advancing the supreme Islamic goals. May peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: October 2, 1979 [Mehr 10, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Some realities of being in exile—nation and state's duties—running the state with power and good will—avoiding slackness in offices

Occasion: On the eve of Imam Rida's birthday anniversary coinciding with Imam Khomeini's departure from Najaf to Paris

Audience: Cabinet

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Stating some facts during exile

I will shortly brief you of the events in exile. When we entered Iraq from Turkey and moved to Najaf, some people came time and again to state on behalf of the government that I should feel at home and that they were ready to do anything for me. Then the governments changed one after the other until recently when I felt the need to be more active in Iraq. Little by little, the Iraqi governments began to prevent me from doing any activities. At first a few individuals were sent to control my house in the guise of protection. Then rumor went about that some had come to assassinate me; once they said they were fifty people. I denied the rumor because never do such a number of people would take part in assassination; it must be one person. Then they increased the number of guards again claiming that they wanted to protect me. From the very beginning, I told my friends that it is not a matter of protection rather it is aimed at controlling our behavior. The security chief came from Baghdad afterwards. He was a mild-mannered person; his comments were much of a compliment. "You are free to do whatever you like." Several days after he left, a man, who was said to be higher in rank, came and told me formally that they were committed to their agreements with the Iranian government. So they could not let me do any activities against the regime. The day after that he came again and said that I should not write anything, speak or fill a cassette and send it to Iran because it was contrary to their commitments. I told him that it is a religious duty on my part and that I would write manifestos, speak on the pulpit in due time, fill tapes and send them to Iran. It was my religious duty. I told him he could fulfill his own duty as well. Then he said something and finally I told him that I did not like to stay in Najaf because I wanted to move where I could do my service freely. He said: "wherever you go, you'll have the same

problem"; that is, I would be blocked. I told him I would move abroad, something I had not thought of till that moment. I would move to Paris, which is not dependent on Iran. He became uneasy, but did not say anything. Mr. Duayi,¹ who is an ambassador, was there for translation. He told me they wanted to maltreat my friends but did not mean any harm to me. So I was worried about my friends. I asked Mr. Duayi to get a visa. They rejected to give him the visa. Then, we decided to move to Syria but before going there, we had to stay two or three days in Kuwait. I did not think of going to France at that time. Then we decided on a day to move to Kuwait under the control of some agents. Getting out, I met Mr. Yazdi² who has been with us since that time. Then we headed for Kuwait. When we got to the border, after a few minutes, an agent came and said, "You cannot go to Kuwait". I think this was due to their relations with Iran. I told him, "Ok, we will go to the airport and will depart from there." He said, "No. You should move to Baghdad the next day. I decided not to go to any other Islamic countries because we were likely to face the same situation. We decided to move to France. So I wrote a manifesto addressing the nation about the conditions of our departure. All this was God's will and out of our control because we were not to move to France; God set the scene as such. I have not done anything by myself so far. Everything is His. Sometimes, we do not think of anything to happen, but it happens. Lately, when we came to Tehran, the regime declared martial law. I did not know why, but it occurred to me to break it. Later, we found out that it was a plot for a military coup. Again, God did this because I was not thinking of such an intrigue to happen through martial law. We just wanted to obstruct it by force of habit. When we arrived in Paris, such gentlemen as Mr. Habibi,³ Mr. Bani Sadr⁴ and Mr. Qutbzadeh welcomed us.⁵ They had chosen a place in Paris, which I said was not suitable for me. Then, we went to that nearby village.⁶ Little by little, people came from around. At first, the French government exercised a little caution; however, later it treated us kindly. We published our viewpoints more than we expected. Sometimes, American news agencies came there to hear our comments. They told me that it would be broadcast in the U.S. and some other countries. I told them about the problems of Iran and the sufferings inflicted on the nation. Different strata of people living abroad

¹ Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Duayi.

² Mr. Ibrahim Yazdi.

³ Mr. Hasan Habibi.

⁴ Mr. Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr.

⁵ Mr. Sadiq Qutbzadeh.

⁶ Neauphle-le Château.

came there in groups every day. This helped strengthen us. They also did some activity, gave speech and held gatherings. Recently, when we wanted to come back to Iran, severe measures were taken to prevent our return. Before that, several people came on behalf of the US government to dissuade me from coming to Iran; one of them who were a politician in the guise of a tradesman told me that it was soon to go to Iran and supported Shah a lot. After Shah left and Bakhtiyar, his right successor in crime took the hold; a new wave of efforts began to prevent me from coming to Iran.

They sent me a message, via the French government, that if I go to Iran, there will be a bloodshed and hubbub. I figured out that my coming to Iran would be to their disadvantage because if it had any advantage to them i.e. they could detain us on our arrival, they would not make such comments rather they would ask me to come to Iran. Then we headed toward Iran. God has supported us from the very beginning of the revolution till now.

Inviting the nation to help the revolution and government

One of the great helps God, the Blessed and Exalted offered the nation was to prevent them from serious confrontation. If they wanted to deal with us as they did with regard to Afghanistan, we would have suffered colossal loss. Now, what caused them to be reluctant is whether some fear overtook them or else, we have thank God reached this stage. Thank God, so far so good. There has been a small loss. What we have gained is great. Hopefully, the gentlemen, Mr. Bazargan¹ and his cabinet, whom I like and am familiar with, will cooperate to get the job done.

I want the nation to help the revolution and government. Now, we have served the government, which is different from former governments that imposed themselves on the nation and wasted the national resources. It intends to save the honor of the nation and to serve people. Certainly, such a revolution will have its opponents, especially from among those who feel their interests are at stake. There are some roots of opposition, which are dispersed throughout the country.

They create obstruction and spread negative propaganda against us. The nation should know that we are the victors and make a free, independent and Islamic country. It is our greatest wish to enforce Islamic rules all over the country. I call the ministers' attention to the point that in this Islamic country and the state-run departments nothing should be done contrary to Islam and national interests. The departments and the whole country should be purged.

¹ Mr. Mahdi Bazargan.

Ruling the country with power and good will

The country should be run with your power and good will, so that all problems can be solved. God, Almighty, will support us as long as our motives are divine and pure. He helped us to conquer a power, which was supported by superpowers because people had good will as people of the time of appearance of Islam. Now, some women come and ask me to pray for their martyrdom and some others wanted me to allow them to go to fight in Kurdistan. However, I told them that it was not advisable for them to go there and that the army itself would do the job. Some mothers are proud of their martyrs and want to sacrifice the rest of their children. It was a change the same as the one which had happened within Muslims in early Islam, wherein people regarded martyrdom as deliverance for themselves and were not afraid of being killed; they perceived of this world as a passage for the other world which is the destination of all human beings. Then, our victory owes much to such a spiritual change within people because we did not have any arms and tactics to win. The things we had were faith and unanimity. I beg the Almighty God to maintain this unity of expression and to help solve our problems.

I want all ministers and oil minister in particular to exercise great care in doing their jobs and I want the staff there to support him. He¹ is a competent and cautious man. I am a little critical of his "cautiousness". I hope that he does his job properly. I ask the oil company staff to cooperate and to work for the country and not to shirk their responsibility and stop working. Now, the country is yours, oil is your own and will be sold to the benefit of the country. When everything is our own, we have to serve the country. We have to treat the country kindly as our own family. This is a public duty; that is everybody from ministers to workers should serve the country.

Necessity for avoiding low service in offices

I am surprised to hear that sometimes some clerks shirk their responsibility and even refuse to work at all. You have to dismiss them if they are linked to the former regime. If it is not the case and they are from among the people who like Islam and Iran, I do not know why they do so. The wage they receive is in exchange for working. They are not permitted to spend the wage if they shirk their job. Therefore, those who believe in Islam, their country and the revolution must work properly and even more to compensate for the shortcomings of the past. Hardworking should replace

¹ Mr. Ali-Akbar Muinfar.

shrinking of job. Those who work in offices and observe that different strata of people are now serving in schools and even in deserts should also serve so that the pay they may receive becomes legal. I implore the Almighty God to awaken all of us to serve the nation and help us proceed healthfully on this divine direction so that on the Day of Judgment our record is clean and we save our honor before God. May God protect you all and help you work prosperously!

Speech

Date: October 2, 1979 [Mehr 10, 1358 (noon) AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 10, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Describing rightfulness and its outcomes—keeping track of Gospel truth

Audience: Members of the Islamic Society of Tehran's wireless telecom staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gospel Truth is the victor

You said gospel truth is the victor. And we are victors as long as we are in line with the gospel truth and the creedal error is defeated. And one will be defeated as long as he is in line with the creedal error. Confrontation of gospel truth and creedal error in our time put a stamp of proof on this view, the nation was right and those who were against the nation were wrong. Although the creedal error seekers were armed to the teeth, the gospel truth people who were not equipped with arms but with faith and truth won in the end, then the gospel truth, the fact that we witnessed. You were right because you wanted Islam and despised blasphemy, plundering and oppression. Those who confronted you by supporting the regime were wrong. You conquered great local and foreign powers and their dependents from among writers and speakers, and military men with the power of 'God is the Greatest'. And the gospel truth always wins. However, we must be careful to move in the right direction.

Our nation launched a revolution whose members were all strata of people from men and women, and children and adults who took to the streets and won over the creedal error through the voice of right and firm will for seeking the gospel truth. If you keep on the right track, you will be the winner. And if, God forbid, you deviate from the right direction, the gospel truth is still the winner, but you are no longer right. The principle of "right is winner" is always right.

Moses (s) conquered Pharaoh with a stick. The holy Prophet Muhammad (s) was empty-handed, with few supporters with no accoutrements. They did not even have dwelling place. There was a group called "Suffah companions" who had no dwelling, nothing, and stayed in mosque as their domicile. Every several of them had a sword and that what a sword, which they hung with date fiber round their waist. Every several of them had one

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is mentioned as 11/7/1358 AHS.

horse or camel. Nevertheless, they were right and right is triumphant. This few people overpowered the empires of Rome and Persia that had all habitable lands under their sway. Small in number, but right and treasuring faith, they proceeded with faith.

Rightfulness of being Islamic in all aspects

We are the winner as long as we are right. Being right requires being Islamic: Having Islamic beliefs and adapting one's behavior to Islam and strengthening one's faith. If we did so, we would be right; and the gospel truth is the victor. We are the winner whether we win or lose in the battlefield because our school is right and victorious. Try to follow the right direction.

Day of withdrawal from the Truth, day of defeat

The day when you saw us, God forbid, facing defeat, be it known that we are drifting away from the Truth. This revolution advanced; all are united; no one minds what one has, what one earns, what kind of office one has and how one's business is. At the time when they were taking to the streets in face of the tanks and cannons, they never thought of returning home or being concerned about one's bed and supper. Many were not also taking supper. You were only thinking of making the Truth victorious over falsehood. It was the Truth that you made victorious. Now that, thank God, you have acquired a relative victory and you have acquired power in your hand, you should be thinking of implementing the Truth. If the powerful at this time wants to take a step with its power and not consider the Truth, this will become falsehood, and falsehood is bound to perish in face of the Truth.

Inclination to Truth and spiritual transformation of the youth

Think of the fact that this revolution, to the extent that it has advanced, came to existence through the expression of Truth, through the inclination to Truth, and through the transformation in our youth, both men and women, who used to wish for martyrdom. And now they also do the same and some women come and say, "Pray that we may be martyred" and some of the brothers say, "pray that we will become martyrs." This spiritual and mental transformation that took place in our nation—all its classes—and that everybody were pursuing a single issue and that was the Islamic Republic—that brought victory, for it was the Truth and the Truth is triumphant. You should preserve this. I thank you, for when I was in Paris, the telecommunications employees helped us a lot. They were relaying and

transmitting my statements everywhere in spite of the fact at that time everything was under their influence and control. I am so much thankful of them, and they have a great share in our victory and their victory, but this issue should be preserved—wherever you are, wherever we are. The work that we are doing, that work should be a work for Truth. Let us look for the Truth; let us not look for a job whose benefit is plenty do a work whose fame is many. All of these benefits and these fames will perish. That which will remain is the Truth. Exert effort to preserve this Truth; and advance this revolution with the group and the Truth. I hope that this Truth will be preserved and that all of you will be successful and triumphant. I wish you will advance this revolution and bring it to victory, God willing. May God keep all of you healthy and protect you and guide you and us to the path of Truth. May peace be upon you all, God willing!

Speech

Time/date: 10 am, October 3, 1979 [Mehr 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Victory of the downtrodden over the arrogant; the nation's support for the armed forces

Occasion: Birthday anniversary of Hadrat Rida (a) coinciding with Imam Khomeini's migration from Najaf, Iraq, to Paris, France

Audience: Mr. Ferasat (designated commander of the gendarmerie) and personnel of the district relief battalion of the gendarmerie

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Burial day of the arrogant, festivity for downtrodden nation

It is a blessed day. Every day of ours after the revolution and after the ousting of the corrupt regime is blessed. All the days of our nation are festivity and blessed. You witnessed all the days that passed for our nation. And you witness also these days when all the strata are brotherly and move shoulder-to-shoulder. You saw the days that passed for our nation when the *taghuti* force oppressed our nation. And today you witness that the Islamic force is at the bosom of the nation and is marching in front of the nation; and the nation is clapping and rejoicing for them. These days are a day of festivity. The festivity for the downtrodden nation is the day when the arrogant people are buried. The festivity for our nation is the day when the roots of corruption, which exist in some parts of Iran, are destroyed. I do extend my greetings for this day to the entire nation and to all the disciplinary forces especially the brothers who have come here from the gendarmerie. I wish you all prosperity and well-being.

Nation's support for the military and disciplinary forces

Do you not feel that today is different from those days when you were confronting the nation and the nation was not acknowledging you? Do you not feel that it is this blessing of Islam that has joined you together? I hope that this togetherness will exist up to the end; and that you would be an Islamic army, Islamic gendarmerie and Islamic disciplinary force; and that you be always at the service of the nation and the nation to support you. The Iranian nation is a noble nation and a great nation; it is a powerful nation; and

it supports you and considers you as its brothers. I consider everybody as my brother and I am at the service of everybody.

We implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to let this nation of ours remain with such enthusiasm in advancing the revolution, and to let everybody advance with enthusiasm toward a great Islamic state and a great Islamic power. May God bestow prosperity to our nation both in this world and in the hereafter; make everybody advance with such power that it possesses; make us at the service of everybody; and endow strength and grandeur to all and reward them for all the services that they render to Islam and their country. May God protect you all!

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

Statements

Date: October 3, 1979 [Mehr 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Emphasizing the punishment agents behind Abadan's Rex Cinema disaster

Audience: Families of victims of Abadan's Rex Cinema disaster

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

[One of the relatives of Rex Cinema victims displayed documents during his address to his eminence]

Keep these with you. You know what happened. But what was the motive behind the crime they committed?

[One among the audience: Yes, I will inform you of it now.]

No, do not tell me; I am not the public prosecutor. You can refer the case to the public prosecutor general, Mr. Quddusi,¹ who is a justifiable, active and decisive person. If there are any reasons for involvement of the people in office in the crime, explain them to him and he will investigate the case, God willing. I will ask remind him to take action.

[One of those present: Imam! So you say we should go to Mr. Quddusi.]

Yes.

[One among the audiences: Of course, Mr. Quddusi is completely aware of the matter. We sent him a letter; our representative also met him.]

Imam: well, you go and introduce those whom you say were involved in the act and present the reasons you provide so as to be investigated by him; just listing the names is not enough and is in vain. Take them, along with your reasons to Mr. Quddusi and tell him to summon them to the court and I will re-affirm to him, God willing.

[One of those present: this is the case of Ahwaz and this one is Abadan's. Let's hold an open trial, so that the families of the survivors can participate in the court.

Tell all of these things you claim to Mr. Quddusi and I will re-affirm to him to investigate the case.

[Another audience: Imam! We particularly want this case to be heard in an open session. Many of the anti-revolutionaries too will be there. When we cry that Razmi² and his band, these anti-revolutionaries, did this.]

¹ Mr. Ali Quddusi, Islamic Revolution Prosecutor General.

² Head of Abadan Police Headquarters.

Imam: after all, there is, on one hand, the matter of anti-revolutionaries and on the other hand the cinema case. The story of anti-revolutionaries is a different matter. But in the case of Rex Cinema and burning the people there, you should reveal whom you believe were involved in that crime and offer your reasons. It will be investigated as for the anti-revolutionaries, there are anti-revolutionaries across the country, but your case is different. You may present your case. The prosecutor general may bring the case to be dealt with in Teheran and summon the suspects to Tehran and settle the case.

[One present among the audience: I talked about the revolutionaries because people say why the government has not yet investigated the case. They want us to change our attitude to the government. We were the first who shouted in Khakistan and in the streets. As Razmi and his deputy said to the people to go and ask for your children from those who set the cinema on fire-those whose names I am ashamed to reveal because I know they did not commit the crime, I say not those as anti-revolutionaries.

Imam: Leave the anti-revolutionaries, Madam! Do not mix the matters, the matter of anti-revolutionaries.

[The Imam! They are also involved.]

Imam: Write down the names of those who were involved, ordered or provoked the people. Give these names along with your proofs to Mr. Quddusi. I will re-affirm to him to investigate the case.

[Another audience: The best ground to provoke the people is prepared for them by pending the case]

Imam: He will activate the case. Refer to him and I will order him to investigate it.

[One of those present: Imam! This is a mother who has lost husband and four children of her brother.]

Imam: Once this incident occurred, I was in Najaf and when I first heard about it. I guessed the agents of the Shah's could have done it and I announced it too. Later on it was proven right and made the nation and particularly me impressed. It was a great tragedy for our nation and I express my condolences to all survivors, to their mothers and brothers may God have mercy on them.

[One of the ladies: Imam he was my breadwinner.]

Imam: may God give you patience! If you want, I can order Mr. Quddusi to intervene and investigate the matter decisively.

If the crimes are proven, damages should be compensated, the suspects punished or if actually involved executed. May God assist all of you!

Speech

Date: October 4, 1979 [Mehr 12, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l Qadah 12, 1399 AH]

Places: Qum

Subject: Significance of the role of radio-television

Audience: Messrs: Qutbzadeh (Superintendent of IRIB), Musawi (Imam's representative in IRIB) and officials and staff of vision of Islamic Republic

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Need for sovereignty of Islam in all affairs

It is good that all the gentlemen are present and so is Mr. Qutbzadeh. I have repeatedly noted that Islamic Republic is not a phrase without content. It should have content and its content is that all government and national organizations and all strata of the country should be Islamic. If for example justice is not Islamic, financial matters are not Islamic and everywhere one touches is not Islamic, this implies defeat of the revolution. The government was primarily opposed to Islam when it was monarchical and *taghuti*. Now, with Islamic Republic, it is against Islam. These two are greatly different. If for instance radio and television have a deficiency, it is not attributed to a *taghuti* regime; it is ascribed to Islamic Republic.

Sensitive role of radio-television

Furthermore, radio-television is different from other organizations. If in one ministry a wrong is done, people will not understand after 10 years. But if radio-television does a wrong and something against the canon and the course of the nation, the story is different. If something is screened or aired, the entire country would come to find out from the first days or hour. Now, radio is everywhere; television might also be everywhere. People throughout the country would suddenly come to realize that a wrong has been done. Therefore, this organization is the most sensitive one in the country. In radio-television both eye and ear can see and hear and that at a wide scale. Radio is broadcast abroad as well. All the places receiving the wave can listen. If, God forbid, this organization has some defect and in contradiction to the course of Islam, people across the country and in many countries will find out that the wrong is not in conformity to Islamic course. It is reflected to those who have prejudice to argue that the monarchical regime has gone, but the spirit is still there. Again pens aiming to mar the image of the regime and

the revolution will embark on finding fault. If there is something insignificant, they will aggrandize it. They will not accuse the television, but level the accusation against Islam. This is the problem.

In time of *Taghut* every event that came about and any sabotage that occurred, it had nothing to do with Islam. It was a regime opposed to Islam and acted against Islam. A regime opposed to Islam does things that counter Islam. Therefore, at that time, there was little threat to Islam and the Islamic Republic. Today, however, threats are posed to Islamic Republic and Islam. Therefore, there is a big duty upon our shoulders. If I do something wrong; if you do something wrong; if anyone does something wrong, this wrong will be attributed to Islam. If an organization of this enormity and sensitivity does something against Islam or against the course of the nation by composing a program, the adversaries do not argue that television is responsible for the wrong nor do they accuse radio. In fact, they criticize Islamic Republic. Therefore, today prestige of Islam and the Islamic Republic depends on these organizations, one of which is radio and television, which is more sensitive than others. As such, all should try to reach understanding.

Need for understanding and brotherhood among Muslims

At the level of radio-television, differences always exist in contrast to the course of Islam. Do not develop difference among one another. You are a group of Muslims who want to serve. Do not find fault at one another. One accusing the other and vice versa causes an organization to be afflicted by disruption, resulting in wrongs and no fruition. Try to reach understanding so that you can obtain a favorable result. You are groups of Muslims who have understanding in terms of beliefs. You share one and the same course. None goes one's course. Therefore, come to terms and carry out the works in brotherly spirit.

When all are together and want to work in brotherly spirit, the work will be done soon and well. If one group pulls one direction and the other an opposite one, difference will emerge. Neither the work will be accomplished nor if done it will be efficiently done. Therefore, one of the important works is that the organization should be made into a united one. All should work together in it for God.

Radio-television, an Islamic and constructive organization for the country

If there are individuals who want to disrupt the works, go against the course of Islam and do so and so, what should you do with them? Gradually,

they should go without causing any clash so that the organization would be Islamic and Islamic propagation would be imparted and so that a constructive organization can be worked out for the country and the nation.

If the set you see the small children and elders and old men and women sit to watch is constructive, this little child will undergo correct training from now. If, God forbid, there emerges a wrong, that child will be exposed to corruption from early childhood. This is your responsibility. It is a difficult problem upon us. Its training is like a mobile school that goes everywhere so that all listen and watch simultaneously. Since children are interested in watching the pictures and films, they sit and watch them. If the film were constructive, these children would undergo a correct training. If the film were devious, the children would undergo devious training. So are the elder ones. Therefore, it calls for a great responsibility. Now, this responsibility is God-oriented, moral and national responsibility. All responsibilities now delve upon this organization.

I hope that you can reach understanding and treat each other in friendly and brotherly spirit. Do not look at each other maliciously. Advise the individuals who, God forbid, are devious so that they will revert. If there happens to be individuals who are not corrigible, brush them aside gradually so that, God willing, you develop a correct, good, constructive organization dedicated to Islamic training and so that this revolution would be preserved thanks to your deeds. May God grant you all success! I also pray for you. I am your servant, God willing.

Speech

Date: October 4, 1979 [Mehr 12, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l Qadah 12, 1399 AH]

Places: Qum

Subject: Divine assistance in our victory—city council elections—special significance of *wilayat-e faqih*

Audience: Deputies of the Assembly of Experts, revolutionary guards of al-Husayn (a) Mosque

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God's supreme will, source of the nation's victory

When I meet such Islamic, human and brilliant faces, I feel a sense of pride. I see you as people present everywhere to help Islam. The verse recited by this gentleman: "*If ye help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm.*"¹ Assisting Him signifies assisting His rules, the holy Quran and the Islamic Republic of Iran. In return, He will assist you. And you watch it exactly that you assisted Islam, the Islamic rules, Islamic revolution and Islamic Republic of Iran and he assisted you, in return.

If it were not by the Almighty God's assistance, how could you defeat those who commanded all power without any gun, military equipment and organization? You defeated those who themselves had everything with full power in their hands and the foreign evil powers backing them, but God assisted you. Those neglecting the fact that there is a supreme will in the universe, existing control over everything see this event as an unsolved puzzle. How could a nation, without any military equipment conquer such great powers expelling them out? They ignore that there is a will above all other wills. The Almighty God has promised the people to assist them if they assist Him. For those who do not believe the metaphysics, these things are a puzzle, but for us who believe such a power—having proven it with a convincing¹ proof—this is not a puzzle at all. God assisted you and his assistance is enough.

If it were not by God's assistance, how could a nation with every person having a specific dream and every class of the society having a different ideal, wish and plan unite at once and in a short time on a single matter? And

¹ Surah Muhammad 47: 7.

how could a nation who was fearful of a police man—if a policeman would come to bazaar, people did not dare say they did not hoist flag on top of the shops. They imagined it not and allowed themselves not to do so at all—coming out of their homes suddenly, shouting we want not the monarchy system basically. This is God's assistance; you may ignore it sometimes.

Divine assistance is guaranteed by assisting Islam

If it were not by God's assistance, how did they overlook fighting with the people? If they fought with the entire pore they commanded just as it happened to our Afghan brethren what would happen? They backed down as God instilled fear in them. They dispensed with standing against our people and if they did so, they did not do very seriously. God put in their hearts indecision; great evil power feared from a nation who were without military equipment and could not resist. In the view of a person pondering on these events, all this progress is made obviously by God's assistance.

As to the second sentence, "be steadfast" be careful that up to now you have moved forward by the force and the power of faith and have assisted God. If God assisted you to move forward and you assisted him in return, there comes another thing; that is, he makes you steadfast. If, God forbid, you forget assisting Him and imagine that everything is finished, and if every one of you goes after his/her personal engagements, neglecting to assist God, Islam and its rules—when you assisted God before he assisted you in return—and if your assistance, stops, then you will not take steps firmly any more. If you want to remain firm on your steps, pursue the plan you were up to now. We are in the middle of the way.

Warning against the infiltrators

There is a difficult problem before us, of which you should become aware and the religious authorities and you should inform other people. This is the problem of city councils. Do not consider the problem of city councils as a superficial and unimportant matter. The councils have powers based on which they can ruin or enhance our Islamic affairs. Be aware that following the announcement about establishing the city councils, these groups which are against the Islamic Revolution and which are fearful of Islam and Islamic rules, are planning out a plot to impose some people on the nation. They know they are not many, and that their number is not legion to win the election, but they want to let people in who are of their number and of their party and delude people to vote for them.

Characteristics of the members of the city council

Today is a day when all religious authorities, thoughtful people and all classes of the society should open their eyes and should select persons whom they have identified before. Every person in every city knows some people from the past and in the former regime; one knows that he/she had nothing to do with the plot and was not treacherous to the country, leftist or rightist, but a religious person, who was aware of Islamic affairs and on the straight path. You should know clearly what kind of a person he is now; a businessman, civil servant or a clergyman; it does not make sense, and that what a position he had in *Taghuti* regime. If you know him and if every person recognizes well some people around him, then the religious authorities living there and in the cities may introduce trustees of bazaar, academic staff, students) and others to the people. Individuals should first be Muslim and second faithful to the Islamic revolution, trustworthy, duty-bound to Islamic rules, with a true faith and clean record. They should be determined both from among businessmen, clergymen; as well as other businesses. All should be united in being a Muslim. Of course, non-Muslims may determine their own councils; but with members who are Muslims and faithful to Islam and to the revolution, and who are against *taghut*, with no diversion to left or right wings, and on a straight path, Islamic and sympathetic to the nation. If a person is duty-bound, he will be sympathetic to the nation, not treacherous to the country; and what he does is in confidence. Whatever he wants to do for his city, he will do to the interests of the people, of the town and of Islam.

Warning different layers of society

If God forbid! You neglect this point, or if clergymen, preachers, religious scholars, duty-bound academicians, traders, farmers and workers neglect this, and then some people, who are against the nation and Islam turn up on the scene, they may spoil a city and subsequently the country. You should do your best not to ignore this and religious authorities in the cities, preachers, religious scholars, people of knowledge, faculty staff and students, should not ignore this here and there either. A person who is going to decide over the fate of all affairs in a city should be aware of those affairs, trustworthy and believe in the revolution. This is one of the greatest problems we are facing now, after which the problems may arise. Take into consideration that we are in the middle of the way, having problems before us one by one should be solved; and unless we resolve them, we will foil to achieve the goal that is the Islamic Republic.

Consider now the assembly of experts represented by people of knowledge, religious authorities and others, some thoughts of whom are not Islamic or they are Islamic, they do not have a true knowledge of Islam, that disturb some affairs, although most people are against them. And though they know the meaning of majority of Muslims, followers of Islam and Islam', when there is one of two of them in a place among Muslims, they make troubles and put a spoke in their wheels. I must say to you in the assembly of experts to be careful not to be influenced by their pens and steps taken against Islam. As you realized, this is for Islam, so give it strength if you assist Him, God will assist you.

Special importance of *wilayat-e faqih*

Do not pay attention to the words of those who are against Islam and who consider themselves as open-minded and who do not approve of *wilayat-e faqih*. If there is no jurist and no *Wilayat-e faqih*, then it will be a *Taghuti* government. There is either God or *taghut*. If it is not God's command and if *Wilayat-e faqih* does not appoint the president, then he will be unlawful, obeying him will be obeying *taghut*, and entering his realm will be entering *taghut*'s. *Taghut* will be removed when there is one who is appointed by God's command. Do not be afraid of those who do not understand the meaning of Islam, jurist and *Wilayat-e faqih*. They think it is a catastrophe for the society! They consider Islam as a catastrophe but not *Wilayat-e faqih*, which is a continuity of Islam.

Representation revocation of mps opposing the Islamic republic

Open your eyes! Experts should open their eyes. Those opposing *wilayat-e faqih* acting against whatever the nation has determined for them are not represented. At the beginning of establishment of Majlis, I predicted this and announced that the people want an Islamic Republic government but not a western or communist one. People elected you as mps to establish an Islamic republic government. Those opposing Islamic rules are against Islamic Republic of Iran and against the votes of their voters who did not vote for you for this reason. If all of you to say something against the interests of Islam, you are not mps and your words are not approved. We throw to the brick wall a word, which is against the interests of Islam. Your power is as much as you can establish an Islamic Republic government based on Islamic laws. There is no objection to giving your opinion about office affairs and so on, but not to putting a spoke in the nation's wheels and

inducing them that if there comes; jurisprudence, jurist and *wilayat-e faqih*, something will necessarily happen.

Enemies' opposition to Islam and the Islamic Revolution

Gentlemen, you know that we were for a long time under the yoke of *Taghut*. Enough is enough! Our nation was for a long time—fifty years or rather two thousand and fifty years under the pressure of *Taghut*. Enough is enough! Let the people become religious for a time or at least understand this by experiencing it. Let the nation that tasted the bitterness of *Taghut* until now be from now on controlled by Allah. Experience it! If you have seen a wrong thing with Islam, say what it was. Until now the enemies did not allow Islam to be observed in our country and now some friends—some of whom may be enemies—who are unaware of these things do not allow this to happen. No Islam had been in effect up to now. Why should you fear of a person who is for example sitting in his room, writing something down and publishing it in newspapers? They do not know the meaning of Islam whatsoever and are anti-Islamic Revolution. If they are against the Shah's regime, they are against Islam too. They want another thing, a democratic republic government. Democratic meaning what the western countries have brought here, but not what is in their own countries.

The republic in which there is democracy there has not come here, that is imported. The democracy, liberty and the notorious independence and all things which have come into our country up to now are those things which "his majesty" was boasted, "The great civilization", and you all saw that this "Great Civilization" gave the nation hell! Stop it! It is enough! It is enough for us till the resurrection day! Do not follow this regime, the western or eastern countries so much! So much of it has had to-date, is enough! Should we go under the cruelty again? They want to rid of Islam? A formality! Yes! Some gentlemen suggest that the issue of *wilayat-e faqih* be a "formality", we do not withhold them. But, *wilayat-e faqih* wants to intervene in the affairs. We do not accept it. Is it necessary that some one comes from the west and intervenes in the affairs? We do not agree with the intervention of a person whom Islam has determined. If the necessary sense is received, they are atheist; but they do not understand.

Troubles of ignorant friends and wise enemies

We are in the middle of the way and are facing these difficulties. We will also get, from now on, into such difficulties for the president. One says that

the president should not necessarily be a Muslim; another says he should not be an Shiah; others say he should not necessarily be an adherent to Islam, such and such.

Gentlemen, we will get from now on into difficulty with these ignorant friends, informed and wise enemies. We still have difficulties and are in the middle of the way. Gentlemen should be careful! May not our nation be weak and flexible! If their candidates want to act against Islam' the people have the power to dismiss them and to let them away. They think it is against freedom; but it is you who are acting as a dictator! You are standing against the nation that wants Islam and the *wilayat-e faqih* ordained by God, but you say it is not necessary. You want to impose several people on others. This is dictatorship, but not imposing on them who know about Islam and follow it. You are just a few who are standing against Islam.

Wilayat-e faqih is the nation's will

I pray to the blessed and Almighty God to rid us of ignorant friends and evil enemies, and I hope the members of the consultative assembly and the city councils, to whom I gave my advice—and I will give again if necessary God willing—to step towards the next stages we have before us strongly, powerfully and with full insight. And they will do so. It is the nation who wants this, what can we do? Imagine that it is a catastrophe and we do too, but it is the nation's will.

What do you say? The nation wants *wilayat-e faqih* that you call "catastrophe"! Let us ask them and hold a referendum on *wilayat-e faqih* that you call "catastrophe" to examine the pros and cons and to determine whether you want it or not. May God bless and assist you all.

Decree

Date: October 6, 1979 [Mehr 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Friday Prayer Leader of Kermanshah

Addressee: Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Shaykh al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani (may his blessings last long),

I hope you are sound and safe and busy with divine duties. I would like to inform you that I received a scroll with the signatures of grand *ulama* of Kermanshah on it, asking you to put up Friday Prayer in that city. Considering the status quo and Muslims' needs to such religious gatherings, it is advisable to accept the honorable gentlemen's invitation. You are hereby appointed as the leader to put up this divine obligation as splendid as possible in that city. I ask God, the exalted to keep you successful in serving Islam and Muslims. May peace and mercy of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: October 6, 1979 [Mehr 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Friday Prayer Leader of Qidar (Khodabandeh)

Addressee: Sayyid Yaqub Musawi Zanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Yaqub Musawi Zanjani (may his blessings last long),

May his noble being be protected and be busy to divine duties! I wish to inform you that I received a letter from the honorable residents of the town of Khodabandeh (Qidar), asking you to say Friday Prayer there. Considering the status quo and Muslims' needs to more of such gatherings, it is deemed advisable to accept their invitation and perform this divine obligation there. You are hereby appointed as the congregational leader of that region. It is hoped that the honorable residents also make use of this opportunity, not with holding the necessary cooperation to perform it as splendid as possible. May peace and mercy of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: October 6, 1979 [Mehr 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Colonial culture and intellectual dependency—Reforming cultural centers—enemies' plot

Addressee: Professors and Staff of the University of Sanat-e Sharif

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Foreigner's policy toward infiltration colonial culture

The difficulties we are facing now are not small. They attempted to send designers to the eastern countries, especially those having more resources, and to import special kinds of things from the west into Iran. They wanted to bring colonial culture into Iran. They wanted to bring colonial culture into Iran and to make us to be fond of their wide scope propaganda. All of you are aware of the fact that they intended to import a so-called western culture and a special kind of democracy into colonial or semi-colonial countries.

All of these things as “progress”, “sublimity”, “freedom”, “democracy” and “culture” have been taken into Iran in a special way. The freedom they took in during the time of “the father and the son” or the democracy they claim they want to pursue in Iran, the developed and purposeful people are aggravating is not the same freedom and democracy in the west. They are all imported; it means that the freedom they granted Iran and the east is freedom in affairs, which decayed our nation and our youth.

Freedom in the former regime

You saw and you still remember the time of Rida Khan, but not the former, and of his successor son—more malicious than him—and the freedom they gave us or as they would say “granted” us! The freedom of going into brothels, cinemas, public bars, as they have built throughout Iran, specially in Tehran, the capital, and of the press, the state-run radio and television, with their own special meanings, and of perverting magazines, all were things they planned useful for countries they wanted to take under their influence or under their colonial, semi-colonial or neo-colonial rule. Throughout the whole time there was no one who could write freely for the interests of the country. No one could make a speech freely, expressing about interests, disinterests. There was no newspaper in which corruption done in Iran and the plunders done by colluding insiders outsiders, could be printed.

Whenever there was a speech on radio and television, it was about advancements in Iran, about reaching “the gate of civilization” and about things, which made us decayed. The freedom and the democracy they brought Iran were of the kinds not in their real meanings. It is not true that they really wanted for us a free country and wanted a single person, elected by the people, to rule over the country. None of these matters did they take into consideration at all.

Main purpose of colonialists in relation with other countries

What they take into consideration is in which country and how much resources are available there to be plundered. What are the geographical features of a country under their control? And unfortunately some of our authors, intellectuals and, educated people, were either deceived by the recent fifty-year propaganda or ignorant of this matter. And some of them being aware of this matter add fuel to the flames; i.e. they are mercenaries. Therefore, they made such a country for us; an overtly westernized one; but not in its real meaning in the west. The things, the sciences, etc are not the same here in Iran. They want our universities to be advanced to a certain extent and not with a true ethical, religious and scientific form as in their own countries. They do not want a doctor to be trained in Iran to serve the people. They had even made the people pessimistic about them to such an extent that even a person, e.g. with a pain of tonsils goes to England, to the Europe! For medical treatment on the one hand, they publicized that you are nothing and have nothing, and, on the other hand, allowed not our youth to flourish their talents. They made us fully dependent.

As long independence, subject to severance of intellectual independence as we are mentally dependent to the west and as long as we think every thing should be brought from the west and should be repaired there; we cannot achieve independence. No independence is obtained unless we know ourselves and know that we have culture, everything and we do not need the west in our affairs, and that what they give us is not a developmental reality but that they want to limit us to a certain extent. Being in Paris, those whom we sent to Germany to investigate and to receive education in atomic sciences, came to me in groups, saying: firstly, that the nuclear power plant they have in Germany and the one which they want to build one in Iran is harmful; secondly, they have limited us there in a certain extent, not allowing us to receive education and to understand at all. The situation was so and still is.

I wonder if you have heard that one of these speakers, who was once a member of the senate or may be its chairman, I do not remember—and a famous person on top of constitutionalism¹ and still famous when he died, has said “none of our problems would be solved unless everything we have is English or is English-like! Either he was so foolish that their propaganda had pierced his mind, having such a belief, or he was one of England’s agents wanting to add these words to their propaganda.

Dewesternization

We are now in a situation that the youth delivered to us are all following the western fashion, and whose minds should be changed. Our economy, culture and everything brought here from the west; but they are not like their own. Maybe you know that eastern people going abroad to study are awarded a diploma other than their own; i.e. they are awarded certificate sooner than their own students or a person who is awarded on eastern diploma there, is not allowed to have an office. He should return to Iran or other eastern countries to have an office. The situation was so and we were brought up, in this light.

False claim of great civilization; allegation

Now that the nation is, praise be to Allah, awakened and has opened their eyes to all disorders, everyone, seeing his own environment, is more informed of the range to destruction than us. Other people, too, see their own environment with the same difficulties and problems throughout the country. Every group from every direction comes to speak with me about the poor, saying there is no place as backward as ours. It is because they have seen their own region and because there had been a lot of publicity for the “great civilization”. They think everywhere other than their own is “fully civilized”. The other people, too, think so and everywhere is the same, when the people come here, complaining about lack of asphalt, clinics and so on, I say to them to go to Tehran and its ghettos and see whether their situation or yours is worse. We have now entered a country—i.e., you broke that great wall and went to the other side of it—in which you see you have nothing and everything you have is ruined. If our problem were only “having nothing”, we could govern the country better than ruin. They had a mission to sabotage! It is written correctly by this man that a mission for my country, but what mission he had such a mission! Now that you have gone over the

¹ Sayyid Hasan Taqi-Zadeh.

wall, everywhere you go and everything you see such as the ministries, the offices, the culture, the economy, etc ... are damage.

Destroying Islam, main purpose of the enemies

The thing, to which they pay the most attention, is to take the people's faith off their hands. They fear of Islam and of believing in God. You saw, when there was some talk about Islamic Republic, they kicked up a row arguing it was not necessary to be Islamic, just republic! It is a democratic one, which the west "awarded" to us. These are what they want! It was clear that they feared of Islam. They fear lest, when Islam and Islamic should be established in Iran. If Islam holds the upper hand, deviators might be left out, as it is the case.

Importance of reforming the country's cultural centers

Now all of us, all of you and all layers of the society in every place are obliged to do reconstruction and reforms. Above all are the matters of education and the university of which reforms are more needed than other things. Bring together those who are interested in the country—and those who are not dependent on the former regime or on the east and west—and who think, consult and make plans based on which we can perform, God willing. Of course, in the longer run not so soon. Make a long terms plan to change this [wrong] culture into a right one. If there is any science, it should be the right one, but not that which they brought here to limit us to a certain extent and not opening their knowledge to us.

You see, although there are numerous numbers of artillery of guns and airplanes, bought from foreign countries worth of billions of dollars there is no one who take use them now! They themselves have experts, but we have not any one: we cannot use them! They did not train either and did not want us to understand how e.g. a certain airplane works. Many of the guns they have are so special that neither Iran nor the east can use! They do not tell us their technologies. They received billions of dollars and brought this military equipment, which we cannot use, here into Iran. Why? Because they wanted to have a military base here! If once a war were waged between them and Russia, they would use their base against Russia. Our disasters are not just one or two, to mention.

Gradual reforming of national affairs

We should make reforms in, e.g. the press, the state radio and television and so forth, but also in everything; of course in the long; but not short run because it is not possible so soon. But what makes us hopeful is that the spiritual change which the people have undergone; i.e. they have been awakened; as we saw during the revolution about which I will talk later. The people who feared the shadow of a policeman made a revolution, shouting, "we do not want the regime basically!" The Almighty God made a spiritual change in the nation, no one could do. Praise is to Allah, two developments have been accomplished in our country and people have come to think of changing everything for the better.

First one should recognize the problem and then think of a solution. Now teachers at schools, the professors in the universities and every person in every place, who are interested in their own country and have recognized the problems and are thinking of solutions. I hope, with all of these changes made in you, the situation. Of course, we should not sit up and expect things to become better.

Islam's services to the country

From now on, every person in every place should start reforms in the affairs of the country and in changing the former situation and provide suitable conditions with the East. Above all, we should understand what services Islam can render to the country. We experienced one of the services; that is, Islam rid the country of foreigners and their remnants on top of who was Muhammad-Rida. Do you think if they did not believe in Islam and if Islamic faith had not been ingrained in their minds; would these fervent youth sacrifice themselves? There was no reason but Islam, which made them beg me to pray for them, "to be martyred!" It was the slogan of "God is the Greatest", Islam and the power of faith, which defeated the enemies and saved the country; it brought us here. And from now on, it is again Islam, that can do every thing, but they do not understand.

Islam is a plan for all ages

The people unaware of Islam think; since Islam dates back to 1400 years ago, it is not a suitable plan to be in effect today. They argue that Islamic laws are not applicable to modern times. However, they do not know that Islam is a religion sent by God who knows what would happen later to make a plan suitable for all ages? Islam is a plan for all ages, of which the people are not informed; so they argue that is not suitable enough for contemporary

world. The enemies [of Islam] have publicized and have put these words into the people's minds to separate them from Islam, of which they had a bad experience; especially now that they see exactly how Islam has treated them. They understood it was Islam that expelled them from the country. And now they, along side with their dependents do their best to separate the people from Islam.

Enemies' plot to separate clerics from academicians

Plans were underway to separate clergymen from academicians; so they were continually injecting into the minds of clergymen that there is a group of pessimistic dandies in the universities and, inculcated in the minds of the academicians that there is a group of English clergymen in theological centers in an attempt to separate you from the clergymen.

One of their numerous plans was to create division between the two layers who were considered as the masterminds of the society; i.e. the clergymen and the collegians. To separate them, or making them stand against each other. All these things, should disappear and we should be awakened and understand that we are all brothers. They had planned to separate Kurdistan and Baluchestan and so on from Iran. Once they provoked Shia and Sunni rows and at other time adducing other excuses to achieve their divisive goals. We should be awakened now and discover their plots; thwarting them, God willing. The slogans chanted show that you are thoughtful about such matters, for which I am grateful. Of course, it is up to all of us to do so. And I hope good plans be made; as the one you did, and be effective, God willing.

Speech

Date: October 7, 1979 [Mehr 15, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 15, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of the society's underprivileged class in advancing the revolution—vigilance against the plots.

Audience: Members of Islamic Republic Party from Wali-ye Asr town

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The progress of the revolution is because the underprivileged class. You said you are slum dwellers coming from the suburbs of the city. I watched their conditions once or maybe twice on television. Once there was an interviewer asking a man, coming out of a hole along with his children; what he did? "He said, "We go to the demonstrations every morning." The Revolution has moved forward thanks to you; the slum dwellers and the like of you; i.e. the poor class. It was you, the poor class, whether collegians and clergymen, or ghetto settlers and the workers who moved the Revolution forward by unity of expression and by chanting the slogan of "God is the Greatest". The nation knows those who came into the stage after you accomplished the revolution and claimed to be revolutionary. I know most of them. Some of them were either anti-revolutionary people who colluded with the former regime or stayed aside, watching which group would win and then join it. Now that you the poor class, praise to God, has won and Islam has emerged victorious, they have become Muslim, extremist Muslim! Yet, they are unable to hide their inward; they reveal it, saying sometimes "what do we need Islam for? The republic is enough." They neglect that it was Islam that took most of them out of their homes to the streets. It was again Islam that brought this victory, in light of which they can now breathe. They could not do anything earlier. Now they have risen against you and against Islam to restore the former situation.

Necessity of vigilance against opponents

You should be careful in recognizing those opposing Islamic Republic and those bringing up these matters with their pens and tongues, lest they

¹ In the book *Sahifeh-yē Nur*, this speech is dated as Mehr 17, 1358 AHS, but according to Daily Keyhan dated Mehr 16, 1358 AHS, the meeting was in the before noon on Mehr 15, 1358 AHS.

might not deceive you. Those who hold forth on supporting, the people, are those putting a match to the people's yearly fruit of labor, not allowing the factories to run again. And when there is something about making reforms, they oppose as they did with the referendum, some of them even banned it and stonewalled. They also criticized Assembly of Experts, and are still doing. When there is something about Consultative Assembly and the president, they struggle lest; Islam of which they fear should not be fulfilled. Foreigners provided their interest, but Islam does not let foreigner's access to Iran any more. All people should be vigilant to recognize the element taking steps against Islam and not let them come on to the stage, to deceive our youth.

May God protect you, the respectable slum-dwelling youth, who are more honorable than palace dwellers! You protected Islam and moved the Revolution forward. I hope it will be again you to continue the revolution to the end. May God protect you and I will pray for you. And I am your servant.

Message

Time: October 8, 1979 [Mehr 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of observing hierarchy in the army

Addressee: Army staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1399 AH

The dear selfless commissioned and esteemed non-commissioned officers, May God Almighty assist them,

In this situation that, praise be to the Exalted Allah, our great Muslim nation, has obtained miraculous victory, with the dedication of all the devoted people, and the Almighty God's assistance, being released from the pressure of dictatorship and colonization and that the stage for reconstruction jihad, for which the country needs more dedication has been launched, it is necessary to stress the, that you are now at the service of the great Islam, and that your service to the country is service to Islam and to the Holy Quran. Military service is today an act of worship. The officers should first treat other ranks in the army most kindly and friendly. Non-commissioned officers and the soldiers should obey the officers of higher rank and observe the hierarchy in the army; things would be organized properly in the light of unity. The dear soldiers should continue it to the end. This makes the Almighty God and Imam of the Age (May Allah expedite his glorious advent) satisfied. I expect you, the dear soldiers, to continue your service to the dear Islamic country and not bring about instability in the army. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your health and prosperity and for grandeur of our Islamic country. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: October 8, 1979 [Mehr 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Kazerun's Friday Prayer Imam and taking charge of financial affairs

Addressee: Asadullah Imani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Asadullah Imani (May his blessings last long),

I wish to inform you that I received a telegraph and a scroll with the signatures of the honorable residents of Kazerun on them; asking you to go there to preach Islam, to guide them and to say congregation prayer. Considering the situation in the region and the critical time, it is advisable to accept their invitation while shouldering your religious and social responsibilities to perform Friday prayer. You have also my permission to take charge of financial affairs in that city. It is hoped that the honorable residents appreciate you, not withholding their cooperation with you in enhancing the exalted purposes of Islam. I pray to God for keeping all of you successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1399 AH

¹ In the book *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this decree is dated as Mehr 17, 1358 AHS / Du'l-Qadah 17, 1399 AH, but the date given in the handwritten manuscript i.e. Mehr 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1399 AH is correct.

Statements

Date: October 8, 1979 [Mehr 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The youth are pioneers in Islamic affairs

Audience: Students of Babol's Institute of Technology

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I pray to God for the gentlemen's health and success having come here to see me from a far distance. I appreciate all Iranian youth especially you for your struggles, and I hope you are registered by Imam of the Age (May Allah expedite his advent) as his advocates. May you be one of his combatants and keep participating in the Revolution and be pioneers in Islamic affairs. I hope an Islamic government and an Islamic country, in their full sense, be fulfilled with your hands. And may all of you enjoy the blessing of this world and after life, under the protection of Islam, God willing. May God succeed you all!

Speech

Date: October 9, 1979 [Mehr 17, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 17, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Divine advice—the importance of women's role—sincerity in action

Audience: Women members of "*Maktab-e Tawhid*"

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God's exhortation to all nations

"Say (unto them, O Muhammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah's sake, by twos and singly."² The Almighty God says to the holy Prophet to communicate to people, "I exhort you unto one thing." The preacher is God, the intermediary the Prophet and the exhorted the people, all nations including us. This exhortation should be the most important of all other ones made by the Almighty God, prophets and Imams. In fact, it is as stated. This exhortation is to: "*Rise up for the sake of God.*" Men of wisdom—since you are students of theology; I should speak in your language—say the first station for a spiritual wayfarer is "*awakening*". Khwajah Abdullah Ansari resorts to this noble verse as an example in his book "*Manazil as-Sairin*,"³ citing the notion of awakening as the first step. His interpretation of the former verse is that you should wake up because awakening is a kind of "uprising". All the revolutions taking place in the world is a kind of uprising, uprising from negligence and uprising after awakening.

The first step is to be awakened from negligence

Rising up from sleep for us who are intoxicated by nature and in slumber, God's exhortation, as put by this spiritual wayfarer,⁴ is an exhortation to waken up from negligence and deep slumber. Nature has overpowered us by making us sleep. The first step is for us to awaken and to understand what the world of nature is and where we are going in this world. We are all moving but to where are we going? For those who are moving

¹ In the book *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Mehr 18, 1358 AHS, but according to the press reports the visit is dated as Mehr 17, 1358 AHS.

² Chapter Saba, verse 46.

³ *Manazel as-Sairin* (explanation by Talmasani), P. 53.

⁴ Khwajah Abdullah Ansari.

“towards Allah”, the first step is to awaken, to forget ignorance, and to pay attention to spirituality and metaphysics. This is a long way and we are at its beginning. We should traverse to reach the end. If we are moved in ignorance, not awakened until we leave the world of nature, we will not be prosperous.

Once we are awakened, finding and passing the direct path, to which the Almighty God has ordered us, i.e. “the way towards Him”, triggers us to avoid the deviations. We will pay attention to God and to His rules as much as it concerns our will. We will pass the way to which we are taken willingly. When we are transferred to the other world, we will see all happiness and light in contrast to this world, which is the world of darkness; “*Darkness above all other Darkness.*”¹ If we know and perform our duties, as prescribed by the Almighty God if we are awakened, and rise up for “Allah” and if we go through the direct path, then we will be led to happiness. One of the uprisings is the one provided the masters of spiritual journey. In their views, the above-mentioned verse cites this spiritual journey or some of its contents.

Avoiding carnal desires in uprising for God

One on the surface meaning of the verse is to try to rise up for “Allah”, whether individually or collectively. Do not just rise up. All groups in the world-by the deviants or non-deviants make revolutions; but the one to which the Almighty God has preached mankind, is the revolution for “Allah”-one which is not spattered with carnal desires, satanic temptations, and the world.

Women’s role in revolution and reconstructing effort

You should express your gratitude to the ladies who took firm steps and who rendered great help to the nation. They took to the streets, shouting, attending funeral procession, encouraging the men and multiplying their strength. Therefore, in addition to strengthening yourselves, you strengthened others too. We sometimes see women who are working in Reconstruction Jihad. Of course, women are notable to work like a farmer or a skillful person; but by going among the farmers and working with them as much as they can, they multiply the farmers’ strength. Seeing the honorable and educated women coming from cities into the village, working with their brothers in faith multiplies this strength. This is a very valuable act on the part of women. Although the act may be insignificant in material terms, it is highly significant in spiritual light. The students joining the farmers and the

¹ Surah Nur, 24: 40.

different classes of the society supporting them will also give the farmers more strength.

Spiritual volume of an action

What increases the volume of an action, although its material volume is very low, is the sincerity of the action and its performance “for the sake of Allah.” An action may have a very low material volume, yet the highest spiritual volume. “*There is no God but God*” is a phrase consists of a few words, but it carries the highest splendor and spiritual volume of all or most. When action is associated with sincerity it will gain spiritual volume. Sincerity is regarded as the spirit of an action. Human being is not regarded as such just because of this material aspect; if it is so the animals have his volume more than humans. The privilege the human beings have over animals is the spiritual aspect and the edified soul. The soul, which receives divine training, enjoys higher spiritual volume, which you should strive to increase.

Attempt to increase the spiritual value of action

Try to increase your spirituality, during your education and working. Try to edify your soul and to act according to which you have been invited by God. Improve your behavior, etiquette and spirituality in such a way that you would wish happiness for the entire world be a human being who treats as to kindly. The Holy Prophet, he felt deep sorrow as to why they didn't accept Islam and you're experiencing those punishments.

Try to treat your brother and sisters in faith the people kindly and to love them. Try to advance Islamic rules and the revolution. If the revolution is fulfilled—God willing—and if we can establish Islam in Iran and get the country rid of the difficulties, making an Islamic country in its full; sense, then it would be an example not only for Islamic countries but also for all countries in the world. Try to strengthen the revolution so that all Islamic rules might be revived.

May God protect you and make you healthy and prosperous and endow you with knowledge and piety! May peace and Mercy and Blessing of Allah be upon you!

Speech

Date: October 9, 1979 [Mehr 17, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing the purposes of Islam

Audience: Ancient athletes and the champions across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Joyful days of victory and unity

What joyful days you are spending, days when you forced the enemy to withdraw. All people were united. Athletes and champions were with us, clergymen with other classes, and armed forces with you and you with armed forces advancing Islamic goals with one voice. One of the Islamic goals consists of the independence of the country, freedom for all, and the honor of all Islamic nations. I hope you, the champions, be of great use for your country and that Islamic revolution move forward with your endeavor and the efforts of, the zealous youth, and other layers of the society to make an independent, free and religious country, devoid of evils forces are dominated by the faithful. I hope that we can achieve our wishes through the efforts of you champions and other layers of people fulfillment of Islam, under which we would have everything.

Fear of Islam not justifiable

I do not know what in Islam causes these people to fear Islam? Do they fear lest Islam might not be able to preserve their independence? But it was Islam that freed the country from the clutches of foreigners and the great powers. Can Islam, which defeated all the powers supporting the regime, not protect the country? Islam forced all these countries—at the top of which was the U.S to retreat, pulling out the country from the throat of foreigners. Are they fearful lest they would lose their sovereignty? Are they sympathetic to their country and their nation and fear driving out the freedom might be do they fear the nation? Islam has offered freedom to the nation as a gift. Or do they fear Islam to give away Iran's resources to foreigners—the Islam that has attempted to preserve the resources for the nation, plunder from the country? Do they fear the resources to be dissipated?

Fear of deviants and affiliates to the former regime

What I understand is that some of these persons have been deceived and some of them are knowingly spiteful. They fear lest Islam might not let them line their pockets. They fear lest Islam should not let these plundering persist. They are not compassionate to the people and the country. I do not mean all of them, but those deviants and affiliates to the former regime. They do not want Islam to be fulfilled but want your country to remain dependent on the East and the West, since they see their interests in it. The plunderers, as you saw, plundered billions of dollars and after Shah left the country, most of them too, withdrawing their money, left Iran! They fear if Islam finds reality in all its aspects, they and their master would lose their grip over the country, putting stop to their plundering. Foregoing this, they feel concerned about the people and the country Islam restores our country. It was the power of Islam and the public faith that provided us with the victories.

Islam secures independence throughout the course of history

Throughout the course of history beginning Islam was not harmful to anybody. In the government of Imam Ali ibn Abitalib, who can claim to have been oppressed and who can claim independence was lost country's resources were dissipated? In a government ruled by Ali ibn Abitalib (a), who can claim defects were present in the government?

We want a country ruled by the Shiites of Imam Ali (a) and Muslims having appreciated Islam in its real sense. We want a country characterized by Islam, ranging from its Consultative Assembly to the Assembly of Experts, army, markets and sport clubs, in which case we would fear nothing Muslim, can not bring harm to each other. "*Verily, the Faithful are all brethren.*"¹ So Quran made a brotherhood contract. They are afraid lest Islam might be fulfilled and they lose their interests! Foregoing this, our nation wants Islam because they do not suffer any harm from Islam and because Islam is to their interest. If Islam were fulfilled, all classes of the society would live in comfort, and would prepare themselves for the Hereafter.

May God preserve you champions for us and favor you with an extraordinary power. May you achieve inner spiritual power and edify your souls, as you are, God willing! May God sanction you? May peace and mercy of Allah be upon you!

¹ Surah al-Hujurat 49: 10.

Speech

Date: October 9, 1979 [Mehr 17, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance and duties of city councils—two major duties of athletes

Audience: Athletes of ancient sports and nationwide champions

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of city councils

I am delighted at meeting two groups of athletes and champions today. Since the gentlemen are from different cities, I deem it necessary to tell them about the concern we are embroiled in today so that you may preach it to your brothers in your cities after return. I mean the question of city councils, which should be established in [big] cities and then in other places as well, God willing. These councils, the members of which would be elected by the people, decide the fate of every city and town in which the councils are established.

Characteristics of the members of the city councils

Thing which is necessary for all the gentlemen, the youth and adult and for all classes of the society is to open their eyes and carefully elect individuals who have the following specific features: First, they should be faithful to the revolution; second, be in favor of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the people; third, be trustworthy; fourth support Islam, not the East or West and should have no ideological deviations so that they may serve the interest of their nation and their cities. If, God forbid, you neglect this point and the devils that move around, showing themselves to the people by saving appearances, then it would be dangerous to the councils and cities and to the country and Islam.

Necessity of determining the competency of city council candidates

The great responsibility shouldered by the whole nation including you who are champions of the nations, is that we are falling on a time that many of the roots of the former corrupted regime's roots are still among the people and may infiltrate the rank of the nation by ostentation. They must be identified. In each province some 10 or 15 candidate should be elected—the

number will be determined. Every person in every town knows e.g. which clergyman is competent for this task and is sympathetic to the nation. If there are a candidate among other trades e.g. businessmen, workers and the farmers, the people should know their records, family background, and what position they held in *taghuti* regime. If the people do not consider these points carefully, they would be accountable to God. If there will be any difficulty in the future because of our selection we would be greatly accountable.

Islam may be in danger today. If incompetent persons take charge of affairs in a city, doing wrong things, they are not only harmful for that city but also mar the image of Islam. Those who act maliciously are against you, Islam and I. They want to select candidates that would try to make a separation between the affairs and Islam as much as they can. However we want to act according to Islam. Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow the candidates may be introduced, so you shouldn't consider the city council, the members of which you must elect, as an easy and unimportant matter.

Major duties of city council

The city council means taking charge of all affairs of the city, appointing the mayor. The councils supervise the bazaar and everywhere. They have authorities. If, God forbid, incompetent persons were elected, they would be harmful for the cities and for Islam.

So it is an important issue you should take under consideration and communicate this to your friends and scholars in your towns to make them aware that they cast their votes knowingly.

This is the matter you should take under consideration and should perform it. There are other stages we should discuss later, in our own right.

First, it is the matter of establishing and electing the members of Islamic Consultative Assembly, which would have all state affairs under its control; the other matter is the presidential elections, God willing.

Two major duties of athletes

I hope that we will go through these stages with the endeavor of all classes of the society and that those opposing these suffer defeat as they did in the referendum, with the Muslim emerging triumphant. May God protect you all, God willing! As explained efficiently by a gentleman, the athletes have two major duties: first physical exercises to become bodily to defend their country against the adversaries who want to attack and second, developing spiritually which multiplies one's physical strength.

Try to produce the latter one, which is a divine power, with the grace of Islam and commander of the Faithful (*a*) to become a powerful man both physically and spiritually. I will also pray for you and I am servant of you all. May God protect you all!

Speech

Date: October 9, 1979 a.m. [Mehr 17, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l Qadah 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Equality and fraternity of all in enhancing the revolution

Audience: Personnel of the army ground forces cadets Training Center

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

These days are blessed for our nation. You have defeated the *taghuti* powers, curtailing the influence of foreigners over your country. I hope these days will become holier if this influence no longer recurs. Holier than that would be the day when Islamic Republic is actualized with an Islamic content and when all classes of the society become Islamic. One blessed day is when you meet Army Trainees in brotherly terms and, applaud them warmly. These things should be done in Islamic Republic of Iran.

You should all enhance the revolution, embracing each other with a feeling of equality and fraternity, and curb the influence of foreigners and their agents, some of whom are still brewing plot against your country.

I express my gratitude to all classes of the society, the armed forces and the youth who marched here just now and pray to the Almighty God for their health.

I want all of you to forget any ill feeling in your hearts, being all like brothers to each other, and attempting in the cause of Islam. If you have difficulties individual or, it is hoped that all of them will be removed by establishing a just Islamic government.

Try to be unified and to identify and ostracize the traitors. May God have favor on you!

I express my gratitude to all and pray for all of you. I am the servant of the whole nation, army and all classes of the society.

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

Reply to a Query

Date: October 1979 [Mehr 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Usurping farmlands and farming on them

Inquirer: Ali Izadi (The Minister of Agriculture of Transitional government)

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

His Most Eminence, Supreme Leader of the Revolution, the Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini (May his benign existence endure),

His Eminence is kindly asked to notify a written order to elaborate on following details, which are the concerns of the people and the state officials:

1- Despite the fact that your Eminence's binding orders calling for regarding necessity of greater effort of farmers and expansion of cultivation area are construed to mean in logical and conceptual sense, everyone's legitimate labor on the land owned by him/her in religious and legal terms, unfortunately a number of anti revolutionaries and opportunists in some regions have confused the simple minds of the rural people, pretending that farming on the lands of other people without their permission is tantamount to obeying the order of the Imam and being regarded as development of the area under cultivation. His Eminence is kindly begged to issue a decree to remove such misgivings.]

In His Most Exalted Name

Usurping the lands of others for cultivation or other purposes is unlawful and forcible expansion of lands for cultivation is not permissible and must be avoided.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-khomeini

[2- A number of people are making speeches and releasing statements to inculcate the idea that whoever plows and sows seeds on other's land forcibly and without permission can continue with his usurping control until

the day of harvesting the crop. Your Eminence is begged to communicate your idea as to whether it is possible to dispossess such usurpers prior to harvest of the crop and determining the limits of religious surety for the usurper.]

In His Most Exalted Name

The usurper must immediately return the land to its owner and the owner of the land can empty the usurper's crop out of his land even before the time of harvest.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Finally, His Eminence's permission is begged to get the text of the religious edict for information of the public, especially the farmers and rural population in villages and farm lands throughout the country so as to prevent forcible usurpation, particularly at the start of the season of autumn cultivation as far as possible with the help of the supreme leader's orders, thus contributing to restoration of order and peace in rural regions.

With best regards

Ali Izadi

Speech

Date: October 10, 1979 [Mehr 18, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 18, 1399AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Incidents in Kurdistan—reconstructing the country—city council elections

Audience: Members of Reconstruction *Jihad* headquarters in Yazd

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gradual purge of traitors in Kurdistan

I should first express a few words about the unpleasant incidents in Kurdistan.

Neither the events in Kurdistan are unsolvable, nor is the government or the people unable to suppress the rebels. But since we consider the Kurdish people of our number and they do too, we are not separated. If we want to treat very intensely, we fear lest our Kurdish brothers would sustain great damages. Therefore, we want to purge the traitors moderately—suppress them neither mildly nor severely. Know that these traitors are nothing and have set up a defensive posture, posing in an inefficient manner as guerillas, killing people and escaping into the forests from where they are gone to hell, God willing. The government forces and combatants all would move forward and the borderlines would be taken under control, blocking the path through which they are aided.

I should notify the Kurdish people that although all of the rebels excluding the leading traitors, unfortunately some of them are seen having been deceived by the democrats, imagining that they want to serve them. They should, however, know that the democrats could do nothing but sabotage. In reality, they do not want to serve the Kurdish people. Their relationship with the foreigners, the Zionist regime, the United States and the former regime was undeniable. They are serving them and want the Kurdish people if they can the whole country to remain dependent on the foreign countries and under the former pressure.

Necessity of Kurdish people's vigilance against traitors

The Kurdish people should be awakened, introducing the traitors and assisting the government forces to purge them. And we do not want to suppress them using an extraordinary power and acting so toughly, that may, God forbid, cause our Kurdish brothers to be trampled. Foregoing this, there

is nothing to it for us to suppress them and to settle the incidents in one day or two. We must avoid this because of our Kurdish brothers and sisters who live there. If they are separate from the people leave the cities and go into the forests, then we would settle the question once for all. In any case, our Kurdish brothers should know that these rebels come from a clan that wants to sabotage not to serve the people. These are the ones who put pressure on you, killed the Iranian youth and set fire to the harvests. They dissuaded the workers from working with the aim of stopping the cycle of economy from running and serving the foreigners to give rise to disturbance and mischief. May they are uprooted as soon as possible, God willing!

Expressing satisfaction with reconstruction efforts

As for Reconstruction *Jihad*, I feel a great pleasure watching brothers and sisters on T.V serving the weak people and thus multiply their strength. When you go to villages and serving them, they get encouraged to work harder. I hope all affairs would be improved with the power of Islam with which we were associated from the beginning until now and persisting in the future, God willing. The change introduced in our youth, brothers and sisters and the spirit of cooperation, serving the people and Islam are promising signs showing that all things would be accomplished with the power of faith prevailing among the nation.

Sufficient attention to electing members of city councils

I hope that the gentlemen everywhere deal seriously with the matters before us, including the city councils, lest corrupt people might find their way into the councils, which are in charge of all affairs in a town. If, God forbid, corrupt individuals find their way into the councils, they may corrupt a town and the country if not Islam. You should be careful enough to know and to study the records of those you want to elect. The people in every city know the reliable persons and trustees there. They should identify and elect ten to fifteen candidates, investigating into their records in the former regime and during the revolution from the beginning till now. Their family background and beliefs and how knowledgeable they are should be examined. Select such pious and faithful persons who are loyal to the Islamic Revolution and Islamic Republic of Iran and who are not tilted towards devious ideologies to assume charge of civil affairs, performing them according to the interests of the people their town, God willing. I express my gratitude to all of you and am delighted at this sense of your cooperation. I wish I could join the reconstruction effort once. But I have numerous

excuses, not to mention that I cannot basically render any physical service. The only service I can render is to pray for you. May God protect you and grant you success and assist you all, God willing! May peace, mercy and blessing of Allah be upon you!

Decree

Date: October 11, 1979 [Mehr 19, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l Qadah 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of compliance with the request of residents of Rasht stay in the city to officiate their religious and social activities

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Aminiyan

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellence, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Aminiyan (May his Blessings last long),

I received a letter signed by numerous residents and traders of Rasht appreciating your religious programs during the holy month of Ramadan, demanding your permanent residence in the city of Rasht. You are advised to accept the invitation of the honorable residents and to go there to meet their urgent need for guiding them towards their religious and social duties. I pray to God Almighty for the success of all of you. It is hoped that the honorable residents also appreciate His Eminence, not withholding the necessary cooperation in performing their duties. May peace and mercy of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: October 11, 1979 [Mehr 19, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l Qadah 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Confronting with the enemy's wicked actions—Observing religious standarts

Audience: Clergymen of Tajrish region, Northern Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Enemy's weakness in wicked measures

Although the incident of the martyred guards is sorrowful, another sorrowful matter is why society should be so decadent and some individuals so mean and ungodly to commit such crimes. While Islam is for all and to the interest of the poor society, such people have not yet understood Islam. They have neither understood Islam, nor do they pay attention to the poor. While the incidents are regretful, they indicate their weakness. Do not imagine that they are doing important things. They are like some thieves hidden in caches and committing a crime suddenly. But rest assured that they could do nothing significant since they have suffered a significant defeat. Their chiefs have escaped and the remaining ones would be destroyed, God willing. Our nation should move forward as they proceeded and be strong.

You are a nation that hit the empires and super powers on the mouth, so do not succumb to fear of such trivial offences as performed by a group of thieves and smugglers.

Preserving the life of innocent people in dealing with the enemy

If we were not compelled to make allowance for our brothers in Kurdistan and if were to act toughly these brothers would be hurt, God forbid, we could let them die in tow days. But unfortunately they are mixed with the people, so we cannot act toughly unless they take shelter in the mountains or forests. Our Kurdish brothers should be note that they are some traitors, intending to hand the country over to the plunderers as before. You should be awakened and not let these traitors thrive and work sabotaged. Introduce them to the government forces to be detained and punished. May God get Islam and the Muslim rid of these vicious persons!

Giving no pretext to the enemy

As for your concerns, we must all take this burden to its destination. The important thing here is that every comate force, guard and revolutionary court in every place shoulders a heavy duty since they bear the name of Islam and Islamic Republic. It is a heavy duty both for *ulama* who serve as leaders and honorable guards, who are our brothers. So are the courts comate guards. If, God forbid, once an offence is committed by some courts, guards and especially people clad in clerical dress in the present marked situation Islamic and at the time when the Islamic Republic of Iran is stabilized both inside and outside of the country, then the enemies may take it as an excuse to misrepresent Islam.

Necessity of acting in accordance with divinely and religious standards

Today, the foreigners who had interests in Iran, whose interests are at stake and who will no longer regain these interests are now engaged in some propaganda in foreign press, spreading baseless statements. Sometimes, they raise objection to the executions and another time to other things. Of course they must complain, but we should not give them excuse. We should act according to divinely and religious standards.

Today, I received a letter from one of the *ulama* of Shiraz. I was reading just now. He has complained about retributions not being executed in accordance with the law in some parts of the country. For this reason it is better to let them be executed once a lawful precept is found. Since they may be executed against the lawful precepts now, so a pause must be made lest they might not be executed against what holy Prophet has ordered. The retributions should be executed of course under the supervision of a just religious jurist and in accordance with the law. If under consideration, a crime e.g. as committing adultery would be proven less; since four just persons should testify that I observed it as you see "*a bodkin in the collybrium*". And how could such an action be proven, and if the criminal confesses, he/she must do it four times, provided that the judge advises him/her saying if you confess, the retribution would be executed, and you are making mistake, as the holy Prophet does not want these crimes to be committed.

Great consideration of executing the lawful retributions

If, God forbid, one began executing a law just as a crime is committed or someone is accused of doing an offence, it is against God's pleasure and against Islam, and the revolution bringing disgrace on them and, God forbid,

causing Islam to be misrepresented; whereas according to the terms Islam has stated and determined less crimes would be proven; if it is proven it should be done under the supervision of a just religious jurist. Disorder should not be made in such a way that every one who has made an offence in every corner could execute the retribution. The retributions cannot be executed unless careful considerations are given lest our enemies might not misrepresent Islam's face. These are the matters we are obliged to taken into great consideration.

We are now in a situation that Islam might be represented truly or wrongfully. If it is represented truly, it is hoped that all the people move towards it if we fail to do so, we would suffer a debacle; a permanent defeat not a temporary one. If we cannot do anything now, we can do it never. May God grant success to you all! I am thankful and the servant of you all. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Speech

Date: October 12, 1979 [Mehr 20, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Prophets' Basic aim to educate man

Audience: Female members of Isfahan Charity Institution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Women's part in the revolution

I express my gratitude, to the honorable ladies and the dear sisters who came here to meet me. I pray to Almighty God for the happiness and health of Iranian nation.

You, sisters, played a significant part in the revolution; you were helpful everywhere and leading position as compared to men. You emboldened them for reason of which I am thankful of you again. Since we are in the middle of the way and there are also other stages we should follow, I hope you pass the remaining part of this road strongly and faithfully; until our revolution—which is an Islamic revolution—is fulfilled and Islam is established in Iran and other places as the Almighty God wills.

Training the people is the prophets' goal

At the top of all affairs is human training. All the prophets have come to train the people and to actualize their potential capabilities in order to make a potential person and actual one, a person who is resistant in his works and beliefs and who moves in the straight path.

The ladies who support their children should be careful to train them humanly. Those who support a group of people should invite them to the straight path of God, leading a person from defection to perfection and from darkness to the illumination.

The Almighty God has invited the people to move from darkness towards the light and not to remain in darkness. Deviating actions are marked by darkness; wicked deeds are darkness; evil acts are darkness. Light is what God has called us on and Islam has guided the people.

Try to exercise Islamic precepts and urge others to do so. As a person is obliged to correct himself, he/she is also obliged to correct others. The principle of "enjoining the good and forbidding the bad" is to correct the society.

Freedom and independence, fruit of resorting to Islam

Our society fell into a decline in time of *Taghut*; and the main thing was that they corrupted our youth both men and women. The whole fifty years passed in delinquency.

Now that praise be to God corrupt regime has fallen and, God willing, no such regimes would return anymore, we hope we can make everything Islamic. Train the people to act and to behave according to Islamic and human principles.

If you want your country to be independent, setting yourselves free from the yoke of the difficulties of foreigners, you should have recourse to Islam. It was Islam and the slogan of "God is the Greatest" that led you to victory. I hope these shouts and interests in Islam to be preserved; and we reach where we deserve and our country is prosperous.

I have not given permission to such agencies to use the Imam's share, but in case of your institute, I permitted these who are in Isfahan can help the invalid of the institute using the Imam's share.

May God make all of you prosperous, and all of us the servants of Islam and the dear country!

Speech

Date: October 12, 1979 11:30 p.m. [Mehr 20, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance of Judgment in Islam

Audience: Participants in the seminar of revolutionary courts and religious rulers across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Extraordinary importance of judgment

I should first say in general terms that judgment is a very crucial question. You judges have a very perilous task. If you consider the traditions, you will see how difficult matter it is. You deal with the reputation, lives, and the property of the people. If God forbid, you do not judge carefully and efficiently, you are religiously responsible for the matter itself you are judges, in the Islamic Republic. Islamic Republic may put it in danger, defacing it. You know that different people with evil grudges are planning now to damage the image of IRI. One-way to do this is through the courts. If God forbid courts commit an offence, this will not only damage the IRI but also Islam. If the damage was inflicted on people, no matter however wrong it is. You may present a bright image of Islam as it is or, God forbid, misrepresent it. If it is so, then the enemies would add fuel on it, complain we were once embroiled in difficulties of the former regime and now in the Aba¹ and turban. Of course whatever good deeds you do they will continue complaining, but giving excuse to them is another matter. We do not fear if they say or write something against us. Those who are whether inside or outside the country and who have lost their interests i.e. their satanic interests, will complain and make uproar. They may sometimes say baseless statements and sometimes we may give them excuse. If once an excuse is given to them, they will exaggerate it as they wish. Now that you have punished a group of criminals of whose crimes all of the people were informed, their adherents abroad started complaining as you saw. We do not expect those who have lost whatever they had to treat us peacefully. They must of course support Nasiri,² Huwayda,³ Muhammad-Rida and so forth

¹ Traditional flowing cloak worn by Muslim clerics.

² Nimatullah NaSiri, head of SAVAK at the Shah's regime.

³ Amir Abbas Huwayda, he was the prime minister at the Shah's regime for 13 years.

because they showed the way and assisted them in plundering. We didn't expect them not to mean for them. But the grave responsibility we have is that we must not give them any excuse. So the jurists or the public prosecutors in the courts or the policemen must be careful not to commit an offence, God forbid because they are all the members of Islamic Republic of Iran, then all their tasks should be Islamic.

Independence of judge in judging

You know how significant judgment is at the beginning. You deal with things on which the reputation of the people hinges and you should judge cautiously and strongly.

A criminal should be punished and no recommendation should be accepted from anyone. I have said repeatedly that if anyone receives a letter of recommendation on behalf of me, my office or those who are related to me, hit it to the wall. The judge should be under the influence of no one and should be free and judge freely, paying attention to no recommendation. If there is a just recommendation, then you must of course examine it. Supposing that there is no recommendation, you should investigate the case. But if God forbid, there is an unjust recommendation, you should not pay attention to it. The judge is in any case an independent person who should comment on the case he, but should know that God witnesses his actions too. You may disgrace a Muslim or administer rights with the pen you hold in your hand, so you should be careful that God is Omnipresent and Omniscient.

Necessity of caution in executing retributions

On the case of those offences, which are related to revolutionary courts, it is you to recognize. There are other cases as well e.g. the lies whose verification is very difficult and for which there are retributions in religious law. For example in the case of "adultery" four just men should testify just like bodkin in the collybrum.'

The Almighty God does not wish such cases to be revealed soon. The reputation of the people should be preserved even though they might be sinful. If one confesses for the first time that he has committed adultery, it should not be accepted. One should be advised if one's crime is proven, one would be stoned to death. Then must be given a grace period. If one confessed it for the second time, one should be advised again to forget such wicked deeds, and if one confesses it for the fourth time, then the retribution

must be executed under the supervision of a just Mujtahid, not in chaotic way. One of the honorable *ulama* of Shiraz has written a letter to me—yesterday or the day before yesterday—saying that lawful aspects and retribution of offences as for e.g. “adultery” are not taken into consideration and they are executed very soon. He has asked me to work out a solution. Now that you gentlemen are present here it is the best opportunity to tell you not to treat such matters perfunctorily. You should listen to such words not forgetting them and arguing that they are not related to the revolution. If you are involved in these matters, you should treat them in accordance with the religious precepts, as the holy Prophet has said. We are not allowed to whip, imprison or execute whomever we want. There is the matter of Muslims’ reputation, which should be preserved. If once a person comes informing that such and such person has done an offence, you should first consider if the informer is a just person or not. If twenty persons testify that an offense has been committed, you should not pay attention. Witness must be “just” so that their testimonies are accepted. Suppose that ten people who are not proven to be just come to the court, testifying that one has a bad reputation for committing e.g. adultery. But such a reputation about such a secret affair is not possible. A thief may make a reputation for himself somewhere but about such prostitution that take places in different places, a reputation may not be made, so no one can be assured of it. What remains is the testimony of the witness or the confession of the criminal himself, which must be done repeatedly after one, is advised against them, so that the retribution might not be executed as far as possible.

Law enforcement Forces obliged to comply with the law

The Law Enforcement Forces are not allowed to go immediately to the door of someone’s home just as they hear one has, God forbids, done such and such offence, except that an order is issued by the court and according to the religious precepts. Going to the people’s home without permission is against the law.

No one is allowed to insult a person, although one is against such and such matters. It is right just to punish but not to insult him. No one should go into his house insulting his family. We want Islam so we should not act in such a way that people say the courts in *taghuti* regime never did such things! You, gentlemen, should solve this problem; otherwise, you are not obliged to be jurists. If you can perform things according to the principles of judgment and Islamic precepts, you should do so, if not and if you are actually limited in action, you can leave this responsibility. In any case,

judgment is a significant matter not just because of the judgment itself but because when the judgment is done in a place where people want to damage Islam, its importance multiplied. Of course, when it is done in a place where people do not want to damage Islam, I must say that the matter of judgment is also significant. The jurists, prosecutors, policemen, IRGCs and committees should all perform according to religious law. A guard is not allowed to act without the permission of the jurist or the prosecutor, and if he is ordered on a duty, he has no right to violate the law and no disorder should be made.

Rejecting disorder in the revolution

Should we make disorder now that we have made a revolution?! Revolution should be based on Islamic precepts. We should not just name it "revolution" and do whatever we wish.

What is the meaning of the revolutionary? Does Islam change by the revolution? Islam is the same Islam as before. You have laid aside a *taghuti* power and now you want to establish Islam and Islamic rules so you should examine these matters very cautiously lest innocent people might not be slandered intentionally. As you see, nowadays are the days of slander! I wonder why every one accuses whomever he likes. These people do not know what punishment God prescribes for slandering a pious person and what back biting a pious person means so in fact defaming a man of piety is synonymous with defaming Allah. Every person levels accusation against anyone any time. Of course, there are groups of people who want to slander others but fear some individuals.

Enemy's attempt to eliminate qualified people

The first day I came in Iran, the enemies of Islam, imagining that I do not know them, started to write letters to me against several people, immediately after their arrival in Iran, including Mr. Yazdi,¹ Mr. Bani-Sadr² and Qutbzadeh³ whom I know for about twenty years and who were active abroad for twenty years against the former regime, calling them American agents, voicing doubt as to whether they knew Persian at all. They say Mr. Yazdi is American wondering whether he knows Persian at all! Why should a man be so? Now that they have been disappointed in them, they are setting

¹ Mr. Ibrahim Yazdi was the foreign minister of the transitional state when this speech was made.

² Mr. Abu'l-Hasan Bani-Sadr was the first Islamic Republic of Iran president.

³ Mr. Sadiq Qutbzadeh was the chief of the radio and television at the time of this speech.

against other classes of the society and against a man like Mr. Beheshti about whom I know everything and a man who has studied and accompanied me for more than twenty years. They are fearful of Mr. Beheshti because he is a suitable man and they do not like such people to be in the scene and want to dishonor or kill whoever is serving the people somewhere, one by one.

Today a group of people came to me saying the people talk very ill about Beheshti whom I know closely for more than twenty years. They think since they have just come from abroad and I saw them recently, I do not know them, but I knew them. They are pious men who can serve Islam. If I lay aside those who can serve Islam one by one, dispossessing them, then who would remain! Nowadays, it is common to speak ill of whoever is in the government, city councils, and courts, something, which must be avoided. I do not know what kind of persons they are. Unfortunately, there are also some credulous persons among our youth who as it is said that such and such person is e.g. American or English; they believe it soon. The American and English agents themselves are planning to defame justifiable persons calling them American or English because they themselves are defamed. These agents know what the Iranian people understand of the concept of an English name.

Slandering the clergymen by calling them English agents

I remember thirty or forty years ago when English agents wanted to boycott the clerics, they called them English. They themselves were injecting in the minds of the people to say so to defame them. Nowadays, it is common to call justifiable persons American. The American or their agents inject the people to call them American in order to disgrace them. And unfortunately some optimistic people believe it soon, repeating the same words without any consideration. I saw it was written somewhere that Mr. Yazdi and Mr. Beheshti¹ whom I know for about thirty years had gone to such and such person asking him to do something for Bakhtiyar.² But Mr. Yazdi was always against Bakhtiyar when I was there, and Mr. Beheshti did not say a word about him whenever he came to me. Then, why should a Muslim disgrace another Muslim? I did not want to name individuals but I deem it my religious duty to support a Muslim who was useful and has served us and Islam for twenty years and whom the enemy wanted to dishonor. Tomorrow, they will speak ill of you and of others; I wonder when it will be my turn.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti was the chief of the state High Court of justice when this speech was made.

² Shapur Bakhtiyar; the outgoing PM of Shah's regime.

The fact is that they want to disarm and boycott us one by one; what remain would be the corrupt and malicious people.

Alarming the Iranian youth and nation

The Iranian university students and other classes of the nation should consider and know that those malicious people, who came into the universities, making false propaganda and dishonoring the respectful people, have evil intentions. They do not want this revolution to be fulfilled and want the former situation to be restored again.

I hope these malicious people cannot have any essential damage to our revolution, and these matters will be solved by the endeavor of all gentlemen—the clerics, the jurists, the prosecutors and all classes of the society—and Islam will be actualized abroad as willed by the Almighty.

Status of special court of clerics

Let me say a word that, the Almighty God knows, I am tougher with the corrupt *mullahs* than other people. One SAVAK (Shah's notorious secret police) agent is more respectful to me than a corrupt *mullah*. God Almighty knows that the special court of clerics is not to defend the clerics but to disarm a group of malicious people who are aiming to disgrace honorable persons. The gentlemen have proposed such a court to be established in their environment because they know these persons. Otherwise, these *mullahs* are not different from others. Actually, they are. The devil and mischief acts of a corrupt *mullah* are more damaging than others. The damage Islam sustains at the hands of a corrupt *mullah* is greater than that inflicted by Muhammad-Rida! There are some traditions saying, men of hell are bothered by the fetid smell of the corrupt clerics. In this world the people are also bothered by their fetid smell. We do not support the turban; we support Islam. If Islam is with everyone, he will be dignified. Being treacherous to the precepts of Islam on behalf of a cleric is worse than a non-cleric because the former is more harmful than others. There is no purpose behind establishing these courts and it makes no difference if they want to change them into the common public courts.

Decree

Date: October 13, 1979 [Mehr 21, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Friday Prayer Imam of Hamedan and taking charge of financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Asadullah Madani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Sayyid al-Ulama al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Asadullah Madani (May his blessings last long),

According to reports coming from Hamedan, there are disorders observable in the city. There is the fear that devious Islamic groups raise voices to counter Islamic Revolution. Though you are one of the candidates of the Assembly of Experts, His Eminence is asked to go for ten to fourteen days to Hamedan for the time being to examine the situation in the region, watching closely and carefully the conditions and activities of these groups.

After the constitution of the Assembly of Experts, you may go there for a long time to examine the situation and put down the inflammatory condition, examining and reforming the related religious affairs and the difficulties of the town and related regions.

You are endowed with scholarly and practical merits, so you deserve to be appointed as the Friday prayer Imam of the city of Hamedan. Since *wilayat-e faqih* is in charge of appointing Friday prayer leader, no one could take the charge without being appointed by *wilayat-e faqih*.

You have also my permission to determine the religious jurists for the courts of the town or the suburbs. The honorable and pious residents of the city are obliged to support you decisively and to make the most use of your presence.

He represents me to collect and spend religious sums on determined cases. The honorable residents may give their religious sums to him who is trustworthy. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon His pious servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: October 13, 1979 [Mehr 21, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of representative In Quchan

Addressee: Ramadan-Ali Quchani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ramadan-Ali Quchani (May his blessings last long),

I received a scroll with the signature of many of the honorable clerics and residents of the town of Quchan, requesting you to go and stay there for guiding, preaching, attending to religious matters, performing congregational prayer and meeting the needs of the city's residents. In view of the timing and your familiarity with the region, you are advised to call the residents to unity and solidarity while fulfilling your religious obligations.

It is hoped that the residents would appreciate your presence and not spare you the cooperation requisite to forwarding the noble goals of Islam. I implore the Almighty God to grant success to you all. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: October 13, 1979 [Mehr 21, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of the receipt of check and pronouncing terms of solemnizing one's vow

Audience: Jafar Saburi—Kashan

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat-al-Islam Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi (May his blessings last long),

I received your kind letter enclosed with a check for the sum of 1,000,000 Rls. As for the three tracts of carpets you have noted, if the vow of the carpets' owner has fulfilled the terms of religious vow, he/she should wait until the obstacle is removed and taken to the same holy places. If the vow has not been religiously inspired—as is the case predominantly—you can spend it on whatever purpose he/she likes. I implore God to keep you successful. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah 21, 1399 AH

Speeches

Date: October 14, 1979 [Mehr 22, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity for unity of world Muslims

Audience: Abu Jihad (al-Fath Military Commander), Mr. Bani al-Hasan (the representative of PLO's Iran office)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Imam: How is Mr. Abu Ammar?¹

[Abu Jihad: Praise belongs to Allah. He is busy fighting and moving from one place to another.]

Imam: I hope he will take up residence in Quds soon, God willing.

[Abu Jihad: God willing! We hope we can welcome you in Quds soon.]

Imam: We also wish to stand on prayer in Quds along with you, God willing.

[Abu Jihad: With the struggle and support of believers! It is by devoted action that we can set Quds free, God willing. All of us have the same wish that can be achieved by perseverance and resistance. Firm resolution of Muslims and their faith will bring us success.]

The Imam: By unity of expression of Muslims, especially Arab leaders. All the difficulties befallen our brothers in Quds during this long period of time are due to carelessness of Arab leaders. I have been recommending the leaders of Arab countries for over twenty years to brush aside regional differences and unify their ranks for advancing Islam and its objectives. I feel ashamed of seeing those acts done by a small number against more than one hundred million Arab populations and about seven to eight hundred million Muslim population. It is not an acceptable excuse to say that the United States is backing them; it also backed the Shah. You saw that when our nation got united, neither the Shah's satanic power nor the support of superpowers could resist. If the Arab population and their supreme leaders are unified, neither America nor other powers can do anything against them. Unfortunately, this is very difficult to be actualized. But I pray to the Almighty God to bring it true. I should add to my statements that although the nation was unarmed and with no military training, while they were equipped with military equipment and organized, as the nation was a united

¹ The nickname of Yasir Arafat, the leader of PLO.

power and more importantly relied on the Almighty God, shouting “God is the Greatest”, they moved forward and defeated all the powers. The Islamic states command all war materials, yet they fail to rise against such an element. In fact, some of them even commit treachery. May God awaken them and make the Muslims victorious.

Since we have the same difficulties as you do, we can understand your conditions. We are now facing the difficulties like the ones in Kurdistan. The foreign states have produced numerous problems for us by their agents in that region; they may also produce such confusions in Sistan and Baluchestan. *Jihad* for the sake of the Almighty God has difficulties, which the holy prophet and Muslims also faced in early Islam. However, since they were endowed with the power of faith, they could establish Islam in less than half a century in almost all the then inhabited world. In spite of all difficulties, you have the power of faith and you can rely on God. Reliance on God can remove all the difficulties, God willing. Problems are many and varied, yet firm will of the nation and more significant, reliance on the Almighty God will make the difficulties easy. We hope all your difficulties are removed. I implore God to draw our attention to Him and to eternal divine power more than before. By relying on the Almighty God, there would be no fear of anything and we will be victorious, God willing. Of course, the Muslims should be brothers to each other and share the difficulties with you, as I took some measures to solve your financial problems before. I hope we can remove both the spiritual and material problems together, God willing.

Speech

Date: October 20, 1979 [Mehr 28, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 28, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Success of struggle in the cause of God

Audience: Algerian high commissioner and his entourage

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank for your emotions. We do not consider this revolution as an Iranian revolution but an Islamic Revolution and the revolution of the oppressed against the arrogant powers. We share with you in the revolution. I hope that a day will come when the oppressed would rule over the arrogant powers and when Islam is established with its progressive contents all over the world, with all nations being awakened and rising up for Islam. It is hoped that Islamic states would have unity of expression, attempting to remove the difficulties of the weaker nations caused by the East and the West. God Almighty can remove the problems. While we are suffering from a lot of difficulties, we rely on the Almighty God. I hope all the problems and difficulties befallen us and the other Muslims would be settled with the help of God. We hope our Algerian brother nation can overcome the difficulties proudly and powerfully.

[Algerian Ambassador: We are now standing at an important historical juncture in Iranian history and understand that the struggles should persist. We are at your service, not a classic service, but being committed to serve you, the Iranian nation and Islam.]

I assure you that struggle for the sake of God is associated with victory. Our prayer is not to forget remembering Him.

[Algerian Ambassador: We frequently come to visit you to extend the greetings of the Muslim Algerian people to you. We have lived in Iran and among you, so we understand the situation. We hope the revolution, which is an Islamic and Quranic revolution, is actualized under your leadership and continue until final triumph. Of course, this is the wish cherished by every Muslim all over the world. The real Muslims will follow your positive way and footsteps, which are always taken in the interest of the Muslims.]

¹ In the book of *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this statement is dated as Mordad 26, 1358 AHS.

Speech

Date: October 21, 1979 [Mehr 29, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Highlighting the sensitive role of radio and television—encountering the plots—removing the disorders

Audience: IRIB External Service staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Important role of radio and television

I have repeatedly notified the gentlemen coming here from the state-run radio and television that this organization is the most critical one in the country. Other mass media apparatuses such as the print media are effective but for a special class. First, their circulation is not so wide as to cover all people in the country. Second, many of the people in the country are illiterate and thus cannot use them. Furthermore, it takes one to three days in order that the newspapers could reach the hands of the people living in areas far from the capital. But the radio is a device all classes of the society, literate or illiterate, can use.

The radio and television provide both audio and visual services. Today, radio and television can be reached in all villages in the country—and maybe small villages in other countries. They are not exclusive to a special group. Even the poor people try to reduce their expenses to buy a radio; most of them may have also television. What is aired by radio will reach the people all over the country as far as radio waves reach. If this medium is not corrupt, it can be of the greatest service to the country above all others. No preacher and no speaker can transmit his words beyond the range where he is speaking. Loudspeaker is used to cover a slightly wider range. However, radio reaches the villages, towns and abroad.

Education, mission of radio and television

If this organization is instructive, presents the problems of the country as they are, avoids diversions and those plotting against Islam and the country, attempting to mislead and corrupt the people by their programs, which are harmful to the nation, then it can be of great service to the people, the country and Islam. On the contrary, if, God forbid, it is becoming like the former organization, which was at the service of the *taghuti* regime, broadcasting programs against the Islamic revolution, showing pictures to

corrupt the youth for which our youth offered their blood, it can render the greatest treason to the country. Therefore, reforming this organization is to reform the society and corrupting it is to corrupt the society. Those who are in charge of broadcasting the programs in different languages have a great responsibility. You can broadcast programs, which may serve the revolution and Islam or programs that may, God forbid, misrepresent Islam and the revolution. Unfortunately, we are now in a situation that our enemies, whose interests are at stake and whose influence curtailed, try from every direction to trigger tension.

Islam rejects racism

One of the difficulties we are facing recently is the situation in Kurdistan in which some deviants propagate that the leaders of Islamic Republic of Iran want to exterminate the Kurdish people. People who are neither the friends of Kurds nor Turks and not even Persians make these propaganda operations. They are agents of foreigners, working to secure their interests.

I have repeatedly said to our Kurdish and Baluch brothers coming here that Islam has no such borders as are found in other creeds. It explicitly says that only God honors the pious people who go to the right way in life and who are not corrupt. Islam favors Arabs, non-Arabs and Turkish and Kurdish people equally. The Almighty God has blessed all with existence, rejecting difference between Kurdish, Turkish and Arab or non-Arab.

Although the holy Prophet was an Arab, he has been quoted as saying that there is no superiority of Arabs over non-Arabs or vice versa. All of them have descended from the same father and mother and are equal. While Islam underscores these concepts, the Islamic Republic of Iran also aims to fulfill the ideas. We have these ideas on top of our programs, but unfortunately evil propaganda ploys are brewed to undermine our efforts.

Evil propaganda to spur disunity

Outside of the country one form of propaganda efforts is in progress; outside of Iran a different form is presented. Outside of Iran, we are presented as dictator like Hitler or even worse than him. I am pictured as one who has ordered to cut women's breasts! Well. This is what they are propagating. However, in Kurdistan that is lying in our region, people are unfortunately engaged in propaganda. Some credulous people come to believe it. We are all brothers. They attack our Kurdish brothers and kill them. When people go to defend Kurdistan against the evildoers who are coming from abroad, in groups or sending guns, preacher and guerrilla to set

fire to the region, it is propagated that we want to kill Kurdish youth! They kill the Kurdish people themselves and charge the IRI with killing. They made such a scandal in the hospitals, but put the blame on IRI while they prevented their wicked acts. I received several papers yesterday bearing the signature of (People's Devotees) across Kurdistan, levelling whatever accusations against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Right, if Islamic Republic of Iran were minus Islam, then it would be meaningless. All of us and all our people chanted slogans in favor of Islam. We are now doing our best to exercise Islamic precepts and to eliminate the class differences, which they aggravated in Kurdistan in former regime. These matters went unconcerned then and at the same time crying that the region is the most backward part of the country.

Backwardness of Iran in the Shah's regime

I have repeatedly said that the inhabitants of every region are just aware of their own region; they imagine they have the most backward region in the country. When the Kurdish, Baluch and Bakhtiyari people come to me, they complain of being the most backward, hungry and miserable people of the country. It is because they have heard the Shah's propaganda and imagine that everywhere except their own is developed! Whereas, since I have come into Iran, different tribes came here saying the same thing. I said, "All of you are right". They hear something and see another thing. Hearing their propaganda and seeing their conditions, the Baluch imagine everywhere is developed but their own because they contradict what they hear and what they see.

There were a wide range of propaganda effort on the shah's "Great Civilization" and "The Gates of Great Civilization." However when you look your environment, you imagine other places have reached the great civilization except your own. But when we return, we find no developed region. Go to Tehran, the capital, and see whether the conditions of Kurdish or Baluch people are worse or those of the ghetto settlers in Tehran. When I sometimes watch them on television coming out of their homes resembling holes along with their children and when I watch their lives shown on TV, I should say they are much worse than those living in Kurdistan and Baluchistan.

Gentlemen! It was planned to make the country in such a way that it cannot progress at all, to plunder underground resources and to leave the nation hungry and miserable. Do not imagine that Kurdistan is the most backward part of the country. As the Baluch say about their region,

Baluchistan assumes it to be worse than yours and you say yours is worse; both of you are right, because you see a situation worse than impossible! When I was in Najaf, I was informed of the situation in Tehran and its suburbs. When I arrived in Iran, I saw it several times on T.V. One cannot imagine worse than that. What can we call it? A hole! You see a man along with a woman and several children coming out of it. Now they are planning to prevent establishing an Islamic government and exercising Islamic precepts. To do this, they go to every place they can find an audience of a few people to lend a call to their ears that we are more dictatorial than others! The dictatorship of the clerics is worse than such and such! What dictatorship? I am a cleric myself, so can you say I am a dictator? The gentlemen saw that they are spreading propaganda against us; they must do so, of course, because they have lost whatever they had here in Iran.

False propaganda of Iraqi press against Iran

Unfortunately, these matters, which are widely propagated in Iraqi newspapers, are also drummed into the brains of our Iraqi brothers. A gentleman who came here from Iraq just today said Iraqi newspapers started a wide range of attack on Iran and the revolution, calling it non-Islamic and fascist revolution; many of our Iraqi brothers also came to believe them. They have planned to stop establishing Islam in Iran.

Those who plundered all your resources, treasuries and foreign exchange, are making such disorders, fearing lest Islam would be established; they might not have the slightest chance.

Vigilance against the enemy's plots and propaganda

I tell the Kurdish, Turkish and Baluchi people to be careful not to be deceived by these words aired by the enemies. Let the blood of our youth bear fruit. Be careful not to waste their bloods or else we would return to a situation that a regime like the imperial government or worse than that would take over, leaving Kurdistan, Baluchistan and all over the country backward again. All the people should come together and work out a solution. Be careful not to be deceived by their propaganda. Those who speak continually in favor of the people and are moaning are the same individuals who burn the harvests of the farmers, who try for a year to bring bacon home.

Reforming programs of radio and T.V.

I ask all of you to reform and to produce useful programs for the society to bring up social problems and to avoid devious programs. I sometimes hear

devious programs broadcast on the radio. Unfortunately, they are repeated for several times. The right programs are not broadcast at all or are distorted and then going on air. This is a great treason. How many times should I repeat these objections? I have said that time and again you must serve the organization and the country, but not let the deviant infiltrate into this organization to make devious programs. If a person says a wrong thing, it will be broadcast fully both on radio and television, but if it is replied by a person, it is either not broadcast at all or presented in distorted version.

Enemy's plot to disintegrate Iran

We are facing many difficulties about all of which I cannot speak now. They want to separate Kurdistan from Iran and to push it into other matters. They do not want to serve you but divide Iran into several parts, staging a coup to establish a government which is fully under the control of foreigners in order to bring up the former matters and situation again.

Wake up! Our nation should wake up. It is a nation that had the ability to punch the great powers on their mouth. Therefore, it is a powerful nation but must also keep its unity. If you observe your unity, *God is with you.*¹ You can defeat all the enemies. Do not fear their tumult! They are a few devious people who can be destroyed soon. I have already said that if the deviants were not mixed with our Kurdish brothers, they would be destroyed in a few days. But what should we do? They are among the people; if we take an action, many innocent women and children would also lose their life, something that we do not want to happen.

Reform of affairs peacefully and gently

We want to protect the Kurdish people and the Muslims. Unfortunately, since the rebels are mixed with them, we have our hands tied and cannot act decisively; otherwise, there is nothing to it to destroy them. I have received letters from some nomadic tribesmen, saying if I order, they would go there and fix the things. What can I do? If I order the tribes to fight the rebels, a fratricide may occur. We do not want this. Therefore, Kurdish people must purge them themselves, and not let them come into their villages and towns. They must prevent these incidents and introduce their leaders. I declared amnesty for all of them who are our brethren except a few leaders who are treacherous and murderer. The members for the Democratic Party may also return and join the nation. They should not make a fuss and go after so many offenses; they should not imagine that we cannot destroy them; we do not

¹ *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

want the innocent Kurdish women and children, who are like my children and who live among the rebels, to suffer wounds. Foregoing this, destroying the rebels is an easy task. The army, gendarmerie as well as IRGC are powerful. If an order is given, the RGC forces will spill over from every direction and put an end to the purge.

We do not want to commit fratricide. We wish things to be fixed peacefully, gently and brotherly. You yourselves must purge these malicious people, who do not want you to have a comfortable life, intending to start bloodshed in Kurdistan and later in Baluchistan and wherever they can. They should be purged by your honorable and powerful youth, not anyone else.

Kurdistan needs peace and reconstruction

May God protect you all! I hope God will grant you success! I would like to reiterate that you should produce good programs; if you want to make programs exclusively for Kurdish people, try to express the matter exactly in Kurdish. Introduce the malicious and the men of evil who do not want¹ peace to be restored in the country. If you broadcast programs in foreign languages, try to state the matters dealing with Iran as they happen. Explain that the people are not under any burden of tyranny. They undermine any chance to actualize Islam. Is it possible to make reforms where chaos is rampant? Where war is in progress, it will not be possible to build houses or hospitals and to asphalt. Drive them out of your regions and you would see what would happen to them and to other regions.

Whoever makes programs for the external service must explain the matters of Iran exactly as they are. Enlighten the people that whatever foreigners write in their newspapers and what they broadcast on their radios about Iran are not true. They are the one who are spreading such propaganda by former SAVAK agents or the agents of the foreigners and super powers that want us to remain in the former situation so they can plunder everything in the country. May God support you and you are successful!

¹ From here on because the tape connects and disconnects continually, some sentences are not clear.

Speech

Date: October 21, 1979 [Mehr 29, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sympathizing with the families of martyrs—ignoring the enemy's propaganda

Audience: Families of Sardasht martyrs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Salutation to the martyrs

I send my Greetings to all martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the sake of Islam. I implore God Almighty to absolve them and to grant them His blessing. I express condolences to their families and feel sympathy with them. I am their servant and pray for all of you. Of course, it is a great tragedy for the families of the martyrs, but since it is for the sake of God, they have associated with the Holy Lawmaker, with the Commander of the Faithful and with the holy prophet, who sacrificed their dear ones for Islam. What makes sorrow tolerable is that all human beings will die; it is better for us to sacrifice our lives for the sake of God, as did those who flew to the vicinity of God's mercy.

I hope the revolution continues moving forward with the endeavor of our strong youth and great nation. May the true progressive Islam would find expression in Iran, God willing.

Disregarding false propaganda of adversaries

You know that the enemies of Islam are now struggling to prevent Islam from being actualized. They made disturbances in Kurdistan. They are the enemies of Islam, making a fuss and killing our dear ones. At the same time, they accuse the Islamic Republic of killing them and launching a slaughter in Kurdistan. Our brothers should not listen to these propaganda ploys. You should move forward with the power of faith and Islam and the unity of expression, God willing. Do not be scared of their propaganda; they cannot do a damn thing. Of course, they make disturbances and troubles to restore the country to former condition or the like. But they shall not live to find their wish fulfilled.

I implore the Almighty God to grant health to you and mercy on the martyrs and spiritual reward to you. I am the servant of you all and pray for you.

Speech

Date: October 22, 1979 [Mehr 30, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Man's heartfelt insight—Response to unwarranted accusations

Audience: The blind

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Humanity in pawn of heartfelt insight

I appreciate you, the blind people, who came here to meet you closely. I am happy to see your bright Islamic faces and give you the good tidings that the Almighty God will assist you all. I pray God for your success and prosperity. Know that soul is the real essence of man. Man is nothing but heartfelt insight. Superficial things are only transient; what is eternal is human soul and what makes man prosperous is insight. I hope you have a full insight and pray to God Almighty to make you successful and happy.

Negation of the revolution's leader having been channelled

I want to tell you, the gentlemen, that we are now facing the rumors based on which our enemies want to prevent actualization of Islam. One of these rumors spread by gossipers and sometimes written in letters or said in speeches—about which I heard that a man has talked last night in Imam Askari Mosque¹ is that no one can meet me except a few clerics and that the only channel for visiting me is the channel to which the clerics have access. Other people cannot visit me at all. But you, the blind gentlemen, are coming here now and seeing me closely. Everyday, several hundred people of different walk of life and as much as this room has capacity come here into my house and in this room. It is not true that there is only one to say that only certain channels can meet me, as put by a number of malicious people. I have no special channel and followers. I meet all the people of all classes and I hear all their words. I receive letters and important news about incidents of Iran. I listen to the news on radio and television. All leading newspapers are brought here to me and I read the summary provided for me. The Minister of Guidance and all the news about the country by the gendarmerie and the chief of the army and the news about other places by the police that I am not uninformed of the situation of the state inform me of all news about the

¹ Imam Hasan al-Askari Mosque in Qum that is one of the old and famous mosques of Qum.

world. Those spreading such rumors are a group of malicious people, imagining I am put in a box the door of which is locked and which can be opened just by one or two clerics who can see me and other people not! You can now hear and see several thousands of people out of this house I should meet them whether inside or outside of this room. But do not expect me to dedicate a special time for all of these people one by one because I have no spare time to give them. Everyday from morning till noon a lot of people of different groups come here in this room to meet me. They even spread the rumor that the one, who made a speech last night in the Imam's Mosque and Mr. Najafi,¹ came to my residence, but I did not let them in. Mr. Najafi was with me last night. Who did not let him in? Can anyone not let Mr. Najafi in? Last night Mr. Najafi was here with me for about three-quarters or an hour.

Advice to the rumormongers

I advise these gentlemen, either not to be influenced by the individuals and their remarks, or to refrain from spiteful acts. Some persons are spiteful while others are not so. They are only sitting in the corner, believing in whatever anyone would say, and disseminating whatever they hear. Well, this is contrary to humanity and against Islam for a person to disseminate whatever one hears everywhere, spreading that so and so has no appointment with anybody and that Mr. Najafi also went there and they did not let him in! Well, this is an insult to a Muslim such as Mr. Najafi and an *alim* whom you say has not been let in! What sort of nonsensical word has been uttered?

Awareness of news and problems of the country

I request those who have appointment with me or those who meet me every day to inform the people that the door of our house is open. I get tired as the result of meeting them in numerous occasions. Well, I am an octogenarian old man; I am weak. In spite of this, well, I have time for the people and the people meet me. The news of the people reaches me. They relay to me the needs of the people. But, of course, their problems are many. The problems of everybody are many. There is a group of individuals engaged in solving the problems. The government is also busy removing the problems. Yet, the task is gargantuan. The problems are many. The gentlemen somewhat aware of the problems and the spokesmen and those whose words are aired over the radio should be a little bit cautious lest they should give a slanted picture of events. They should not say anything contrary to the reality; they should not believe in what is contrary to the

¹ Mr. Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi, one of the religious authority references.

realities. It is said that I have only a single channel of communication. “O Imam! Listen to the voice of the people.” Sir, the people’s voices are with me. You may ask any issue you want. I have information about all dimensions of the country. Reports from Kurdistan reach me everyday. What nonsensical statements are you uttering? What sinister propaganda are you doing? You are spitefully making a spiteful outcry!

May God mend your way! May God grant victory to this revolution?¹ May He guide those who are spiteful! May God grant assistance to Muslims and give strength to Islam.

¹ At the end of the Imam’s speech, one of the blind said that his paralyzed daughter asked the Imam to pray for her and the Imam prayed for her.

Speech

Date: October 22, 1979 [Mehr 30, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing reasons behind hostilities of enemies; reply to accusations; philosophy behind Imam Husayn's (a) uprising

Audience: Representatives of the different strata of people and tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Threat of wrong people being organized

I should thank the gentlemen for coming here to meet them closely and discuss issues of mutual concern. You made points and let me also bring forth some subjects.

I know that you, gentlemen, and the rest of the people of knowledge have always participated in this revolution since the beginning up to now. You were the ones who urged the people to take action. From now on, hopes lie in you. I hope that you will always succeed in rendering service to Islam. What causes concern is that the people of falsehood are getting organized. Those who were splintered before, were not on the limelight for quite a time and had no share in the revolution sitting in the corner waiting for an opportunity have now acquired an opportunity. They are availing of free pens and of freedom of speech and gathering. The sporadic people of falsehood are getting together, while the united gatherings of the people of Truth are, God forbid, on the verge of being splintered.

Enemies' fear of Islam

We should identify the individuals and groups refusing to comply with Islam and not being in the line of Islamic Revolution and the nation through their articles, statements and deeds. You in whose hands lies the rein of the Islamic *Ummah*, the clergymen, who are in charge of the Islamic affairs and committed to the Islamic Revolution, are duty-bound to call the attention of the people to these organizations; the evils are busy; they are holding meetings and making such statements. They fear one thing and that is Islam. Our opponents are afraid of Islam. Whatever associated with Islam is their point of criticism but the main point of attacking is Islam proper.

During the reign of this vicious father and son,¹ as foreigners were frightened by Islam, they forced them to oppose Islam under the canopy of disagreeing with the clergymen, of attacking the pulpit and the altar and ban the meetings. Islam was the target of criticism. Because you are serving and supporting Islam, struggle against you finds expression in the form of opposing Islam.

Similarity of poisonous pens to former bayonets

Their organizations now look like the ones that existed before. They act like a bully and are busy acting with their poisonous pens and distracting talks in organized ways. They used to crush people of knowledge, of piety and of faith with bayonets. They used to attack sermons sessions and mourning ceremonies for martyrs. Now they use their pens like the bayonets to do that way. Savak has turned into a newly shaped organization with a purpose as that of before. Therefore, the nation must be awakened.

Opposing Islam in the shape of opposition to *wilayat-e faqih*

They oppose Islam in different ways. They began to stand against us in the Assembly of Experts once the issue of *wilayat-e faqih* was raised. Until very recently just two or three days ago, these people who are uninformed of Islam whatsoever and who are anti-Islam and deviant said in one of their meetings that the Assembly of Experts must be disbanded! Others applauded or pretended to be in their favor. They are terrified of the Assembly of Experts, for it intends to prove *wilayat-e faqih*. It wants to approve what God Almighty has determined; this is what they fear.

They imagine once *wilayat-e faqih* is settled; it would bring about dictatorship or bullish action, whereas in Islam this is not the case. No, they say nonsense. They argue that autocracy comes up. They, however, well know it is untrue, but they despise Islam. They must understand as long as pulpit, altar, preachers, Muslims, the market of Islam and Muslim youth exist, they cannot do anything. They have to realize that they are serving the former regime and its ex-masters. If they are knowledgeable and act sensibly, they are traitors. And if they do it out of ignorance, they are ignorant.

***Wilayat-e faqih* in line with guardianship of the Messenger (s) of God**

Wilayat-e faqih is not something devised by the Assembly of Experts. God Almighty has prescribed it. It is the very guardianship of the Messenger (s). They fear the guardianship of the Messenger of God as well! You know

¹ Rida Khan and his son, Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

that if Imam of the Age (a) reappears now, these writers oppose him too. They should know that their pens fail to distract our nation. They must feel that our nation is awakened; they understand the points you pose. Therefore, do not try in vain! Join the nation and come in their lap. Your pens stay more detrimental to Islam than the rifles of democrats. Your talks harm Islam more than the machine guns fired at our youth, because there we face known enemy but you appear in battlefield in disguise. Your pens are worse than bayonets of Rida Khan to harm Islam! You are more harmful to Islam than Rida Shah and Muhammad-Rida, since they remained open in their opposition, known to people who stood against them. You challenge Islam under the auspices of Islam and people.

Inability of opponents in diverting the revolution

The nation knows you and you cannot divert the revolution raised by the nation and fulfilled through the blood of our youths and their labor as well as their resistance. You are meaner than that to distract the revolution. Do not try in vain! If the entire nation comes together saying well they do not want the Assembly of Experts, they can take aback themselves. Who on earth are you? You, a few people, of whom one talks, the others clap for him! This resembles the time of Rida Khan and his son. You cannot stand against the nation, as you had no votes. None of you could find a way into the assembly. If so, one or two of deviant people have been let in and they are unable to do anything. For this reason, you are afraid. Can you say something about the assembly that came into existence through a good deal of votes, "it is to be dissolved"? Can you do this by these words? Are you deserved to be men? If *wilayat-e faqih* is settled, all power is in his hands! Therefore, you must be mournful! If the so-called president or a deviant prime minister holds the power, they never disagree. But the power, not a satanic one that is controlling the country and should not be deformed shall be settled by votes of the nation. Again, it is vote of the nation in its unanimity that designates people and bodies. You are in the minority. You are there to rule over the majority with your pens! You are bullies. He rules by his bayonet and you want to govern with your pens. His bayonet is broken, so your pens will be broken too. You shall be awakened and so shall our nation. These deviant people are aside but they are beginning to come in groups to deviate our nation and to stifle this revolution, but they know that they fail to do it.

People are determined to defend Islam

All of them with all their families are a few people who became known in the referendum. People are the same people; they are the ones trying in vain. The nation has not changed, bazaar is the same bazaar, universities are not different, seminaries are the same as before, preachers are the very preachers and *ulama* in the cities are the same ones as ever with no change whatsoever in them. Fancy not that your words make changes. You make determination stronger for those who want to work for Islam. The more you act against Islam, the more willful the people will be. Do not disgrace yourselves! Do not write articles and make speeches. Try not vainly! People are the same; the path is the same and people are traversing it.

Wilayat-e faqih obeys law

Do not fear *wilayat-e faqih*. *Faqih* intends not to dictate something to people. If one *faqih* wants to do so, he has no longer guardianship. In Islam laws govern. The Prophet Muhammad followed rules as well; he obeyed the rules of God. God Almighty says if something is said against what He says He would disdain you and cut the vessel of your heart.¹ If the prophet were a person of autocracy, then *faqih* might as well be an autocrat. If Commander of the Faithful (*a*) were a dictator, *faqih* could be a dictator too. Dictatorship is not the case and we want to stop it.

Purpose behind wilayat-e faqih

Wilayat-e faqih is guardianship over the affairs to let them run properly. It controls Majlis and president to avoid doing wrong. It inspects prime minister to stop him doing wrong. It monitors all the system and the army, preventing any wrong. We want to hinder dictatorship. We do not want dictatorship to exist. We want anti-dictatorship. It is anti-dictatorship. Why are you so embarrassed and make yourselves distressed? However, you are distressed or whatever you write, you cannot do anything. I find your interest in stalking at these words, plots and wrongs! Join the hug of nation. I advise you as I did to democrats. You are not different, but you are more harmful than they are!

I recommend that you stop such gatherings and words. It is wrong to write about things everyday and publish each day! God forbid, these things cause our revolution to stop. You are nearer to cause it to stop. If it fails to be fulfilled, all of you, who are affiliated with foreigners and regime sit atop

¹ Referring to verses: 43-46 of *Surah* of *al-Haqah*, “and if Muhammad (s) quoted me in falsehood, I would depose him and cut his vessel of heart.”

raising rows and park gatherings, but how about our nation? What happens to it? What happens to this enfeebled nation, having been under the yoke of those whom you are elegizing for 2500 years? People were under the control of the father and his son whom you are supporting. You are endorsing their thesis. What happens to our country? What goes on to Islam? You are assisting enemies of our country and nation. You might be doing this out of favor or inattention.

Rejecting rumor of channeling leadership of revolution

Do not kick up a row so much! Every now and then there is a gathering where one speaks no truths! They say that such and such person, meaning me, meets no one. This such and such man meets all people once he wakes up from dawn to dusk, as you see them outside here, in the yard and this place. Yet you are also here. Before you, there was a group of disabled people¹ and this is continued up to noon. How are they saying no one meets him! They mean to say that no growth takes place. They want to disappoint people. There is no way to meet the so and so man! Last night, one of the speakers is said, of course with good faith but with misconception, to have mentioned so and so meets no one. Now, I have meeting with you, have had meetings before you and will have session with others after you. Have we no meetings? They say the man meets people, but special people through one channel. Only a few people can meet him! The population now in here is not ordinary people. This room is filled with men and women and emptied every hour; is this whim? Is it not true? They tell the truth! They want to horrify and weaken the people. On the other hand, if I am weakened, the clergymen are enfeebled and then people are weakened. They cannot weaken the people and weakening me is no big deal. I pass away four more days. You survive and move forward [The audience shouts enthusiastically: God forbid]. This is a reality.

Anyway, gentlemen! Wake up! Be careful of enemies, of pens, of actions and of tongues. They want to delude the people and the nation. Be vigilant not to be deceived and try to take good care of the problems.

Doyen of Martyrs (a) has revived Islam

As for the matter the gentleman raised about the pulpit and altar, this I said once, if it is not censored! If it is censored, I will do something else. As you see our gathering here, it is because of Islam revived by Doyen of Martyrs (a). All he had including his assets, whatever he had, and his youths

¹ A group of the blind people who before this visit came to the Imam.

were sacrificed in the path of God. He rose up to solidify Islam and oppose oppression. He revolted against the empires of that time, much more in number of those of today, with a few people. He overcame the enemy, while being martyred, with this few people. He defeated the oppressive system and we are his followers. Mourning sessions from then are put up as ordered by Imam Sadiq (a) and recommended by the Infallible Imams (a). We have similar case saying that this is against cruelty and tyrants. We have resuscitated the tragedy of Karbala and our preachers revived it as well. They revived a minor group with a great faith resisting a big *taghut*. Crying for martyrs is to revive the revolution. It is narrated that whoever acts up weeping, one shall be rewarded in paradise.¹ This is because even one who pretends to be weeping in grief of that tragic event is intending to maintain the revolt of Imam Husayn (a). Our nation has preserved these sessions.

Unmasking the oppressor in Imam Husayn (a) mourning sessions

It was not unduly that Rida Khan and his SAVAK agents banned all mourning sessions. Rida Khan was not originally such a man to oppose to these things. He was an agent of those experts that knew our problems. Our enemies who had studied the nations and the Shiite Ummah saw that they could not achieve their aims as long as the elegiac sessions and disclosure of oppressor persist. During Rida Khan, all mourning gatherings were banned in Iran. They tied the hands of pulpit goers and *ulama*, not letting them to preach. They launched their own propaganda and drew us back, plundering our entire reserves. In time of Muhammad-Rida, they did so but in different ways, not by using bayonets. They are here again to play games with our youths. That is the similar case as it was in time of Rida Khan who prohibited meetings. Now, there comes another group saying, “no elegy sessions”! They cannot conceptualize what elegy and its nature means! They do not realize that this revolution has been accomplished thanks to of Imam Husayn’s (a) revolt.

This revolution, a ray of Ashura Revolt

This revolution is a reflection of the revolt of Ashura. They do not know weeping over Imam Husayn (a)’s martyrdom is to revive the sense that a minor group stood against a major empire. It is a decree directed by Imam Husayn (a) for all people. “*Everyday is Ashura and everywhere, Karbala.*”

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 13, p. 287, H. 27 and in the same source, p. 305.

The revolt conveys the message that the revolution should perpetuate everyday and everywhere.

Lesson of Ashura

Imam Husayn with a few people sacrificed everything he had for Islam. He resisted a great empire and said “no.” This “no” should be preserved everyday and everywhere. These gatherings are held to preserve the same “no.” Our children and youth might not imagine that we are a “nation of weeping”! Others to say “nation of weeping” inculcate this! They fear these tears that are shed in token of sympathy with the oppressed. The processions come out to rise against the oppressor. These are our religious rituals that should be kept. These are political traditions that need to be preserved. Take care lest these sold-out writers should trick you! Be careful not to be deceived by these people who appear by different names and deviating creeds to strip you of everything. They see that the elegiac sessions, remembering the disasters suffered by the oppressed and crimes committed by the oppressor stand against the oppressor. They do not understand they are serving the country and Islam.

Attention of the youth to deceitfulness of traitors

Our youth are not paying attention! Do not be tricked by these traitors injecting into you the “nation of weeping”. Their masters fear these cries because Rida Khan, as an agent, came in power and wiped them out. England on Delhi radio announced, we brought him to power and now removed him! They brought him to stifle Islam and one way to do so was to strip you of these sessions. Our youth should not imagine that in these sessions no mention should be made of mourning rituals. Do not imagine that in this way you are serving the country! The oppressions must be highlighted to make people understand what had happened in the past. This is to be done each day to project its socio-political aspect.

Sacrifices of the clergymen in the course of revolution

Let them not play games with you by these irrelevant arguments. They are attacking all over to ruin Islam and the revolution. Once, they want to eliminate its clergymen and at other times the clerical institution. The clergymen were the people who liberated you. Now, you lash out at them by writing against them? Where were you when they were in jails? Where on earth were you when the leg of a clergyman was sawn? Where were you when a clergyman’s leg was burned with hot oil? Now you come out talking

against *wilayat-e faqih* or, I do not know, dissolving Majlis? Do you have the power to do that? I strike you on the mouth! Stop saying bullshit! Join Islam and Muslims. Let the country proceed well. Democrats do wrong in Kurdistan and the gentlemen are here in Tehran doing mischief! Enough is enough.

May God assist you and make the revolution successful! Fear nothing whatsoever! No one can defeat you and May you be successful long as you trust God and follow Islam as your way. May God protect you and may you be successful!

Decree

Time: October 23, 1979 [Aban 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Gorgan's Friday Prayer Imam

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Nurmufidi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Kazim Nurmufidi (May his blessings last long),

According to demand of the residents of Gorgan (May God assist them) requesting you to perform Friday prayer in the city, I hereby appoint you as Friday prayer leader in the city. God willing, while performing the great divine obligation, you may acquaint people with their great duties, invite them to unity and keep them away from disunity. I pray God Almighty for your success. May peace and mercy of God be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 1, 1399 AH

Speech

Time: October 23, 1979 [Aban 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracies of political groups—need for accompanying the nation

Audience: People of Arbab Mosque in Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Experiences of the revolution

Man should gain experience in graduation. In pre-revolution period, we did not know what would happen in post revolution era. We had no experience. Now, after the revolution we see that one one the corollaries of a revolution is chaos! Anyone says whatever one wants! Everyone does what one wishes to act. They do not think at all whether they are talking in favor of the nation or not. What the nation demanded and voted for; that is, the majority vote were cast in favor of the Islamic Republic and all the opponents were on one side and the nation on the other side, winning 98% of the votes while only 2% of the votes belonged to the opponents of Islamic Republic, the nation cried for the Islamic Republic and voted for it.

The Islamic Republic desired by the nation is that the republic should include Islamic precepts and that the country should be managed based on Islamic laws. What God Almighty has said through the holy Prophet (s) and the Imams (a) should be materialized. Now that the people have voted and everything has been done the way people wanted, different groups with various opinions have emerged. Everyone speaks what one wishes. When questioned, they argu that we were in the process of revolution. Everyone making whatever wrong argues that the revolution so demands! As there has been a revolution, all things have to be revolutionary, meaning that there are no regulations! There is no ration, or any human and Islamic norm whatsoever. Speeches are made and articles are put down across all corners of the country and everyone says and writes whatever one wants, with an idea to impose their ideas upon a 30-and-so million nation.

Conspiracy to disband the Assembly of Experts

The same people shouting for democracy and freedom sit together and say something to be imposed on the whole nation. For example, they argue that the Assembly of Experts that is now busy working must be dissolved! I

do not know, who the gentlemen are demanding, “Experts Assembly must be dissolved.” Why should it to be dissolved? Is it because the experts are turbaned or because they are people of knowledge believing in Islam and enforcing Islamic rules? As people have said, *wilayat-e faqih* should exist; therefore, a *faqih* should supervise the affairs of the government. They are afraid of a *faqih* controlling the affairs. The opponents argue that if *faqih* becomes powerful and grows strong, anarchy would ensue. However, they do not withhold a prime minister or president, but not a turbaned man, holds the power. Whoever he may be, even a westerner! This is their logic. But this is not the case. We say you are a minority of 10,100 and 1000 people. Can you say that there must be a “Republic” rather than “Islamic” for which cast their votes. What does this “must” mean? “This must be done”. What is this must for? Who are you to say “must” in front of the nation? The people have designated the Assembly of Experts. Tehran with 2000,000 people voted for the late Taliqani, over 2 million said yes to Mr. Muntaziri and 2 million and one million or so of votes were cast to others. They massively voted for the Islamic Republic. There was also an overwhelming majority of polls in other cities. Others remained a minority. Now, with the minority of votes, the intellectual gentlemen who claim for democracy argue that vote of the majority is not the criteria and that majority of votes bases no people’s freedom in voting the Assembly must be dissolved while these gentlemen are in minority!

People’s freedom in voting

I ask the gentlemen why the assembly has to be dissolved. What has happened? Why do you say, must’? Look, you who claim that there must be freedom, you say people did not vote freely! You say that people were not free to cast proper votes! Given you have not said this, how about when the people were seen casting their votes freely? Do you fancy that if the assembly is terminated, we are no longer in need of it or re-elections should be held? If a hundred times, elections are held, people vote for their *’ulama* a hundred times. In case it is dissolved, people would elect the figures that are religious, popular and Islamic, not westernized. Believe that it is not what you imagine. If it is terminated, firstly it is not dissolved because no one save the nation has the right to do so and secondly, in case Majlis is dissolved, do you believe we do not need laws? Enough is enough! You have no right to do so. Once you say laws are needed and must be determined by people. If there needs to be the constituency, the nation will pick the devout *’ulama*. If there might be a council, the nation chooses MPs this way.

Islamic inclination of the nation

You should be mournful! It is because you have neither a way into the Consultative Assembly nor into the Constituent Assembly or other places. The nation wants Islam. When the nation seeks Islam, if you disturb their attempt a hundred times, people still want the same Islam. Yes, you can propagandize to cause the entire nation turn their back on Islam then you can take over. As long as they want Islam and the Islamic Republic, it cannot be changed. It is senseless to see a minority imposing something upon a majority. This is anti-democracy, which you advocate. This is against humanity to do so. This is the same thing we had in time of Rida Khan when a few people imposed something by force of bayonets on the nation. Now the bayonets have been replaced by speech, pen, conspiracy and the like. It is not right to delude and force people this way.

Accompaniment with the nation

I hold that the gentlemen have to think. The gentlemen saying they are interested in Islam, the nation and the country must be mindful. They must flow with the stream. If they want to swim against the current, they will be flown away. They should know that people understand everything; they have found their way and are going ahead. You assumed that the nation is not educated. If education fails to affect the minds and hearts of people and they are overtaken by grudge, this education is not clear to lead people. The people are guided. Presently, all people are informed of what they wish. That is right! People know what they want. In case you call for referendum for *Wilayat-e faqih* in the sense that what has been prescribed by God Almighty and the affairs of government and the power centers should be supervised by a fully qualified *faqih*, he will be elected as you saw.

Settlement of problems depends on peace and security

People want what God and His Messenger (s) want. You should not struggle aimlessly; you have to follow the nation. If you are really eager to have a good country, you should let the country be in peace, with no intrigues all around here, in Kurdistan and elsewhere. Once the country is calm, everything would be all right; hands of foreigners are cut off the country and they would not be back again. Currently, one group is conspiring in Tehran, another one is busy plotting in Kurdistan, a third one brewing a conspiracy in Baluchestan and a fourth one engaged in similar acts in other places. If the revolution fails, God forbid, through such things, everything you have would be lost.

Be unified, all move along the nation's way. Join hands as you first did, leading the revolution to this point. Stay united until the revolution brings fruit. God willing, what God, His Messenger (s) and the Book want will find expression. This is expedient to the nation and the country. Never imagine that dictatorship prevails in Islam and goes with the clergymen or the latter. No such things are at issue; there is no dictatorship at work. If you do not act dictatorially, our nation is not dictator nor is our *ulama*.

May peace and Mercy of God be upon you all!

Speech

Time: October 23, 1979 [Aban 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hujjah 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Purging out the Army personnel—link of the army to the nation

Audience: Cadets Training College and the army commanders of the army

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Purging the army from unscrupulous and devious personnel

As you know, the army is pillar of national independence. If it is refined, national independence will be secured. If there are, God forbid, corruption in the army, national independence will be exposed to threat. You know that today unscrupulous people, leftists and those affiliated with the former regime have influence everywhere including the army. If they remain in the army, they might take roots, conspire and, God forbid, lead the army to corruption. Therefore, purging the army is of great importance. Upon its purging, national independence is maintained. You are obligated to preserve it too. You are dutiful to purge the unqualified and corrupt ones out of the army in order to build an independent Islamic army serving the nation and Islam.

Conspiracy of Pahlavi regime

You know that the army was formerly to be employed against the nation. That was because the top brass were traitors and remained fearful of nations. As they were afraid of nations, they knew the only treatment was to face the nation. Henceforth, law enforcement and SAVAK agents were placed in the face of the nation to intimidate the latter. People were frightened when they saw them in uniform. Hearing the name of "SAVAK", they were in horror. In case, there emerged a problem in the country, people ceased to help remove it, if not aggravating it. They stayed indifferent, for they were standing against the nation. The entire police and state forces were placed against the nation. Thank God, our attitude gave way to a new one.

Brotherly union between people and the army

Now, it is important to keep this sense, maintaining a brotherly link with the nation. They should not be afraid of you. People should embrace you with open arms? As you go along, people show you joyfulness, chanting

slogans for you. Formerly, they fled for fear of you. This brotherly link is to be maintained. Do not inculcate in your mind to exercise cruelty over people, because you are an officer. Hierarchy in the army should obviously remain intact. Obeying the senior should be there along with brotherly treatment or obedience to father. Treat the inferior people well to let them feel you support their benefits; you should like them as you are of their number. Once this is attained, the army will become Islamic and the nation raises intimacy toward it. All of us should be like brothers and serve the country and Islam. I hope what happened in the past such as plundering and bullying will never come back. Live together like brothers and preserve the country brotherly. I pray for you and serve you. May God preserve you all, God willing!

Speech

Time: October 23, 1979 [Aban 1, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Islamic Treatment in the army

Audience: Graduate officers of Faculty of Officers Training

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Observing the Islamic behavior in the army

The gentlemen notice that they have been transferred from *taghuti* army to divinely one and that the criminal monarchical regime has been supplanted by Islamic Republic in which “justice” stands atop of its agenda. The present army is Islamic and its duties are different from those of *taghuti* army. Obviously, you are obliged to observe the hierarchy system and the senior officers are also obliged to treat other classes of people healthily and in an Islamic way. Troops should not imagine now that a revolution has been accomplished they are free to disobey the senior officers. Islam considers obedience to *faqih* as obligatory. I order you to follow your senior officers and preserve the regime. I recommend the officers, senior ones and others to observe Islamic demeanor towards their subordinates as prescribed by the holy Prophet (s) and Commander of the Faithful (a). You are now in the lap of Islam and brother for all Muslims. We are all under the canopy of Islam and should act according to Islamic duties. The Islamic Republic and army should not be Islamic only in name with different content.

Freedom and independence in the light of Islam

My brothers! If you want to keep your national independence and if you intend to be relieved of the yoke of superpowers to the end, you should heed Islam and bow down before Islamic rules. Islam provides all liberty and independence for you, for us and for the whole nation. We can protect our country in the shadow of Islam. You saw that our nation defeated superpowers supporting the ex-regime without any war materials but in light of a faith. This occurred just by reliance upon Islam and the Holy Quran.

I hope you consider Islam in your personal and military career and in behaving towards the nation. Formerly, treatments were hostile. Our nation was not in good terms with the army because the army was forced to

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye-Nur*, it is dated Aban 2, 1358 AHS.

tyrannize the people. In return, the nation was compelled to turn their back on the army. Now you are among the army of Islam; people stand by you. You should also safeguard the borders and secure order. Hierarchy should be observed. All of you are at the service of Islam, all of us are at the service of Islam and I am at your service. May peace be upon you and God's praise your support!

Decree

Time: October 24, 1979 [Aban 2, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 2, 1399 AH]=

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of holding Friday prayer

Addressee: Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence, Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Tahiri (May his blessings last long),

As reported from Isfahan and following reports in many visits yesterday, you have refused to perform Friday prayer while I do not properly know the reason. As I have previously noted, you should go to Isfahan to officiate Friday prayer there. Considering your qualifications and prolonged link to me, you are assigned to fulfill this divinely duty. It is hoped that the various honorable people of Isfahan avoid disunity in this sensitive juncture by extending full support for him. I implore God Almighty to grant you success and dignity to Islam and Muslims. May God's peace be upon all his righteous servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 2, 1399 AH

Speech

Time: October 24, 1979 [Aban 2, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Public attempt for reconstructing a developed Iran and making up for the ruins of the Shah's regime

Audience: Abbas Shams (Mayor) and Qaimshahr (the ex-Shahi) Municipality staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Heritage of the Shah's regime

As you mentioned, Iranian nation inherits a country that has been pressurized and damaged a lot within 50 or 60 years. In fact, they left behind a ruined country and went away. They emptied the treasuries and led the cities, villages and all areas to corruption. They destroyed it in the name of "great civilization." Now that they are gone, they have left behind a disturbed and ruined country with an ailing economy, not to mention other areas. The people have been impoverished. All these poverties and failings are inherited even when the revolution occurred; they brought about all the ruinations.

Anti-revolutionaries' stonewalling and rabble-rousing

A country that has been under a 2500-year or the past 50 years tyranny and destruction cannot be reconstructed in one or two months or one or two years. The Iranians were like a 35-million prisoners, being suddenly released and still entangled with all pains in the jail. The present sufferings are inherited by the former regime. The people who were under pressure for the past 50 years now find themselves free. Now that they are liberated, they should think that their release is in its own right a great reward from God Almighty who salvaged us from such shackles and tortures. Instead of being thankful and renewing the ruins, one group is unfortunately engaged in stonewalling and another one who are remnants of the former regime and the Shah's adherents do not let this country thrive. They mingle the people who have been released and who want now to satisfy their complexes in 50 or more years. Unfortunately, many of our innocent youth favor them and help them too.

City Council

Our nation should know that God Almighty has granted them a blessing, which the entire world is looking with astonishment. God Almighty extended

a favor to this nation who shattered this huge demonic dam, backed by all powers. Our people did it with the power of faith. All those engaged in plundering and ruining the country and, worst of all, hindering the people's growth are gone away. Our nation should not think that all the thieves and plunderers have left the country. Yet, a small number of them have remained ... the people voted to make operational the city councils. Of course, the votes cast were not noticeable. Nevertheless, the city councils were settled in many places. People should not imagine the city councils could do the job. A seven-ten member council without proper means cannot work efficiently. Their success depends on the fact that whether the people want to cooperate with the city councils, intending to serve their cities. As long as people do not help, the city councils would not do anything. It is not advisable for the nation to stay aside, saying it is up to the state to do it. Minus the power of people, the state cannot reconstruct the ruins.

Nationwide endeavor for national reconstruction

Now, there is one thing that is yours. Just as one is duty-bound to serve one's family inspired by one's conscience, one should serve the country that we have wrenched out of the grip of others. The country is now ours and we should serve it. We should not stay apart, saying: "You have taken it out of others' hands and you must fix it!" This is not possible. It has been your job and that of the nation. The very nation that launched such a revolution and gained such a triumph has to administer the country. Everyone can do as much as one can. Of course, one group, two groups, clergymen, the state, the workers and the industrialist cannot do it alone. Everybody must take charge of a part. Anyone engaged in a business should do it efficiently.

Necessity for public consideration of agricultural development

There are a lot of ruins and problems for the people now. Regrettably, people suffered hunger while walking on treasures. Now that the country is yours, you have to do your best, particularly in the field of farming. If you show dereliction in cultivation and farming, we should continue suffering from dependency on America and elsewhere. When a rich country is yours it does not matter it was once in the hands of traitors. You should fix the country's agriculture, which is capable of fulfilling domestic needs, not to mention the exports. Never again should we stretch out our hands toward America to beg for wheat, barely and, I do not know, what! If they refuse to provide us with the items, we would remain hungry. We must become self-sufficient. We must be enlightened. We must serve this country. Serving

means that farmers grow crops on the fields of their own. I would like to notify that usurpation of public property is forbidden. Some people, who have said that anyone is now free to cultivate whatever anywhere, it is not right. Their legal owners must cultivate the fields. Those in charge of plantation should do so according to rules. Do not stay negligent in this matter so that, God willing, we remain self-sufficient in the next one, two or three years and stand on our feet.

Economic dependency, source of all dependencies

If we show negligence and dependency on foreigners, this economic dependency will naturally be followed by political as well as social dependency. We will be the same former slaves and those people would rule over us that used to do so formerly. Economically, we have to become free from economic aspect; that is, our hands should not be stretched out to others in which case whenever they stop giving us, we would be paralyzed. We should provide the raw materials, which any county requires and the foodstuffs we need. This is achieved if farmers all over Iran embarked on the autumnal harvest products now in autumn. When the spring arrived, they launch spring harvests. Everybody including the state should join hands to provide assistance to farmers.

Assistance of the state in reforming the affairs

A vital source of concern for the country is that our agriculture has been destroyed. If we want to survive, we should revive our agriculture. Revival can be achieved by collective efforts of the people to run the county. People should help the municipality, city councils and the like in every city. Today, Qum's city council officials came to me here, saying the ruins are so many that it is beyond their ability with no assistance on the part of the state and people. There are a lot of problems and ruins. Poverty is rampant. Citizens in each city must help the farmers. They are servants of God now in trouble. God Almighty favors His servants.

Attention to public needs

The destitute people are family of God and must be attended to. God Almighty has ordered the rich to take care of the poor. It is not fair a group of rich people stands aside and the poor spend hard days. I told these factory owners and the affluent people who occasionally came over here and some of whom, wanted to deceive me, that it is not right the concerns of the former regime to be repeated again. A group of well-to-do people enjoys unbound

privileges and indulges in whatever debauchery, while another group, the slum-settlers of Tehran and other cities live an abject life. This is intolerable. I gave warning. It is a threat to people.

If, God forbid, the Islamic Republic cannot make up for economic problems and people are disappointed in the Islamic Republic and in the fact that Islam is able to improve the economic condition of people, if an explosion occurs, neither you and I nor clergymen and Islam can stop it. If the explosion would happen in *taghut* time, we could bridle it by our advice, sermon and orders. Once it takes place within the context of Islam and people lose their temper out of despair, it cannot be curbed. The wealthy should know that if, God forbid, an uncontrollable explosion comes up, all forces, good and evil, would undergo great burnings.

Sit and think of this nation. Do not sit aside and act indifferently impartially leading your own life. Do not sit and watch the ghetto settlers whose animals lead a better life than these slum-dwellers. You might have seen the living condition of animals on TV, showing them in the jungles leading a good life. Reconstruction *Jihad* also showed people and their homes, which are no better than those of animals.' Why is this so? The nation, the state, the wealthy, the factory owners and the like should join hands to remove the problem. In case the problem remains unsolved and, God forbid, an explosion happens in the context of Islam and the Islamic Republic, it is uncontrollable. No one can stop it. Before this happens, it must be stopped, particularly because the enemies of Islam and Muslims inside and outside of the country are engaged in conspiracies.

Restitution of looted properties

Recently, the Shah fled and was embraced by America under the excuse of treating his cancer. Mr. Yazdi¹ was here yesterday, saying that it was true and the Shah was taken to hospital for his cancer. Well, I said, "What about our assets?" Well, if he dies, what goes on to our money? He said lawsuits had to be filed in our courts and they had to be investigated here. Then they are taken to judicial courts of there so that the assets might be refunded.

Therefore, informed people, institutions and ministries were called upon to collect the files to be investigated and claimed through attorneys lest they might be missed there. The late Mudarris (May God bless him) once said to Rida Khan, gone on a trip and back again, that he had prayed for him! Being amazed, he said, "Well, how come my staunchest enemy prays for me?" Mudarris said, "The point is that if you die on this trip, our money is lost"!

¹ Mr Ibrahim Yazdi, the foreign minister of the provisional government.

“We have prayed for protection of our money”. Now, we do not pray for him! But we hope we can bring back the assets. Last night, Mr. Yazdi said the money the Shah had amounted to one-year of oil revenue. One-year of oil revenue! His personal account in foreign banks now shows billions of dollars. Anyway, they ruined the country. He alone and the people surrounding him looted the country. Their roots; namely, the leftist and *Fadai-ye Khalq* remaining in the country are of their number.

Those claiming to be devotees of people are devotees of America

Do not imagine that we have any Soviet-backed people’s devotees here. They are associated with America! They are from that side not this side. We oppose both sides. “Tudeh Party” was primarily an English Tudeh Party whose head was known to me! He was a Muslim¹ and my fellow-traveler to Mecca. Yes, the party was made in England but fished on us in the name of the Soviet communist! These are now called “People’s Devotees” and are putting to death the people by chanting, “People’s Devotees”, “People’s Devotees”! They set ablaze the harvest: stop the factories functioning and embark on all sorts of sabotage. Their espionage and link to Zionism and the like have been proved. As seen, now they have joined the people calling themselves as their devotees, so and so but setting their harvest to fire! They sacrifice themselves but they are busy with seditious acts of killings. They are devoting themselves as such!

National reconstruction by people

At any rate, our country needs to be run by the people themselves; the cities too are required to be renewed by you. Don not stay aside saying city councils are formed. The councils are weak and cannot do things well. They are able to do things only if people join them. This is our human responsibility to help each other to improve the situation, God willing. May God grant success to you all!

¹ Sulayman Mirza, of Tudeh leaders.

Message

Date: October 25, 1979 [Aban 3, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Breaking the idols and great satanic powers of the time

Occasion: Arafah Day

Audience: World Muslims and pilgrims to Mecca

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“There is the Messenger (s), a good leader for you”²

Aban 3, 1358 AHS

Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH

Peace and praise of God be upon the Messenger (s) who rose up alone against the idol-worshippers and the arrogant powers and hoisted the banner of monotheism in favor of the oppressed. He never feared despite his meager number of followers and attacked the insurgents and oppressors with his few people and insufficient war materials, but with a strong faith and resolution. He let the world hear the call of monotheism in less than half a century across the greatest developed lands.

Praise of the world and blessing of God Almighty be upon you, the great Kabah pilgrims from the four corners of the world for rushing to the House of God, the hub of monotheism, revelation and people of Ibrahim and Muhammad, two idol-breakers rising against the arrogant people. May peace be upon you who got yourselves to holy stations, where divine angels ascended, armies of God launched their attacks and prophets as well as righteous servants of God sojourned in the age of revelation in arid lands and greenless and waterless mountains! Lo! Appreciate the position of sacred rites of pilgrimage and be armed, from idol-breaking center, to break the great idols that have turned into satanic powers and cannibal plunderers. Do not be afraid of powers devoid of faith and make a pledge of unity against the armies of polytheism and mischief by reliance upon God, the Great, in the grand places and avoid disunity, “dispute not one with another lest ye falter

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it is dated Aban 30, 1358 AHS. True date is transcribed by the Imam as Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH (Aban 3, 1358 AHS).

² *Surah al-Ahzab* 33: 21.

and your strength depart from you.”¹ Faith and Islam that constitute the foundation of triumph and authority is worn off by quarrels and grouping complying with carnal desires and running counter to orders of God Almighty. Gathering under the aegis of truth and unity of expression and monotheism, from which originates the majesty of Islamic Ummah, achieves victory.

Oh, Muslims of the world! What happened to you who in early Islam, along with a few people split apart the big powers and forged a great human Islamic *ummah*; now with roughly one billion population and having huge reserves that is the biggest weapon against the enemy, such strongly enfeebled? Do you know all your misery is a result of disunity among your country leaders and you? Stand up and hold the Holy Quran and deliver yourselves to God, Almighty, to rehabilitate your own glory and grandiosity of endeared Islam. Let's give an ear to God's sermon, when he says, “Say (unto them, O Muhammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah's sake, by twos and singly.”² All rise up for God; rise up individually against devilish army within your inward and generally in the face of satanic powers. If uprising and revolution is raised for God, it will be victorious. Oh, Muslims of the world and the oppressed of the universe! Join forces to turn to God, seek asylum in Islam and attack those arrogant people who assault the nation's rights. O' Pilgrims of Kabah! Join hands in divine places of standing and ask God Almighty for triumph of Islam, Muslims and the oppressed of the world.

Oh, speakers and writers! Let your regional socio-political problems go forth to faithful brothers across the great gatherings of Arafat, Mashar, Mina, holy Mecca and luminous Medina and ask each other's victory. O' pilgrims of Kabah! Let the word about conspiracies of the leftist and rightist, particularly the aggressive and plundering America as well as criminal Israel go forth to the world, asking assistance. Consider the crimes of the criminals and seek refuge in God Almighty for reforming the state of Muslims and cutting the hands of criminals. I am harbinger of good tidings of triumph as to will of God. “*Verily, God is potent of that*”, Peace be upon the Messenger (s), his Muslims and righteous servants of Him! May blessing of God be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Surah al-Anfal 8: 46.

² Surah as-Saba 34: 46.

Decree

Date: October 25, 1979 [Aban 3, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Ardakan's Friday Prayer Leader

Addressee: Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami (May his blessings last long),

I hope you are safe and sound and engaged in divine duties. As to condition of time and needs of Muslims of every region to further solidarity and knowledge of present matters and their momentous duties, it is deemed advisable to have Friday prayer held up everywhere while achieving an aim in this regard. To this end, you are hereby appointed Friday prayer leader of Ardakan. I hope the honorable residents to take the chance to participate in the congregational prayer and keep on assisting in this respect. I pray to God Almighty for a public success. May peace and blessing of God be upon you all!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: October 25, 1979 [Aban 3, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Duties of the nation in present conditions—Consideration to army being Islamic

Audience: Eastern Azarbayjan Air Force Base Personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Steadfast and invincible revolution

I thank you for coming to meet each other at close range, a brotherly visit for talking about our troubles. Of course, be assured that troubles lack a basic incentive to stop the revolution, a nation's revolution that brought superpowers to their knees and drew them aback. It is not temperate for mass mobs, some remnants of the ex-regime and Zionist-American puppets with their mischief to defeat the revolution. You are winner as you did so with the help of nation and interference with its problems. From now on, God willing you will attain to this aim by preserving your unity and relying on Islam and it rules. I hope we witness Islam wherever in this Islamic country and see the holy Prophet's footsteps wherever you go. All of us observe national welfare wherever in the country, magnificence of the country and that of the Islamic countries.' I hope this is achieved as God Almighty stays with you.

Public obligation

Of course, you, the whole nation and we are up to obligations now. Presently, we are on the way. We broke the big dam, but there are corruption, troubles, ruins, disorders and backwardness dragged behind. We inherit a country that has been under strains of America, England and other superpowers for fifty years or so; it has been changed into a ruin with all backwardness. Above all, its manpower is backward; they let it not grow. They allowed its Islam not to do whatever it wants to. For this, we have a war-ridden country where there has been a 50-year corruption. It is stricken with corruption and all people must extirpate this corruption. All of us have to be unified to carry the burden and to let the revolution bear fruits. We are obligated politically, socially and personally wherever we live.

Significance of army being Islamized

You are in the army—I hope you gain strength increasingly—and can be involved in mending the affairs. The army is foundation of a country, protector of a county and must become Islamized. If it gains an Islamic mentality, it can drive the country to absolute perfection. You safeguard boundaries of country. Someone safeguarding the borders of an Islamic country must be Islamic himself. Islam has to govern all your barracks. You must be Islamic; all forces whether military or else must be Islamic. Islamic Republic must have its contents fulfilled. Once its inclusions are fulfilled, all foreigners' hands will be cut off you and cannot be returned.

No Fear of enemy's false propaganda

Note that your power should be kept. Preserve unity of word and be unified. Do not remember post-revolution troubles. There are a lot of problems after every revolution, particularly a revolution inheriting a country in 50-year stifling atmosphere. You have inherited such a country. After every revolution, people suffer diseases and, thank God, our revolution among the revolutions has been purer and cleaner and must be called, "White". I hope God Almighty stays with us. God willing, He does, as our revolution has been Islamic. People launched the revolution for the sake of Islam that has come to be victorious through the cries of "God is the Greatest". May God, Almighty, support you, Islamic nations, Iranian nation and us! All move forward to remove the problems, God willing. Stay powerful.

Let not fear overtake you with what is said and written by some papers to the effect that Iran is now in confusion. Do not fear these foreigners who spread rumors that nothing has happened. Power is in your hands and the country is in your hands. These few people who make mischief will be sent to graveyard. You survive, God willing.

Speech

Date: October 25, 1979 [Aban 3, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Low Class Distinction—Framework of Freedom of Speech and penning—Dignity of *faqih* in Islamic Government

Audience: Babol IRGC personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Roots of problems of the revolution

It is not the first time I hear what you read. From the very start of revolution up to its victory releasing 35 million people began thinking about the troubles, with their attention to the revolution diminishing. Almost every day we read these in papers and listen to speeches. We are not negligent of these things; these issues are clear. You know that regardless of the 2500 years, in the past 50 years or so they had planned to drive Iran to revolt and decadence. They worked to eliminate everything. You see what has been done to agriculture in the name of reforms. Everything is kept underdeveloped and now whoever comes from his land says ours is worst of all! This ranges from Kurdistan, Bakhtiyari, Baluchestan to Khuzestan. This is almost brought about as a matter of backwardness and public poverty, freely delivering the national resources to enemies of Islam beside further things of what you said.

Fulfillment of needs call for time and peace

When a country of 35 million people is driven out of strangling situation all of a sudden and is free maintain a right for them as they have had a part in the developments. Well, the problems are theirs, but they should think whether the problems could be resolved so soon. Can all this homelessness, misery, economic under-development, corruption, unemployment, let's say, agricultural drawbacks and the like be well done through a state or a group so soon? This, of course, needs time. You see that opposition does not give respite to the government and us to handle the things with ease of mind. They give rise to disorders. Well, when there is confusion around in Kurdistan, can asphalt road be made there? Assume it is asphalted? Well, there is war waged there. Can it be done in war? Can there be reconstruction works there? They are aggravating things to make people frustrated. They want to throw people

aside, that is, a power, and let them be disappointed with no ability of working. These are the things under consideration.

Rejecting undue charges

Many of what you said is under study. Just the day before, some gentlemen were here and talked to me concerning the problems you enumerated and said the problems are being studied for implementation. Stop imagining that we are unmindful of these things; you see we are here now to hear their problems. Groups after you, one after another, come here to see me. I must go up on the roof to reach people. Yet, those who seek mischief argue that so and so never meets anyone at all! They write that I do not meet anyone, but you are here now. They say there is only one channel of meeting a few people of knowledge! Whereas as you know, I get up in the morning and meet many people until noon. I am 80 and meet all people, men, women, people of knowledge and different tribes. When they say I am not meeting people who raise their problems, they mean to make you realize that I am unable to do something because I am kept uninformed of the things! Well, when one is unaware of anything, one cannot do anything. I am well informed of everything and everywhere. The man raised something about Kurdistan that I well knew.

Warning against class difference

The issues you posed have been repetitively talked about. I say we are mindful of things and be assured that Islam lives for the oppressed. I talked to the capitalists and factory owners who frequented here that it is not advisable to see one group live that way, even getting a car for their dogs whereas another group is beheld to lead a ghetto life where every ten people stay in a cubbyhole. This is by no means bearable.

I warned them saying if, God forbid, an explosion takes place in context of Islam—once something would happen in *taghut* time, well, they said it is *taghut* and we said Islam, God willing, would fix the things in the future; now this is said again—with a disappointment, then no power can end it. The disappointment comes up if we cannot pull down the corrupt people a bit and pull up the oppressed a little. This is a threat to a class of people that is unmindful of affairs. I gave them some pieces of advice. I now admonish all those with much wealth to be mindful and know if, God forbid, the population grows discouraged and bursts into instigation, all of you and us will be wiped away. You must take a piece of idea and do something. Of

course, they should not think this way. We are liable to think and we do it through legal aspects and divine guardianship.

Usurer wealthy people

I was in Najaf where Le Monde interviewed me ¹ and I said what situation we had. We ourselves settle account with usurers. Islam will not be such as to let this group and that group does such a thing. We will square up with them. They had nothing to do with Islam. Usurers must be inspected in their actions and accounts whenever possible. At any rate, we know these troubles. I know what is happening in some places.

Good news of unity of procedure in judiciary system

As for what you said that the courts act in disharmony, a few days ago in Qum a group of court judges were invited to propose unanimous action that might fix the case, God willing. We know well that there are some people even some clerics who act improperly. Of course, they will gradually mend their way. Rest assured that the case is settled. You were the people, empty-handed, who led the strong state and the satanic power to split apart and go to hell; what are you afraid of now? You fear four democrats or four thieves? These are bandits. I remember well, but you do not. Like the ones in Khomein where they came to capture but people stopped them. For some time, they launched larceny; later on, banditry centered on one spot, meaning Rida Khan and his son! They prevented others from it and made it exclusive to themselves. Now, they are gone and other bandits are free to act, like the four ones I mentioned. Who are afraid of them? Nobody. Everything will be corrected.

Superiority of Iranian Islamic Revolution over other revolutions

Considering the revolutions elsewhere like the Soviet's, one that is sixty years old, disordered and corrupted. Millions of people are murdered, millions! It is said there are million people killed in an unimportant revolution nowadays. Iranian revolution, being an Islamic one, caused them not to massacre people aimlessly as they had faith in Islam. This is the best revolution occurred till now. Of course, there was bloodshed, but it was little. On the other hand, people in the center of corruption killed the masses; some of them were punished and some others fled. Yet, the Islamic Revolution,

¹ French Daily Newspaper Le Monde. Eric Rolo, commentator and well-known correspondent of Le Monde, made an interview with Imam in Najaf. This is the first interview of a foreign newspaper with Imam.

among others in the world, has been better and proper. All were given absolute freedom after it occurred.

Pens are free that are not conspiratorial

Do you imagine freedom is accessible in other revolutions? People were not granted freedom. In post-revolution period, all newspapers were banned, all gatherings were prohibited and everybody was suffocated in the name of revolution. Many things happen in revolution but ours prevented no group and no pen except those known for being conspiratorial were banned. Anti-Islam conspirators intending to raise a plot were barred and told what to do. Now spoiled writers say why we ban the so and so magazine. Well, they do not understand that newspaper or magazine receive entire resources from Israel. They expect us not to stop Israel even if it is engaged in conspiracy! Pens must be free, but pens that are not conspiratorial. All pens and newspapers are free when they do not aim at retarding and decaying our nation. These pens look like the former bayonets that wanted to lead the nation to decadence. Of course, the nation ceases to tolerate the situation because the youth have been sacrificed. Now four people sitting at their table devise a plan, saying the pen are not free. What else is not free? Which pens are not free? Spoiled pens need not be free. Presently, very many of the spoiled writers including those crying for freedom are free. They are conspirators.

Anyway, be assured and move forward with strong hearts and clenched fists. You are triumphant provided you preserve the revolution in its origin and strength. Do not refer to minor things, complaining that "I do not have my real place or it is smaller than someone else's. Forget considering things of your own, e.g. my position must be such and such.

Resolution of problems by realization of Islam

As you see what is said, we know a group of people lives in ghettos. We observe it and we feel sorry for them, but it is not so as they are not being considered. Consideration is given to them to improve their situation gradually. Just now some people in charge of Mustadafin Foundation attended here showing how much they had done on building houses. They said they were doing it more. Surely, 30 million populations many of whom are vagabond and live uncomfortably. Such a problem needs gradual improvement. Besides that our economy is ruined; over dues left behind for our nation to pay back to banks and whatever they had were taken away. Assume whatever of their properties is mortgaged of banks in exchange for

money. A few months ago, they knew they were going to be finished, so they thought of taking everything away and they did so. But God is with you and us. Whoever acts for God and rises up for God, one shall not let fear in one. If one is defeated, one should not be frightened because this is not a defeat. We work for God. The Doyen of Martyrs (a) was overcome but as he worked for God he is not defeated whereas his defeat is in form not in content. You will become victorious, God willing. I hope Islam is fulfilled as we wish it to be. Once fulfilled, everything would be set in order.

Opponents' accusations of the Assembly of Experts

Stop complaining of the Assembly of Experts as it includes *ulama* who consider everything in plans. One of the members of the assembly came to me the day before and said they had plans. Do not imagine they want to reinstate the arrogant powers. No, this is not the issue. Neither the assembly nor Muslims would be ready to restore the situation of former plundering nor usury and what the Khans did to farmers? This is not the issue and you should not fear it. Do not be deceived by those who deny the assembly. These are the people that intend to stop the assembly working and let not the revolution bear fruits but return to what they need. The good among them want a democratic republic minus Islam and the ones dependent on somewhere wish what is said above.

At any rate, we must join hands to chant what we cried at the outset: "Freedom, Independence and Islamic Republic". Islamic Republic means precepts of Islam; the precepts of Islam must prevail. If they say with the establishment of *wilayat-e faqih* dictatorship is formed, this indicates that they do not understand it. *Wilayat-e faqih* shall not be settled, as the government must belong to the nation. They are not well informed of *wilayat-e faqih*, who wants to stop dictatorship rather than be a dictator himself. They fear that larceny might be banned! If the president comes to power with the endorsement of *faqih*, one who knows what Islam is and is annoyed for Islam, allows him not to make a mistake, If the president is a westerner and is empowered, there would be no objection! Whereas if he is a *faqih* with his life devoted to Islam and is interested in Islam with the conditions restricting the *faqih* from any violation, objections are raised.

Rank of *Faqih* in Islamic government

Islam is the religion of law. Muhammad the Prophet could not violate the law! He did not, because he could not disobey the law. God says to him, "If Muhammad ascribed lies to me, he would be avenged and cut off his

vessel of hand.”¹ It is law that rules. No one rules other than the divine law. There is guardianship for anyone, neither *faqih* nor non-*faqih*. All act under law. All people, including *faqih* and non-*faqih*, practice law. *Faqih* monitors implementation of law so that they might not disobey law. He never wants to exert rule but intends to let not the governments be inclined toward *taghut* and dictatorship if they remain in power for a while. We have suffered a lot, for Islam and blood of your youths has been shed for Islam. Now will we let its foundation, existed in time of the Commander of the Faithful (a) and Muhammad (s), shake because of a handful of cheap people who circle around, cross their legs, have coffee and use their pens against it? Can we allow them to do so? Is it permissible for a Muslim to leave aside Islam and waste the blood shed for it? This is because such *wilayat-e faqih* fails to exist! Well, you do not know who he is; *wilayat-e faqih* existed from scratch, when Muhammad (s) lived. What do they say? These people, uninformed of jurisprudence, of living affairs say such things to spoil the minds. They imagine that we are here for the capitalists! That was a statement I heard today! Sir, the issue goes beyond such things; this is propaganda. Do not be after whom they are; they are righteous people always busy with the affairs. Those fearing Islam must of course lash out at everything. They criticize every person in charge on one hand and attack every group at work on the other hand. Whoever talks of Islam, they shall block him.

May God assist you and good luck! We all are your servants. I hope we achieve our aim that is our Islam, God willing.

¹ Referring to *Surah al-Haqah*, verses 44-46.

Decree

Date: October 26, 1979 [Aban 4, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Muhammad Baqir Rafi'i as Friday Prayer Imam of Grand Mosque of Abdulazim holy shrine

Addressee: Shahr-e Rey Bazaar Tradesmen and citizens

In His Most Exalted Name

The honorable citizens of Bazaar District in Shahr-e Rey (May God assist them),

I received a scroll signed by a large number of gentlemen, approved by a number of Tehran *ulama*. The scroll demanded your Eminence Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Rafii to come here to put up congregational prayer at Abdulazim holy shrine. Upon negotiation, he is supposed to admit the invitation. I hope the honorable citizens take the chance to appreciate him. I pray God Almighty for success of you all. May peace and Mercy of God be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: October 26, 1979 [Aban 4, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Priority of Cultural Reforms—Concept of freedom and suffocation—colonialist link of superpowers

Audience: Islamic Association Member Teachers East Azarbayjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Cultural dependency release

What are up to you, teachers after revolution and all those in charge of education are to spare the brains westernized in the course of 50-or-so-year despotic regime and exotic hegemony. If a nation is to be salvaged, culture and universities must come in the category of salvage. As long as our brains remain reliant upon foreigners, none of the troubles mentioned can be elusive. Above all reforms, stands reform of “culture” and salvage of our youths from westernization. The West owns many helpful things exclusively, a small part of which along with a lot of felonies is exported to the East.

West exports cultural dependency, not knowledge and progress

What they export in the name of “knowledge,” “culture” and “progress” differs from what they own. They think differently for the easterners. A few days or weeks ago one of the papers or magazines said the so and so drugs have been banned in America, but its third world exportation is no problem! The physicians going abroad for studies and license are given no right of occupation in the country of their education after they are graduated. They are said to practice medicine in their own lands! The education our youths receive, as they imagine it a progression, is not qualitatively proper. What is beneficial to all is never at our discretion. If there is education, it is trivial and, I need to say, a colonialist one. They make us dependent on everything and give us nothing. Now, we are generally assumed to be dependent in one way or another, above which is mental reliance. Much of the mentality of our youths, our aged men, our educated people and our intellectuals is west-oriented. In fact, it is U.S-oriented. Still, even those with no bad faith and an imagination of serving their country are dependent as they are not shown the right way and believe that we must obtain everything from the West. This dependency is sprung from all our dependencies. Our cultural dependency, if

existing, is followed by economic, political and social dependency. All this exists.

Border of suffocation and freedom

You, teachers and all professors, consider the point that the West gives us no helpful things. It owns useful things but gives us naught and exports nothing. What it gives us or exports to us are means of leading our country to decadence. It exports freedom but the freedom of prostitution! Regrettably, Iranian people who are peace-monger stop things that ruin the country are subjected to objection of people who cry out that suffocating atmosphere governs the country! Suffocation means prevention of pens that seek to secure the interests of your country, your nation and your Islam. If something detrimental to the society, to the revolution and to the country is stopped, this is not called suffocation. This implies prevention of corruption. These two borders should be separated. Impeding corruption and freeing the youths to enter brothel and turn to heroin, opium, gambles and the like is not called suffocation. It is named acting in favor of the youth. During the reign of the evil dynasty in Iran, certain things were free; whoever does whatever he wishes except intervening in national and personal affairs. They provide more of such freedoms! Brothels in large cities, particularly in Tehran, exceeded the healthy places. People said pubs were available more than bookshops! Gambling places and centers providing the ground for our children to commit fornication and to drive the boys and girls to fornication were free. These places were spread widely through advertisement. Television, radio, magazines and newspapers advertised these acts of corruption, which was reflected in their statements. This sort of propaganda was free to spoil our youths, but one pen was not free, the pens treating the nation's troubles. One tongue was not free, the one to talk about fate of the country. If one word were raised against them, one's fate would be decided by SAVAK.

They limited freedom to one front and cried, "free women and free men"! They meant freedom of whatever kind, joining every center of prostitution.

Suffocation stood in another front for the pens that worked for interests of the country and Islam. They were not free but suffocated. Presently, you observe a few pens are pursuing similar policies. When a conspirator, whose conspiracy has been proven to nation, is obstructed, they raise canes that so and so happened! If prostitution is stopped, the gentlemen cry out that there is no liberty! They complain stormily of someone who does something

beneficial to future of his country and ensures independence of the country, saying, "Why is this so?" They want to exert censorship. There are people who are agents of censorship with their pens? These cannot force prevention of actions and they make censorship with their pens! They even censor the Assembly of Experts and lash out at it.

Roots of opponent's criticism

Upon examining the roots of criticism, one can see roots turn back to the fact that if this is settled, it is anti-imperialism and against their aims. This is the root but it is literally manifested another way. We are now entangled with such things and our youths are entangled in western dependency. We must join hands to let the trouble out. Forget the West. I thought if we could stretch out a wall, ground and aerial between the West and the East and among the Islamic nations just as China did, then, we would be rescued. If we excuse their progress, we obtain more benefits. We do not want even what is given to us in the name of "progress".

Relation with superpowers, relation of wolf and lamb!

You noticed how much of national reserves and budget is being expended for procuring warfare unusable by Iranians in time of Muhammad-Rida, the wretched traitor, who is said to be going to hell or, I do not know, if it is another plot. This is under consideration. Things of no use to us were purchased for making US bases. Our oil and riches were given and what was received in place? They made US bases in exchange for money of oil! Oil was taken; in return weapons or some things were given to us, things we were unable to use. In fact, they made us stand in need of experts and advisors. They made bases out of our money! They imported "progressive things" in this way. Let these things belong to them!

Do not think that they act in favor of us. Only simpleton people would think that they want to take us, easterners, one step forward toward progression! They do not want this to happen. The eastern nations must think of themselves and suffer no amnesia about the West. The easterners have to be engaged in improving their country. If we could stop our relation with them, it would be to our advantage. Do not imagine that our relations with America and, I do not know, with the Soviet Union are to our interest. This looks like wolf-lamb relation! That is disadvantageous to lamb. They want to seize from us instead of giving us. They voice this kind of pill is forbidden there! Take it to the east to be sold. What are they thinking of us? The pill

forbidden there is perhaps harmful because otherwise it would not be banned and could be sold in there!

False upholders of human rights

What do they think of state of the East and third world? How do they imagine? These are the people that have assemblies for the "human rights" and, I do not know, even the rights of animals! Yet, all these assemblies are held for protecting their own rights in the name of human rights while trampling upon our rights. They say rights of animals should be kept; in fact, they support animals. One group says of support of animals but thousands of people and hundred millions of people in other cities are set ablaze, in Vietnam for instance! Another group talks about "human rights," but they trample upon human rights. Unfortunately, we believe these things and our speakers advocate them and their human rights proclamation! Human rights can be founded by Islam whose heads are people like Ali Ibn Abitalib rather than those who devour mankind and call it "human rights"!

Necessity for east to be awakened from slumber

The easterners must be awakened of their long slumber. We must wake up of the negligence; otherwise, we will fall bait to them. Colleges must be enlightened. From primary schools to universities, the western mentality must be cleansed, so the easterners could stand on their feet. If they do not do so and remain dependent, nothing is improved. The main threat is mental dependency with an imagination that everything they have comes from the West. Once someone is sick, one never calls on doctors here; one immediately travels to America or England! It is impossible here! A group of our physicians attended this place. I told them what our universities have been doing up to now that one sick person must go up to the West for treatment! They said they could treat sick people but the people have changed their attitudes. Thoughts of this kind lead our nation to decadence and that everything must be coming from there and dependent on there. Since our automobiles, electricity and, I do not know, what the hell, come from there, our culture must come from there as well! Sir, know that they want no interests for us. They try to make us meaner than animals! They attempt to bring us up in a western way and work for them. Otherwise, we remain underdeveloped and they can take away everything we have. The East must be awakened! It has to keep a different account for its own than that of the West's as much as it can. This could be done to the end of it; it is possible and if it is not, at least its culture must be released.

Saving the deluded youths

Save our youths! The states are obligated to spare our youths. The universities are dutiful to rescue the youths. Regretfully, there are people, ubiquitous all around universities, training centers, deserts, Kurdistan and Baluchestan being dependent on them, on America and the like. These are the people who are fed by them and serve them; besides, where can our youths bring money? They say two or three thousand employees are paid this much per head not to work! What money do they have? Where has the money come from? It comes from there for them, where have the weapons, now at work in Kurdistan come from? Are they actually, the people who serve their own land? They must be asked where they had brought the weapons. O' "People's Devotees"! Where did you bring the arms? When uproar is raised in Kurdistan, you go up there. Having failed to act, you move up, as reported, to Rasht, Anzali and around there. Where do you bring the money and arms? Is it not from foreigners? In case, our youths receive money and arms from the outsiders to plague the country, they are highly traitors. Nevertheless, they show themselves as intellectuals and kill people, declaring that the Islamic Republic is killing Kurds! The Islamic Republic is not after murdering them but helping them out of their hands.

These are part of the problems, but I give you good news of victory. I herald you that this is the state of our nation, the state of enlightenment as a result of which they lose and you win. Move forward with strength and power of thought and will, as you are victorious. They have been repelled with no return, God willing. I hope God will grant you success. May God give us luck to follow aims of Islam! All should know that if you take refuge in Islam, all things would go fine. In case you stepped forward with the help of "God is the Greatest," you are successful with the same august word, God willing.

Message

Date: October 27, 1979 [Aban 5, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 5, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Holding revolutionary ceremonies on the eve of 15th century AH

Addressee: Islamic Republic Revolutionary Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the eve of 1400th year of Prophet Muhammad's (s) immigration from Medina to Mecca, as archetype of revolutionary revolution of Islam, under the guidance of the Holy Quran and man-making leadership of the most exalted man of the world, it is advisable to hold up revolutionary ceremonies in commemoration of the auspicious century with the assistance of the people and the state.

Although the past century remained disastrous for our endeared nation, Islam and the country, Iranian Islamic Revolution would change the fate of Islamic *ummah* in the ensuing century during the late years of this century. I hope that the shackled east, particularly the Islamic lands, perpetuate their campaigns for independence and freedom under the banner of monotheism, to be released from the claws of conspiratorial east and west. The present century can be an illuminating century for Islamic nations. I pray to God Almighty for dignity of Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it is dated Aban 6, 1358 AHS but according to hand script of the Imam, Aban 5, 1358 AHS is true.

Speech

Date: October 28, 1979 [Aban 5, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 5, 1399]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attention to Agriculture—Problem of slackness

Addressee: RG's of Semirom and Isfahan Reconstruction *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Iran's nomads as backbone of the country

I hope the devoted youth can serve Islam and the country as desirably as possible. I wish we could overcome the existing hurdles with the Islamic power and refuge of Islam.

Formerly, Iran's nomads had been one of the national enterprises who were weakened one after another through domination of the regime and help of foreigners. They were the nomads who could stop aggressors. But, father of Muhammad-Rida, Rida Khan, coming to power had been apparently ordered to enfeeble the nomads. Of course, some Khans of then were empowered to trespass, yet Rida Khan ceased to weaken them; rather he might have been ordered to eliminate nomads neither to defend their country nor to stop any aggression. They broke up all powers that were likely to stand against the outsiders. They split apart the authority of clergymen and nomads and removed or relocated them as much as they could. For this, they committed a treachery against Iran.

Now that they have no hands of reach in this respect, Iran's nomads must accomplish their national and Islamic duties. They should not act in such a way that since the regime has been toppled, tribal people are grappling with each other and with people. One should pay great heed to this aspect and observe all Islamic rules.

Effort of government and people for agriculture

You should run a country that is yours. For example, one affair necessary now all over the country is farming. We are now in the fall season, which is farming season. Try to farm on the fields desirably. If our agriculture cannot suffice to meet our needs and we have to stretch our hands toward America and the like for food, well then we would be dependent with no ability to mention politically. People who were engaged in agriculture should embark on it again. Those having earlier problems could not do well; now it is the

time to act and the state too is required to join them insofar as we are able to export agricultural products. Let not the case be such that we are in trouble again, stretching our hands out to foreigners for bread. It is disgraceful for an Islamic country to beg America for bread or to sell bread to us! This is a shame for us. We must be self-sufficient in everything such as agriculture. Iran is a country whose agriculture must be rich. One of Iran's provinces can satisfy its needs and export the remaining products.

Why must Iran be in need of others? They did so in the name of "Land Reforms" and destroyed the whole agriculture, leading to decadence. It is now up to you, the peasants to overwork and not to be negligent. The country is yours, so you must renew it. One aspect of renewal is agriculture that needs to be done well. In your regions, where there is agricultural field or all regions fit for the purpose should go under farming. Of course, you should take care of legal and Islamic dimensions. Embark on agriculture to enrich the country, God willing.

Problem of low work in factories and offices

One of the troubles made again is that of the workers' in factories. There appear disturbance, low work and inactivity. The factories are yours. Those now in factories have to work, much beyond they used to.

As reported, another problem goes to state staff, who have no output or low output. Those *taghut* formalities still persist. It is not right. This needs to be mended. Ministries decide to improve the situation. How long should we be in the chains of *taghuti* problems? When the state approves something, bureaucracy blocks improvement for quite some time. Complaints are reported to us. Everyday the state might be complained of its offices and staff. These must be corrected. When? I do not know!

Need for purging and reforming TV

Anyway, I thank you mothers and brothers who work hard in Reconstruction *Jihad*. When Reconstruction *Jihad* is shown on TV, of course, not properly as it is, I think hands work there to spur deviation and TV directors cannot manage it well. There are corrupt hands in TV system where deviation is made visible. Most of slogans chanted, poetry recited and whatever said there come from the deviant groups. These need to be improved. How long TV should be involved in distracting the matters? A distractive case is raised many times. The interviewer interviews people, filling them with whatever of annoyance. He repeats something to make them confess to worsened things. However he says, "I'm fine", he insists on

public terror! All things are spoiled! They must be kicked out of TV. If they fail to do it, I send somebody to take care of the job. Why? It is because everywhere we see negligence.

I do not know what to do with the situation, as all of them are people of carelessness. All are involved in making a problem fearing that somebody might write against them. They should act in a way to fulfill divine pleasure and to be aligned with line of nation. These things have to be mended; otherwise, we remain to be seen as underdeveloped. At the same time, I am very happy to see parts of Reconstruction *Jihad*.

Removing the problems in light of unity of word

I hope the nation itself never relies on other powers? The people themselves get busy with the improvement of affairs. My hope is betterment of works and re-organization of country within the same voice. Be assured that you now go to cities as the ladies join *Jihad* in villages whereas they have to be in cities in welfare. Engineers, physicians and the educated go up there. The sympathy emerged among the people can make us be assured of resolution of problems, God willing. We overcome obstacles and make sure you are triumphant. You resolve all problems. I hope problems in Kurdistan, too, be settled by you, the youth, revolutionary guards, army, gendarmerie and likewise. Move strongly and nothing dangerous bothers you. May God protect you all!

Permission

Date: October 28, 1979 [Aban 6, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission for financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ahmad Wahidi Mehrjerdi Yazdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After peace and praise extended to you, His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ahmad Wahidi Mehrjerdi Yazdi is permitted on my behalf to be in charge of financial affairs, receive religious law sums and spend *Sadat's* shares in the region. He is also allowed to expend one third of Imam's (*a*) holy share for his own affairs and to send the remaining two third to me to spent for seminaries. I hope the honorable citizens of Mehrjerd will appreciate you and your efforts. I implore God Almighty to grant success to all who serve Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1399 AH

Message

Date: October 28, 1979 [Aban 6, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching an envoy to Eqlid town

Addressee: Citizens of Eqlid

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Citizens of Eqlid (May God assist them),

Following your request of dispatching scholars to examine the regional problems, Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Safdari and the Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Ali-Akbar Ashtiyani are going to visit the region to inspect the conditions at close range and take an action to remove socio-religious problems of the region. I hope the honorable citizens take the chance to cooperate with the noble scholars while trying for reform of things, tranquility in the region and unity of expression. I implore God Almighty to grant success to all. May peace and Mercy of God be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: October 28, 1979 [Aban 6, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attempt for easing dependencies—US conspiracy against the nation—
Refusal to weaken the forces

Audience: Officials of Qum Reconstruction *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Cleansing stains of national dependencies

I am in conditions that find little opportunity to meet my brothers from Qum closely. I am interested in the youth and people of Qum whom I know since long.

What needs consideration on part of the nation is that today the country is in control of you. It looks as if you are in your home. Therefore, as landlords, you should care about it. The landlords are the nation, particularly the working class who toils for their own nation. This house was a cramped place that came into your hands and you must be careful about it. Qum has always taken the initiative in affairs and I should thank you, sir and your son for putting forth things and what troubles you have suffered in different affairs. I also thank those who are still involved in such things. All provinces, towns and villages integrated should rise up for construction. I also reiterated this to some groups and one becomes ashamed of seeing an export-oriented country stretching its hands out to America—enemy of the nation and mankind—for aids. The aids are given to us on purposes, which go for them rather than for us. Therefore, we must let out such a shame on our country.

Economic dependency, source of dependencies

Our agriculture needs to be strengthened in such a way that through the efforts of our youth and all people that we can become exporter after one or two years, being changed into a giver rather than taker. If we are in need to foreigners for food, the reliance paves the way for political dependency that is to be discontinued from the east and the west. In case we want our country to be free, independent and ours, we have to work for economic and cultural development and in other fields instead of staying aside. The state should join as much as it can. The state and we need to be joined in forces. As the gentleman said and you see, you let things ahead with your efforts with no

good assistance on the other side. From now on, the entire nation must act so, joining hands to carry the burden home.

US plot against Iran

You see that plots are being staged and America has taken the traitor¹ and number—one enemy of man there under the excuse of being sick. We do not know if it is true or not? Physicians over their surveying his illness said he did not need to come to America for such an ailment. He could be cured here in Iran. It became obvious that conspiracy is underway. Of course, it is not possible for him to become somebody and breathe again, thank God. Yet, he is a cat's paw of powerful nations and devils because they need others and sorts of people to serve them. They should know that you could not reach Iran any more. No longer can you again bring about whatever of misery as you did before. This is a nation risen up and knows its own obligation.

The change now occurred in our people, one example of which is you, my dear youths, engaged in such activities; women and men are also involved in actions. The change as such supports this country. They wanted to force in here when such change never existed; the nation was not awakened. Now if you ask someone who his enemy is, he answers it is the east, the west, America in the first place and Zionism in the first place. This nation can never be deceived. You uselessly resorted to take a corpse to your country and use him as a plaything! Of course, we object to this as our enemy, first class criminal and a great felon is taken away. We ask them to extradite him since he owes us and keeps our treasures. Foreign banks now available keep our national reserves saved by him and his subordinates. We want them for our people. America claims that it is happy with the revolution launched! Such things they shoot. When the revolution was moving ahead, the very America frequently sent somebody to me in Paris, saying, "Ignore the Shah, let him be in power," later Bakhtiar was too a concern to America. America has become revolutionary now! As you see, who the people coming here are and claim what of campaign and torture they had suffered before! Whereas I know they used to live in a state of welfare with no activity whatsoever. If they had done something of action, it was against the line of nation. This is customary to say such things these days but as they observed torrential flood flowing ahead, they joined it before being flown away. Some of them still continue to say such things.

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Political growth of the nation

I wish the so-called intellectuals, academics, university chancellors and professors and all such people think of this country. Do not you ever think of making problems for courts, cops, IRGC and the administration? This demonstrates that we have no political growth again. The people with political growth seeing once the nation is released from the claws of the wolves and that those rotten roots might join again to make troubles must unify. No one should sit at home with his words and his pen telling things against the nation. This is because we are not grown. Whatever intellectuality exists in us, yet political growth is another thing. Whatever knowledge we have, yet political growth is another dimension.

If we are politically mature in a country now in our hands with good, human and free life, we should not keep fractions in, say, several months and as seen 200 groups with different names and mottos are formed as there used to be problems in early constitutionalism for breaking apart the powers congregated then. They have started to organize various parties as before. Unfortunately, the parties forged here in Iran all are at odds and quarrels! This is something people should avoid following.

Treason of weakening the loyal forces

People of all walks of life must join forces to help the country out. They should not sit to attack and weaken the state, the nation, the Assembly of Experts, committees, IRGC and the like. Treason means weakening the nation, RG and the people now serving this country. We should stop thinking of writing whatever we want. As I write, I do not think what I write! At times, writers are such! They write well but they do not write good things. They write about something harmful to the country in nice and bombastic manner to make it look favorable to the youth, but in fact harm the country.

Gentlemen! Come to your sense! O' Writers, speakers and intellectuals of our country! This country is yours now. Sit down and join hands with the people busy with actions. These poor people make homes, baths, mosques, drugstores and the like—as the gentleman briefed. Well, you too join them to help. If you do not make baths, do not demolish them, at least. If you cannot reap crops with farmers, do not bother them with your pens, at least.

Expressing regret over unwise actions

I am really afraid to see useful people for country after mischief. Be assured you win if the revolution, God willing, moves forward and it does. God stays with you as you rely on Him.

I am sorry to say if the country goes ahead as wished, then they will be of no use to us for when one opposes revolution within the revolution times, saying things American and Zionist agents say—I do not say they are agents of them, they are senseless, only a few! They say what is said in there; well, when the revolution reaches the end, they are not allowed to stay here in the country. We like to see you working in your own country. Why do not you make a hash of yourselves before the nation? Why do you stay away from the nation? Why do you stop or delay a revolution that has gone ahead this much, God forbid? It reaches destination but your words might delay it a bit more. Why do you act in such a way everyday that the negligent youth might be affected by you, appearing in the universities and streets to do something that is against the line of nation? After all, use your heads and set up sessions and talk together. Do not ever sit and write against the line the nation goes along.

Just today, a deviant newspaper was brought to me and I read it a bit last night long though not being on the mood to do so. The newspaper says it goes along with the so-called people while it thoroughly contains things at odds with the nation. Why on earth should this so? Why is your paper so provocative while claiming that you are pro-nation and serve it? Why is your paper as such to let our youth astray? Think a bit, consider a little and come to yourselves.

I have always thanked you, people of Qum and I am thankful now. I pray for you and the nation. May God protect you under the auspices of Imam of the Time (a) and place you as national servants! May he assist every body, God willing!

Speech

Date: October 28, 1979 [Aban 6, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Comparing Iranian revolution with other revolutions—respite and peace for reforming national affairs—Significance of agriculture and Islamic Civilization

Audience: Representatives of Tabriz Students and Firuzabad Reconstruction *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Comparison of Iranian Revolution with other revolutions

I first thank all sisters and brothers who have come here from far away areas to meet them in this small room express their point, also have a number of topics to highlight.

I am aware that there exist a lot of confusions everywhere. Of course, these confusions follow a great revolution; they are inevitable. All revolutions in the world experience disorder, but post-revolution Iran is not suffering from considerable and horrendous complication. If you notice, many revolutions are still suffering from lack of peace despite the lapse of many years. All parties have been banned, all papers appropriated and all gatherings forbidden in the name of revolution. In this sense, revolution means that nobody is authorized to breathe.

You well observed that Iran's revolution in its early victory permitted activity of all parties, newspapers and gatherings. They acted several months up to the time that the nation came to realize that some wings were active against the nation and were conspirators. Some of them were stopped and are being investigated.

Iran's revolution has been the best revolution in the world so far. The point is that Muslim people launched the revolution. It was not a revolution organized by army men in the form of a coup; rather it belonged to people, who rose up, moved forward and defeated the other side. The people were Muslims, too. They never wanted to murder persons, to jail them or to stop individuals acting, not at all. It was a peaceful revolution, though mischief-makers are now stonewalling. Well, they are anti-revolutionaries with no roots; they are engaged in superficial activities that will be corrected, God willing.

Universities in Shah's regime

You know how long it takes for a ruined country with confusion and backwardness everywhere to recover. They destroyed everything; above all, universities. Fearing that well-educated people might come out of universities and stand against them, they let not universities operate well. They led the universities to control education to meet their desire. Therefore, our manpower was withheld from growth. If we find a chance now, we have to start from the scratch.

Reform of culture and social affairs requires chances

Planning for reforming culture and purging the people in such centers must be done gradually. Following the revolution, these things cannot be immediately hammered out. I hope they will be fixed gradually, God willing.

When a parliament is formed based on public votes, God willing; an enduring government established by parliament, many things would be improved. Of course, this needs time to be organized. A person might get cold in a few minutes, but it takes him one or two months to get over such a—few-minute chill. Now, a country under a 2500-year yoke of imperial regime as we have experienced, a 50-or-50-year cruelty with great powers been involved in its plans thus implicating everything it calls for a long time to better off. Yet, hope is that betterment looms ahead for, thank God, when you go everywhere in our country, behold public attention to Islam and release from them from tyranny and foreigners. This has become publicized including children; aged men and youths also talk about it. The awakening, thank God, gained by the nation is well promising. You, the people overcame the great power supported by all foreign powers, not only superpowers but other forces and Islamic governments, yet the nation wanted it to collapse and this power, was broken apart like a big dam, by power of nation who favored Islam and God Almighty.

National reforms remain collateral to tranquility

I hope the nation understands gradual reform of things through the same enlightenment and ignoring problems a bit. Things must be done with a little patience and considering the many problems. Everybody should not ever think why our problems are not removed overnight. This mentality causes those intending to eliminate the problems to lag behind. Nevertheless, I kindly ask all people, particularly young students to be heedful of not befalling a cat's paw in a way that you do not know what it is when they instill into people to go on a strike and spilling over the streets! If we do not

spill over the streets, what will happen? Know that the more the country gains repose, the better it is reformed.

Economy and university cannot be improved in an environment in which people clash with each other in the streets. When repose rules an environment, the members including the students, teachers, professors, farmers and workers work efficiently. Otherwise, you can assume Kurdistan where corrupt people popped up and spurred confusion. Well, Kurdistan cannot be asphalted if it is turbulent. Asphalted and hospital construction is insensible where war is not waged. Reforms require calm for people to make, for example the gentlemen who joined reconstruction Jihad—May God protect them—made such a feat and sacrifice. The youth join it for invaluable activity. But given disorder is raised within the task; nothing can be done.

We must declare that the nation has to know the country is of its own now. In this case, the nation is responsible for keeping peace so that the working members would find the chance to work things out. Tranquility paves the way for performance. Disturbance in universities and refusal to attend the class would lead to no success. Things are efficiently done in peaceful dialogue, in which case their demand would be taken care of, God willing. Do not ever imagine that the state itself wants to stonewall or commit treason. That is not the case. Well, these people are obviously those who wish to work, but the task is of course big enough and takes time to be done. Failure in performance is the case, not intention of performance. The task is not exclusive to one person. All people are required to join hands to help and work things out.

Significance of agriculture lies in cutting exotic dependencies

Farmers should help raise agriculture level. If we do not develop our agriculture to provide our own means of livelihood then this brings about a link to them and we have to beg the US for bread. If we continue to depend on them, we inevitably have to suffer whatever they impose upon us, they treason against us. We must do something to cut our dependency on others. This depends on the power of farmers. It is time now to sow autumn seeds on the farms. Fall season agriculture is on the way and farmers should be active with the help of the state, removing problems. Well, as you noticed they developed agriculture a bit last year and it changed for better compared to previous years. I hope the farmers will progress increasingly. Our country can become an exporter. Lands, water and all resources can make it possible. We should not beg for our wheat and oath! Everybody must join hands to help. The very Reconstruction *Jihad* is a big help along with you, to save our

country. The country is yours when your needs for food are satisfied by you not by others that might find a chance to intervene our internal affairs. After all, it is faulty for us to get our bread from others, a give and no-give policy. We must provide ours and this finds expression by agricultural development. In case, you had a low output in the past, you can surge it up now. All contribute to this with the state's great assistance leading to growth of agriculture. When agriculture begins thriving, our need to others is diminished and we can resist them. Now, thank God this is possible for us. Anyway, all people have the duty to try to preserve a peace and be active to save their country.

Universities act in line with national independence

Our universities must be such that we do not need of foreigners whom we implore for medical treatment in their country. They must do something to rid us of at least others. Be it not that if one becomes ill, he has to go abroad for treatment. It may not be such that you say no when a trouble comes up. Let us stand on our feet, i.e. the easterners must stand on their feet. The east wants to continue with its mental dependency on them and think that every thing must come from there; they have to remain dependent on the end.

Islamic culture of the east most progressive one

The East has an Islamic culture that is the loftiest and most progressive. This Islamic culture must meet its requirements by itself without asking the West. Formerly, medical books of the east found their way in Europe producing great physicians. Avicenna's book and ¹ Razi's book ² were two of these eastern books, rendering yeoman service to medicine in the west.

What has happened? We have to extend our hand to the west while eastern civilization has been exported to the West that we should become underdeveloped by doing undesirable things.

The East must stand on its place and find itself out. There has been a massive propaganda, giving rise to the fact that it has lost itself. Common names here, like drugstores and streets must bear the names of Europeans and Americans. Goods produced in Iran had to be tagged with English make to look like coming from England! We have lost ourselves. Foreign names must be wiped off these drugstores, institutes and others. Everything related

¹ The book Qanun, by Avicenna, deals with medicine.

² The book al-Hawi, in medicine and pharmacy, by Muhammad ibn Zakariya Razi, the famous Iranian scientist and physician. Razi also discovered alcohol.

to *Taghut* must be cleansed of foreign names so that we gradually might come to our sense, noticing that the East has its rich culture. Why one having a rich culture shall go to others asking for a culture? Others give us no culture but abusive culture! They never give us something good for them. There is a lot of evidence showing that they sent to us whatever of no use to them probably leading us to a decadent country.

Eastern self-recognition, a road toward independence

If we want to gain independence and liberty, we must run our own country. We have to come to ourselves. We have lost ourselves and must find ourselves. We must be relieved of such Westernization. Do not imagine everything is there and we have nothing. No, we have all things and our culture is rich but it must be discovered well. After all, primary steps have to be taken as everything begins with primaries.

May God assist you all! May God grant you success and His power to remove the problems!

Reply to a Query

Date: October 29, 1979 [Aban 7, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Right of divorce for women in case of setting conditions

Questioner: Ladies

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness, Imam Khomeini (May his blessings last long),

The right of divorce disposed to men has brought about concern and annoyance on the part of Iran's combatant women, assuming that they have by no means right of divorce. This led some people to misuse of circumstances. What does His Eminence think about such case?]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

For women, the prophet of Islam made an easy way to divorce them. If the wife sets conditions when concluding a marriage to be attorney in divorce completely or conditionally; that is, in case of the husband's misbehavior or for example, marrying a second wife, the wife can be attorney to divorce herself with no problems whatsoever.

I implore God Almighty to grant success to ladies. It is hoped that they are not impressed by opponents of Islam and Islamic Revolution because Islam is for all and beneficial to all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 7,

1399 AH

Speech

Date: October 29, 1979 [Aban 7, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Westernization, a chronic disease in Iran

Audience: Students of Islamic Association of Mufidi High College of Translation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Chronic disease of Westernization

The example of our country is the example of an ill person suffered at least some 50 years and all people aggravated his illness? Now he has become relieved of people who used to aggravate his sickness but he is still sick. One cannot expect the ill person being helped for some 50 years to be cured once the aggravators are out. The disease entering our society from the west and those foreign countries intending to take everything away should not be expected to go out in just 8 months, 8 years or 20 years. These people in universities, of course some of them, have been injected in their brains a disease or brought up like a westerner by the west for 50 years. They have been prepared so to bring up our youth that way. This is unreasonable expectation to have these ill people cure immediately or replace them with healthy ones. I know all people, particularly educational centers where foreigners favored more their upbringing at a certain level or their distraction, have been affected.

Treason of the Shah's regime in spreading westoxication

They cared about universities backwardness and distraction much more than other places. Our youth were taken to a different path and you should not be expectant of them to turn away quickly towards the nation's way; nevertheless, be not disappointed. The nation has found its way and you, the youth, have found your way. If refinement is not made today, it will be made tomorrow. The purge is inevitable; that is to say, the nation discovered its illness. We primarily should realize that what problems we have. We had been remained negligent of our troubles in fifty years. We regarded those infectious microbes as our remedies! We considered those leading us to corruption as healing factors. They injected into our minds through their massive propaganda that whatever you want, civilization, culture and the rest, must come from the west; you lack them.

With the rotten thoughts injected by their spoiled pens and misleading words, the youth and we have been trained in such a way as to consider deadly poison as a healing medicine to our pains! These corrupt are present everywhere in our society. They are found in our universities. Never expect to have a 50-odd year pain cured in several days and years. You see one catches a quarter hour long, while its treatment needs at times a month. Now consider a society that has been under yoke of certain individuals who sought power and imposed cruelty over society for 2500 years.

As far as we remember our country passed through the worst times in the history, during the 50 or so years. We have been attacked from all sides. All people had been subjected to serve them after being studied and having made us empty of ourselves. Not only we but also the East must find itself. We were so directed towards the west and westoxicated that we forgot all our prides, belittling our capabilities. It was just few days ago when a man, whom I do not know came here uninterruptedly saying that sir; we are in need of them. We must obtain everything from them! I did not at all reply. This is such brain! So long as we do not understand that we are needless but that they are the ones who need us, we cannot be improved. The East has everything. Its culture is better than the west's. Western culture is borrowed from the East whose things are much better than the West's. The only thing is that this eastern culture has been emptied. Regrettably, some people are just aggravating the wide-ranging propaganda by the yes-people now presents in the country magnifying the west and emptying us so that fancy that everything comes from the west. So long as we find not ourselves, the East finds not itself or better to say as long as this issuing one is not found, we cannot stand on our feet. Concept of "West" has to be effaced from our brains. In those days if they wanted to propagate any street, they named the street Roosevelt and, I do not know what the hell name given to it! Drugstores were foreign-named to attract more customers. Drugs made by them were named with a foreign one to publicize it. Isfahan made cloths that were named foreign! The cloth produced in Isfahan was branded by foreign names! We lost everything we had. We have driven out the thieves, but we have not found ourselves.

Independence requires release from West and Westoxicated

We must come to our sense. The East must close the door of the West before it. You will not reach independence as long as the West finds a way into your country. You will not achieve independence until the existing

westernized people do not leave the country or mend their way. They do not let us find ourselves to stand on our feet and understand we exist.

The West has not given and will not give something useful to us. Whatever the west has sent to this part of the world has not been useful to itself; now it matters not whether it is harmful to us or not.

I have said this on and on and reiterate it because I have been so impressed by this western treatment. A few days ago, I read in magazine, in newspaper that drugs banned in America are sent to Third World and underdeveloped countries! You see how they view us! They do not assume us like a living being! By God man is not willing to send such harmful drugs even for animals. You see what sort of creatures we face! What dirty creatures we encounter in America! I mean not American nation but the state—how the states of superpowers treat us, yet we pay homage to them! We again work for them; may the pens at their service be broken! May tongues talking on their behalf and aiming to destroy the nation be cut off! Let drugs banned there be sent to the third world, to us, mind you! The hell with it! What happens to us is not important, but they charge us the money! This was so from the beginning. Helpful things were not given to us.

West and America, source of all troubles of the East

Gentlemen! All troubles in the East come from the outsiders, the West; America. American now causes all our problems. All Muslims' hardships stem from America that has beefed up Zionism and is still at it, killing our brothers in groups.

Re-discovery of self in pawn of mental independence

We cannot be independent until we realize our full prestige, what we were in history and what we are and have. Your country will not be independent as long as your thoughts are not free. Go get your thoughts independent. The universities shall take care of our youth's independence and should educate them to understand that they have a culture, a great one. They should realize that the culture is exported to the West from the East. They should find out that we are something in the universe and we want to manage ourselves. The rotten brains fond of Americans and the West should be purged out. Our offices have to be refined and cleaned of the traitors who act in favor of the former regime. This country needs refinement but it is to be done in the course of time.

Public obligation

What is our obligation? Our obligation and each member of the society are to do things well. Do not expect who a good professor is. Do not persist that he has to do well. You do well first, and then the society will do well.

Correction begins from us to reach another to be corrected. Work well and seriously. Our farmers and workers work seriously. Do not be deceived by those who want us back to the former situation where everything was dependent on the outside world; do not be deluded by their propaganda.

Our duty is to do well whatever entrusted to us. Study well if you are a student; teach well if you are a teacher and lecture well if you are a lecturer. Work well if you are a worker, farm well if you are a farmer, is a good cleric if you are clerics. Whatever you are, do well whatever assigned to you. The whole action is corrected soon once it is conscious and everybody does one's job well. If I sit to see you work and you sit to see me work, none of us succeeds in doing. Do not wait to see others work for you. This is an expectation we had of America to feel pity on us and give us weapons. Weapons given are of no use and harmful to us! Contracts signed with us were most if not all disadvantageous to us. They do not work for us.

Necessity for assistance of all people in improving the affairs

Do not sit to see others should work for you. You work yourselves. The nation should work itself. One should do well and tell one's friend to do well and the society as well. *"Every one of you is supervisor and every one of you responsible."*¹

All of us stand responsible before the nation and ourselves. I should correct myself and others as well as I can. Do not say, "I am not a man of pulpit and cannot call a society or I am not an orator". No. Do as much as you can and tell your friend with the same tongue to do well. He act and tells his friend to do so. The country is corrected soon once such a feeling is aroused among people. Do not wait for others to work for you. Do not expect the west to import things to you. We do every thing ourselves and forget the west. May God protect you all and move forward in success!

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

Message

Date: October 30, 1979 [Aban 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Achievement of intellectual independence from the Western countries and return of Islamic culture

Occasion: Congratulations on the 25th Anniversary of Algeria's independence

Addressee: The Algerian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I would like to extend greetings on behalf of the noble nation of Iran and myself and sincerely congratulate you on your country's independence as we arrive at the 25th year of the beloved country of Algeria's freedom from the oppressive domination of the pseudo-civilized colonial powers. Our nation has tasted the bitter domination of hostile foreigners and oil-sucking parasites, particularly the Americans. Since we are brothers in faith, we share in the Algerian people's grief and joy, as well as that of other Muslim nations. It is my hope that the Muslims of the world learn of their afflictions and the origins thereof as we approach the turn of the century and it is my wish that by means of multilateral unity as well as reliance upon Islam and its glorious banner they sever the shackles of slavery and procure their freedom from colonialist nations. Having recognized the pains that they are enduring as well as the fact that they have seen nothing but difficulties, barbarities, and crimes from the diabolic superpowers, Muslims today must achieve a solution by uniting and seeking divine help from the Almighty and our holy religion, Islam. The solution or at least the preliminary stage toward a solution is that Muslim nations and governments, in the case that they are legitimate, should liberate themselves from intellectual dependency from the West and find their own culture and originality. In addition, they must familiarize themselves with the progressive culture of Islam as inspired by divine revelation and then continue to familiarize others with it. Asia and Africa—a continent that has awoken from its slumber by means of the Islamic national revolution and bloody uprising of the courageous Algerian people—as well as other countries in succession must be freed from the clutches of America and other colonialist powers. They must stand on their own feet and campaign vigorously against imperialist cultures. African and Asian countries as well as other enslaved states must know that the improvements associated with that which is imported into oppressed lands by

Western and Eastern imperialist nations and the despotic America can never compare to the corruption and degeneration begotten thereby. Religious duty demands that all Muslim countries, including Iran, must support developing nations in their crusade against both economic and psychological colonialism. The Muslim nations must maintain a hostile stance against Israel and its occupying forces, which are the greatest threat to the Muslim world, and maximize their struggle in defending our revered brothers in Palestine and Lebanon. In fact, Muslim countries must defend all liberation organizations across the world wherever they may be. We strongly condemn the conspiracies of Egypt, America and Israel in their efforts to suppress the great revolution of the combatant Palestinian nation. You, the leaders and national representatives who have gathered Algeria! Let us unite and sever the hands of these criminal forces headed by America. Let us uproot Israel and help the Palestinian people restore their rights. I implore God Almighty to awaken Muslim people and grant majesty to Islamic countries. Peace is upon you and all the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: October 30, 1979 [Aban 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatch of a representative to Ali-Abad, Gorgan and Gonbad Qabus

Addressee: Ibrahim Amini

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1399 AH / Aban 8,

1358 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ibrahim Amini—may his graces last,

In reference to the request of the respected residents of Ali-Abad, Gorgan and the Gonbad Qabus region for your dispatch in order to address the problems and conflicts which have arisen in the area, it is necessary that you travel to the abovementioned region accompanied by Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Ali-Akbar Masudi. Upon your arrival, you may examine the problems and shortages and with the cooperation and consultation of the distinguished local *ulama* and authorized officials, make your best efforts to ameliorate them. Also, you may inform them of the enemies' conspiracies and familiarize them with their responsibilities, the most crucial of which is the unity of expression. I pray God Almighty for the respected gentlemen's success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: October 30, 1979 [Aban 8, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Relying on the youth and the oppressed people purging the offices and reforming the culture

Addressee: Members of the Relief Committee

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Getting the help of the young forces

I thank you for the labor you incurred in your region and God may reward you. We must know we have to be engaged in things. The nation itself, wherever it is, must stand up to rebuild the ruins left behind by the monarchical system and the 50 or so years. The nation should rise for God and His servants. Avoid expecting the offices, the general governor's offices and the like to work for you. Many of them are the very corrupt brains of the ex-regime. Many of them fail to contribute if not to stonewall. We do not have to wait and see them work for us. We have a great number of our youth, thanks God.

There has been a great change in our country, driving many of our youth out of illegal centers into a public service and serving God Almighty. We must ask the help of these youth. We primarily pinned hope on the honorable youth and the nation. We have always taken our concerns to the nation and its divine—human power. We have taken advantage of the same workers class, young educated class. Bazaar tradesmen and the very “low class” as they say and “high class” as I say. They were the people that led the revolution to this point. They were the people, when they raised the uprising, failed to hesitate to get the help of the so-called general governor or office. They stood up themselves and many offices came to help them. Yet, among these people are people who are now putting a spoke in the wheels. If you see they are not helping you, it is because they have the attitude of the past regime that cannot be changed soon. In fifty years, the nation has been up to an attitude of a sort that cannot be altered such soon. The people serving the ex-regime for years and now serving the foreigners wish now to become palace settlers again if that regime or more corrupted of those come to rule and we even do not find a rocky hole to reside in.

Execution of criminals cannot damage the prestige of the Revolution

These people are still up to mischief. A few of them assembled somewhere in these days. They were distressed, as some men have been executed in Iran! This is the same thing Americans said there as in Iran and in a great gathering it is said that the executions cause our prestige to die in the world! We had some prestige in time of Muhammad-Rida, now we are losing it! Did we have much of it? What prestige did you have before the foreigners that are now being lost? We let the criminals freely move around among the people whose children are killed by them, for keeping you warmed up for congratulations of the foreigners? You have raked your brains as you think our prestige goes away if, say, a few felons are executed or punished? What prestige do you have that is lost in the world? To what prestige and honor has the world accepted you? The world, America of which is such that it says drugs have to be shipped to the third world instead of being used there. This is the prestige you have in the world! We want to ruin this prestige you have and charge it into a human one. You do not cry for the traitors killed such as Nasiri¹ and the like.

Escape of rotten brain drain

You say brain drain is escaping. Let them go away. Let them go out when they worked for the outside and were members of SAVAK. Be not fretted much for them. They should escape. Of course, they see that they cannot take advantage of the chances here now as they could before, so they had better go where they are up to. Is a pithy brain noble, as you say? Ahmadi² was a physician in time of Rida Khan, but he was a doctor who injected death into people with his ampoules! Many of you might not have heard of him. We were in that time when he was an agent for injecting death ampoule into the nationalists and those opposing despotism. He was such a brain; now if he is drained, should we be grieved that he has escaped? How do you guess that these brains gone to their masters, gathered in England in collusion with Iran, circling around Bakhtiyar who, with them, have taken shelter in England living under the canopy of its bayonet, and we should be regretful for them? Should we be sorry for the brains gone out to America to spend the money they collected from here? Change your attitudes! The

¹ Nimatullah NaSiri, head of SAVAK.

² Ahmadi, the physician, was a man who killed many of liberalists and the regime's opponents with different tools such as "air ampoule", being ordered by Rida Khan. He was seized and tried earlier in time of the Muhammad-Rida Shah. In the court, he called judges and justice department mess as his accomplices when committing all crimes.

attitude you have cherished in your brains for fifty years, by means of which you cannot distinguish right and wrong. Change yourselves.

We must change our country attitudes. Our universities have to change such attitudes. Let the brains that led our kids to decadence go away, instead good brains come ahead. Now that some benevolent people want to purge them, you should not feel sorrowful for the purge! You are vexed why they are executed. Who are executed? For whom are you grieved? O professors! For whom some of you are grieved? Do you eulogize for Nasiri, for Huweyda.¹ For whom are you so? Later, they say a twelve-year-old kid is executed! Well, our opponents say this. They say I have ordered the amputation of women's breasts! They say a 12-year-old kid and a pregnant woman are executed. God executes neither the kid nor the pregnant. What the heck are you saying? Why are you helping the colonialism? Why are you assisting the Imperial regime?

O rotten brains! O decayed men! Wake up a bit. Why do you argue so? Why do you denounce Islam? What has happened that you denounce Islam as such?

O youth! Wake up! O noble youth, sisters, brothers! Wake up! O you who forwarded the revolution here and these men now stumbling block sat aback or failed to help and remained in different, coming to the scene now. O youth who battled guns and tanks and O sisters who lost your young boys and demonstrated yourselves, chanting, "God is the Greatest"! Protect yourselves. Protect your revolution. Sit not aside expecting others to help you. They do not work for you, as the foreigners do not do so.

Purging the state-cultural offices of incompetent people

Offices have to be purged. Culture has to be purged. Universities have to be purged. People not linked to Rida Khan Pahlavi and Muhammad-Rida Khan Pahlavi for long years must manage them. The people connected to them cannot handle the country. They must be purged out and the state must do so. Rely on your own power, as you see you have done all this. You say our governor-general is not helping you or stonewalling, no problem provided that you work yourselves without their aid—by relying on divine power. Earlier, you thought of no help from them and they did not do so, in not making problems. Now that you have embarked on reconstructing the country by yourselves, you can do it. Take care of you own affairs. The nation must stand up itself. The country is yours. These brains are running away and the country is yours. They took foreign currencies away with them

¹ Amir Abbas Huweyda, who served as Iran's Prime Minister for 13 years in Shah's regime.

and now they escape one by one as you see. Here is no place for larceny any longer.

Deprived people are the real owners of the revolution and country

The country is yours; it is our youth's and it goes to ghettos-settlers of Tehran. I am, God knows, grieved for them. Nobody has thought of them. The country is theirs. The revolution is led ahead by them. Some day, Tehran suburbs were shown on TV. There was almost an old man coming out of a hole with a group of people! He was asked by someone what he had done. He said, "We go out to demonstrate early in the morning". This was the way they lived and they went out for protests and helped the nation. We owe them. They manage our lives and they did so. This crowd and the like, the youth, the official and collegiate youth, those linked to the nation, bazaar tradesmen, farmers, workers and all the rest did so. Higher class had nothing to do with us. They are now putting spoke into the wheels and demand every thing. They say the brains have run away! Let them go away—to hell with them who escaped! They were not academic people but they were treacherous. If otherwise, who leaves his country away for Americans and running away to live in England? Joining Bakhtiyar and the like of him who decayed our country? Let them leave. Much better of them who escape! Do not be worried such for them who are killed.

Managing the country in light of the committed specialists

O brethren! Be aware that the brains eluding have led you to depravity. They never let our youths be fully educated. They should go away; they have no place to live here, for the nation is awake. An awakened nation never lets each of you do whatever you want to do. You must lead yourselves. All of us must enter the battlefield. Do not think of a governor doing something for you or somebody does something for you. Do not rely on them.

Be as you said you wanted to be. Thank God, a change made that all classes including the engineers, the physicians come to work, people who have human brains. People with no brains had better to escape. Sir! Some brains run away but we have brains, though scientific, stay and go for harvest. We want such brains rather than those now with no vagrancy that are escaping. Why do they not come to their sense? Why do they not value themselves and their country? We want the brains, though physicians and engineers, joining the Reconstruction *Jihad*. We want the brains coming from America for help here not those who escape from here! We never want the elusive brain; let them go away. The way is open for them to leave if they

have no room here! Our country is in need of men not the brain that finds shelter in England or America.

World looks forward to this revolution

May God succeed you all! I boast when I see you with serving and human faces. I feel proud of having such a country. The world now looks up to our country rather than to that class of society. It never looks up to the former class of people who were in office; as you say they use their cars for taking their kids to schools but not helping Reconstruction *Jihad* with them! The world looks up to you rather than to these automobile owners and palace-settlers. Ghetto settlers are the people who own the country and are the capital of this country, not those palace-settlers. May God keep the ghetto residents for us? May God keep the committed Muslims, the youth serving Islam and their country! May God protect all of you, sisters and brothers and grant power to you. Be assured that you win with such morale and nobody can overcome you but you come over him or her.

Speech

Date: October 31, 1979 [Aban 9, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Disagreement with Islam originating in opposition of westernized people and groups

Addressee: Families of martyrs of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS and martyrs of Bandar-e Anzali Events

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Khordad 15th uprising, origin of Islamic Revolution

The day when we lost determined men and youth in Khordad 15th marks a turning point in the history of the country and initiates this revolution. Those who rose up manly against the tyrants on Khordad 15th and were martyred initiated this revolution. I implore God Almighty to bless them and grant patience, health and prosperity, to their families.

It was those uprisings for which people assemble with unified purpose. These uprisings connected our ancient schools to universities, and different classes are joined together in such a way that all traversed the way to this time with unity of purpose and resolution. As our nation is alive and found its way which people will continue leading the revolution to Islamic and human results. The sisters deprived of some blessings such as hearing and speaking and are here now inspire hope in all people indicating that they are unified with the divine aim. May God protect them and let them be prosperous.

Public endeavor for thwarting conspiracies

I hope all different classes here take notice of conspiracies and defuse them as to their will. As you and the so-called intellectual ladies saw that a gossip was spread out in Tehran. The ladies wanted to spill over the streets with no attention to what they were doing. Whereas there was no such law as they presupposed. However, it became clear how careless these intellectuals were to daily issues and to what concerns their fate. They never paid attention to what was broadcast on Radio and TV and media. They just sufficed to care about what some corrupt elements wrote. Are these not plots? Are these not means of disclosing an ill conspiracy that presented as issue that women have no right according to the constitution? This issue is basically irrelevant to the constitution. Are our youths not awakened? Is our male and female youths not awakened that such plots are concocted? Do not

you heed that a lie is disclosed in a day, yet it is spread taking advantage of public ignorance? To whom shall we complain that you who call yourselves learned and intellectual are heedless of a law on which your fate is dependent and that without reading papers and the media planned to take to the streets! You disillusioned us because people would ask our intellectuals are such and such, being impressed by a lie that is unfolded in one or two days. Why are they so inattentive to what goes on in their country.

Liberty or Decadence

Get yourselves reformed! Stay heedful of your destiny. The people spreading rumors do not want your prosperity. These are the people who drove you to decadence in the name of “free men and free women”. They are the people who know freedom to lie in things that bring corruption. As for the things that cause no corruption and are fateful for the nation, they grant no freedom. They look like the same people who want to let those things happen. Be careful of what they spread out. Islam is for every one of you.

I was questioned before on that. I replied that in case divorce is conditioned when marriage contract is concluded and the wife is given attorney to divorce herself. What about the women married now? They oppose *wilayat-e faqih* whereas they do not know if a husband misbehaves his wife, *faqih* is authorized first to reprimand the husband, second he should reform and if not, divorce is effected.

Wilayat-e faqih is a divine gift

Agree on *wilayat-e faqih*. He is a gift to Muslims, granted by God Almighty. As to the question you posed concerning the women married now, if they are in trouble, what should they do? They should refer to a *faqih*, to an assembly where there is a *faqih*, to a court that has *faqih* who checks the case. If it is right, he will reform the husband and compel him to behave properly. If otherwise, he issues order of divorce as he has sainthood for the action. Once he sees a family driving to corruption, he issues order of divorce. Although man is given right of divorce, *faqih* orders divorce where it is expedient to Islam. So he is a gift to you from God.

Opposing Islam originates in opposition of groups and Westernized people

Anyway, we are now in grips with a group of people with different tastes and beliefs, all being unanimous to let the country not be organized. They differ in beliefs and some stay adversary to some others but they are unified

in one thing: opposing Islam! They oppose the thing our nation voted for. They are unified in this meaning that they agree on their void. You keep your own rights to keep the wrong people away. Do know that Islam is beneficial to you, everyone, all mankind and us. Know that Islam is a plan more beneficial to the oppressed than others and it is good for all. Fear not of Islam, nor fear people of it. You, who hold the pens, write whatever you want and speak whatever you desire but you are unaware of what Islam is. You have only heard an Islamic word or at times read a book whose writer has had no good knowledge of Islam. You poison the environment with no knowledge of Islam and its philosophy of precepts. It is not obvious that you mean to do some good but you are mistaken. No, I find it very likely that many of them, not all, many are the people who try uselessly to let not the revolution move forward while seeing now that the ex-regime with their benefits are gone and that there is a great distance between them and people in Islam. As you noticed, they disagreed step by step. The day when the revolution prevailed, they opposed here in Tehran and other places struggling aimlessly, to keep the shah in power. When he fled, they tried uselessly to save Bakhtiyar. They spilled over the streets and chanted "the constitution". It meant to preserve the monarchy. They wanted the constitution for being monarchial rather than for its other things. When Bakhtiyar went out, they talked about the constitution, intending to preserve it. In Paris, they came to see me saying that I let the royal council be preserved with changes made on it and so on? Well, I knew that they neither figured out the case badly nor meant to keep the same stories. Given royal council is accepted, it means that imperial dynasty is approved. The Shah is responsible before the royal council; he can leave it aside whenever he wants. In a sense, it is implied that shah is approved. A few of the intellectuals and newly turned out revolutionaries wanted to delude us-may be negligent themselves to keep the royal council. Chief of royal council¹ came up to me in Paris and I said I would not meet him unless he resigns and he did so. People frequently made such a request, but the council was gone and the nation is victorious. But again, disagreements came one after another. Now voices are raised against the Assembly of Experts. Elections are opposed. Later, they would oppose Majlis and the president. The opposition goes on sequentially! For, they are against the fundamentals, and stay in disagreement with Islamic principles. They should know that their attempt is of no consequence. We fear not your useless attempts. We know you are stalemated. You can just write or speak.

¹ Sayyid Jalaluddin Tehrani.

That is all! Well, write or speak whatever you like! Yet, be awakened that you should go this way.

Accompanying the nation

Your world is along the nation's way, if you want it to be handled. There has occurred a flood moving against this currency only brings death. If you want to swim against the torrential flood of nation—that is Islam—that destroyed the malicious dynasty, the corrupted royal system, you, just four people, will be rolled away! Think of your world if you are people of the world. Stop standing against a nation that has lost its youth and everything for the revolution and Islam because you had no part in it. If you did not oppose, staying indifferent and engaged in entertainment your palaces and now raising voices against the nation, this treatment is not to your benefit. You are now at odds with the nation and this is not to your advantage, nor to your world and religion. Join the torrential flood to lead the revolution to final victory soon, God willing. Although your challenges never cause the flood to halt, it is disadvantageous to us if they say people of so-called knowledge are against their own nation.

Claimants of democracy opposing the role of people

The people claiming that there must be democracy are against the public rule. They stand against the people who voted 98% or more. They disapprove of the Assembly of Experts elected that way.

Wilayat-e faqih is not dictatorship

These people do not know at all what *wilayat-e faqih* is. They cannot realize its nature! In this way, they start to say if there exists *wilayat-e faqih*; dictatorship will emerge and so on! Was Commander of the Faithful (a), guardian of people, dictator? Was the Prophet (s), who had sainthood, a dictator? Maybe they say that sainthood is not fit to the prophet and that he was like ordinary people! This is not outlandish to be said. They do not dare to make such claim. What does dictatorship mean? In Islam, such a thing is not at issue. Islam condemns dictatorship. It brings down *faqih* if embarking on despotism. How do you say Islam exerts tyranny and such things? If you know it and speak it, why should you stand on the way of the nation? If you do not know it, why should one say something unknowingly?

I hope all, those having their youth martyred since Khordad 15th those who lost their breadwinner and those now busy struggling reach destination and achieve final victory. May God protect you all!

Message

Date: November 1, 1979 [Aban 10, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Pressure actions on America and Israel for extradition of the Shah

Addressees: High school and university students and staff, theological students and clergymen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Aban 13 (November 4, 1978) marks the day of the brutal attack on the Tehran University by the accursed regime, leading to the massacre of many of our beloved students.

The regime, in violation of all apparent signs of civilization and the country's progress, one day attacked Faydiyyah Theological Seminary in Qum and other seminaries throughout the country; on another occasion it attacked Tehran University scholars.

Now, since it is the first anniversary of the attack on Tehran University, it is necessary for the dear *ulama* of Tehran, Qum and the nearby towns to attend the ceremonies at Tehran University for greater solidarity. Similarly, the *ulama* throughout the towns and cities of Iran, should participate in the ceremonies being held on this occasion in any university in any part of Iran. Their presence in the universities was throughout Iran. Closing your ranks with high school and university students as well as the esteemed professors would frustrate the plots to create divisions between these two progressive forces. Our enemies, especially these days, will not let go any opportunity to hatch any plot, and would like to disturb the peace and tranquility of our beloved nation through whatever means possible.

It is for the university and high school students, university staff and those learning religious sciences to demonstrate their power against America and Israel and force them to expel and handover the ousted and criminal Shah so as to once again strongly denounce this grave plot. It is necessary for the high school and university students and staff and those learning religious sciences to safeguard their solidarity and further support the Islamic Revolution. Likewise, it is the duty of the nation to provide solid backing for these two beloved groups.

May God always help all of you? May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you?

Speech

Date: 11 am, November 1, 1979 [Aban 10, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 10, 1399 AH]

Location: Qum

Theme: Great dilemma of Muslims

Occasion: Feast of Qurban

Those in Presence: Ambassadors of Islamic Nations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Auspicious day

On this momentous Islamic holiday, I congratulate all of the distinguished Islamic nations and hope that all festivities be an auspicious and happy occasion for these nations. I also thank you gentlemen for attending so I can, in person, put my case to you. A Muslim holiday is an auspicious and happy occasion only when the Muslims have themselves obtained their independence and esteem, the same esteem the Muslims acquired at the advent of Islam. As long as the Muslims are in this situation of detachment and discernment, and while all of their affairs are related to others, no day is auspicious for them. Auspicious is the day when all foreign ties with our nations, our Islamic countries, are severed and Muslims stand on their own feet and take the affairs of their own countries into their own hands.

I do not know when this dilemma, which concerns both the Islamic governments and Islamic nations must be resolved? One dilemma is the problem between nations and their governments. One of the greatest difficulties and predicaments of the Muslims is the problem between nations and governments. Another dilemma is the difficulty between governments, Islamic governments, and certain ones with certain others.

Dilemma of governments and Islamic nations

The trouble with governments and nations is that governments still do not know themselves and nations do not know themselves either. Governments still think they must have sovereignty and people must blindly obey them. As long as this problem of governments wanting sovereignty remains, and because of their sovereignty, they repress their own people, this dilemma will not be resolved, and if this problem is not solved, our main dilemma, which is our predicament at the hands of the world powers, will be unsolved as well. And as long as governments still do not know their

obligations, of course they are aware of its dangers, they know that this discrepancy between them is the cause of this predicament and the disorganization of their countries. Therefore, the interceding of certain matters, motives or even treason by certain political wings, will not remedy this problem. Till when, must we be in this difficult predicament and dependant on the west and east? When will the Islamic governments and we wake up? Till when, do the Islamic governments want to treat their people in the same manner the Islamic governments, Islam, its states, its countries and its own nation was treated at the beginning of Islam? Till when, do we want to be detached from the people?

Condition of people in previous regime and after the revolution

Observe the two conditions our people had; one condition was the state during the Shah's regime from the beginning till the conclusion of the monarchy, especially in the past 50 odd years. I remember all and it is possible that you do not remember. However, some of the conditions you have well perceived. Compare with that time, an era in which our nation prevailed over all powers, over all super powers and broke down their barriers. Compare these two situations and the two governments in these two situations and see what they should do. In the case of the previous regime, the people were detached from the government. Not an indifferent detachment, but a separation where they opposed each other. The whole aim of the deposed Shah and his government was to suppress the nation, so he crushed, the people with all his might; he incarcerated them, tortured them, executed them and did not permit them to take a breath. The nation was also against him. Even if it would not create problem for the government, even if the nation would not exacerbate the problem, it would not lessen it either. It would not assist; rather, if the government failed, the nation would be glad. If the government or the Shah prevailed, the nation would be dejected.

We saw and you also heard, and I saw and heard partly that Rida Khan ruled over here—a despotic and illegitimate rule. He did to the nation that will be recorded in history. That day when the foreigners committed aggression and occupied our country and brought everything we have on the verge of danger, yet I was witness that when Rida Khan went out of Iran and they kicked him off, our nation, amidst its being so depressed for the occupation of the foreigners, was so glad for the removal of Rida Khan. They considered it a heavenly gift. I warned his immature son not to be like his father such that when he was no more, the people will rejoice. He did not

listen and then when he left, our nation rejoiced; they expressed so much joy in the streets. It is this government that opposes its own nation.

Now, you can observe that the government has not stood against the nation. Everyday, the people are not afraid that the government agents will go out and apprehend them, bring them, incarcerate them and torture them. Now, the nation is such that if a problem appears for the government, the nation itself will be the forerunner in solving it. Now, as the government cannot solve these difficulties for our nation, created by the former regime and all its agents, our nation went out, extending assistance in all strata. Just today, before the arrival of the gentlemen, individuals who are active in the *Jihad* for Reconstruction right here in Qum came to me and enumerated to me all the activities they have done, although without having assistance coming from the government. There are so many buildings, so many harvests of wheat and cultivations for the farmers, so many public baths, so many medical centers and the like. It is a nation, which considers its country as its own, and its government as its own. When the country becomes its and the government as its very own, the government will not feel the need for it to deal with the nation at the point of a barrel. And neither the nation will be afraid of the government to do so. Neither will it feel that the government is an alien one and its service to it is service to the foreigners. You can observe these two conditions. That condition was such that the nation was separated from the government. And this condition is such that the nation is not separated from the government. This condition is what Islam wants for the governments—to be at the service of the nations.

Political growth of Muslims

The main problem of Muslims is unfortunately that we have little growth. Our political growth is but a little. We imagine again that through the gun, through pressure, through a security organization and through the army, we can reform a nation and a country can attain its independence. Again, we are thinking like that. Our governments are again thinking that they have to suppress their nation through whatever means available. When will this problem be solved? And when will these governments come to their senses to befriend their own nations? It is with the nations that you are living out of their sufferings. Befriend your own nations; and they are your backing and you are their servants. If the nations feel that the governments are meant to support and render services to them, there will be no hindrance to their being ready to render service, too. It is the governments that should resolve this problem. Unfortunately, they do not. This is one of our problems. Unless this

problem is not resolve, there is no hope we can raise voice against the superpowers and drive them out of our countries.

Problem of Islamic states

The second problem that is like this one is the problem among the governments. Why should Islamic states treat one another like this, each going its way? Why should Israel with its little population govern countries that treasure everything and all sorts of power? Why should it be the case? Is it not for the fact that nations are separate from governments that are in turn divided? One billion Muslims with all the equipment they command are sitting idly while Israel is committing those crimes in Lebanon, treating Palestine like that, with Muslims watching. They are simply onlookers. The outcry of our brothers is so loud, yet we are listening and watching. When should we find out our power? You know and history has it that Muslims in the early days of Islam with scanty number yet united overcame others thanks to their faith. In less than half a century, they conquered almost all flourished lands of the time. It was because they were unified and treasured the weapon of faith. When should we pick up the weapon of faith that had been pushed aside and confront with these powers with the weapon of faith? You saw that a nation with little population and no arm and war materials and militarism but expression of faith overpowered a satanic power backed by all powers, not simply those powers but all powers. It was the force of faith that helped a handful of people who had nothing emerge victorious. It was the same power that in the early days of Islam Muslims with meager instruments and population overpowered Rome and the Persian Empire with all their might. They were however devoid of faith, but Muslims were overwhelmed with faith and triumphed.

When do Muslims want to wake up from this slumber? When do they want to settle the problems among them? As long as problems among you are not removed and the problems between governments, their people are not removed and the problems among governments are not removed, do not expect restoration of your dignity. For many years I have pointed out and written about this fact and they have listened and watched.

May God awaken us Muslims and acquaint us with our divinely duty. May God grant us success to celebrate the feast free from trammels of superpowers! May God sanction all of you and strengthen all Islamic lands. May God grant us faith and help us remove the problems.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 2, 1979 [Aban 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Martyrdom of Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Ali Qadi Tabatabai

Audience: Iranian Muslim nations

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
We are from God and to Him shall we return*

With utmost regret, I extend my condolences on the sorrowful loss of martyrdom of militant scholar Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Ali Qadi Tabatabai—may God's peace be upon him—to the committed Muslim people and prominent *ulama* and devoted people of Azarbayjan, particularly the families of this prosperous martyr and implore God Almighty to grant revolutionary patience to the Mujahidin in the cause of Truth and Islam.

The dear prolific Iranian nation and the devoted residents of Azarbayjan should increase their struggles in these big disasters that are indicative of the definite defeat of the enemies of Islam and the country and their failure, desperation and disillusionment. They should become ever more determined in the lofty cause of Islam and the Holy Quran and do not stop resistance until restoration of the rights of the oppressed people from the tyrants of the time.

My dear ones, in a revolution that has pushed back the super powers and that has closed their means of plundering our great country, these and bigger losses are inevitable.

We should pass by these events with resolution, determination and passionlessly and continue with our path that is the path of struggle in the cause of God.

Martyrdom in the cause of God is an eternal proud life and torchlight of nations. Muslim nations should take lesson from sacrifices of our Mujahidin in the cause of independence, freedom and sacred goals of Islam. By joining each other, they should break the dam of colonialism and exploitation and move towards liberality and human life. I implore God Almighty to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims and blessing and mercy to martyrs in the cause of Truth and martyr Sayyid Tabatabai.

Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH
Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 2, 1979 [Aban 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Problems and difficulties of the revolution and unreasonable expectations

Audience: High school students of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reply to unjust accusations

It is not that I would not be informed. Individuals and groups regularly come here, relay the condition of their respective regions and send letters. I am informed of most of these external gatherings, these internal gatherings as well as the problems that you mentioned. Contrary to what you said that the newspapers do not reach me, they reach me; the summary of the news reaches me; summary of the state of affairs of the country reach me as well. I am also informed of the problems by district army and gendarmerie and the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. I am not uninformed. "That they do not let the news of the actual condition reach you," as you said, is the statement the ill wishers uttered. Unfortunately, you also believed in that simple mind of yours. Now, you can see that you are here; and since morning up to now, various groups have been in this very room. There are also assemblies outside; they give their sheets of paper although most of their sheets of paper are things not related to me.

Superiority of the Iranian revolution to other revolutions

It seems that you paid little attention to the revolutions that have occurred in the world. You consider the revolution to mean changing the prime minister or the president. You know that this Iranian Revolution is a model revolution. Due to the fact that in the revolutions that have happened in the world, and in the last century so many have happened, a satanic power would go and another satanic power would replace it and once a revolution has been started and coup has happened, mouths, hands and pens have been broken by them. During these days as you know a revolution comes to pass in a country and afterwards according to media, all press have been closed and all political activities and parties have been discontinued and ended up to stifling. Every arising revolution such as Russian Revolution and the French Revolution resulted in starvation and multi-million killings. This Soviet Union that is vociferous to be in its 60th while it is a military kind, yet it is

not established. The number of killing men and the people put to death is beyond calculation.

Characteristics of Iranian Revolution

Regrettably, most groups of people do not have enough information about our revolution. They do not know that this revolution is unique. A throng of some 30 million bare-handed people just by the help of Islam and without any war equipment or training moved forward and launched a revolution and what a revolution! All major and minor powers as Soviet Union, England and America in the pinnacle were against us. Arab countries were our opponents too. Just when they understood the victory is in our hands, they voiced their consent. Otherwise, they were our entire opponents and that was the confrontation of Iran against all powers. Due to this revolution, we cut the hands of those who coveted our belongings. They, and also the oil, gas and other natural resources, have valued the market. Now they are standing and conspiring against us.

Irrational demands

In such an arising revolution you expect that the revolution is arising like other metamorphosis as replacement of Prime Minister or president. It would be trouble-free forthwith. Is it really to change a Prime Minister? Why do not you ponder that this forthwith event is another subject. This is the opposition of barehanded people to all powers that covet our belongings. These Arab countries, which you have mentioned, were against us. Iraq was against us. Kuwait was too. Let us say that Yemen, Egypt, America, England and others and France also was against us. In this condition, a revolution is arising and crowded them out of the country while they had some interests here. Even now they cannot disregard their interests. Neither the United States nor the United Kingdom can overlook. The other countries cannot either. Then you remark that nothing has been done or improved! Nothing has been changed. Most of what you mentioned is rectifying. However, people do not know. Previously, I also asked what had been done but once the concerned officials informed me it became obvious that this eight-month long government does its best after the victory in this distraught condition and in a ruined country, which is called Iran. Yesterday 35 million people were under duress. It was impossible for you to come here and have such coterie. Talking about politics, society, country and even our nation was not feasible. Do not belittle these things. In comparison to five years ago, the status quo is of great worth. If one hundred captives, once come out of jail

they will sabotage, it is while 35 million inmates come out of durance. In this condition, disturbance ends to sabotage. Imprisonment, intimidation and suffocation were excruciating pain with which our people were constantly afflicted. There was no newspaper to write a word of fact. There is nothing on TV or radio except panegyric of Aryamehr. The media were those just in their hands and propagandized for them. To organize a coterie or demonstration was impossible. Managing a gathering of five hundred persons to march and even supposedly to say true subject was not possible during all that time. Do not disparage these things. Five years ago, the people were in trouble, youth were in jails, all people and politicians could not utter a word, clergymen couldn't speak about politics, the press was in suppression of belief and all pens have been broken.

Now, all these things are removed. Once people open their eyes and see they are in the clear and free. Clearly, there are 35 million disparate demands after stifling and lookup. All you are asking is why you do not improve on. Repeatedly you ask me this question. You consider me as the kingpin. I am a theologian. I can just advise. As you see all the government and people are active and shoulder their responsibilities. You do not known how many homes are built, how many public paths are built and how many roads are paved. How many schools does the government or people themselves make? All of these things have been done, but they have ruined this country during 35, 50 if we do not say 2500 years. They have ruined this country by hack, spade and pickax. (Being ruined during 50 years, how can you expect the country to be reconstructed in 8 months)? You, also, have to work. Throw off all disguises! Do not pass the buck and question us. You can declaim that nothing has been done. But just we must explain about our actions. Is this country just for minister? Is this country for clergyman? The country belongs to all people. So we all must be called into question. Do not sit and just nag that they do nothing. They are like you. It is not like the past that everything will be in the hands of special group who pocketed in interests. You would be powerless and cannot do anything. Formerly, all country's interest was in ruling authority or their relatives' pocket. When that was the case, it was people's right to say you pocketed and passed the buck. That was so but nobody can breathe a word.

Pahlavi regime, source of deprivation and problems

Now the country is for you and we do not have a coercive state to want everything for its own and there is no ax to grind. They are under supervision and they themselves are righteous. It is not true yet that we all young and old

sit at home and ask, "What do you do?" What's the difference between you and them? What do you do? You have to and so do I. This country belongs to you. Since its benefits are not for a particular throng, so it is wrong to expect just a special group work. The country's benefits and its losses are ours too. The country also is for all but this 6, 8, 10 months-old baby cannot do as a philosopher. Being as a six or seven-month-old baby, our country is afflicted with excruciating pain and misery and diseases particularly after the victory. So it is too difficult to improve. Once you come here and see what these people say and want. That unmarried man comes here and says I want a wife. That single girl asks me for a husband. Mostly, these letters are of this sort. Those who come here, once come and see mostly they carry letters and parcels. It is while you suppose that they are about crucial and political issues and if we do not get these parcels, we are unknown. Now, my room is about with these letters and parcels. They deem that we raise a revolution to have a wife. We spur a revolution to have a husband. We are raising a revolution to have these things and those things. We raise a revolution and now you have to reform. This was a nation to start a revolution and to make efforts and eradicate this corruption. Now, again, you yourself must do it and do not refer to me. I am like you and one of you. Praise is to Allah; you are young and vigorous whereas I do not possess these blessings. Considering the government as a peculiar importance is wrong. The government is the same as you with restricted power. Now if they want to replace an individual, they have to look after one with clean record for a long time. It is not like the former that you can easily perceive people backgrounds. There were some heavy-handed who were like deadly snake and the government wanted such people and served them. Since now some qualification such as religion, piousness, custody and no fractional inclination are of high importance, it is difficult to find. I know that now there are some inept ones in our offices but finding decent person that works faithfully is an intricate problem. Nevertheless, they are purged and some others are renewed therefore, you should not have irrational demands.

Critics looking for well-being

Sir, at this time we want to ask you "what did you do for us?" We made effort and were jailed as good as you, so it is our right to ask you as you do. It makes no difference. All of us should ask what we should do.

But what you should do is to pour oil on troubled waters. Peace is essential for reform. One cannot cover a road with asphalt if there is quarell and disagreements. It is not possible to study at a school in which students

are divided into opposite groups jumping into fray nor can one set such a school right. One cannot question why the Ministry of Education fails to work efficiently. Well, there are obviously elements impeding efforts to set right the situation. The Kurdistan Province you see is now so ruined is because a group of parasites affiliated to the detested Phahlavi regime fawning either on right or on left and predominantly flattering the Americans do not allow any work to be done for Kurdish people. Budget was allocated to them, but how can one for example pave the road with asphalt while hordes of these stooges walk around and shoot the relief workers? Can one make school there in such conditions? Can one make, I don't know, a public bath or high school or fulfill the needs of the residents? Well, it is not possible.

Noteworthy services in short while

Endeavor to keep a stiff upper lip despite these debilitating words that you did nothing. So many works have been done till now. We were baffled by many problems but be careful that they do the drudgery during the eight months in spite of its imperfection. They work in such circumstances and conditions despite sabotage. People do not have any information about these services, however. A group came here from Qum and got informed of the government services such as asphaltting and making homes and public baths, etc. Allow me to say although it sounds that foundation services are not as well as it is expected, a lot has been done. But it needs more excessive than this. There are some million oppressed people, some million weak who are the former regime's inherited results. All these homeless that you can see are bequests of the former regime not the revolution. No one dared to utter, "We have no water". These words elicited imprisonment. Asking for pavement eventuated in torturing. Now, there is no whip duress, or torturing. So the people protested vocally. The oppressed people speak up about scarcity of water and electricity. So I ask whether this scarcity of water and electricity is the outcome of revolution. Certainly, the answer is negative. It does not concern with revolution, it is traceable to 30 or 40 years ago or more. Now you act as if we owe you something. They are trying to reconstruct. Now it is not right to evaluate their efforts futile. Many places have been plumbed and irrigated by them. Numerous roads were constructed. Myriad of houses has been built. But it takes time to make for some millions. They know that a long way is ahead. Yet it does not mean we overlook their efforts and claim that the revolution is the same as before. If it is so, could you come here and sit! If there were no difference before and after revolution, you would be

imprisoned after going out of here. What does this sentence mean? It is just for your discouragement. You must be stable and gain ground. Vigorously move forward as you breached that main barrier and be sure that your country becomes improved. A group of those who are akin to bandits are still here. I remember at that time Ahmad Shah time—we were afflicted to such robberies. Those like Rajab Ali, Nayib Husayn Kashi and that Mirza ...¹ and some others you have not even heard their names ransacked everybody's property. They sacked our village. The system of then government in Kashan couldn't do anything. These pillagers came and executed their orders. They ransacked and performed their duties. But in the end, during Rida Khan, all pillagers were confined to one pillager. They were all quelled and a pillager took their place. By the foreigner's order, all of them were quelled and the power remained in the hands of someone who was himself was pillager.

Freedom, sweet fruit of revolution

Do not be under the impression that they did nothing. They did a miracle. As you hear this cry, it would be impossible for one to utter one's suffering. Well, this freedom, the gift of freedom, is the most valued concept in the world. Now when you go home, you are not worried lest Savak might arrest your brother, father or husband. You were scared of this. Now you sleep at ease. Neither the security forces nor the government comes to apprehend you. The robbers, plunderers and all those pestering you in the course of history are being arrested one after another, with some of them being punished duly. The guiltless ones are not penalized. Do not believe in the words bandied about by certain elements on the penalties. These words are made by those affiliated to the former regime, suggesting that Islam is basically the same as the former regime. They do not know that it was due to Islam that all the robbers were driven out of the country. It was due to Islam that we are enjoying this freedom. It was due to Islam that in post-revolution period all the print media were granted such freedom. Nevertheless, after the lapse of five or six months, they came to realize that some of these print media affiliated to Israel are weaving plot against the government. Well, based on some rules, it was decided to conduct investigation into the media. Any of them found to be affiliated to Israel would be restrained. You cannot

¹ These individuals consist of the rebels of the closing days of the reign of Qajar Dynasty. The most famous among them is Nayib Husayn Kashi who had set up an autonomous rule in a large area of central Iran, commanding army and corps. This man finally arrived in Tehran at the invitation of Wuthuq ad-Dawlah, the then prime minister. The agents of Wuthuq ad-Dawlah arrested him and his son Mashaallah Khan Sardar and executed them. In this way, rebellion of Nayib Husayn came to its end.

find any revolution in the world like the revolution in Iran. After the revolution there was absolutely no trouble and freedom was order of the day. Gatherings were free, parties were free and people raised their criticism freely.

The point you cited to the effect that developments are not conveyed to me, these are also among the allegations these people make to suggest to the public that I am unaware of what is going on in the country. When I am unaware of things, my words cannot be correct. However, I am not in the dark. You are now here sitting beside me and exchanging words ... None of them see this. Morning, noon and night people are here. The thing is that there was supposed to be a gathering in the morning up to noon. Then I was to be spared for some time. This is my free time you are now observing. I hope you will be successful. I pray for all you.

Speech

Time: November 2, 1979 [Aban 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of cultural-economic independence of the country

Audience: Students of Faculty of Sciences and Faculty of Literature and Foreign Languages

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Significance of economic and cultural independence

I would like to remind the gentlemen of a point. We must struggle to be self-sufficient in all areas. It is impossible to achieve independence prior to economic independence. If we stand in economic need, we would also be dependent in other things. Accordingly, if we are dependent in terms of culture, we would be dependent in fundamental things. Regrettably, the propaganda carried out in the course of history since the time these foreigners found their way into eastern countries has triggered the eastern people to imagine that whatever development has to be found in the west. This attitude caused eastern people to be alienated in the face of the west and the US. Everywhere, there is talk of the west and overseas. If a medicine is produced even in our country, it is presented to the Iranians in the name of foreign drugs. If Iran makes a quality cloth, it should be sold to people in the name of English serge! Whatever you look after, we are told should be supplied from them. One of the now dead former Majlis speakers or member of the senate had recommended that we should basically imitate England in every respect. He was a stooge of England. This mentality encouraged by way of extensive propaganda in Iran said has caused us not to trust ourselves and rely on the west, being stripped of intellectual independence.

If we want to be independent, we should be able to do without reliance on the west in all respects. We should launch the struggle as of today when the country is in our hand and the grip of foreigners curtailed hopefully forever. The treacherous people are gone, only their decaying roots remaining. We should serve our country as our home. From now on we should work to do without reliance on the west and east.

Colonial policy towards the Third World

Rest assured that the West and the East do not bring any benefit to any Islamic or eastern country. Whatever they offer us is either of no use for

themselves or things that are useless for us. If they offer some know-how, they would give things that would not yield any profit to us. If our youth go there for education, the knowledge they impart to our youth is reserved for colonial schools. Their schools are different from what are offered to Third World. They see the Third World in a different light. Basically, they do not grant anything to the Third World. In fact, they hold no respect for Third World people. The respect they hold for animals there are greater than their treatment towards people living here! The medicine that is banned to use there is authorized to transfer to the Third World. The doctor who is banned to practice medicine there is transmitted to here. It is permissible for such a doctor to practice medicine here! The doctors graduated from there and granted certificates there are not predominantly authorized to practice medicine there; they have to return to their countries to practice. You are not authorized to practice medicine here. This attitude is due to the fact that they maintain no prestige for Third World people or borrowing their words colonized countries. Whatever they desire for themselves is completely different from what they want for us. They give us something different.

I have already said that when we were in Paris, the young students studying in Germany came to us and complained that they were banned from ascending the higher rungs of education. They said they were impeded from reaching a certain level or make progress. Regrettably, they had infiltrated into our universities and blocked the growth of our students could achieve. Some of the university professors were stooges delegated not to let our students make sound progress. If you want to gain independence and real freedom, you should struggle to achieve self-sufficiency in all aspects of life. You should be free from need. Farmers must work such that we no longer stand in need of wheat from abroad. University students should struggle so that we would not need foreign doctors. We should not also stand in need of engineering from abroad.

These unjust people in the former regime wanted to present a backward image of us, inculcating in us that even if we want to cover a street with asphalt, we should bring experts from abroad! If they wanted to construct a road, cover a street with asphalt or erect a building, they would call for bringing foreign experts. This does not mean that experts were not available here. The work force was sufficient, but they wanted us to be affiliated to foreigners. They advised that we should import everything from abroad. They constantly concluded contract with foreign companies and entrusted road-making to them. Our experts in making road were marginalized. Our workers were given menial labor with meager wages, while their engineers with so

and so pays lording over us. Our country was presented as dependent, coolie and wretched. They fetched an engineer from abroad with 100 thousand or so salary, whereas ours were better than theirs, subordinating the latter.

Necessity of the country's autarchy

The situation of our country in this span of time, particularly in the past 50 years was as stated. We should rid ourselves of this condition. If we want to live in an independent country, we should work assiduously to become self-sufficient. Our patients should not go abroad for medical treatment. We should make things we can. When there is a will, there is a way. We can meet all our needs. In the past, however, we had been instilled the idea that we have nothing and that we know nothing and therefore should import our requirements from abroad. If such is the case, it is a disaster; if not and we have been raised to believe it is true, it is also a tragedy.

Struggling to educate manpower

Our universities must endeavor to train and educate students to help the nation to be relieved of foreign need. Our physicians should be domestic; we should not stand in need of foreign doctors or flying overseas for operation of tonsil. In the former regime, the Shah wanted to get the tonsil of his child or a relative and brought physicians from abroad to do it. They wanted us to be in such situation and showing the world that we do not have even a tonsil surgeon. However, we have it. They wanted to portray such a picture overseas. They were agents to depict such an image that we are a people who are basically unaware and that people in our country cannot cover a street with asphalt or make a road and building. The Eastern buildings such as this theological seminary you observe in the door leading from the Faydiyyah School to the compound, there is a fringe over there with tile works. It was long time ago that I have not observed. When we were in Qum some 30 or 40 years ago when such events had not taken place, I was quoted that foreign experts came and visited this place. They said such tile works to make was impossible to produce anymore because a special heat is needed to make such colors. If the heat is excess, the color would be destroyed and if slight such color would not be produced. Such were our experts. Our masons and tillers were such that even foreigners have confirmed and confessed that they had not their likes. The medicine practiced by Abu Ali Sina and Razi are being taught in Europe even today. Unfortunately, we have put them aside and clung to them! We cannot claim we have an independent country unless we rid ourselves of dependence.

Attention of the youth to cultural luminaries

You, young adults, and you who educate the younger generation try to deprogram the mind of the youth that has been filled with western materials. Make them understand that they have their luminaries and everything. Have them understand that they should do their work by themselves. If we have something that is defective, it is better than stretching our hands before our enemies to get a perfect one. I regret that we have to go to our enemies and seek their help to meet our necessities. If we stood in need of our friendly countries, it would be of no matter. However, the countries you observe today such as France that has taken Bakhtiyar—Iran's enemy—under their wing, writing and speaking against Iran with police backing him. Now, if our youth want to raise a voice, the French police would stop them. Our number one enemy¹ is kept in the US under the color of treatment. They either want to treat her or taken him under the pretext of treatment to conspire against us. Now, should we stretch our hands before the US for wheat or before England to give us so and so? It is truly regretful! We are all regretting that we stand in need of our enemies.

Agricultural autarchy and exports

We must be self-sufficient. We should train and help our farmers to join their hands and enhance agriculture to a level we can export our products. Our country used to be export-oriented. Now, we have been entangled in this difficulty. In our country a single Azarbayjan or Khorasan is sufficient to meet the demands of the entire country if agriculture is ameliorated. The excess should be exported. Unfortunately, under the pretext of land reforms, we have been ruined as you see. Such is the case with our other things. We should gain independence in everything. Independence is not attainable along with dependence. If our culture is dependent, we cannot have dependence. If our economy is dependent, we cannot achieve dependence. First, we should correct these. Economic independence! We should primarily mend this so as to call our country independent.

Reliance on our culture and nobility

I hope that our youth, teachers and university professors, writers and intellectuals are awakened and notice the negligences. We had been beguiled up to now; our minds had been converted. We should join our hands; writers should contribute to this revolution, speakers should help this revolution, newspapers should back this revolution. I see some newspapers, excluding

¹ The Shah.

the leading ones, carrying materials detrimental to the nation. Among these newspapers, some presume that their interests lie in the rule of westerners over our country or coming to power of the like of these treacherous ones. Those newspapers that are not such and the youth who are not without defect because in time of the former regime they were not involved in activities to be brought up like them should think out a way to make real human beings. We have our culture; we can educate our people; we can work to improve the country. It is the beginning of the work that the hands of the criminals have been virtually curtailed from our country. The grip of those who ransacked the country is now curtailed as well. We should think out how to construct our country. First and foremost, our youth should be mended. The youths who should protect the country in future and run it should be raised properly.

May God grant success to you, sisters and brothers, to serve this country! May God grant you health!

Speech

Time: November 2, 1979 [Aban 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Strife for autonomy and independence

Audience: Political prisoners in the Shah's Regime

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Martyrdom, a divine gift

Let bygones be bygones. Happy are those who fulfilled their duty whether in jail, under torture or out of jails. You should be prepared sufferings one after another. You accomplished a revolution and swept a dam, an act that is singular in the world. Do not expect that after breaking these barriers, cutting the hands of super powers off your treasures, escape of traitors and curtailment of the hands of opportunists, things would go smoothly. We should be ready to offer greater number of martyrs, as we did one—the late Mr. Qadi¹—May God's blessing be upon him—who was martyred. Prior to him we offered martyrs and after him, we would do so. Martyrdom should make us stand more resolved. You are treading a path for which many prominent men have been martyred. It is the path of Islam. You rose up for Islam and one who revolts for right and for Islam, hardship would be easy to tolerate. Martyrdom is God's gift for the deserved ones. Each martyr should make your resolution stiffer.

Assassination, reason for defeat of enemies

Make them understand that by such foul plays and dastardly actions they cannot revert to the former conditions. Killing people in secrecy is evidence of their defeat. If they had any power, they would have entered the scene. As long as they commanded power, they were present at the scene. You were also present at the scene and the nation repulsed them. These trivial confusions, these struggle to kill one, burglary and fraudulence are evidence of their disappointment and defeat. You should be strong-hearted and do not at all fear these martyrdoms. Move forward as courageously as you launched the revolution and shattered this dam.

¹ Martyr Sayyid Muhammad-Qadi Tabatabai, the Imam's envoy in East Azarbayjan and Tabriz's Friday Prayer leader, was martyred by Furqan terrorist group.

Full-scale effort for realization of Islam

Remain in the field bravely and push forward the revolution so that God willing Islam would find reality in its progressive spirit and our country would be entirely Islamic in the full sense of the word. All strata should be Islamic; that is, the government should be Islamic, so do all ministries, departments, office of governor general, bazaar, university etc. We should strive for this great goal sought by prophets of God to the end and pushed it forward. Following the prophets of God and the saints of God, we should push forward this school. God Willing, we will make this country a model for other Islamic countries, if not all other countries in which the oppressed are entangled by arrogant powers. I hope you will be successful in your struggles whether in Reconstruction Jihad, army, courts or offices and give your heed to God. Who would help you and who not, should not be counted? You are performing a human-Islamic act for God. If you could do, you would see the results and if not, you would still be the winner, because you struggle for God. It is a divine struggle.

Those working for God will never lose. Those working for the world are losers if they fail to achieve their mundane end, wasting their life. Even if the latter succeeds, they are losers. However, those who rise up for God, obey God's command, they would never suffer defeat. Such a revolution is for God, all revolt is for God and actions are for God. On the surface, if it is assumed that we failed and thus lost, we have not actually suffered defeat, because we have worked for God and one who works for God, we are the winner. Life is not restricted to this world; there is the next world as well.

Obviously, the government and governor-generals are duty-bound to accompany and fulfill the requirements of the reconstruction effort the youths are engaged to accomplish. The government should not temporize. The government and governor-generals should also help as much as they can. In fact, we all are duty-bound to manage the country we have pulled out of the throat of colonialists so that we would no longer stand in need of them.

Bitterest things in man's palate

Need to enemy should be taken as the bitterest thing ruining man's palate. Once one may stand in need of one's brothers, this is not good as well, but it is unfortunate to stand in need of the enemy. I mean it is most caustic if we go cap in hand to one that has struggle to impoverish us in the course of the history of our country and committed treason and crime against us. Now, we stand in need of such an enemy to provide us with foodstuff. How sad it is to stretch our hands to give us wheat and advisor. This should

be the bitterst thing for man's palate to stretch one's hands before one's enemy who has ruined everything belonging to us and beg for food. Our people should undergo change and feel ashamed of begging the US for wheat and advisor. People should mind their works; they should rise up and meet their needs. All of us should help one another. People of all walks of life should try to attain self-sufficiency. They should not beg others. The farmers should develop agriculture to a large extent. Thank God, agriculture has thrived greatly. I saw somewhere in Qum and its surroundings that products have risen as much as four times that of previous years. I hope that in coming years we can export the harvests. I wish they would stand in our need and we would not go to those who inflicted those agonies on us, begging them to give us wheat. This rule should apply to all other fields.

Prerequisite to independence

If a country wants to be independent, the first condition is to be free from need to others. If a country stands in need of others, it cannot be independent. Need is itself a political dependence. If once one whom we need supposedly stops meeting our needs, we have to succumb. We should act in a way as to be independent and free from need. This is obtainable provided that university students struggle to fulfill our needs. It is shameful for a country whose medicine foreign countries have practiced and now the one suffering from a disease goes to London to seek help from our enemies or the one that is now supporting our enemy—the US. What a shame if one goes to the one that is protecting our number one enemy to conspire against us. It is disdainful for us if our patients are taken to such countries. Our physicians should be trained in our country; they should not be disappointed with thought of being unable to treat them. They should not feel exhausted. They confided in each other that it would be impossible to fly in the face of these powers. Let us collude with them. However, you saw it was possible when people willed so. When a nation wants something, it will be feasible. God is with them. In the same way that it was said it was impossible to disrupt this power and you acted and did it likewise, they say it is impossible to become self-sufficient, but we can and should struggle to achieve it.

Physicians must be from our country, engineers must be from our and all other things must be from our country. We should not need to import things from abroad; we should import minds. We should have sound minds. The minds that leave the country are of no use for us.

You should construct yourselves from the beginning so that you would be able to administer the country. Do not expect now that you are working, all departments should certainly accompany you.

You are working for God. Obviously, the government departments should also do so. However, if you encounter a standstill somewhere, you should not be filled with terror or feel despaired. You are strong and can do it.

Highest success

I hope that God would grant success to you and us to work for God and not suffer defeat. This is above all success to work for God. To serve the nation is to serve God. To serve your country is to serve God. God favors this country. To serve to rid of need for foreigners is a great service, a divine service. Such a service is for God. Endeavor to work for God. When you work for God, you should not fear anything. God is with you. You should fear nothing.

May God sanctions you and you will be successful. If there is something to say, please write it because I do not have time to sit and speak any longer.

Speech

Time: November 2, 1979 [Aban 11, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Let us revive glory and nobility of Muslims by resorting to Islam

Audience: Saudi Arabian resident students in Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Peculiarity of Iran's revolution

Unfortunately, the gentlemen have come at a time when it is noon and I am short of time. Nevertheless, I make a few words.

This revolution in Iran is not exclusive to Iran, because Islam is not the monopoly of a particular class. Islam has been sent for mankind, not for Muslims or Iran. Prophets are appointed for mankind; the Prophet of Islam was appointed for human beings. The addressee is people 'Oh, People'. We accomplished the revolution for Islam. The republic is Islamic Republic. Revolution for Islam cannot be restricted to a country or to even Islamic countries. Revolution for Islam is the corolory of the revolution of prophets. Prophets' revolution has not been restricted to a particular place. The holy Prophet was from Saudi Arabia, but his invitation was not confined to the Saudis; his invitation is for the entire world.

Prophets' aim, educating mankind

Prophets came to make real human being. Man is primarily a creature like other animals. If man grows, he/she can develop into a spiritual creature superior to angels. If man seeks corruption, he/she will become a creature inferior to animals.

Now, you see the human beings in the world and claim to be real human being, support humankind and animals. I do not think an animal can be found among all animals as rapacious as man! Man is a creature that wants the entire human being for his/her own interests. Man kills millions of people to gain a profit! An animal eating animal flesh, eat no beyond their stomach capacity; when they are filled, they stop and seek prey at another meal. Man, however, as an animal and worst of them is ready to kill multitudes of people for a slight gain. Other human beings who block one's interests or at least refuse to act in one's favor are not at all counted. Man is ready to slay several hundred thousands of people to occupy somewhere fortheir policy.

False upholders of human rights

Study the wars now raging in the world and those waged formerly. See what man is doing to mankind whose rights he/she claims to be defending and for whose promotion plans and organizations are set up. These very people embark on lamenting and criticizing the courts here for a number of individuals convicted to death sentence for the crimes they have committed in the past 50 years. These are the ones that are engaged in crushing and killing people in war theaters to gain something that they imagine to be gainful for them. Those who are killing people in their multitudes vociferously cry in favor of a few individuals who have been sentenced by courts here to death on charge of committing fifty years of crime here and killing or ordering to kill hundreds of people! While their agents are now indulged in slaying hordes of people, they are wailing for these criminals! Unfortunately, there are individuals in Islamic societies, in eastern people, in our country and in your country accepting the words of these counterfeits in which case one should say they are mentally backward or do not accept yet work for the impostors in which case they are treacherous. There are some individuals among us and among you raising the same issues in their society that is put forward in the west. Some of our writers and speakers deal with these issues in the same way that American press treats them under direct supervision of the Zionists. This is true with regard to your country.

Honorable life of Muslims

East and Islamic countries cannot lead a dignified life unless they find Islam. Muslims must look after Islam. Islam has been slid into oblivion. We do not know Islam. The West and these criminals have drummed into our heads so much that we have forgotten Islam. You cannot mend your way as long as you have not found Islam. Islam has been pushed into oblivion from Kabah, the center of Islam and congregation of Muslims, to the farthest land of Muslims, Islam is not known. Nevertheless, Muslims congregate in Kabah, assigned by God, as a center for Muslims' to settle their problems during *Hajj* rituals, but fail to make Islamic use of this gathering. Such a political venue has been degraded to a place in which issues irrelevant to Muslims are treated. Islam should be found. If Muslims find *Hajj*, the policy recommended by Islam for *Hajj*, it would be sufficient for them to gain independence. Regrettably, however, we have lost Islam. The Islam being practiced now is completely separated from politics. The head has been cut. The core of Islam has been taken out and the remaining part has been given us. This is what has brought about such unfortunate circumstances for us. We

do not know the head or essence of Islam. Muslims cannot restore their glory if they fail to find Islam. Islamic glory was that which took place in the early days of Islam. The glory of Islam was the day when Islam overcame two empires with a small population.¹ This was the majesty of Islam that sought to make real human beings, not conquest. It is an illusion and a wrong impression that Islam looks for conquest. Islam never fought for conquest. Islam wants all countries to be real human being. Islam seeks to mend the way of those whom one cannot call human being. History has it that in war prisoners of war had been chained and brought to the Holy Prophet. God's Prophet (s) said: "Look, I have to take them to paradise by the fetters."² Islam has come to reform the society. If it has drawn the sword, it has done so to destroy the corrupt elements impeding reforms of society so that others would be mended.

The issues the gentleman recalled will hopefully be settled gradually if we succeed and if Muslims are blessed. We are now baffled by many problems and seek Muslims to pray for us. May God sanction you!

¹ Iran and Rome.

² *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 5, p. 249.

Decree

Time: November 3, 1979 [Aban 12, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Tabriz Friday prayer Imam

Audience: Sayyid Asadullah Madani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence, Sayyid al-Ulama al-Alam and Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Asadullah Madani—(May his blessings last long),

Though Hamedan Province needed your Eminence, the urgent need of the people of Tabriz and rather Azarbayjan to your presence as some have implored, you are advised to stay in Tabriz for a while and attend to the problems and difficulties and supervise and courts and provide them with guidance.

Your Eminence is appointed to perform the Friday prayer, this noble Islamic, political and social obligation. It is hoped that the zealous and endeared people of Tabriz bent on supporting you that is in favor of Islam and Muslims. I beseech God, the Almighty, to restore the majesty of Islam and recompense the loss of Islam's dear child and pure dynasty of honorable Messenger, the grand martyred Tabatabai. May God's peace be upon him and the pious servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 12, 1399 AH

Speech

Time: November 3, 1979 [Aban 12, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Injection of spirit of frustration of the revolution—by the enemies' achievement of the revolution

Audience: Qazvin people and athletes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Problems inevitable in revolutions

I am glad to see you dear athletes who are backbones of the nation. I pray for you, for all people and for athletes who command physical and hopefully spiritual strength. Of course, there are some problems, which are inevitable after any revolution. These are not however, problems that we cannot overcome. It needs time to mend and resolve the problems but the people must know that after overthrow of *taghut*, the power, which sought everything for its own and plundered our wealth and resources for themselves or their masters, now the country is in your hands and it is for you. The residents of every region, village or city must endeavor to renovate their region. Re-establishment of this country ruined during 50 years is impossible unless people join hands.

Enemy's propaganda in disappointing the people

Now there are some elements that work to disappoint people by their pens, tongues or hands. They aggrandize the difficulties and spur feeling of discouragement among the youth and all other groups of people. If the spirit of discouragement emerges in society, it ends up in instability; therefore; it cannot achieve victory. Due to psychological recognition, they discern that the nation must be disappointed, so they badger all the time in spite of all the works that have been done. By publicity and propaganda, they are attempting to say nothing has been changed. This is aimed at your despondency. This is inspired in them by devils that such big power was succumbed by the nation's family-rooted resolution while they were barehanded. They removed all obstacles by the unity of expression and firm belief in God. Getting that how strong you are, they dismayed that their extortion would be discontinued and so what they had to do? They began to poison on every direction. Engaging in sabotage overtly in Kurdistan, Khuzestan, and now blatantly they are busy with corruption and inexpediency. As you know they recently

committed a crime and martyred some of our soldiers and committed a second one as you mentioned and martyred the deceased Mir Qadi Tabatabai—may God bless him—a friend of mine, gone to jails, campaigned a lot and been in exiles. They are assassinating these people one after another to disappoint you. They begin to propagandize whenever they cannot involve in obviously.

Enormous achievements of the revolution

Everyday I visit a group of people coming here complaining that nothing has been done in their region and that there is no advancement.

As for this matter, I beg to say that this revolution is born for nearly 8 months. What are we to earn in eight-month long post victory? What has been achieved and then complain about those not attained. The writers have a no attention toward things done. In fact, they do, but in order to create despondency among people, they fail to make any mention of the achievements. Continuously they ask for something that must be done in the future and interruptedly they cast them in people's teeth. They are reporting none of services. Perpetually they ask what you have done! Now, I beg you it has been corroborated by people that robbers are ousted from country. Those who pillaged our wealth and sent out our oil, gas and other resources and got poultry sum in return just for themselves not the nation. Well, one can claim that Muhammad-Rida is still engaged in working sabotage and that America still has military advisors in Iran who are devouring and stealing our belongings. Such a feat has no precedence in the world that a nation can make a country out of the United State's throat without any war. No one ever mentions this affair. Can they claim that these things do not come true? They cannot claim. They do not allude to the status quo in which the country is in our hands. Could you, five years ago, come here and visit me as freely as you do today? If such gathering had come out clandestinely, was there any destiny except death? Well, is this not a blessing for us that now after a long time we can sit in this meeting and speak about the affairs of our country? These things have happened but they do not report them and just ask what this revolution has done. What has Islamic Revolution done?

This Islamic Revolution is different from other victories because it is Islamic.

One difference is in other revolutions or coups and the coup staged recently somewhere I do not remember, all press, factions and meetings were inhabited and during revolutions, sometimes one or two millions are killed. Human massacre follows revolutions. However, since this revolution is

Islamic, it is not engaged in massacre or other things, and because this was the nation that prevailed, the Islamic nation and in the name of Islam. After the revolution, neither meetings and factions nor press were banned. It was observed after some months, that some groups have conspired and they are doing so these days. Some others received funds from abroad and plotted against us. Some magazines in this way and some press on that way did so and they wanted to corrupt people, but the court restrained them. However, those not involved in conspiring are in their own place continuing with their work and so are fractions. Besides, all doors of country are open.

Great blessing of freedom

Due to Islam and Islamic Revolution, we have the great blessing of freedom. Do not fear any longer that one from Amnesty International comes at night looking for an excuse to capture and imprison you without anybody knowing where you are. How many youths were kept in confinement and we received no news from them? According to available information, there are so many in numbers of our brave youth who were killed. But there is no news about any others. When they sallied forth, they captured so many and put them in the helicopter or something like that and threw down them from above into the sea. Do we still suffer from such brutalities is this relief not the result of the influence of revolution? These unfair people are saying that revolution took place and nothing has been happened, are they out of their sight? Are they blind? Are they or traitors but wink at it? They are nagging at difficulties; such as I do not know, like electricity or water and so on. Well, firstly I want to ask whether they are resultants of revolution or they were like this from incipient stage; whether or not those who have not paving, indoor plumbing, medical centers or baths, are these as results of revolution. Are they things of the past? When we ask how long you do not have paving. People answer we never had it? They tell the truth. Well, they did nothing and left the country while it was ruined. And this havoc is not pertinent to revolution but you say that revolution is responsible for it. All of you started revolution and it is your own. The country belongs to you all. The entire people must join. Do not sit and expect that just the government do the job alone. Some areas are serviced and some are coming here to inform us of what have been done. How many domiciles are made, how many homes are built for the oppressed, how many roads are paved, how many lands are harvested and how these Reconstruction *Jihad* people served. They regard these as nothing and achievement does not make any mention of them. The day before yesterday, some from Qum Reconstruction *Jihad* came to me and

said all Qum deficiencies afflicting areas surrounding Qum had been removed and that everything was O.K. How many baths, paving, let me say, how many so and so, have been mad but they never mention.

Good cooperation is a blessing of revolution

This is a blessing of the revolution that people cooperate and this sense is aroused among the people that they must assist and cooperate and this is a blessing of revolution. They fail to project these achievements. However, they aggrandize that, let us suppose, so and so are in dept or similar problems. They complain of their debts not having been paid after the victory. Is the revolution, to pay their debts? Yet their debts will be paid if they can.

But all these naggings aim to dismay the youth. If they do so they can impede the progress of this revolution. They attempt to make the youth disappointed. They belittle the numerous services rendered to the country. The above-mentioned services are in pinnacle. Ousting robbers from our country is the greatest service and this is because of the revolution. Nothing has been done, what does it mean? Do they claim we still have security organization? Do we have Oveysi¹ or I do not know his like? Are Nasiri² or other instances still in power? Well, all of them are gone and who does this? The people do this for the sake of the Islamic revolution. This revolution did all this. Both people and the government are engaged in reconstruction efforts. Some from Reconstruction *Jihad* go to help people. When I see on TV, I become so glad seeing their high spirit. Of course, these bodily weak—women cannot go and harvest a big land but their presence encourages their owners to work doubly. Entering of doctors and engineers into a place and engaging in the works results in involving of inhabitants to work fast. Nevertheless, these unfair people want to terrify you and create disappointing sense in order to stop you working nagging that nothing has been done. Publicizing has influence on man. Well, and advertising, continuous publicizing cause people to forget things done.

Be robust as you are. You are athletes and athletes are powerful and believer. Repose your trust in God and never dread of what they say. Be alert us this country is your own and you safeguard your own country. You must uphold your country because it belongs to you.

¹ Ghulam-Ali Oveysi, the commander of the Army Ground Force and Tehran Martial Governor during the prime ministry of Jafar Sharif Imami.

² Nimatullah Nasiri, the head of Savak.

Reconstruction together with peace

Those who make hue and cries should either be ignored or given a punch in their mouth so that the country could find peace. Then peacefully can we proceed towards the ultimate reconstruction? As long as the country is in unrest and riot and the slander of the former regime and their servants are busy to throw us into confusion, reconstruction will be impracticable. Without tranquility there will be no construction. In a disturbed city, paving or building is impossible. It is not unless there is peace. I hope you march forward by your physical and spiritual power and never be frustrated because despair is from army of Satan. Move forward and never admit yourselves to disappointment. Be hopeful. God, the Exalted, is your backing. And your country is the country of Imam of the Time (a). God willing, you will be triumphant. May God preserve you, athletes and the resident of Qazvin as they have religious record!

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, November 3, 1979 [Aban 12, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Origin of animosity of devils to Islam

Audience: Commanders of the Committee and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Khorasan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Wishing to visit the holy shrine of (Imam Rida) (a)

To pay homage to our Imam Ali Ibn Musa ar-Rida is one of my wishes. Time and again, gentlemen from Khorasan have expressed their kindness and invitation. If I find the opportunity I also want to go and pay a visit to him and the people of Khorasan, but you know that I have preoccupations. It is not even feasible for me to visit large gatherings here. For this reason, for the time being I am temporarily excused. I hope that you would pray for me to succeed in such a great endeavor.

Islam, thorn in the eyes of the enemies of the revolution

Islam has become a great thorn in the eyes of those who cannot see Islam from the very beginning. However, prior to the Revolution, since it was the government of *taghut*, the pens, deeds and words paid very little attention to Islam. Now, as the government of *taghut* was overthrown and cannot return anymore, and the Islamic Republic system was established, those for whom Islam is like a bone in the throat are determined not to let this reality to be realized. All these animosities you see they have with you, with the committees, with the revolutionary courts, that they have with the clergymen that they have with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards lie in their enmity to Islam. Those who cannot afford to hear the name of Islam now see Islam emerging and will be realized with its true substance. They have the apprehension that if this truth is realized, the devils will be discarded. For this reason, they have come to the scene, in the name of Islam, in the name, in the name of devotees of people and, under various names, employing all their power to undermine Islam. They have come to cope with God. They do not understand that if they all gather together and render service to the nation; this nation and this country will obtain soon the aim. If they all rise up in opposition, their opposition will come to naught, thou create problems.

If Kurdistan had not created this problem, now it would be peaceful like other places, and the Muslims living there, the government and nation could help flourish the region. However, those who do not want this tranquility to be realized—and the truth of the matter is that they do not want Islam—they create a sort of sedition there under different name in every center. They are those who do not want Islam. If ever some of them want Islam, it is a twisted Islam that these people distorts “the Islam of the Noble Prophet” and Islam “revealed through divine revelation.”

One-dimensional view on Islam

Time and again I used to repeat this issue in Najaf and at times that there was a time when we were suffering in the hands of a single person from among the people and in the hands of the stratum of the people of knowledge which used to view Islam in a different light. They acknowledged the mystics of Islam, but they used to interpret all issues in a mystical manner; they did not deserve to deal with the issues of the day. Even if there were an hadith or a *ayah* that deals with *jihad*, they would still interpret it as referring to the combat with the self. And they used to view Islam in another form, which is different from its real form, which is universal in all its dimensions. I said that there was time when we afflicted with it. Of course, they were righteous but they are viewing Islam in a certain form. They used to view Islam in one dimension. And recently, there was time when we were afflicted with a group, which is the opposite of the former. They are interpreting all spiritualities in material light! They are claiming to be Muslims but their monotheism is not the Islamic monotheism. Neither their monotheism is Islamic nor their prophet hood or resurrection, Islamic, nor their prophetic mission is according to Islam. They are all against Islam. They have not emerged only recently; it goes back to ten or fifty years ago from the early years of establishing of Qum theological school. Once some of these people came and told me that what they have perceived is that resurrection is in this world. So is reward. There were such people. Today they are legion in number. When I was in Najaf, and stayed for 20 or as some said for 24 days. Every day he came to me. I gave him chance to speak for an hour or more. All his speech was larded the Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah*. I felt suspicion of him.¹ A story of the deceased Sayyid Adul-Majid Hamidi, it is narrated that a Jewish went to him and professes to Islam, after a while, he saw that he had become a Muslim! The Sayyid had summoned him and asked the convert in the following words! “Do you know me?” he replied: yes, you are

¹ A member of the Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization (popularly known as hypocrites).

of *ulama*.” “Do you know that I’m, for example, from the Prophet descendants? Do you know my forefathers were Muslim? All this and that and now am I “a religious, scholar, among this population? “Yes, I know all that.” “Do you know yourself?” “Yes, I am a Jewish-born child.”

All your forefathers were Jewish and you were Jewish too and newly you convert to Islam. Now, I am puzzled! How came that you are more Muslim than me? You express Islam more than us. I heard that guy went away and nobody saw him afterwards. It was revealed that there had been a catch in it. There are many examples of this. I saw that he submits himself to God exaggeratedly and, all his entire words are from Islam and *Nahj al-Balaghah* and so forth. I noticed his words that he presented crooked view of some issues. I said nothing and just listened to know what sort of man he was. He said that they wanted to launch armed struggle. I told him the time has not come for armed struggle because you would lose your power and could accomplish nothing.

Claimants of Islam

A group of pretenders to Islam you see today probably expressing Islam more than you are of this kind. If they seek Islam, they do not want the Islam brought by the Holy Prophet. They desire a different thing. They want to present Islam in an untrue way and reverse it. Among them, there are some who point to Islam all the time and show their great concerns, but it is for their own Islam not ours. And some others do not have any belief in Islam as they did not have in the revolution but now they certainly are submitted to Islam and revolution. These days you cannot find one saying he is not revolutionary. All claim that they were revolutionaries from the beginning! All those who come here claim that they have gone to jail because of their expression of opposition during *taghuti* regime. At present, the name of that regime has become *taghut* but this is not so in their heart. They are afraid of Islam and that strongly. Islam is however good for all. But they are terrified. Of course Islam is not good for the traitor. No divinely revealed religion is good for traitors. Islam is against treason, against crime. It is and against efforts aimed to corrupt the youth in the name of Islam or by the name of progress. Our country was ended up into this current state under the pretext of the “Great Civilization”. They claim that this Islam is similar to “Great Civilization” of that guy which ruined our country in a way that now although all people are cooperative they cannot reform it. By subterfuge to Islam they try to set aside Islam and put an entire mundane thing in return. Some of them promulgate materialism by the name of Islam. We wish for

real Islam that is good for all people and it has both material and spiritual things, its spiritual teaching is unprecedented and its material programs are the safest ones so they must come and join us in this way. Come along with Muslims, with the young and with these dear clergymen spending their times and energy for this purpose. They have their own duty. Do not deem that they come here because they are jobless. Working in the committees is not their responsibility. But sometimes it is obligation.

Significance of presence of the revolutionary committees

The committee's existence is obligatory. It is wrong if one rejects the need for committee. Who can administer the country if there is no committee, no corps, or court? Who could manage the country when that guy went away and country was agitated? These very clergymen from all around the country, the youth and these committed people inspired by God have come to work and remove the disturbance. If they were not, now nobody and nothing was here. Nobody has the right to transgress or rule them. There must be these committees, corps and revolutionary courts. It is mandatory to have a revolution court. Administration of justice has no business to utter words to them; it must meet its own standards and of course those wrong standards need amendment. Some chiefs of administration of justice are taghut's puppets who must get out of our country and leave us alone. Do not sit and rule and pan our courts, corps, or our people of knowledge work in committees. They strike a false note. Those who must go to devil are coming here and criticize our agents. And it is true about others in provinces or other parts. They have no right to affront Muslims, the scholars serving mankind and IRGCs who stint. The committees and courts render service. In principle, they give you the chance to speak and say what you wish.

You, people of Khorasan, are powerful. Praise to God, you have a sanctuary, an Islamic sanctuary and holy shrine of Ali Ibn Musa ar-Rida. One who has such sanctuary is powerful. Committee must be strong, courts must be authoritative, and ulama in committee must be dominant. Do not care for the loose talks of the revolution's opponents who look upon Islam like a thorn in their eyes? Certainly, I will again speak about some issues with the government and hope you move forward as before by the power of faith. These putrefying roots are rotting off under clay. If once they want to grub, we will uproot them.

May God preserve you and may you be successful, God Willing! I always pray for you. Know that calling me a servant is more pleasing to me than a leader. Leadership is not object at all; service is what counts. Islam

obliges us to serve. We do it altogether and hand in hand from dear soldiers to dear men of knowledge, pulpiteers, *komite* forces and all people together. This is a country for all people. We are duty-bound to manage the country. At this time the country is ours and America or England cannot despoil our interests. Interests are for you as is the country. We must toil, cultivate and refund its benefits to people. God willing, may Allah assist you!

Decree

Date: November 4, 1979 [Aban 13, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Ardebil Friday congregational prayer leader

Addressee: Mirza Biyuk Aqa Murawwij

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza Biyuk Murawwij—may his graces last,

It is hoped that you are in good health and engaged in performing divine duties. By the way, several groups from the respectable people of Ardebil came to Qum with a petition. They insistently demanded your return to Ardebil and as usual to engage in guiding and preaching to the people. Considering the sensitive time and region, it is advisable for you to accept their invitation. You are also appointed leader of the Friday prayer so as to familiarize the people with their great duties, besides leading them in performing this divine duty. It is hoped that the respectable people of Ardebil will avail themselves of this opportunity and offer the necessary cooperation. I wish God would grant you success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 13, 1399 AH

By the way, due to the unrest in the region of Dasht-Maghan, it is expedient for you to go there and look into the matter. You should also do whatever you see fit to redress what is amiss. May you be successful, God willing!

Speech

Date: November 4, 1979 [Aban 13, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Preserving the system with the power of the nation; situation of the country under the previous regime and services of the Islamic Republic

Audience: Teachers, Education Ministry and Educational Affairs of district 19 in Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Uprising of the nation claiming their rights

Brothers and sisters, what do you think of this revolution? With what are they indoctrinating you concerning this revolution? I should tell you that our revolution was victorious and shall march forward triumphantly. You should not worry about this. It is the right of every nation to desire to stand up for its right. This nation which staged a revolution and rose up with all its strata, wanted to claim its right to freedom and independence. As a Muslim nation, this nation wanted to claim the right to an Islamic Republic; they were not successful. These superpowers had for long time deprived this nation of its right. Freedom and independence were totally absent. The regime was an illegitimate monarchy. They could not maintain this regime. They could not maintain this suppression enforces before in the country. They also could not keep us dependent on others. We are independent now. The country is yours. Neither the East nor the West nor superpowers have any control here nor can they have it. With the same power with which you ousted them, you should keep your independence, freedom and the current establishment of the Islamic republic. You should not worry at all. I assure you that with this spirit, which the nation manifests, and with this uprising, you will defeat the superpowers.

Resistance of people against big powers

It was not just the case of Muhammad-Rida. If supposing it was just his case, it was too difficult to live with a satanic power; furthermore, the case was not Muhammad-Rida. The matter was America, Russia and England. It was not limited to them as well. It was the case of all countries and states having some sorts of ties with Iran. All of them were our adversaries but some explicitly and others ironically. You stood on one side and all powers arrayed on the opposite side. Logistically, we couldn't be successful

according to their calculations. We could not break through barriers because what do we have? Now you have four guns in your hands. These are booties while you had nothing before. They were fully equipped. They had everything and you were barehanded. But your hearts were fraught with faith. You had the faithful luminous heart and “God is the Greatest”, calls and nobody can withstand against this call. All people God is the Greatest with one accord chanted *Allahu Akbar* and down with the Shah. This clamorous flood broke through all barriers and presently you are triumphant. But now they probe to set people dissatisfied. It is while you are contented with your victory and you have gotten what you are pleased with.

Freedom, independence and Islamic Republic

What was your outcry? That was “freedom, independence and the Islamic Republic “and all of them are satisfied in this moment. How these God damned people claim that nothing is achieved. To frustrate and debilitate you once more, they suggest that nothing has happened but what did our nation look for? Did you shout for bread? Did you cry for domicile? No yell for these things. Everybody, including woman and man, young and old gathered and cried “Freedom, Independence, and Islamic Republic”. People’s aspirations come to fruition. How do they maintain that the Revolution and the Islamic Republic achieved nothing? What was the aim of the revolution? Revolution started on the basis of these three basic slogans, which are the foundation of all other issues. Sir, do you put down this freedom? Being free is the uppermost blessing in the world. Mankind gears up to sacrifice everything for the sake of freedom. Now these 35 million imprisoned are. Has not your revolution achieved anything? They belittle our nation in this way. These writers disparage our people under the pretext of fruitless revolution. The nation’s plea is fulfilled. Wheat was not their demand, though it can be obtainable too. But did anybody chant for wheat? Did they shout for house? Did you cry for paying your rents or for funds? Our people put none of these forward. The very establishment of the Islamic Republic completely fulfilled the people’s aspiration but its concept must gradually be put to practice too. None of the words of these speakers, the papers by these writers and secret notices that leftists parties published every day is true; seven or eight of them were brought to me.

Difference of prisoners of the former regime with the revolution era

“The current situation is worse than that of Muhammad-Rida”, the corrupted ones claim. Today, the number of political captives is more than that time. If you search all over Iran, you cannot find one imprisoned on political ground. Of course we have some prisoners that wanted to keep the country backward; there are some from former regime too. However compare them with those of that regime. At that time, the best children of Islam and the best children of Iran were in jail and under torture and oppression while now the worst traitors are there. Without any doubt they know but want to deceive the people and the youth. They write that there is no difference between this regime and that one. We had political prisoners as we have today too. Let's suppose this is true but consider prisoners in the past and present. Those were Taliqani and the like, at this instance, there are Nasiri and the like. Is there no differentiation? Now all freemen have taken off from under the yoke of cruelty and are free. All of us are sitting here and speaking freely, while it was impossible in the past. The traitors are in jail. Servers to the nation, servers to mankind were in prison foretime; country's servants and friends are out at the moment. Traitors, have some because a group of them absconded and so many lie doggo. This sort of people is in jail. Hence, are there not any difference between now and that time? Isn't there any difference in your point of view an unmindful or well informed but traitors? There is little to choose between Taliqani and Nasiri in your standpoints, so it makes no difference whether Taliqani¹ or Nasiri² is in prison. Maybe it is reverse. You demand the former was in and the latter out of a jail. Now that they are free, live and serve and that like of traitors have broken out or hidden themselves, you claim nothing is changed. Of course you and that like of you that like of writers of the tracts or like attempting to bring back the former regime. In this sense, you argue that nothing has changed. Certainly in your judgment is different too. However you express regret over turnout of servers and that population is released. You shout for these prisoners. O' our prisoners, O' our prisoners! This writer who is affiliated to, I do not know, which group, which hell; and expresses regret over ones in prison like the lamentation of America toward killing of Nasiri or Huveyda. Definitely they are all a union in the same pot. Brothers, be as one, young adults, sisters, my dear ones be en mass. Hesitate on what foundation they assert nothing has happened. What ails them? They do not comprehend that the country's wishes come true. What do they mean by

¹ Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Taliqani.

² Nimatullah Nasiri, the head of SAVAK.

nothing has happened? Is it meant again the royal regime is governing? Is America ruling in here any longer? Are American military advisors governing in here? Are we in jail and exile? Isn't country for us? Do others steal our belongings? Are the cruel busy with the unjust yet? Everything is fulfilled, that is; what people want. We must recognize the people's will from their cries. The pleas of people, the whole people, were what they shout. Their wish was what they were writing or saying. Day and night on roofs or in streets they were chanting. Whatsoever you ask you understand that it was not more than these three words. We never heard in their cries that our home is not good. Even those who lived in hovels did not think about the place of their livings. All their wishes were nothing except these three issues. And these three have found expression.

Islamic Republic services How is it possible that the revolution was consummated and nothing has been accomplished? The revolution was launched for the goals it has now achieved. Yes, it was for this; Islamic Republic, whose content calls for time to be Islamized. What do you expect? Wrong instructions were bred into people for 2500 years, supposing ignore that 2500 years, for 50 years, it was tangible and in our sight. What do you expect of a population whose young have been grown up by these publicities, children from the time they opened their eyes to when they went to university, to market, to work, to farm, it was drummed that Aryamihir or "Great Civilization" and a regime that all his offices were against interests of country and they did not bring up country's interest; their own interests or their masters considered important. They would educate our young just colonial knowledge, any education and training was aimed at their advantages. There was no education and training for the country interest. Now are you looking forward to immediate transfiguration of Satan who perpetrated violation for 50 years to a fairy? It is unattainable. It takes time. If we want to clean the offices from this population who has enough education, the country's administration has been paralyzed. Gradually, a qualified one must replace a corrupt one and finding an individual who is in line takes time and it is a Hobson's choice.

Independence of the country is collateral to cultural independence

Having an independent country for our own is impossible until these changes take place. Everything must modify due to replacement of colonial culture by independent culture. Colonial minds substitute for independent minds. Without these changes, ultimate victory is out of hand. We reach to

the victory, that is, the rudimentary demand of people and cry for it from the bottom of our heart and God granted us; but it is not all.

Multi-dimensional fulfillment of Islam is the people's demand

Now there are secondary demands. The further demands are for our offices to become Islamic, and our market to become an Islamic market. In agriculture, we see that it is Islamic. The Islamic step will be obvious when we enter offices, factories or every other place. This is the second wish of every Muslim even not to say or speak about it. Every Muslim looks ahead to fulfillment of Islam, which is a progressive religion in all aspects and if the young are educated in Islamic training and education and a nation will grow in this way everything would be sanctioned. There would be no track of exploitation any more. There would be no sign of leading into an error, delusive manners—and red-tape coming and going into Department of Justice, betraying in its difficulties. This is our will and the nation's will but it is the second demand. Its first was fulfilled. It is out of one's senses that they claim that revolution was accomplished and nothing happened. They know they make balderdash. Some of them are of satanic groups and though they know, they try to frustrate people. The young must know the devils. They should know these evil suggestions and satanic temptation. Know them and seek refuge in God from satanic temptations, and from America that stands at the head not to mention the American agents who are among our people.

God willing, may God protect you, favor you and assist you. Get your ranks unified! Accept me as a servant and I do so eternally.

Speech

Date: Before noon, November 4, 1979 [Aban 13, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum, Hakim Nizami high school

Subject: Unity of clerics and university—irrational criticism

Audience: Students of Qum and Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am your servant as long as I live

Today I have come among you dear students for two purposes: first, commemorating the anniversary of the martyrdom of the young students in university due to savage attack of the agents of the tyrannical regime and second, clergymen-academics unity. I congratulate this union to clergymen and to university students.

I came here to say to you that I'm your servant in all my life, serving of all Islamic nations, serving the noble Iranians, serving the students and clergymen, serving all groups of people and all Islamic countries and all oppressed citizens of world.

Unity of clergymen and academics union of intellectuals with people

There must be a relationship between these two advanced groups and these two intellectual ones; that is, dear clergymen and university students. It must be a relationship between the enlightened ones, writers, all intellectuals and all sorts of people and the two above-mentioned groups. Our brethren in every place, job and position of knowledge must know that if they are not united and fail to close their ranks in intellectual terms, they cannot serve this oppressed nation, and Islamic country. The burden of this country would reach destination but with difficulty. If these dispersed groups, and votes, and diverse sects protecting the country and Islam we will soon attain our sublime Islamic purposes which is the same as the high aim of nations and the oppressed.

We sacrificed so many young people in the universities, in theological schools, in scientific, Islamic, cultural schools, in streets, markets and alleys in order to achieve our aim which was the one people cried: independence, freedom and Islamic Republic.

My dear brothers, intellectuals, writers, respectable students, honorable clergymen, dear businessmen, respectable employees and noble clerks! Let's

join together. Try to employ all pens, step and talks to secure the interest of the oppressed. Do not let the blood of our martyrs be spoiled. Do not let our hovels dwellers still live in hovels. Do not let superpowers covet to swallow us. Do not let superpowers and traitors' develop conspiracies? O' intellectuals and writers! Use up your pens and words in the cause of the oppressed. O' scholars, university students, teachers, professors! Strengthen your gathering to help the downtrodden people. It was you who served, who offered your blood that suffered imprisonment and underwent persecution to be relieved of the yoke of aliens and plundering and plunders. Do not allow all your efforts to come to nothing. Use up pens in the way of serving people, words in the way of the oppressed and deeds in the way of the impoverished people.

Necessity of avoiding disunion and undue criticism

O' my friends! O' my brethren! Keep away from disunity. Keep this unity between clergymen and students as before. Intellectuals and writers must join this group. You create an immense historical miracle by your union defeat of all superpowers. Today, they sit at corner and brew schemes keeping you away from unity. They provoke discord among people. Do not contribute to this discord-provoking attempt, as this is lending hand to the enemies of country and Islam.

Do not find fault so much unreasonably. Do not nag unduly because it is to advantage of the enemies. Do not complain that in spite of the revolution nothing changed for the better. This is treason against the public. The nation sacrificed everything and gained the greatest thing; freedom and curtailing the enemies;' grip cried this and reached it. Do not say nothing has been done. It has been done and it is a miracle. They are making such statements to sap the nation's morale, and to debilitate their will. Wittingly or unwittingly, this is to serve the colonialist and imperial regime. Some great actions have been done, miraculous things, overthrowing the taghut and defeating the superpowers. Today, our country is independent. No one can lay hands on it. We do not let the left and the right interferes in our affairs. We do not allow them to plunder our interests. What do you expect a revolution than what has been achieved? The nation's will and freedom, has been fulfilled. Now everybody is free and they gather everywhere freely. Having such gathering was impossible in five years ago. You are free and this is what people demanded and has now achieved it. You are independent and no power can govern you. This is what found reality. The people demanded and fulfilled the people overthrow the regime and launched the

Islamic Republic. Our nation sought three things and achieved all the three gods.

O, narrow-minded ones! O' traitors! Do not dissimulate what has been done? The nation's plea is fulfilled. Our nation has not risen up for belly. Our nation has not come up for these petty affairs. What our nation looked for found expression. How do you claim that these goals have not been achieved? All their secondary demands will be fulfilled in the future too. None of these superpowers, nor domestic plots, pens or words can prevent this raging flood. My brothers! Beware that the subjects they the sabotage they work aim to enfeeble you from Islam. Those who see their interests at stake or have lost their interest fancy frustrating you. They want to disappoint you from your power and flag so they can achieve their goals. But they must know that our nation never becomes weak and they cannot attain their wishes.

Warning the conspirators

These individuals who advocate big powers at the expense of weakening our nation; are those whose country-France gave asylum to Bakhtiyar and put our young to jails. Their beloved land America is the one that granted asylum to this source of corruption.¹ If they do not come off these mischiefs and want to protect Bakhtiyar or the ousted Muhammad-Rida, we will deal them differently. We will not let their plots come to frustration. Our people are prepared for everything. We will fail their plots and will either mend these germs of corruption or discard them. O' dear nation! Be powerful since God is your guardian. Go forward resolute for God is your protector. You rose for God and Islamic Republic. Be strong. You will gain victory. May God keep you, young, all classes for us!

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Speech

Date: November 4, 1979 [Aban 13, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 13991 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Occasion: Martyrdom anniversary of students in Tehran University

Subject: Confiscation of unlawful properties and preventing enemies from creating disorder and confusion

Audience: Students of Isfahan University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Toleration of the accusations

Patience is our only resort in front of reactionary brand. Are we reactionaries that cut off the grip of traitors' over our country? We, reactionaries, restored freedom and independence, expelled the robbers who dominated our treasures and granted freedom to all classes to our country. When it became clear from some courts, we impeded their conspiracy. We have to tolerate these issues and we have to bear the individuals in Iran using different titles such as intellectual writers and the like who are in fact traitors.

Respect to lawful ownership

Islamic issues are not subjects that can be treated in one or several sessions—economic, social or political issues. Ownership is respectful, but it does not mean that everyone can do anything and exercises ownership in whatever way one wishes. Lawful ownership means it must be in accordance with colonial standards; no usury is permissible and people's property should not be unduly exploited. If they accuse me of espousing infinite ownership, this is not true. I do not know who this person is. Why has he leveled this accusation? Possession is respectful provided that it is legitimate and in accordance with standards whether we are reactionary or not.

Confiscation of unlawful assets in accordance with lawful criteria

Illegitimate ownership is disrespectful. The unbounded wealth piled up without conforming to any legal standards from people properties must be confiscated. But this confiscation must be according to administrative standards and lawful criteria. If it is decided for every one to come to declare for confiscation, it ends up anarchy. In this revolutionary country, there must

¹ The date in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* has been cited to be 14/81358 AHS.

be no confusion and disorder. It must be in accordance with standards not anarchy. When you refer to revolutionary courts and inform them about illegitimate wealth, the confiscation should be made based on law. It is not the case that as one claims certain property belongs to hovel-dwellers though this country belongs to settlers in ghettos they can confiscate by discharge people from their homes or take their places. It means that every thing must be according to standards so that slums-settlers could have a proper house and will be comfortable.

Anyhow, take into consideration that your enemies use every opportunity these days. One is that they encourage people occupy arrest, and dismiss leading this riot. Criteria and standards are of importance. Islam never sanctions confusion and disorder; anarchy is not permitted. Islam has its own boundaries and it must come into action. Not every one can go and withdraws belongings of people even if stolen; one should act along the lines of principles. Or suppose that a property, land, an apartment or a hotel belongs to people and one takes possession; its reclaim must be in line with legally recognized criteria not anarchy. The matter of confiscation is one thing and anarchy is another. You, sir, heed and do not go, break and confiscate without any search as soon as you heard something, you should not take action that would lead to complication and then declare that you would confront violence. Well, this means confusion and disorder. And this is what some looks for in the country, that is, anarchy. To keep the problem unresolved, certain people seek to stir up violence in the country.

Try to act in proportion to standards. Endeavor, I beg to say, to safeguard calmness and move in accordance with values. If you act in a tranquil atmosphere and move on according to principles, no one will be treated unjustly. But if it is not in line with standards, and affair are taken up by a number of good young people among whom some corrupt interlopers might gradually ending to confusion and disorder, then fray and shortly killing and massacre and at the end tranquility is standing apart. When it goes beyond calm, reform is not possible. Be careful to make reformist actions continually not unlawfully. Not every body claiming that he is revolutionary can do this; the reformist action must be in accordance with principles. Now that we are revolutionaries we need neither administration of justice, principles, and religious law nor any other thing, we do wish. No, this is not the case. Confusion is not permitted in any government even in Imam Ali's administration, if one perpetrated unlawful deeds; the Imam punished the culprit by the lash. This is the case.

Enemies' effort in spurring chaos

Do not imagine that we are free to do whatever we wish now that the revolution has been accomplished. Anti-revolutionaries come among you and provoke while you do not know them. Provoking you to take the streets and break windows, thus presenting a chaotic picture of the country. This way you picture a country as one in which confusing is order of the day and anyone can do anything one wish. Anyone is thus free to occupy any hotel he looks for, but it is wrong. Be careful, I admonish you; do not act in a way that the world calls us a savage group in Iran that does whatsoever. There is no law nor; religious law, court, jurisdiction, and every one who recognizes another as corrupt can execute law without any references. Such is the rule of jungle. Do not carry out things in a way to accuse us.

Now you must keep calm in every attempt and observe Islamic behavior. Islamic behavior means every body is dutiful to respect to limits not doing whatsoever one likes. Asked why doing so and so, do not say because we are in of revolution. The IRGC should not act according to their wishes and when questioned why they would answer we are in revolution. The young people should not do whatever they wish in the name of the revolution, and that the Islamic revolution. So doing means that revolution is equivalent to confusion and that Islamic Revolution is the rule of jungle. This is not true; principles are essential. As you saw, when it was proved some properties by some people had been ill gotten, they were confiscated and to Public Treasury. This is true of other things. If you know that one has confiscated public properties, you have to go inform and try to prove in conformity with law that the property has been gained illegally. Another concern is to bring them to account but it needs patience and tolerance. Count capitals that pile up countless wealth that is obviously illegitimate and confiscate the unlawful parts. Moreover it does not mean everybody goes and confiscates a hotel or that like without any principles. It is not such that every one does what he likes; it must be in accordance with standards.

In the *taghuti* regime, everyone stood by reliance on bayonet to exert cruelty; whereas in an Islamic country that is according to Islamic criteria and this is the real meaning of Islamic Revolution. Islamic principles means if somebody commits a crime one must be taken to the court for investigation. If one is subjected to a crime, one cannot act to punish by oneself. One must the complain lodge to the court and prove it. Suppose you consider a property unlawful, you have to go to court and complain. Then they will investigate and confiscate only if it is proven.

I beg to say if you look for an independent country wherein is freedom, Islamic principles dominates, you should first and foremost keep away from confusion. If every body gets up and does whatever one wishes, this means there is no boundary; this is wrong and must be avoided. The young people and those committed to Islam must put a stop to beware that these who join your groups in the name of Islam or commitment to Islam aim to undermine the revolution from bearing fruits. They stir conflict, taking part in demonstrations, throw schools into turmoil and give raise to disorder to achieve their target restorations of the former situation. You have to be cautious and vigilant.

Authorities of *wilayat-e faqih*

Islam is more familiar with the poor than the rich. If wealth is unlawful, Islam fails to recognize it. Property in Islam is limited. When someone has more than usual, although legitimate if Islamic jurist find it is more excessive than it must be, he can confiscate it for expediency of Muslims. Limitation on properties is one of the powers of the *faqih* but our intellectual does not know about *wilayat-e faqih*. If *faqih* consider ownership to be against interests of Islam and Muslims, however honorable it is in the sight of the holy Lawmakers the *faqih* can limit this lawful ownership confiscate it. May God honor all of you!

Decree

Date: November 5, 1979 [Aban 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Babol Friday prayer leader

Addressee: Hadi Ruhani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Hadi Ruhani (May his blessing last long),

You are hereby appoint as Friday prayer leader in Babol and, God willing, along with the performance of this godly obligation on Fridays you can familiarize people of their profound duty and call them to unity of expression avoiding differences and discord and enlightening them of the enemy conspiracies.

I hope that the honorable residents avail themselves of this opportunity by their attendance and perform this divinely obligation as brilliant as possible. I pray to God for your success in furtherance of lofty Islamic goals. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: ?

Subject: Dispatch of clergymen to Kermanshah

Addressee: Abduljalil Jalili Kermanshahi

In His Most Exalted Name

To His Eminence, Imad al-Alam, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abduljalil Jalili Kermanshahi (May his blessings last long),

I beg to say that receipt is acknowledged of your noble letter and I am informed of the case. Pertinent to what you wrote in your letter about sending a mission of scholars to Kermanshah and ordering to stay in their residence, according to my experience, it is too difficult for anyone to stay there; the residence cannot be continuous. God willing, Your Eminence endeavors to find some local ones. I spare no effort if it needs my acceptance. I pray to God, Almighty, for the glory of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 5, 1979 [Aban 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Bandarlengeh Friday Prayer Imam

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Jawad Rukni Husayni

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Sayyid al-Alam, Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad-Jawad Rukni (May his blessings last long),

A letter from Bandarlengeh honorable residents was received in which they demanded that you perform Friday prayer there. According to this condition, it is deemed advisable to accept their invitation and hereby you are appointed as a Friday prayer leader to inform people of their profound duty along with the performance of this godly obligation. I hope that the honorable residents avail themselves of this opportunity and lose no effort in performance of this godly obligation by greater congregation. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al -Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: November 5, 1979 [Aban 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Unification of Islamic *Ummah*-Basic problems of Islamic nations

Addresses: Pakistani ambassador and military- political delegation of Pakistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity of Islamic *Ummah*

I express thanks to you and your honorable president. Offer my greetings to Mr. President.¹ Also offer greetings of Iranian people to your nation.

What brings nations close to each other is Islam helping out to establish a state. Islamic brotherhood is the first reason for the friendship between Iran and Pakistan. Islam seeks to create a united nation. Islamic states draw nations near to each other like districts of a city. All must be united in consistent with Islamic principles. Stand against opponents of Islam under the banner of Islam and with unity of expression. Direct them towards Islam and keep away from their conspiracy.

Both our republics are Islamic. Islamic Revolution must represent Islam both vocally and conceptually. We must consider what was the point that made Muslims become successful in early days of Islam. Islamic government, the Prophet of Islam and the caliphs differed from others. Sovereignty over people was not what Islam sought. The government was a part of people who were considered a part of the government.

Signs of Islamic government

One of the preferences and signs of Islamic government is the method of governing. Taghuti governments are apart from their people. These governments rule them and the people keep their distance from the government. Therefore, if the government faces a problem, the people lend no hand to resolve it and if the people confront a difficulty, the government does not try to remove it stipulated that it is not in favor of them. But if people suffer from complexity in an Islamic government, the government tries to solve it. Similarly, when the government has a problem, the people make an effort to resolve it.

¹ General Muhammad Diya al-Haqq, President of Pakistan.

Two basic problems of Islamic nations

In my view, two problems are on top of Islamic countries problems; the first is the separation between nations and governments. Governments are not apart from nation's interims of names, that is neither government nor are nations consider each other to be related. The key to settle this problem lies in the hands of governments. Act in a way that government their people see they are serving them; they are prepared for cooperation. Consider our country's circumstances now while we could not perform Islam in its real meaning. Only a breeze of Islam has blown into this country and this light breeze of Islam caused our people not to deem separate from the government or army. If today the administration has a problem, the people voluntarily help to remove it. Since people the regard army as their own willingly, they tackle its problems if any. In contrast, the governments, army and gendarmerie, serve people because they do not want to push people. This is the code of our victory over big powers.

Please convey my regard to your president and notify him endeavor to tackle this problem between people and government and you also do your best as the key to settle it is in your hands. You determine yourself to serve not to govern.

The second problem, which is again another important complexity for Islamic nations and governments, is a problem among governments. Although Islam encourages to unity and the Quran calls Muslims and believers as brothers,¹ we observe some differences among Islamic governments. Why do not two states accept the invitation of Islam while they are Islamic and belong to a unique fact, their Quran is one and their Prophet is one? That invitation is in your favor. There are one billion Muslims that is a big power above all other powers if this call is accepted and Islamic nations unite in independent countries.

These two problems that I mentioned briefly are foundations of other problems and if they are resolved, others will be solved too. And that glory of early Islam will be restored. If this trend continues and people and nations will be separated from each other, we must be disappointed to see that glory of Islam once more.

Call for Shiites-Sunnites brotherhood

I, you too, convey my regard to Mr. President, Diya al-Haqq and to my other Pakistani brothers. I would like to reiterate that schism among religions leads us to nil. To implement Islam in every land we all, must be as a unity.

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49: 10.

Now that both Shiite and Sunnis are in Pakistan made an effort to treat them brotherly. Recommend they to act brotherly as we do in Iran endeavoring to unite our Sunni brothers with ourselves to resolve problems. I implore God, Almighty, to grant health and success to all Islamic countries and all Islamic government.

Speech

Date: November 5, 1979 [Aban 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American plots against Iran

Audience: Iranian Central Insurance Office Staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

America the Great Satan

I remember a narration, which read that the Messenger of Allah was appointed prophet, Satan cried and gathered all other devils and it made our duty difficult.¹ In this revolution, the Great Satan is America that gathers around other devils blatantly. Ranging from satanic children is in Iran and outside America and has raised a tumult.

You know that Iran was entangled in serious problems during the reign of these two vicious ones² who ruled the country illegally. In a period of time, the people suffered from England and later from America. England brought Muhammad-Rida to rule over us while Muhammad-Rida allies, so as to ensure the interests of the people, borrowing their words. Certainly, they just considered their own interests not our national interests. As you know, we, women and men, suffered so many hardships and tribulations during that time. Probably you may not remember, but I remember what they did in the name of unity and removing *chador* (long black gown covering Iranian women from top to bottom). How much they coerced and how many fetuses were aborted owing to the harassment for taking off *chadors*. That time passed with its bitterness and the allies; that are England, who had brought him overthrew him and declared it on Delhi radio they were involved in bringing him to power, but removed him after he betrayed them. Then he gathered some jewelry and packed his luggage and boarded a ship, but as one of his fellow travelers said, a ship carrying livestock was fixed to their ship and took Rida Khan into his real place. Once he asked "how about my luggage?" They replied, "It comes later." They took him away into that island and stole his suitcases.

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, sermon 234, *al-Qasiah* Sermon; *Bihar al-Anwar* vol. 15, p. 258, H. 9; *al-Mustadrak*, Hakim Neyshaburi, vol. 4, p. 324.

² Rida Khan and his son Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Then plundering time of this second arrived. Most of you remember at least the late time. A major number of you remember from the early stage that what they did and what crimes they committed in this country under alluring names. Lamentably, some had believed and some others were their accomplices having been impressed by their propaganda. Some of them are still active. These are the devils that are engaged in making mischief by the call of the US. The nation should fail these plots vigilantly.

Spreading lies and rumor by enemies

Spreading rumor and lie is the most important of these plots, which at weakening the nation's moral. Suppose that some robbers kill several people somewhere. Suddenly words come that one hundred were killed in one place and other 25 were decapitated. In other news it is heard that other 400 were killed whereas it is not true. They want to demoralize you by these rumors. All such news, that police stations were smashed etc. aim at deceiving and discouraging you and your morale.

Among the, unceasing spread, one is that revolution has been accomplished; nothing has improved. Monarchy has been replaced with the clerics in form. But I underscore that what the nation sought has been fulfilled. What did the nation look for? What did the nation chant? They chanted freedom, independence and Islamic Republic. Did they not? Which one of these has not been achieved? You and I are now sitting here at a meeting. This is indicative of our freedom. Was such meeting possible five years ago? Never! We are today independent. If we see the US, this great Satan, raising chain and bringing the devils together around him, it is because the US grip over our country and our resources curtailed. Its hands have been cut off from its vested interests and our resources. U.S. makes conspiracy because it dreads its hands would be cut off forever.

Capturing the American den of espionage

The center captured by our young people, as it was informed, had been a center for espionage and conspiracy. The U.S. expects our young adults just to sit and watch while they are busy brewing busy with conspiracy in their base in Iran and in their own country by granting asylum to the Shah. The roots have been of corruption had assumed their activity so that we would interfere in ordering the youth to leave the center they have seized. They did so because they saw they were downplayed. They were angry with the Shah who has plundered the country over 50 years and donated the assets of the country to aliens. Above all, he has committed unthinkable murders and been

engaged in mass killing. On Khordad 15, as reported popularly, some 1500 people have been killed. Since Khordad 15, one hundred thousands have been killed and some hundred thousands have become invalid. Mostly they have been disabled at the time of revolution. Now I was told they have a meeting on Ghadir Festivity, and invited me, so I will certainly go there. Do they expected that the young people remain unconcerned about this person who has afflicted our country over 50 years and at this time has been taken to America under the pretext of being sick or feigning illness, there is no difference? They have kept the Shah under their protection; if our young voice their opposition, they are either scattered or imprisoned. Just two or three days ago, our young went to resort to the statute of liberty which is a whopping lie in America, and tied a piece of clothes on which they called for extradition of the Shah. Police had gone there and scattered them and arrested a number of them. It is expected that they take our number criminal, protect him, make a center here for concocting plot and I do not know, whatever they crave for our nation, young, adults, university students; and clergymen sit and watch the blood of one hundred thousands being wasted just because of showing respect for Mr. Carter and the like. There must be no plot. If there is no plot or stonewalling, all people are free to live here. But since they hatch plots to revert to former situation, it provokes angry response of our young people. The young look forward to an independent country administered by them. So it is unfounded expectation that they sit and watch, while foreigners continue with plundering and conspiracy. Our young adults must courageously and alertly battle against their conspiracies.

Clandestine and underground conspiracies

Today is not the time to sit and watch. Today, the situation is worse than that of the age of Muhammad-Rida. Formerly, this traitor was clearly standing against the nation who was in turn standing against him. Today, we are faced with underground plots. These underground plots are brewed in embassies chief among them pertaining to the U.S. We can't let them be busy with plots. When it has come to our notice that the country has been ruined and they have deceived us by their loose talks such as democracy and the like. They claim since it is a democratic country has the right to settle here and everyone is free to hatch plot. These loose talks should be brushed aside from your memory. Our nation must move forward and cut their hands. If they do not mend their ways and fail to extradite the Shah who has stolen the treasuries belonging to our nation, depositing many of them, only a portion of which we might be aware, we have to deal them in another way. We will

do so with regard to England. They should not think that we just sit unresponsively and let them go jump in the lake. No, this is not the case. It is the question of a revolution, one that is greater than the first one. They must sit in their own place and extradite this traitor. They must also extradite that traitor—Bakhtiyar. They should not give shelter to that traitor—Bakhtiyar—there to conspire and gather some people around him to bring out newspaper, with the British government capture our young because they demonstrated against the Shah or Bakhtiyar. As long as they are busy with such actions and do not extradite these thugs or at least oust them, we have another obligation and we perform our duty.

Do not feel weakened against plots

Move forward vigorously. If they feel a sense of weakness in us, as these unfair writers depict the people to be suffering and that these writings have impressed you, this will make them bold enough to attack you. They do it worse than before. Do not feel a languor in spirit. These writers aim to weaken the morale of the people by inculcating the idea nothing has been achieved and that today is like yesterday. I saw the day before yesterday in a newspaper that they had claimed that politicians today are in jail as before, and that there is suffocation as it was in the former regime.

Difference of prisoners of *taghuti* regime and those in Islamic Republic

Some were incarcerated in former regime. They were behind bars. Today, some are behind bar too. There is no doubt. But who are they? Who were in prison in former regime and who are they today? Who were hanged before? We must scrutinize who were hanged in former regime and who are hanged in this regime? They do not take it into consideration. Generally they utter words and deem that they cheat our young. Those who were killed in former regime were our best, committed and Muslim youth. They were *ulama*. Mr. Muntaziri¹ was in prison for a long time. The deceased Mr. Taliqani² and the like were in fetters too. Do you know who were sentenced to death! They were the deceased Mr. Saidi³ and the like of him. From among these *ulama* were captured and imprisoned by them. This Mr. Lahuti who is in IRGC was in jail for a long time. Theological School *ulama* were exiled. They were exiled. These kinds of people were in prison

¹ Mr. Husayn-Ali Muntaziri.

² Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Taliqani.

³ Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Saidi was martyred in the prison of Shah under the tortures of SAVAKs.

that time. Those hanged and exiled were of this kind. Now come and consider this side of the coin and see whether there is any difference between this time and that time. Huveyda¹ and Nasiri² are hanged. They beat the breast for these people. The objections raised by these writers are the same as those voiced in the US, asking why, why and why? The unjust advocates of human rights inveigh against us and us why we hang them? These people do not utter any words about massacre of civilians in so many places such as this corrupt America. They raise Cain over execution of Huveyda or Nasiri or some other corrupt ones. Their agents here write no improvement has been made. Who the prisoners are today, who were yesterday? Can you find one a true man in prison? Can you find a believer or nationalist in jail? At that time all nationalists were in prison. And let's say that the like were in jail but now who are in prison? Those who committed crimes are in prison. Now compare these prisoners with those prisoners. You must ask of those prisoners about the condition of jails in those days.

Clandestine agents linked to Kurdistan confusion

The confusion made by these devils and supporters of corruption is easy to be dealt with. They surmise that the problem of Kurdistan is an unsolved one. Mowing down and killing them would be so easy if they did not involve people of Kurdistan—the young, women and children—in this matter since we do not want a single innocent. Unfortunately, they conceal them before the Kurdish people. Probably you heard they protect themselves behind the shield of people and by shielding them they killed our young adults. Those brave youths avoided confronting them lest innocent people should be killed. Well, if they had not been mingled with our people, they would easily be wiped out. They are not more than a group of rebels. We were up against them formerly too. They are a group of rebels who have nothing to do save robbery. Every now and then they are engaged in kidnapping or murder. They are not any power against our government and our nation. At whatever time we will, we can mobilize the nation go to Kurdistan to trample them to death but we want to move peacefully. Now a group has gone there to resolve the problem in peace and questioned their wishes. We have fulfilled their demands, though. They pretend that they are looking for people's interest in answer to our question that is, they are in favor of the left but profoundly they wish for U.S. They are leaning to the right, dishonest rights.

¹ Amir Abbas Huweyda, Prime Minister at the Shah's regime.

² Nimatullah NaSiri, head of SAVAK at the Shah's regime.

Speech

Date: November 5, 1979 [Aban 14, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Municipality's Obligations duties in development of cities and attention to the oppressed people

Audience: Mr. Tawassuli (Mayor of Tehran), mayors and their deputies, Board of Directors of Tehran and Suburb United Bus Inc. and municipality staff

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Obligation of municipalities

I wish our action would conform to our words. Now our cities, villages and even Tehran have some shortcomings. Municipalities are duty-bound to improve and flourish this country. You should take action with the help of people because things are so ruined that a mayor alone could not amend them. The important point is to consider the oppressed people. In Tehran, the suburbs, ghettos and tent-dwellers must be given more attention than the northern part. In other cities and villages the oppressed must be given more heed than the affluent. Meanwhile, in the former regime, they gave little heed to poor people; they just did in favor of the wealthy ones. And so considering Tehran, the northern part is completely different from the southern part. As a matter of fact, the two directions are completely different. These flagrant differences among social classes and heterogeneities, God forbid, cause a blast that would go out of control.

You, honorable mayors, notice today's cities and villages of Iran belong to you; they are not for others anymore. Since the country belongs to the nation, they themselves along with the mayors bend on to build the country. To make habitat a main part is up to the mayors. You should make extreme efforts. In particular, those parts, which are in havoc, the villages that were under no heed and those two-sided cities in which one part belongs to the poor and the other for the rich start building from the side of the oppressed. When you reach the wealthy side, you have done a fundamental work.

I hope God grants success to you and you will be victorious in a path of serving the country and Islam. I wish all to be successful.

May God's peace, mercy and Blessing be upon you!

Decree

Date: November 6, 1979 [Aban 15, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acceptance of PM resignation and assignments of revolutionary council

Addressee: Islamic Republic Revolution Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

As Mr. Bazargan has offered his resignation as prime minister dated Aban 8, 1358 AHS and citing some reasons for the stepping down I accept his resignation while appreciating resisting the honesty, faith and good intention. I am grateful for his excruciating troubles and services during the transition period. The Revolutionary Council is charged with supervision and managing the affairs of the country during transition. The council is ordered to perform the following duties without any intermission:

- 1- Make preparation for the Constitution referendum
- 2- Make preparation for elections of National Consultative Assembly
- 3- Make preparation for presidential elections

Worthy of note is that by reliance on God, the Exalted, and trust in the honorable nation, those responsible for purging of state departments and the welfare of the oppressed people should fulfil their duties in revolutionary manner and resolutely.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
15/8/1358 AHS

Message

Date: November 6, 1979 [Aban 15, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: God wills delegation to continue efforts in Kurdistan

Addressee: Good-faith mandate in Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Good-Faith Mandate in Kurdistan, Sanandaj,

His Eminence Mr. Mahdi Bazargan resigned from Premiership and countries' affairs are passed on to the Revolutionary Council. The good will delegation should on with the duties developed upon it duties and keeps in touch with the Revolutionary Council. I hope that our Kurdish brothers' welfare is ensured.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
15/8/1358 AHS

Letter

Date: November 6, 1979 [Aban 15, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Family Case

Addressee: Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I beseech God to grant you health and hope you are fine. I inquired His Eminence Haj Mirza Hasan² after the health of your Eminence and he gave me the good tidings of your health. I wish I would have the honor of meeting you. Thank God, I am in good health, but I am very busy these days and expectations are ever increasing. I have a favor of your Eminence to ask God blessing of me as I pray for you. My wife is quite well and prays for you. She kisses your hand from afar. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1399 AH

¹ The Imam on the letter's envelop has written: "Ayatullah Mr. Thaqafi, May his blessing endure."

² Mr. Mirza Hasan Thaqafi, brother of Imam Khomeini's wife.

Message

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Repudiation of Jimmy Carter's envoys' visit

Addressees: Islamic Revolutionary Council and state officials

According to what we know, special envoys of Carter are on their way to Iran and plan to come to Qum and visit me.² I deem it necessary to notify that American Administration announces opposition overtly by protecting the Shah while the American Embassy has been turned to espionage center for hatching plot against our Islamic Revolution. Therefore, it is impossible for the American envoys to meet me. Furthermore,

1- Members of Islamic Revolutionary Council should meet them under no conditions.

2- No authority has the right to meet them.

3- If the U.S. hands over the deposed Shah-this number one enemy of our noble nation-and stops conspiring against us, the path of negotiation on some issues, which are in favor of our nation, is open.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is written as 17/8/1358 AHS but the real date is 16/8/1358 AHS.

² After capturing American den of espionage by Muslim students following the line Imam, Jimmy Carter the President of the U.S. (possibly coordinated by domestic agents and specially by some members of the interim cabinet) dispatched Ramzi Clark and William Miller to Iran to visit Imam. The above-mentioned message was issued when the missionaries had arrived in Turkey and was prepared to visit Iran, so they returned without any outcome. This laconic message received widespread establishment in all around the world and in international media. Imam's son, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini stipulated that "as soon as the Imam was informed; he released a statement in which he proclaimed his reluctance to meet the American emissary and advised all members of Revolutionary Council and the interim administration not to visit American contingent by any means. A noticeable point in declaration is that it is the only declaration without bearing "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful" as in the case of Surah Beraat in the Quran. Collection of the works of Imam Khomeini's Memorials, vol. 2, p. 41.

Decree

Time: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of Education¹

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Rajai

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Muhammad-Ali Rajai,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as minister of education. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ After accepting resignation of Mr. Bazargan (one day after seizure of American den of espionage) upon suggestion of revolutionary council, members of the transitional cabinet were reinstated in their posts. The above verdict and edicts in coming pages have been issued in this connection.

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of Culture and Higher Education

Addressee: Hasan Habibi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hasan Habibi,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as minister of culture and higher education. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister without portfolio of planning and budget organization

Addressee: Izzatullah Sahhabi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Izzatullah Sahhabi,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as minister without portfolio of planning and budget. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of National Defense

Addressee: Mustafa Chamran

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Mustafa Chamran,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as minister of national defense. I implore God grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of Oil

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Muinfar

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Ali-Akbar Muinfar,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as Oil Minister. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of and seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of National Guidance

Addressee: Nasir Minachi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Nasir Minachi,

On the proposal of Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as Minister of National Guidance. I implore God to grant you success in the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister without portfolio

Addressee: Daryush Foruhar

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Daryush Foruhar,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are as minister without portfolio. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of Industries and Mines

Addressee: Mahmud Ahmadzadeh Herawi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Mahmud Ahmadzadeh Herawi,

On the proposal of Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as minister of industries and mines. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Ministry of Road and Transportation

Addressee: Yusuf Tahiri Qazvini

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Yusuf Tahiri Qazvini,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran you are appointed as minister of road and transportation. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of Minister of Commerce

Addressee: Rida Sadr

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Rida Sadr,

According to proposal of the Revolutionary council of Islamic of Republic of Iran you are appointed as commerce minister. I implore God to grant you success in performing the duties you are in charge of seeking His gratification.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of religious sums

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi (May his blessings last long),

Your kind letter indicating your health and voicing your kindness towards me is acknowledged for which I appreciate you. I also acknowledge the receipt of a check of 2000,000 Rls. attached to the letter for holy shares. I implore God to grant you health and success in serving Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi (May his blessings last long),

After offering my greetings, you have permission to accept 1000000 Rials offered by a devout person (May God Almighty assist him) to send it to me. After receiving the sum in Qum, please deliver it to Hujjat al-Islam Akhawi. I hope you will not spare me your prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American plots and animosities against Iran

Addressees: Students of Faculty of Economics of Isfahan University, Technical Mission Tour to Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Conspirators' misuse of feelings of the youth

One of the problems we encounter is the conspirators' ill use of feelings of our young adults. These conspirators who saw were defeated and unable to fight against our people because they have stood against them hand in hand and moving ahead, have now thought out to taking advantage of the pure feelings of our youth, while our young adults are heedless of this plot.

Among the misuses is to inculcate the idea that the revolution did not bring about any change for the better. These conspirators are spreading this across the country through their propaganda machinery aimed to deflect our youth from the path they have traversed. Our youths on whom we rely and who are pure-hearted do not unfortunately calculate how to deal with the plotters. They argue that the revolution was accomplished but no change for the better came about. Right, you should reply what goals the nation sought and see if they have been achieved or not? We should take a few steps backward to see if the aims have been achieved.

America cannot do a damn thing

Let us see what our nation both women and young adults who took to the streets cried. Has what they called for been achieved or not? That which was vociferously cried across the country in the streets, at schools and everywhere was "independence, freedom, Islamic Republic. These three slogans were on the tongue of all. That day they sought no other thing but overthrow of the regime and converting it to another regime. People sought freedom after fifty years if not saying 2500 years of suffocation. They cried for independence so that other countries would not lord over them and enslave us. The primary goals of the nation were these three. Do those who claim that the revolution did not change things for the better mean that the primary goals of the nation have not been achieved? Is the regime still monarchy? Is there still suffocation? Are the advisors of big governments

still working here and our government and nation under their domination? Well, if they raise this question, you may provide the answer, saying that these goals have been achieved. It is due to freedom that you and we have come together here. Was it possible for you to sit in such gathering and exchange views five years ago? It is freedom that you can easily speak and criticize the former illegitimate regime. These are all freedom. Nobody comes to tell you not to make criticism. Therefore, freedom is now available for us. One of the goals for which our nation cried has been achieved.

Regarding independence, if they claim that now the U.S. is governing here, you see that our youths have seized the American den of corruption and captured the Americans and the U.S. cannot do a damn thing. It is nonsense to say that the U.S. would mount military. Can the US intervene in this country in military terms? It is impossible. Iran is now the focus of attention of all countries in the world. Can the U.S. stand against the entire world and launch military intervention? The US cannot do a damn thing with military intervention. Do not be scared and do not fear others. The allegation made by our youth due to puerility asserting that if the US intervenes militarily, we would do so and so should not basically be proclaimed with the conjunction "if". The US is desperate to carry out military operation here. They are entangled by some problems that prevent them from military intervention. If they could carry out military operation, they would have retained the Shah in power. They tried to maintain him with all their powers and through propaganda machinery, but our nation did not pay any attention. Not only the U.S. but also all other powers were standing to keep the Shah but to no avail. It is because nobody can stand against the desires of a nation. Not at all! Our young adults should not consider military intervention. Their intervention is always mischievous and conspiratorial. If they want to do something, they would make our young people to make demonstration and amid the march their stooges would give rise to clashes, stripping us of free and peaceful atmosphere. They employ such mischievous schemes. They send their devils to our clean-hearted youths and try to dupe them through propaganda, instigating a number of the youths to take to the streets and mount a rally, which might be right, but they make unfair use of a rightful demonstration.

Of sinister schemes of devils

Take the issue of the day—seizure of American Embassy—not an embassy, but American plot-weaving center, wherein our youths discovered many things. On this issue, the first night we were informed that there are murmurs to launch a demonstration in Tabriz, Tehran and some other places

in support of Mr. Bazargan. Well, this is what they sought. I do not know if they will succeed or not. They struggled to weave such a plan. Then, they would gradually extend it to other places such as Iraqi embassy and let us suppose Afghan embassy to seize them and pit Iran against all other countries. These devils have such plots. Our young people should be vigilant not to be impressed by them. Those who call for demonstration think Mr. Bazargan is against the Revolutionary Council. Such moves are part of a greater plot. Mr. Bazargan had been somewhat tired and had some excuses, asking to be away for a while. But this does not mean that Mr. Bazargan has nothing to do with the country's affairs. He is one whom all hold in high esteem. Do not deem he has been disrespected. Not at all! He is respectful. Do not take to the streets for something the nation also accepts. Do not mount a rally to be misued by those who seek to give rise to skirmish in which to kill somebody. If you remember—I was not here but it was quoted for me—on those days a group of people in Qum demonstrated and began chanting anti-government slogans in peaceful condition, but suddenly they saw one throwing stone and breaking window glass of a bank, destroyed a place or happened to kill one, leading to chaos and further killing. They always act in calculated manner.

There is no talk of military intervention, but conspiratorial interventions. They use our own power. They do not apply their power. In this country, they use our own forces. Well, consider Kurdistan. See what they use. No American soldier comes to do something. They mischievously use individuals, who are affiliated to them or sick in their heart. Then, the latter agents take advantage of immaturity of some Kurds instigating them that the government plans to ram Kurdistan. Iranian army has gone there to stop those involved in killing and beheading people, but they distort the facts and provoke the Kurds by telling that the government wants to thrash the Kurds. The army is there to protect the Kurds, but they argue that the army has been sent to slam the Kurds.

America, number one enemy of Iranian nation

The persons who introduce them as devotees of people, I did not hear them supporting the youths seizing the American den. If they are not American agents, why did they not support the students? If they are affiliated to Russia or nationalists, they must be against the US as are the entire Iranian people. Our nation considers the US as our number one enemy because it has given asylum to our number one enemy.¹ At the time when the Shah was in

¹ Muhammad-Rida Shah Pahlavi.

Iran, the US was our number one enemy. He was responsible to keep the country backward. I did not hear that these devotees of people voice support for the young adults who captured the center of plots. I heard other groups voicing their support. Perhaps they have voiced their support but I I have not heard. You might have heard. If something had been done against Islam, you would see how these devotees of people magnified the situation. These devotees of people constantly spread lies to stop the revolution achieving its goals. The notices bearing their signature are recently in my home; they are brought for me. They propagate that nothing has been done. This treatment is part of a more ominous plan to impede our revolution. They promulgate that nothing has been done in Kurdistan. Despite all their plots, you have seen how much improvement has been made. Moreover, for more basic development, tranquility is of importance. Is it possible to pave a war-torn city? Well, it is unlikely. Now, you know what has been done in Kurdistan, especially by the help of you, the young people. May God protect you! Meanwhile, they are so impudent that they claim nothing has been done in Kurdistan. Is Kurdistan's condition the same as before?

Difference between political prisoners in time of the Shah and Islamic Republic

It is written in one of their statements that today we have political prisoners like before, claiming their number being more than before. Do not they think that those called political prisoners are the ones who did such actions in the age of Muhammad-Rida? Do you call robbers as political prisoners? Do you consider traitors and opponents of the nation and country as statesmen? Do you regard Nasiri as political prisoner? Is Huvayda a statesman or robber? Are the "Savak" agents statesmen? Our current prisoners are the Savak agents and traitors who killed or ordered to kill and torture our youths? Who was imprisoned in time of Rida Khan or Muhammad-Rida? Which class of society was in jail? *ulama*, university students and nationalists were in captive. Who is in jail now? Savak agents. Well, if you are not a Savak agent, how do you call them statesmen? How do you regard Savak as statesmen? If you are not in connection with the former regime or one of Savak agents, how do you write in your statement that statesmen are in jail? How do you claim that today prisoners are more in number? Do you view robbers as statesmen? It is now evident that your policy is very different to what is in the sight of our noble nation? If you do not have any familiarity with them, how do you continue to assert that both in the past and today the statesmen have been imprisoned? At that time

prisoners were like Mr. Taliqani, Mr. Muntaziri or Mr. Lahuti. As many as religious leaders were imprisoned and tortured. They had slashed the leg of one of our respectable clerk's. According to what we know, some other respectable statesmen apart from clerks were in a jail for a long period of time; they were under torture just because they were not in favor of the regime. Such people were in prison and now they are Savak agents. These people under the name of devotees of people argue that there are no significant differences. They just take prison into consideration without regard to prisoner and whether he is a thief or a trustee. There is no difference between confinement of a trustee or robber. There is no difference between imprisonment of killers and plunderers or those who want to restrain them from pillage. This is their logic. In return, our young must be alert but not be fooled by these corrupted publicities. The U.S. propagandizes like this. Instead of a soldier, the U.S. brings writer, speaker or their trained stooges to trigger disturbance. The U.S. throws Kurdistan into total confusion and puts Tehran into disorder. Sometimes, they generate disturbance in our universities and at other times take to the streets, doing so and so. Today, our young people have captured this center of corruption and in return, they have taken the worst creatures¹ of God to keep him in their country and cure him. By these subterfuges and inhuman pretexts, they are hatching plots today, because they want to take advantage of our youth's purity of heart and their benevolence. Suppose they inspire our young adults that well England is the same as the U.S. and there is no difference between them. Go and ruin there. Well, Iraq is similar to them too; therefore, go and capture. And it is the same about France as well because they want to introduce Iran as a country in which there is no law and principle and everything is based on disorder and confusion. They intend to introduce our country to the world as a country that needs guardian. Who is guardian? Mr. Carter. Carter himself needs a guardian to prevent him from killing people. They have a political psychosis. Due to insanity, they kill this number of people and cause mischief. They are lunatics. They must go to lunatic asylum to be cured. Their brains need to be cured. They have it in mind to introduce our nation as a savage nation looking for anarchy. I do not remember the name of one who quoted me in time of Muhammad-Rida when Iranians took part in demonstrations. He had heard that an American called us savage. In response, he told him whether restoration of their right meant that they are savage? Even when we utter a true matter, they charged us with savagery.

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Enemy's immense plot, triggering despair of the revolution

Our young adults must be alert and careful not to believe in what others say. They want to poison public opinion and disappoint us with the revolution. This is one of their important programs. They work to instill the idea in people that nothing has been done, thus disappointing the people. If you mean urgent task, I told you that they have been fulfilled. The second-hand tasks are also in the process of accomplishment. In Mr. Bazargan's administration so many works had been done and so many homes were built but these unfair people argue that not a single home has been built. How much service the Reconstruction *Jihad* has rendered to the people and especially to the farmers? How much service did you count now? They still claim nothing has been done. Meanwhile, they themselves struggle to sabotage development programs.

These individuals, who introduce themselves as Devotees of people, set fire to the fruit of a lifetime of some farmers. This Devotee of People burns down the output of the farmers. This Devotee of People fires a gun and makes a hole in oil pipe and squander the nation's fortune. The U.S. works like this. It does not dispatch soldiers, but sends some who are worse than soldiers. One can know how to fight against a soldier. If soldiers come forward, we come forward too and so do I. Rest assured that they never dispatch their forces. Do not be afraid of the U.S. but fear their plots. Offset their plots too. The young adults are duty-bound to strip them of opportunity to trigger skirmish in university. In factories if they want to stonewall the works, you should stop them. You are in Reconstruction *Jihad* and should thwart their plan if they intend to sabotage. Everywhere you are, you should stop them. Do not let them grow. They are now number one servant of our number one enemy.

May God assist you and you are successful. What you pointed out has its root in the same case I cited. Do not expect the revolution to set everything in order overnight. A country that has been disturbed cannot be constructed overnight. They dealt a blow to our economy and imposed so much debt on the nation and fled. They disorganized everything and escaped. Hence, setting things in order requires sufficient time.

Nation's mental and political growth

A sound election should be held through your efforts and the nation's endeavor. People know the upright persons. We need not teach them for years to have a correct choice. They know the qualified ones. Of course, some elements might occasionally infiltrate into the rank of pious people.

Throughout this 20 or 30 years people completely know who is a copy of that root. People have the power of distinction between that sycophant and Shah's opponent. It is up to people to choose reputable ones who are servants of people and are concerned about lower classes.

We do not intend to set up a House of Lords. The Senate is called the House of Lords. We aim to destroy the House of Lords and mend their way. We closed the upper crust that committed so much treason against the country in the senate. We closed the House of Sheiks, Lords and the Senate because they were just spongers. They were some elderly ones, went to the House in their last days of life and sat probably next to their friends and just spoke about their meals and medicines and squandered all the wealth of people. The door of that House was closed. We do not have the Senate any more. We have Consultative Assembly. We want a Consultative Assembly to be composed of the upper classes. We seek an assembly consisting of qualified men who know what became of the nation throughout these 50 years and in the monarchical regime. These men know what became of people and know people of their cities and villages and discern what they have done. In the past, they pestered people overtly. We must choose men of piety and known as trustee of people. God willing, the assembly is going to be established. Our Constitution will be put to vote. It is about to be completed. After we observed and confirmed it, it will be put to vote.

Progressive outcomes of *wilayat-e faqih*

One of the plots is to dishearten the people with regard to the constitution. They argue that the constitution is reactionary. Ask them which articles of this Constitution, which you call reactionary, are reactionary? The first one they put their finger on is *wilayat-e faqih*. They pinpoint this article, because it is an Islamic plan of which they are afraid. They deem Islam reactionary. They never dare to call Islam reactionary. They argue that we want to revert them to 1400 years back. It is different expression of the same concept without mentioning the word Islam.

Wilayat-e faqih carries so much progressive connotation that one cannot find in any other articles. The people will elect one whose moral, religious and national aspects as well as knowledge and deeds are clearly verified by the nation to watch over the country lest any treason should be done. To make certain, a Muslim jurisprudent who has devoted his lifetime to Islam and serving Islam is appointed to see what the president, who is elected by the people who will hopefully determine a trusted one from now on, does. The jurisprudent oversees the president's activities to ensure lest he should

not do wrong. Of course, the forthcoming president will not do any wrong. Nevertheless, as precautionary measure, the jurist is appointed to see to the sensitive decisions. This is one of the most progressive articles in the Constitution that was approved, while being the most hostile article in the sight of the enemies.

Fear of the enemies of Islamism of the system

It was they who cried and wrote for what we want Islam any longer. Let us call it simply republic. They feared Islam. Rather than Islam, put the term democratic, democratic republic. They do not understand what democracy is. Where is democracy so popular in the world? Which country is democratic? Which of these super powers act according to democratic standards? Democracy has a different meaning in different countries. In the Soviet Union it has one meaning and in the US a different meaning. Aristotle gives a definition, while the present philosophers define it differently. We argue that something that is unknown and defined differently in every country, we cannot incorporate it in our Constitution, in which case every one would define it according to one's likes and dislikes. We call for Islam; it has one and the same meaning everywhere. All Muslims know it. We say Islamic Republic. Our nation had called for Islamic Republic, which the nation voted with overwhelming majority. Only one or two percent were opposed. Democracy necessitated submitting to the nation who had voted for Islamic Republic. However, they started opposition from the outset. Those who raised voice against the Islamic Republic that day were scared of Islam, not the republic. They objected to the Experts Assembly and will object to the Consultative Assembly and the referendum for the Constitution as well. All they are opposed to is Islam. However, our nation has declared Islam as their destination, because they see Islam provides them with what they wish. Islam provides for both this world and the hereafter. Our nation wants Islam and they are opposed to the nation because the people call for Islam. If the nation called for republic only, they all supported and sent felicitation. But now that Islam has come in, they are opposed to it. It is reactionary! They consider Islam to be reactionary; they consider God reactionary. They are such people. If they believed in Him—they do not—they were in worse terms with the prophet than with you, because he was the one who laid the foundation for Islam. Was not this very reactionary religion as you call that saved you people? It was this reactionary faith that curbed the influence of the treacherous people from this country. Now, they call this faith reactionary.

This reactionary faith helped you to determine your destiny. I do not know when they want to wake up and when they want to stop their sophistry and objections. I regret that a people who should serve this country and appreciate the nation for offering blood to drive out the plunderers, who curtailed the grip of hangers-on and who punished some of the murderers and will punish the rest, do not join the nation, who has offered everything so that you can freely sit in your homes and relax, writing against this nation.

One laments over their thoughts and incessant cry of “reaction, reaction.” By every cry of reaction, they want to say Islam is reactionary if one can virtually rip their heart to see their inward. However, they never dare to accuse Islam directly. Some of them said something directly, but repented later on. It is not clear whether their repentance is real or not.

Pens affiliated to America

Our nation must be awakened. Our young must become enlightened. Be vigilant that the U.S. comes to battlefield with pen not point of spear. The U.S. comes forward with the help of its stooges, not military forces. Be careful of these facts. Do not be a puppet in their hands. It discourages you that nothing has been done. How do you disparage the fact that you break through a satanic power at the back of it was not only all superpowers but also all other minor powers. Is there anything greater than this you want? You gained a prestige in the world now. No one has such glory that you have today. Do not ruin this just because for example somewhere has not been paved though they are busy with. Did you scarify your children in exchange for asphalt? Did you want anything in return? Did you want asphalt paving? You did work just for God and it is beyond everything. Do come here to nag at the affairs. Leave the complaints for later. We are now in the middle of the way. We should break this power for good. We should stifle the plots. It is these plots that make you complain that nothing has been achieved and nothing done. Come and see what the authorities say and what they have done. May God protect you, God willing! May God protect our youths who have made sacrifices for us and for Islam from the outset to the present time. I pray for them and am their servant. If I could, I would go there and serve like them, but I am an elderly man who is sitting here with nothing but a stammering tongue. May God protect and you are successful!

Speech

Date: November 7, 1979 [Aban 16, 1358 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of practicing the Quran and following the prophets and saints for prosperity of individuals and society

Audience: Women from Majma al-Quran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Spiritual revolution and human training under the auspices of the Quran

Our book must be the Quran. It does not mean just we verbally speak about the Quran, but spiritual revolutions should also be accomplished parallel to acquiring human education and reform our society in a way to pass all spiritual and material directions. It is the Quran that is our Book. This is the Book we must read, understand and practise. Verbal confirmation of the Quran is not right. We should act according to the Book. You should heed the content of the Book. It is the word of God. It is a means in the hands of the prophet; we are the addressees of the divinely sermons. We are addressed in the following terms: “O’ People” and “O’ Believers”. It is addressed to believers in Islam. The instructions are all educative.

Quranic education, source of human perfection

If man does not undergo divinely education, one is animal if not worse than an animal. You cannot find any animal more bloodthirsty than human being. Other animals search for one prey to eat to be cloyed; when they ate their fill, they retreat.

It is man who is never satisfied. It is man who is superior to all others in both achieving perfection and in wickedness. If man is trained according to revealed Books—the holy Quran—and if we are educated according to the Quran, we will be the most perfect creatures. Prophet of God is the noblest of creatures because he has perceived the real meaning of the Quran and practiced accordingly. However, nobody can understand and practise as the prophet can do. Hence, he is the noblest one. If man has not undergone education, he/she is more dangerous than other animals. A rotten tree does not decay other trees. This is true about animals. A cantankerous animal never affects other animals. This rule does not apply to man. A bad man can make a nation bad and a good one can reform a nation.

Destructive freedoms

You observe in the past fifty years the taghouti regime ruled over us illegally and unrightfully, it destroyed the nation. It was not such that it alone was bad. In fact, it corrupted the nation and spoilt our young people, men and women. They impeded the society from progress and human growth. Under the pretext of “freedom of men and women” and “Great Civilization”, they imposed suffocation on us. Neither men nor women were free. There was just one form of freedom, a destructive one. Yes, they were free to go out nakedly and do whatever they wished. They were ordered to train them in this way. They were free to go to the centers of perversion and prostitution. But there was no freedom for women and men to raise any voice. They could not speak about politics or society or criticize their conditions.

Pens were broken

We did not have any free newspaper. We had neither a free speaker nor a free writer. They had muzzled the people and broken the pens. Under the pretext of Great Civilization, they ruined our country while there was no freedom. Now that they are gone, they have left behind a confused country, a downtrodden nation, an ailing economy, a colonized university, etc. It is because a corrupt person presided over the people. A corrupt animal never treats other animals like this. A corrupt man, however, destroys the entire community. Meanwhile, an upright one like the prophet rectifies a nation.

Need to practise the Quran and follow the saints of God

Endeavor to act according to the Quran, which is a Book of yours and ours. Never verbally claim the Quran is ours. Vocal claim is easy. It is easy to say our Book is the Quran, our Prophet is the greatest of prophets and Ali ibn Abitalib is our Imam. It is easy for me to claim that I am the Shi'ite of Ali but what does Shiite mean? It means following the Imam in action.

Shiite is a follower. We are not a real Shiite without following the Imam in practice. Even if we constantly claim we are Shiite, we are just nominally. If we pretend that the Quran is our Book, but fail to act according to its spirit, it is not our Book in reality. The greatest Prophet is not our prophet, unless we follow him. If we do not pay heed to his words, we cannot be follower of a Messenger of God; prophethood does not have any advantage for us.

Endeavor in practice so that your Book would be the Qoran, your prophet Muhammad (s) and your Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib (s).

Happiness in light of practicing the Quran

I hope that your gathering under the canopy of Quran will culminate in education under the auspices of the Quran, helping you educate your children according to the Quran. Link your action to Prophet's instructions for salvation. Islam is not just a relationship between God and His creatures; it has, in addition, some instructions in all gamuts of life. The Quran is everything; it has political dimension and all other dimensions: science, guidance and politics. If a nation acts according to the Quran and it will be their Book, they will be happy. If we perform some chapters of the Quran, we will be happy. I hope that we will practise it and comply with the verse of the Quran that says, "*Cling to the rope of God and do not disperse (disunite).*"¹ If Muslims act just to this verse of the Quran, then they can win over all powers.

If all of us hold fast to the rope of Allah, which is the Quran and the Prophet, and hold the Quran in preference to others, be united and not separated, we can defeat all big powers because our population is now more than other populations. We are approximately one billion Muslims considering all our territorial treasures and vast lands; therefore, no power can stand against our massive power provided that we will be together.

They did not let us progress naturally and benefit from God's blessing whether spiritual or material one by their evil propaganda. Foregoing this, we could have everything. If all Muslims assemble to act according to this verse of the Quran, they will be able to overcome everything. Now we must be unified. Holding the rope of God signifies performing the Book of God. Try not to be dispersed, with everyone going one's own way, as propaganda is today carried out massively in our country.

Enemy's aim, provoking discouragement and discord

You observed that congregation and unity of expression worked miracle and defeated big powers. They knew that Islam is powerful enough to make a nation triumphant without any military power. They perceived this concept when women and men came to the streets and protested. Notwithstanding their writers, speakers and their advertisements inside and outside of the country aim to scatter this union. They are busy advertising and stonewalling in any way they can and in any way their mischief necessitates.

Injecting a sense of frustration into people is one of the sabotages they work. They come after people and tell them well, you do not have a house so where is your house if it is the Islamic Republic? The Islamic Republic is

¹ Surah Al-e Imran 3: 103.

achieved but where is your agriculture? The Islamic Republic is fulfilled but what is your job?

These are all aimed at preventing Islamic Republic to come to fruition. The response to these saboteurs is that the spirit of the Islamic Republic has not been fulfilled. This is the Islamic Republic and it means that you have changed the regime but these seditious ones and parasites that work for others and do not want our nation to gain happiness give us no time. They intend not to let the concept of the Islamic Republic be implemented. They are trying so much to prevent from the establishment of the Constitution. They dread of approval of the Constitution by people as they dread of referendum. They are afraid of Islam and intend to impede it. One time in former regime they wanted to do it by force and now by trick and discouraging people by arguing that what you looked for did not come true, while what the nation sought was actually accomplished.

Endeavor to fulfill the content of Islam

The people sought after freedom and have it now. They wanted independence and our country is independent now. No government can rule over the country. America with all its powers could do nothing when our young people went and captured its corruption center and seized those seditious people in its embassy. This is our independence. You asked for an Islamic country and the Islamic Republic and it is materialized according to your votes. What has not been done is the implementation of the concept of Islamic Republic to the letter, which, of course, needs time a long time.

It takes time to change these minds trained by corrupted publicity throughout 2500 years or at least some 50 years. It takes time but this nation, women and men, must be courageous. You must go forward powerfully and as you had been successful, you will be successful in the future God willing.

I hope this Islamic government will be fulfilled as the Prophet of Islam wanted in early days of Islam, as all Muslims and all our respectful people will be happy in this and the next world.