



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

SAHIFEH-YE ***IMAM***

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

Volume 11

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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

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

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters



Figure 1. Map of Iran

Note:

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

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

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Interview

Date: November 8, 1979 [Aban 17, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The objectives, issues and hardships of the Revolution, the crimes and conspiracies of the United States

Interviewer: The journalists of the Radio and Television Network of West Germany

Question: Your Reverence: You are trying to establish a community based on the pattern of Islamic values observed at the outset of Islam, a model of government experienced during the time of the prophet of Islam (s)¹ in Medina and Kufah at the time of Imam Ali² (a). Do you deem those values compatible the ones existing in the modern world of twentieth century? In case of being yes or no, how justifies?

Answer: In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful: The values, existing in the World are of two kinds; One of the type is spiritual values which include the matters concerning monotheism, holy war, social justice, justice based government and fair treatment of the government with nations and the expansion of social justice among nations and similar values which have been existing at appearance of Islam or even earlier than it since the prophets were assigned by Allah. Such values are unalterable. For instance; the concept of justice does not lend itself to any change and even with the passage of time; it cannot be occasionally right and seldom wrong.

¹ Hadrat Muhammad (s), the last Prophet of God, is the last messenger of God to Muslims. His parents were Aminah, his mother and Abdullah ibn Abdul Mutallib, his father. He was born in 571 AD. His father had passed away before he was born and his mother died when he was six years of age. His grandfather, Abdul-Mutallib and then his uncle, Abu Talib, first took up his custody. The holy Prophet is the founder of the Islamic faith in the Arabian Peninsula. Hadrat Muhammad (s) rushed to meet his Maker at the age of 63.

² Hadrat Ali (a) who was born in 600 AD is the first leader and Imam of the world of Shiites. His mother was called Fatimah and his father's name was Abu Talib, an uncle of the holy Prophet of Islam. Hadrat Ali was brought into the holy Messenger's household from the age of 6 and was the first person to accept the Islamic faith. He was well known for his selfless endeavours in the path of the Almighty and his unswerving support of Islam. This unique Islamic personality was martyred while performing his prayers at the altar of a mosque.

The spiritual values are ever lasting and had existed prior to industrialization and continued to stay alive. Justice is not related to these changes. The other kinds of values are the material, which make subject to change according to demands of time. They had certain character in the past, and by paving the way to progress, has accomplished status and the process of evolution will be continued.

The values related to the government, community and politics are of the spiritual nature. At the dawn of Islam, the genuine and pure Islamic governments were put into practice for twice: once established by the prophet (s) in Medina and other by Imam Ali (a) in Kufah. During those two periods, spiritual values were the dominant ones. It means that justice-based government was established and ruler never violated the law. There was supremacy of law during two periods of these governments. Perhaps, none government will never experience the supremacy of law to such extent. In that government system, *wali-ye amr*, substituted as president or the king in recent systems, was held equal responsible like a common citizen towards the law. The government, at outset of Islam, was appearing in such sense. A case as regards with the government of Imam Ali (a), whose sovereignty covered wide-range territories extended to Hijaz, Egypt Iran and other places and, he used to appoint his judges himself, the judge called upon and sent summons to him regarding with dispute occurred between Imam Ali (a) and a person from Yemen. The judge wanted to welcome Imam on his arrival in the court yet was guided by him to treat equally with both of parties. The judge gave decision against Imam Ali (a), and he also accepted the outcome with an open face.¹ Everybody is equally accountable towards law and all in this government including blamed persons, ruler and even the Prophet and the Imam are held responsible towards God.

Now, we wish to establish a government similar to the outset of Islam. Of course, we do not have such power to put all contents into practice immediately. Particularly we are leading in certain period while within the last fifty years, this country has changes its stuffing and every facet of our social life has become non-Islamic in nature. We would need more time to change the corrupted minds into the unpolluted and Islamic ones. This will happen only if God desires so and, if God does not desire, such wishes can never be fulfilled even until our passing away from this World.

Q: There is some heightened military activities in Kurdistan; and how are you going to solve it and how do you view the Kurdistan crisis?

¹ This occurred at Umar's time. *Manaqib*, Kharazmi, p. 98, The Description of *Nahj al-Balaqah* by Ibn Abi al-Hadid, vol. 17, p. 65.

A: The issue is not the Kurds vs. the Iranian government. Both the Kurds and other tribes living in Iran are equal before the law. Everyone is accountable towards the government. There is no difference whatsoever between *Kurds*, *Turks* and *Lurs*. We now have an Islamic government of the sort, which existed at the outset of Islam. At that time, too, all tribes were equal before the law. Now we intend to materialize such a government where all tribes are equal. There are no points of departure between the Kurds and us. Those who raise the issue of *Kurdistan* are indoctrinated and financially supported from external powers; and as some recent written evidence shows most probably, the United States is the main instigator in both the Kurdistan issue and that of Khorramshahr, and Khuzistan. These problems have surfaced due to the interferences of the foreigners: the Kurds and we have no issues of conflict needs to be solved. The issue between the Kurds and us is similar to the one between the Fars and us. The Fars people, too, ask to manage their own affairs by themselves. They want to elect a city hall, the members of which could manage the municipal affairs such as electricity, telephone, water and asphalt. This is what the Kurds, Lurs and Turks, too, are demanding. There is no difference among them. If it were not like such one then we would not think for the sake of Kurds, and the lives of children and women of our nation. Kurdistan was not the issue, which necessarily should encompass a solution. Military solution was carried out properly. Now if the military personnel had not interfered to solve the Kurdistan issue, then the people would have done so. This was requested, repeatedly by other tribe members to be allowed to go there to settle the problem. However, we wanted to avoid fratricide. We hope the delegation dispatched to Kurdistan can solve the issues amicably. We hope the Kurdish people reject the instigators to accomplish the all aspects of solution.

Q: There is a new religious movement going on in Europe. It has been shaped mainly among the Catholics. How would you evaluate such a movement and what is your opinion about the Pope?

A: The source of that religious movement is the people's disillusion due to the material advancement has not brought peace of soul for man. Rather, it has ruined their life. Most of these sorts were harmful to human being rather than being useful, what humankind needs now, more than any other time is peace for his soul. What brings peace in this case is faith and religion. This might be the feeling of the people in some other parts of the world. In our [Islamic] countries, people believe that it is under the banner of religion that one achieves the desired peace. They could never have calm through material

means. There are some activities, which are not in harmony with certain kind of peace, being explored by the human beings.

Q: You want to see the annihilation of the Israel. If this leads to the destruction of Israel and the Palestinians were victorious, what would happen to Jews?

A: The Jews are separate from the Zionists¹. If the Muslims dominate the Zionists, they will face the same fate as that of the deposed Shah. The Jews will be left free to lead their own life, they are a nation; and then, the Jews will be treated like other nations. They will not be disturbed.

Q: Your reverence: The political relations between Tehran and Washington are very critical at the moment, especially now that the university students have captured the American Embassy. In your view, how should these relations be existed?

A: In my view, the Americans instigate all these crises. Based on our guardians' instructions and guidelines, Muslims look at all nations with the same judgment: all of them should be treated justly. However, it is the United States, which does not allow for the maintenance of such peace and calm. America gave refuge to a criminal (i.e. the Shah) who betrayed his country for fifty years, who massacred our youth on the roads by his orders, imprisoned, killed, displaced, and exiled our intellectuals and scholars. Now the Americans are keeping the Shah's household in a secure location and respect his family members while treat with the Iranian youth harshly who demonstrate against this in America. This is the reaction of such deeds, which persuaded the nation to strike against the Embassy and perform such actions. The responsibility refers to America itself. The American Embassy used to carry out sequences of plot after plot for the last decades. Now we have discovered their conspiracies. Despite of all these plots, it cannot be whispered that the nation should tolerate these disruptors and remain silent. While they perform what they desire, therefore, United States as the main instigator is paying back what wrongs they had committed against us during these last decades. We will not tolerate their mischief anymore. The Americans should realize that the time for these tyrannies has passed and that

¹ Some Jews who demanded that Palestine should be considered the official homeland of all Jews and Zion or Jerusalem should constitute the capital of their homeland were followers of the Zionist movement. This movement started in the 19th century after the promise made by a man named Balfor and the British undertaking to help create a homeland for Jews and was later given official recognition.

they should be more mindful. If they carry out more mischievous acts, then we cover some plans, which can harm their interests.

Q: Your Reverence: We thank you very much. Recently, the quantity of oil export is less than that of previous years. Is it going to stay like this, or decrease more, or is it going to increase?

A: It depends on the priorities of government. Whatever they decide will be based on the welfare of the country. The amount of oil export will depend on the decision of the authorities. If the interests of country demand the quantity of the export to be low, consequently, it can be decreased and if interests demand to be raised, accordingly, it will be increased.

Speech

Date: November 8, 1979 [Aban 17, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The resolving of hardships and deprivations, the objectives of the enemies and the United States; foreign policies towards other nations

Audience: The personnel of Ahwaz City Hall

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Souvenir of the Shah's Great Civilization

One of the outgrowths of this Islamic Revolution has been the free meeting of different layers of our community with us to discuss the problems and for us to share them our difficulties. You, the Ahwaz municipality personnel, have told us of your endeavors there. It caused my appreciation, God willing, you will receive your due reward. Today, your country needs your services. You are well aware that you are left with country with ruined country. You can observe the southern parts of Tehran, which is the capital. You can easily see the slum, dirty run-down housing and poverty-stricken people. This is when their reserves are plundered by a group of extravagance devoted and draw to a close for granting unreservedly. You see Ahwaz and Khuzistan in that miserable situation while they [the Shah and his cohorts] have great wealth and resources. The villages there are even in worse situation. Years before, while passing by train near some villages I took notice that the depressed children and adults had gathered over there and they were giving the impression of being miserable. I realized how miserable those people were! Although the natural resources were beneath their bottoms, yet they were so deprived. Can such country be supposed as ruined, which is potentially filled with unlimited natural resources. Such great civilization offered us as gift as they handed all of our wealth to others over. Iran could easily be the house of one hundred and fifty million well-off people yet now thirty-five million people are living in dire poverty. A handful of corrupt statesmen have depleted the wealth of these people, the assets have been concentrated among specific class, and our resources have been put up for sale to foreigners in recompense of a smaller amount. Even the little money received as oil revenue was not spent over the welfare of country and it was snatched away and stolen by a few. Now you see that

America has given shelter to your number one enemy,¹ while he has plundered your wealth to deposit it in the American banks. Now they are singing lullabies and serving him.

The general responsibility towards oneself and others

This was the plight we were in. Thank God, now you have changed the situation for the better. Those who hindered the right way of doing things exist no more. Now it is in our own hands and it is up to you to reconstruct this country, which had been left ruined. It requires courage and the important thing is for us to consider ourselves responsible. Everybody should feel responsible both for himself and for others' affairs. Responsible for himself stands for the tasks and affairs being handed over to every person, for example, you who are, now, working in the Ahwaz municipality, each one of you should carry out your tasks. Do not wait for others to do them for you. If your colleague cannot perform his job properly, you are responsible to guide him. Each of you have take care of your.² You are responsible for looking after your subordinates; everybody is responsible; all of us are responsible. You and the nation have to run and manage the whole country.

Everybody should participate. Unfortunately, there exist different groups with different inclinations and beliefs among you and most of them were serving as servants and agents of the old regime and foreigners. Such outsiders and aliens persons exist among all strata of country and making the atmosphere poisonous by different means.

Negating the services of the Revolution: another conspiracy of the foreigners

Among the conspiracies leveled against the revolution is that it has not thought of the people and nothing has been done so far. Many things have been done for the people but with no publicity. This is the mistake, which have been taken place until now. Although you have done great jobs, yet they propagate that nothing has been accomplished. They do a lot of publicity and one of the significant jobs of the old regime was publicizing. They did not do anything but you were always brainwashed by the radio propaganda about "The Great Civilization, The Great Civilization". Now, you are telling me we have performed many services for the city. Yesterday, we had another group such as you and many others consult here in regard with other places. The groups who have been engaged in performing works and providing services

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

believe that a great works have been taken place in Jihad Ministry. They have constructed many houses for the needy. However, there is no sign of publicity. The nation must be informed that we are engaged in serving. Our governmental institutions are not like those in the old regime. They have been occupied for helping but of course; their work is not satisfactory in all aspects. Purge is vital and required in the ministries, offices and everywhere. The elements who were against this nation and people recognize them well should be get rid of them. If you wish to have an independent, country specified for yourself. While the purge is essential and it has not occurred, as it is requisite yet now it has been supposed to be taken place. I have already stressed for undertaking such job but they did not have the capability for it and was not carried out; they did not announce, "We did such and such"

The necessity of publicizing the performed services

You have to let people know what good work you have done. Some people are after disheartening the people from new system by claiming that nothing has been done; nothing was done earlier and nothing has taken place recently. You should make the nation familiar with the performed tasks by means of advertising and making it available for them. We are witnessing that the physicians, engineers, and doctors are consulting and working hard for the mobilization programs in Jihad Ministry and carry out construction works for the people. Since these works are not being presented for the people in a proper manner, subsequently, the groups of treacherous who are agents of others have got busy in asserting that the works have not been carried out, nothing has taken place, and this government is similar to previous one. While the Islamic Republic has no similarity with the previous regime as in that regime, none could have courage to utter some expression or make a criticism. Utterance of single impression could depart the life. You would write half a line of criticism, and you would lose your life. Now you are free to criticize and all make criticism. Everybody is allowed to evaluate the government and criticize everything, which is not appropriate, and give guidance. Then how the situation is the same; both now and at that time. In the previous regime, all of your assets were taken away and the United States used to take our oil and sell you weaponry in return. We could not use those weapons, and then what was their use? They sold us that weaponry which was to be used in the military bases that they had established in Iran. They made these bases with our money. Their military advisors then dominated us. We had been turned into the American Military Stronghold. Now I am told that many of these military resorts still exist in

Iran in sense of that only site of bases subsist but they do not have any control over it. In those years they took our oil revenues and supplied us with a little amount of weaponry in return, which included the items functional for them, not for us. Now, despite of that we do not have complete control of everything and our government has not accomplished stability yet our oil revenues do not get waste and not being sent anywhere free of charge and it is of yours belongings. In return, none could impose further to buy iron-scrap or construct for us a military-base. Now is it fair to claim that nothing has changed for the better as compared with previously. This was a single change yet many other essential distinctions like freedom, independence and essential distinction in regard with construction is apparent. A devastated country along with such destruction cannot be restored and converted to a paradise within one months, two months, one year, or two years. It requires a great uphill struggle. They tried to annihilate this country during their fifty years by giving it name of construction and great civilization. A place in the name of the Great civilization, there are still those who indoctrinate our youth with the erroneous statements, such as "Nothing has been done". However, I want to say that miracles have taken place.

The enemies' schemes in spreading despair

What kind of people are those who pretend to be the servants of the country but constantly create hurdles [in the way of those who wish to do services to this country]? They are in the habit of discouraging people or making them despair at all times. Do they not realize that if the people become disillusioned they have in fact failed? Alternatively, do they know and do it on purpose? I assume most of them act on careful calculations. Their main source is from abroad. Now, the den of corruption [the American Embassy] is captured by our youth. They have done so because the Americans are sheltering our enemy [the Shah] entertaining him, while keeping our assets frozen in their banks. They owe us our possessions. They should come here and pay back what they owe us. The king had robbed this country, filling the foreign banks with our assets. He had committed so many crimes; he has imprisoned our youth; this corrupt man¹ has massacred our youth. Now, the Americans are entertaining him on humanitarian bases. This is their way of considering humanity. This is the American way of loving humanity to protect a man who destroyed a country during his thirty odd years of rule, who has exiled or imprisoned the country's great man, and who

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

has destroyed their houses. Their humanity is shown by taking a criminal under the pretext of curing him and then keeping him for further conspiracies.

The American embassy: a center for conspiracy and espionage

Now that this den of corruption¹ is exposed, there are many things to be discovered by the Iranian nation. There used to be many espionage apparatus. However, our youth, being unaware of the secret codes, could not open the doors in time to have access to the American spy records. By the time our youth reached, the basements all the documents had been shredded. What our youth could get were only second hand espionage documents. Most of these cannot be deciphered by our youth; some experts are needed to do the job. Many boxes there cannot be easily opened up. The place had been turned into a den for spying. The embassies are not allowed to keep gunmen. However, the Americans used to keep some gunmen in the embassy. The embassies are not allowed to spy or to get involved in conspiracies. However, these two activities were prevalent in the American Embassy in Iran.

The rejection of negotiation with the USA

Now, Mr. Carter was kind enough to make the suggestion of dispatching two envoys to Iran to negotiate. What do we have in common? Who is supposed to talk to you? Who will be responsible for the disappearance of the husbands of so many Iranian women or for the fathers who lost their children? Who will be responsible for those who were hurt by the Americans? Whom should we talk to when the U.S. has committed so many crimes all over the world? Therefore, I rejected any possibility of negotiation. We cannot negotiate. We are driven by the determination of our nation. We are the people's servants. We should have their interests in mind. Mr. Carter does not frighten us or his likes and we are not bothered by their conspiracies. Who dares to intimidate a nation who has uprising for truth and whose motto has been "Allah is Great." It is a country whose youth were not frightened away by tanks. A friend informed me that a ten or twelve-year-old boy went under the tank. Nobody can intimidate the people of such a country. Whom are they going to frighten? I have not told you before: I have been in war since my childhood. We were subject to the assaults of the

¹ It refers to the Previous American Embassy in Iran.

Zallaqi.¹ We were always at the mercy of the assaults of Rajab-Ali and his like. We used to carry guns. During my adolescence, when I was young I used to supervise the entrenchments established all around us. Now, what do the Americans want to frighten us? We are neither worried nor frightened. We are the Shiite sons of those who sacrifice their young ones for the cause of Islam. What for we become afraid? We have Islamic country in our mind. We do not consider anything except Islam. The whole nation says, "God is Great," and have voted for an Islamic Republic. We consider nothing else. We are not frightened by the American conspiracies; neither do we care about their threats. Neither are we frightened by American threatens; nor is our nation as a whole. Only those are worried who assume their stay here on the earth is ever lasting.² Those who do not consider this world ever lasting, look for somewhere else where they could stay forever. Our nation has been drastically transformed: young people come to me and ask me to ask God for their martyrdom. The same thing happens for some mothers who ask me to ask God for their only child's martyrdom. It is irrational to assume that such a nation could ever be frightened. What does Mr. Carter try to frighten us with? Does he try to frighten us with his gunmen or navy? Let them do whatever they wish. Could one ever defeat a vigilant nation?

Conditionality of negotiations with America

Whom should we negotiate with? What group should we meet? Should we talk with those who call themselves philanthropist but use the third world population as their laboratory guinea pigs to test their medicines and drugs before applying them to their own people? Should we negotiate with those who established their den of spying here, who conspired against our national interests, who brought out the issue of Kurdistan? What do they want to talk about? We are telling them to submit a person for trial to us who ruled tyrannically for about thirty odd years. This criminal has killed our youth; he has squandered our reserves; he has betrayed his country. Let us have him. Are you coming here to convince us to forgive him? You should remove your den of spying from here, as well. Then our representatives may talk; perhaps they might talk about relations; but this I strongly doubt. Our relations with all nations are amicable. Islam is a religion for all people.

¹ The Zallaqis were a rebel group at the end of the Qajar dynasty. Rajab-Ali was one of those rebels. He was originally from Chahar lang Bakhtiyari. Together with a group of horsemen he used to rob and plunder the defenseless people of the regions of Kamareh and Bakhtiyari.

² *Dar-e Qarar*—a permanent place to stay.

Iranian foreign policies

Islam is for everybody; it cares for humankind. We are dependent on Islam; we, too, care for humanity. We will be friends with those who care about us: They should count on us. They should refrain from using us as guinea pigs. Those who insist that we should maintain relations with the westerners do not realize that they consider us less than pigs. They protect animals, but they treat us worse than animals. We have no dignity in their eyes. What topics should we talk about with them? Those were the people who had established the most complicated spying apparatus in Tehran, which can only be recognized by the experts. One of these youths told me he had seen delicate receivers the size of a lentil. Tehran might have been their spy center in the east. They were secure here. Mr. Aryamehr¹ had provided them with a haven, a place of safety. The American Embassy in Tehran, they say, has been used as a center for spying over the whole region. Let them remove this center of espionage and return that traitor to us, and then we will negotiate. At the beginning of the revolution when Muhammad-Rida was still in Iran, the representatives of the U.S.A came to negotiate with me. I told them to remove Alam² from the position of premiership first and then talk to us. Now the same is true. Unless he is submitted to us and this center is removed, no negotiation shall take place. Do I enter neither into [any kind of] discussion, nor into anybody else. If we ever talk with the U.S.A, we are eager to find out if it is a fair relationship or is it a relationship between an oppressor and the oppressed. We are eager to expand our relations with nations, however.

The enemies' plots

Some traitors now try to disrupt our movement. Now there are some people who try to defame these pure youth, whom I do not know personally, but who are pious young men. They say these young ones should present the American documents to the Iranian people; but they do not realize that these are not ordinary documents to be presented to the lay people. They are written in codes. They, for instance, would not disclose the fact that a certain political party was with them or not. The American hostages have destroyed some of the significant records within the four or five hours that they had at their disposal. The remaining records are not of high value. However, time is required to decipher them. Unfortunately, now a group of agitators is trying

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

² Assadullah Alam who was once the Prime Minister and who was the Minister of the Royal Court at Muhammad-Rida's time.

to disgrace these clean young men. Let us be vigilant. Let us not get involved in these rigmaroles. These agitators are the foreigners' agents. Anybody who takes in this way tries to expel these young ones from the Embassy so that they can set the stage for the return of their masters. By leveling accusations against these young ones, these agitators try to divide the Iranian nation and allow this place to remain safe for the Americans and let that man stay in the United States. Our nation should nullify these plots; they should be alert. Turbulence is now ruled out; we should stay calm. If some other agitators come to you and claim that there are other embassies in Tehran like this one, do not pay any heed to them. Now we are concentrating on the American Embassy: nothing else. The Iranian nation now is considering this Embassy. The Iranian nation is trying to take that traitor out of the United States and bring him here. If that traitor had gone to England or France, we would have done the same thing to their embassies. However, the enmity of the United States against us is clear. It is the United States, which carries out such crimes. We are not worried if they carry out any acts of terrorism against us. Only those are frightened of their lives who assume their stay on the earth is ever lasting. None of them who wish to join the martyred ones gets frightened. The other day some people informed me of some plots. I assured them our nation does not need us any more; they do not need a person like me any longer. Our nation has found the right way. They would go the right way even if I were not present. Any force will never terrify us.

Priority should be given to oppressed and the deprived ones

Vigilantly we should nullify these plots; we should serve our people energetically. First, we should consider the oppressed and the deprived ones. We should help the slum-dwellers; those who have already helped us advance this movement. This layer of society is the deprived one. You have already informed me let me that they have to carry water in the pipes over long stretches of land. We should help them. We should cooperate with one another to construct houses for them. Why should these families live in tents? In winter it is hard to live in tents. Let the rich assist these needy ones. They should not shun their responsibilities simply by blaming the government for [poor people's] misery. Everybody is responsible now. Why did you let your fellow fellow citizens live under such gloomy conditions? They live in dire misery. Help them out. Now, the time has changed. The rich should not take their time, taking pleasure and laughing at this wretched layer of society. They should not write articles in favor of super-power and in defiance of this deprived stratum of our community. They should avoid doing this.

Let us unite. The country is ours. You are born here. Then why of division? Why should a group publicize for the left wing and a group defend the right wing? Are you not a man yourself? Work for yourselves. Assist these people; do not engage in sabotage or waste your time in seeking pleasure stop sabotage.

May God guide us in the right way. The Holy Quran is presented to us to make ourselves truthful ones. May God let us be familiar with the Holy Quran. May God make you succeed. I am satisfied with your services. The rewards are with God. I wish you success.

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

Decree

Date: November 9, 1979 [Aban 18, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The pardon of the convicted

Occasion: The arrival of the auspicious *Id* al-Ghadir

Addressee: The Attorney General of the Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Attorney General of the Revolution,

On the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious *Id* al-Ghadir, the time when Imamate was established, all the convicted at the Revolutionary courts whose sentence is less than two years are hereby pardoned. Have their files seen to at the earliest time possible and let them go free. It is compulsory that these freed ones thank God for their freedom

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 18, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: November 9, 1979 [Aban 18, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Constitution, Governance of the Jurist, a look at the country's main issues

Occasion: *Id al-Qadir*

Audience: Members of the Association for the Publicizing the Islamic Culture, the [former] Red Lion and Sun Society of Khorramabad, Loristan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the virtues of Imam Ali (a)

I congratulate you, gentleman, and the honorable nation of Iran and all the Muslims of the world on the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Ghadir*. It was a time when Imamate was established for the *ummah* and the Great Prophet (s) established Imams for the *ummah's* Imamate. What a great person and what a great personality! This man who started the Imamate was a unique personality, a person like whom will never be born. He was a person characterized by opposing elements. A warrior cannot be a God-worshipper. A man who aspires to have muscular power cannot be a man of asceticism. A man who draws his sword and annihilates the wrong-doers cannot be an affectionate man. This great man was a collection of opposing traits. While his days were spent fasting, his nights were spent praying to God, and it is said he used to perform a thousand Rakats of prayers each night, and as recorded in historical documents while he fed, on no more than bread, vinegar and zayt¹ or salt, his body structure was extremely powerful, so much so that the door of Khaybar², which could not be lifted by forty men together he had taken off and thrown some Dhira³ away. His sword was two-sided, and those who wore helmets and iron-coats could not escape his strokes. A man who used to feed on bread and vinegar, who, most often was fasting, and who broke his fast with bread and salt or with bread and vinegar, now had in himself a combination of asceticism and extreme bodily power: This combination is strange, but unique. He was a great warrior, putting the other warriors to flight. He used to say. "If all Arabs attacked me, I would

¹ Olive oil.

² In one of the Holy wars carried out by the prophet (s) with the Jews the Kheybar stronghold, which housed the foes of Islam, was captured by Imam Ali (a).

³ Dhira: a measure for length in the old times.

never withdraw.”¹ In the domain of affection, he was such that when an ankle was stolen from a Jewish woman, he declared that death was easier for man than this abominable act.² A man, who had reached such a high rank in asceticism and metaphysics, drew his sword, destroying the infidels and saboteurs. We are the Shiites of such a miraculous, wonderful being.

I declare that if the Great Prophet (s) had not trained anybody else except Imam Ali (a), it would have sufficed. If the prophet (s) had been appointed to train such a person to hand over to the society it would have been enough. Such a person is unique, he does not have any peer; nobody may ever excel him. Today is the day when he was appointed as our Imam. We had such a (great) person as our Imam. Nobody can ever reach his station.

The Prophet’s successors and the Imams

Except for the prophet (s) no one can or will surpass. Prior to his departure from this world, the prophet (s) appointed his genuine successor and successors up to the time of the [twelfth Imam’s] occultation. Each one of the prophet’s successors appointed his next successor and leader so that the *ummah* would be guided and would not be puzzled when one Imam passed away. After the Infallible Imams,³ it was the turn of the jurists, those who are experts in the Islamic studies, those who are ascetic, and those who renounce this (material) world, those who are not carried away by the flashy things of this world, those who care for this nation, and those who consider the members of this nation as their children; they are appointed to the guard this *ummah*.

The Governance of the Jurist obstructs the formation of dictatorship

Regrettably, those unaware of the principles of Islam erroneously assume that the passage of the Governance of the Jurist in the Constitution is equal to the creation of dictatorship. On the contrary, it is the Governance of the

¹ *Nahj al-Balaqah*, letter No. 45, addressed to Uthman Ibn Hunayf.

² *Nahj al-Balaqah*, Sermon 27.

³ Because of certain Islamic attributes, the holy Prophet and some specific members of his household as well as his offspring numbering in 12 are regarded as free from any sins and flaws. The list of the Infallibles is as follows: 1) Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Imam Ali. 2) Hasan ibn Ali, Imam Hasan, 3) Husayn Ibn Ali, Imam Husayn, 4) Ali Ibn Husayn, Imam Sajjad, 5) Muhammad Ibn Ali, Imam Muhammad Baqir, 6) Jafar Ibn Muhammad, Imam Sadiq. 7) Imam Musa Ibn Jafar, Imam Musa Kazim, 8) Ali Ibn Musa, Imam Rida, 9) Muhammad Ibn Ali, Imam Muhammad Taqi, 10) Ali Ibn Muhammad, Imam Ali Naqi, 11) Hasan Ibn Ali, Imam Asgari, 12) Hujjat Ibn Hasan, Imam Mahdi (a).

Jurist, which obstructs dictatorship. If there were no Governance of the Jurist, there would be dictatorship. It is the jurist who checks the president, the Army Head, the Head of the gendarmerie, and the head of the police and the prime minister from getting involved in dictatorship. The jurist is appointed to act as an Imam. He will break any sign of dictatorship. He gathers all under the banner of Islam and the rule of law. Islam is law-governed. It is based on the divine rule; it is the law of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. The government is obedient to law. This means the Prophet (s) and Imam Ali (a) were both obedient to law. They could not break laws.

The Almighty God says, "If you fabricate anything against me, we could certainly seize you by the right hand and then we could certainly cut off your "watinat",¹ i.e. your aorta." There is no dictatorship in Islam. Islam is based on rules. Moreover, those who are supposed to protect Islam but resort to dictatorship are not the protectors of Islam any longer. Nobody should frighten others of the Constitution which was ratified by a great many Islamic experts and scholars. Do not listen to their nonsensical statements that this rule (i.e. the Constitution) is not democratic! These hypocrites do not consider Islam as democratic! This constitution will be set for people's ratification through their votes, within the coming weeks. Do not get discouraged by them not to go to the polls. Go and vote. You enjoy discretionary power to vote: If you agree, say yes; if not, say no. If it is not ratified by you, it should be revised. Do not be indifferent towards something to which your destiny is linked. Your Islam depends on it; your country depends on it, as well. What should be brought up today is these important issues that are the constitution, President, the council [of experts] and the Consultative Assembly. Do not digress from this issue.

The need to consider the country's essential issues

You have already been patient for fifty years for the discrepancies that you have been exposed to. Why not be perseverant for another two months. When the lack of asphalt, hospitals or good physicians, or good agriculture is brought out, the main purpose is to make you despair. We should take care of priorities: first things first. They want to divert your attention and make you think of minor things. This is similar to the situation when there is an earthquake in a region where victims are trapped under debris, we should be concerned about rescuing them or a group talks about the shortage of water or the scarcity of the agricultural produce, and that we should find remedies

¹ "Watin" means the aorta. This refers to the holy verses 44-46 of the Holy *Surah al-Haqqah* [Quran 69: 44-46].

for this situation. Now, we are put under such conditions where some evil forces around and various cliques are lurking to deflect the path desire to stop the passage of the Constitution; they will then stop the formation of the Consultative Assembly or destabilize the country's presidency. In this way, they plot to deceive you. All you said was correct. It applies not only to your religion but to all sections of the country. We are living in a country where for fifty years they tried to keep our youth backward, to corrupt them, and to disrupt our country. Do not think that only Khorramabad is suffering from severe shortcomings. It is true also of Kurdistan. The same thing is also uttered by the people of Kurdistan. The same is true of the people of Khuzistan and Khorasan. The slum dwellers of Tehran say the same thing: their life is a lot worse than yours. But remember: These are minor things. This country is now in imminent danger because there are some agitators who have infiltrated the populace who will not let this movement achieve its objective or, if not, they want to retard it. They want to close down the whole system.

Let us march on with our might! Let us consider first the major issues. Let us finish our tasks. When the principles are set in order, then this diseased one needs treatment: But first save his life, then cure him. Our country has been exposed to ruin and destruction for the last fifty years. But there are major issues to be taken care of prior to the country's death. When the primary objectives are attained then we will deal with the secondary ones. All you say are correct, but they are of secondary status. Our culture should be revitalized. Our offices should be purged. All these should be carried out. Our agriculture should be strong so that we will not have to ask our enemies for food. Our educational system and universities should be corrected to make us rely on ourselves. But these take time to be carried out successfully.

The necessity of taking part in the Constitutions referendum

Now our participation in the referendum for the Constitution is our number one priority. This is the main gist of our discussion and needs our full attention. You have to acquaint ever you around you and the whole nation with the constitution and tell that they must think carefully and vote for the Constitution. You are free to cast any form of ballot you want to. But you should not stand idle or indifferent to your country's destiny, Islam, the nation and the country. Do not consider the rigmarole uttered by some concerning this law. Those who indoctrinate others with wrong ideas are those who assume that Islam is backward. There are some who are mercenaries, who receive wages to deceive people or to disturb them. In the

referendum for the Islamic Republic, you remember how many ballot-boxes were set on fire. In some places people were kept back at gun-points not to cast their votes. Then they encouraged people not to vote for representatives of the consultative Assembly. Now they want people not to cast their votes for the Constitution. This layer of people is against the very foundation of our Islamic Republic. But you are the ones who got your children martyred for the revival of Islam. You are Imam Ali's followers; you will not care for the pernicious schools of thought which are heedless of these affairs.

Now Islam needs your help; the Great prophet (s) needs your assistance; Imam Ali (a) needs your help to remedy the problem. The requirement is for you not to be indifferent towards your country. This is taken to mean that the Constitution is the very basis of your country. Now you should forget about your other engagements and you should concentrate on voting. It is the fate of your country; it is the destiny of your religion; it is the fate of your nation. Do not be indifferent.

Now, everybody should cooperate. So far your cooperation has been tremendous. You have put aside your foes. You have expelled the corruptors. From now on stick together and remain united. You will prosper if God wishes to.

May God bless you all I pray for you. I am your servant, and I desire your progress and advancement.

Decree

Date: November 10, 1979 [Aban 19, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching an envoy to investigate the situation of Iranian university students living in Europe

Addressee: Husayn Nuri

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza Husayn Nuri,

Due to the frequent request made by Muslim university students residing in Europe to dispatch your eminence there, and in view of your past experience [there], you are hereby requested to go to Europe to assess their living conditions and needs first hand and to try to resolve their problems as you see fit, and to make them familiar with the grave responsibilities that they are faced with at this juncture of time, so that with the help of the Almighty, they will be able to thwart the infidels' plots.

We hope, as well, that through appropriate methods of publicity, speeches, etc. they can stop their pernicious propaganda from spreading. I ask God for your success. Send my greetings to all of them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 19, 1399 AH

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur*, This date is recorded as 28/8/58; but in Imam's manuscript it is the 19th Dhu'l-Hijjah 1399 AH, equivalent the 19th of Mehr 1358.

Decree

Date: November 10, 1979 [Aban 19, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sending envoys to Behbahan and Masjid Sulayman

Addressee: Hadi Marvi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1399 AH

His Eminence Thiqaat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Aqa Shaykh Hadi Marvi,

Due to the hardships and conflicts that are exist at in the cities of Behbahan and Masjid Sulayman, and because of your familiarity with the region, you are hereby requested to travel to that region and to study the situation closely and to try to solve the problems and to familiarize the dear citizens of those cities with the enemies' plots, and to remind them of their tasks and responsibilities at such a critical time and to invite them to unity and warn them against discord. I ask God Almighty to assist you to succeed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: 4 p.m. of November 10, 1979 [Aban 19, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The expectations of the world's oppressed peoples from the pope; the objective of the occupation of the US Embassy; not fearing military intervention or economic sanctions

Audience: Bishop Hannibal Buginini [The envoy of the Pope, the leader of the world's Catholics], Bani-Sadr, Abul-Hasan [The Acting Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The expectations of the world oppressed layers from the pope

At this critical moment, I would not had any other official requested an audience, I would not have accepted. However, I honor the spiritual position of the Christian world and the Great Pope; therefore I accepted such a meeting and I am delighted as well that the pope has sent me a message so that I may advise him of the matters in which should be advised.

There is an ambiguous point before us- the world has oppressed nations, both Muslims and Christians and I wish to point it out. The thirty five million Iranian Muslims, who have been under fifty years of exploitation and pressure especially from America and recently from Mr. Carter, and oppressed millions in the world, has always expected a comforting message from the spiritual position of the Pope: a fatherly caress which would put this oppressed nation at some ease, he was expected to warn the aggressors who exerted their tyranny over this nation. He should have arbitrated between the aggressors, who call themselves Christians, and the oppressed nation of Iran. Up to now, we have not yet heard such a comforting voice. There was not even one case of arbitration by the Pope during these fifty years when we suffered mass killings; when our youth lost their lives in the obnoxious prisons of Iran, where they received inhuman tortures. The Great Pope did not think of arbitrating between the United States and the oppressed Iranian nation and the great Pope did not think to support this oppressed nation, or at least mediate so that the tyrants would leave this oppressed nation alone. Now our youth, who have been suffering tortures of all kinds for years, have captured the den of spies where conspiracies were going on at all times, not only against Iran, but against the whole region. They have received some

documents but most of them were turned to a powder and cannot be used anymore.

The Iranians objective in capturing the American embassy

If the Americans carried out their normal embassy activities there would have been no needs for this. And if they had not dealt in things which were against our nation's interests, there would have been no need [to capture the embassy]. Now that this conspiracy has been unveiled for our nation, and the action of these youth is supported by everybody except for those who have gone astray, it was the wish of all of our nation, not a whim, but a human desire for conspiracies to be unmasked, plots which are against humanity, against our nation, against Iran. And this is our nation's right.

The embassies are not legally allowed to carry out espionage or conspiracies. This embassy and according to the good judgment of our experts had been a place for conspiracies. How come the Great Pope is now thinking of humanitarian factors and is stressing the fact that we should have humane treatments towards the American imprisoned staff humanely? Islam treats even its enemies well. And as far as I have heard, these youths have behaved in a human way, so his eminence must not worry about this matter.

The Shah's crimes and the need to punish him

Now about the freedom of the imprisoned staff of the American Embassy. Let us see what we want and what our nation wants. Is our wish legitimate or not? Is it humanitarian reasons which have made our youth capture this center and stop the conspiracies or is it against humanity? What we want is for this man [the Shah] who is now in the U.S.A, who has been torturing the Iranian nation for thirty seven years, who has betrayed this nation, who has squandered our resources, and who has made life miserable for our youth, and has tyrannized us and who has killed a great many people on the fifteenth of Khordad, whose command has caused the death of more than one hundred thousand people since the 15th of Khordad, now, this nation wants the return of this criminal so that it can try him. If he is convicted he should return the wealth which has been taken from this country and deposited in foreign banks. He and his associates have filled the American and western banks with Iranian money. When I know, and our nation—the generation which is the same age as mine—has seen, and those who have not seen, have heard, and others have told them that, when his father carried out the coup d'état in Iran he had no money whatsoever. He was a mere soldier:

Sifr al-Yad.¹ When Rida Shah dominated the nation, he started capturing the people's lands by force. Mazandaran, our best green lands, fell in his name by force. Many of the land owners and some of the clerics, who expressed any opinion about this were captured, imprisoned, and sometimes killed. At the time of Rida Shah I remember the Gowharshad massacre, and those who are my age can remember within a short time Rida Shah's agents entered the holy place, killing a great many of the protestants. When he was expelled he carried large amounts of jewelry. Then while taking the journey on the sea, the British navy plundered that jewelry. Later his son, a true criminal, was imposed on us by the Allied. This happened while our nation was not content with his reign. He was imposed on us, anyhow. When he started his kingdom he had to submit to the foreigners any concession they wished for. The number of his treasons is just beyond imagination. One such treason is his purchase of weaponry from the United States for the oil revenues which we received. It is worth mentioning that those ammunitions were used in American military bases in Iran.

The Pope should reprove the American top officials

I wished one of the great religious authorities of Christianity would have said a kind word concerning this oppressed nation. I cannot believe that the Vatican had been in the dark regarding our situation. I have a problem here. If our nation asked me if the Christian clerics are content with the crimes which were carried out by the Americans, I do not know what to say. Christian clergy knows that the Holy Quran has defended both Jesus Christ (*a*) and Maryam (*a*). The Holy Quran denied the accusations leveled against that great lady. The Holy Quran has also defended the Christian scholars and the Qississins.² Now that the Holy Quran has defended Jesus Christ (*a*) and the Christian scholars, we expected that the Great pope would comfort us under those critical moments by asking Carter why he has harbored such a criminal. Why does Carter keep a criminal in his country?

We are not surprised to see that now Carter is impatient to solve the problem by returning to the States the imprisoned staff of the American Embassy. He is a politician and is after American interests. But what about Pope? Why does he want to arbitrate between an oppressed nation and an oppressor to free the prisoners? If we could, we would prepare for the Shah's trial in a third country. But we could never take twenty million witnesses out of this country and put them in the trial to show the extent of injustice which

¹ Poverty-stricken.

² Qissisin is the plural form of Qissis, meaning priests.

our workers, farmers, religious experts, university students have suffered during the Shah's domination. But due to the respect that we have for the Pope, we are ready to try the king in front of the Pope's representatives in Iran. We are even content to have Carter's envoys at the trial. We will accept whatever verdict the court issues.

Following up the nation's votes

And let the pope realize that the issue is not anything that I could resolve personally. I am not eager to impose anything on my nation. And Islam does not let us engage in the act of dictatorship. We depend on our nation's votes. We follow up what our nation decides. Neither God, nor our Prophet (s) would give us the right to go against our nation's votes. Of course, at times we might humbly ask our nation for something; but it is the favor that a country's servant wants of the nation. But the point at issue is that what the nation decides is out of my control. And we know that our nation has backed up this occupation of the American Embassy.

Any way, our demand [the Shah's return to Iran] is a humane one. Everybody should abide by this. Our nation loves humanity like your nation who should follow Jesus Christ (a). You should love humanity and it is exactly this love that forces us to receive that man [the Shah] to put him on just trial. We want to know who had instigated him to carry out crimes of such a magnitude. We want the world's people to know who the real criminal is. Now what is the Pope's verdict?

The just demand of the Iranian nation

I hereby ask the Pope to whom Carter has resorted to contact Carter and analyze the issue for him and send some envoys to study the situation. Let us hear what the Pope's reaction is. He should realize the scope of the crimes that has engulfed us, the amount of theft that has taken place concerning our national reserves. Then let Mr. Pope decide what we should do. Should we let this staff go back to the States without having apprehended that criminal? We are sure that the Pope will not agree to such a plan. Everybody for sure is against crimes as such.

Thus, our argument is sound and clear. This realization is accepted by everybody except by Carter. Give us back the criminal you are harboring: the criminal who has scorched our youth, who has sawed the legs of our youth. Let us have him tried here, a just trial. Let them send their representatives to partake in the trial. If we are wrong, let them take him and put him on the throne, to be the king once more! And if Mr. Carter is wrong, you should

impeach Mr. Carter with the spiritual authority that you possess. Remember they behave against Christianity while they pretend they are Christian. They carry out all sorts of crimes and this is not accepted by Jesus Christ (a).

The Pope is required to salvage the Christian nations

Mr. Pope should care for the Christian nation; he should consider all the oppressed nations; he should consider the dignity of the Christian nations. The Pope should introduce to the world those who carry out crimes in the name of Christianity. He should introduce to the whole world the crimes which are being done. He should let the Americans as well as other nations know about these crimes in the same way that we have treated towards Muhammad-Rida. People knew of his crimes, but we publicized his wrongdoings. You should do the same thing as well. Then we will appreciate your good work. You should indeed save the Christian nations. In the Christian world, crimes are being done by Christians. This is improper for [the followers] Jesus Christ (a). If Christ (a) were alive now, he would impeach Carter. If Jesus Christ (a) were living now, he would protect us against these devils. You are Jesus Christ's representatives; you should do the same thing as well.

May God make us familiar with our divine tasks and be the defenders of the oppressed. We hope the Pope will care for this oppressed nation. We hope. He will forgive us that we are unable to carry out his demand. But the first thing that he has referred to will be carried out: that is the issue of human treatment of these prisoners. I wish you will go and see them and talk to them since you are the Pope's representatives. They are surely comfortable while they are here. Of course, now Carter is resorting to anything that he may lay his hands on.

Not being concerned of the military threats and economic sanctions

It is sometimes heard from some grouping that military expeditions against us are on the way and sometimes of economic sanctions. Unfortunately, a man who calls himself Iranian and claims he is Iranian prior to being a Muslim and I believe he is neither an Iranian nor a Muslim—requests Carter to carry out economic sanctions against Iran. He is an Iranian, living now in England¹, he is Bakhtiyar; mentions that he is nationalistic. The point, which once I mentioned, has now become evident. I have told you the superpowers may protect a person for twenty or thirty years so it can become

¹ It was said at that time that Shapur Bakhtiyar, the king's last prime minister, upon flight from Iran has fled to England.

their servant yet committed to wear national dress like Bakhtiyar who pretended to be an associate of Dr. Musaddiq and claims to be a national character. After passing a certain period of time and arrival of a day, they intend to avail them even after twenty years. He was a member of the National Front and pretended he was an Iranian before being a Muslim—and this is blasphemy by itself—so avail from this element and they took advantage of him. He now took on the task, after Muhammad-Rida—the worst creature of God—of killing people: he ordered man-slaughter; however, he was met with disobedience. Then, he talked about to enact economic sanctions against us. Now, I should proclaim that we are neither frightened of the military intervention nor of the economic sanctions. We do not feel fear of him because we are Shiites of those Imams who welcomed martyrdom. Our nation also embrace martyrdom. Let us assume that Carter takes armies to Iran; although he is unable to do so yet we just assume that these superpowers dispatch their troops to Iran, We have a population of thirty-five millions, most of them desire martyrdom. We will move towards battlefield with thirty-five millions. After you have massacred all of us, you can do whatever you want with Iran. We are not scared of it as we are men of fighting, we are warriors, and we are men of struggle. Our youth struggled by their fists with tanks and machineguns. Mr. Carter cannot frighten us of strife because we are men of resistance. Although we do not possess any weapon to fight yet we have our bodies to confront them and we shall do this.

Concerning the economy, I should say we are in the habit of going hungry; we have endured thirty-five or fifty years of hunger and we are used to this affliction. We fast and eat abstemiously. If they ever carry out economic sanctions against us and assume that all nations follow them yet this is just immature idea which can never be implemented. Suppose if it happened then we will resort to the wheat and barley that we cultivate ourselves in our country. We will economize, it would be sufficient for us. We feed on meat only once a week and eating meat is not a good practice. We may eat only one meal [a day]. Do not frighten us with these gimmicks. If the issue of eating and our prestige are brought up, we will prefer to preserve our prestige and dignity. Please send my best regards to His Reverence the Pope. Please mention that because of existing religious among us as you and we are monotheists, recognizing God, please ask him to assist this oppressed nation. Give the superpowers some pieces of advice and if necessary, impeach them.

Decree

Date: November 11, 1979 [Aban 20, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The assignment of the Friday Prayer Imam for Ahwaz

Addressee: Ahmad Jannati

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ahmad Jannati (May his graces last),

Due to the repeated requests made by the respectable people of Ahwaz regarding the holding of Friday congregational prayers in the cities of Ahwaz, you are hereby appointed as the Friday Prayer Imam of that city so that in carrying out this great religious duty you may familiarize people with the critical tasks they have in front of them and warn them of the conspiracies of the foes of Islam and invite them to unity in your sermons.

I hope people will make use of this opportunity and convene more glorious congregations. I also wish everybody's success in fulfilling his divine duties and Islamic rules.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 20, 1399 AH

¹ The date is recorded as 22/8/58 in *Sahife-ye Nur*. However, based on the manuscript (20 Dhu'l-Hijjah 99), the date is 20/8/1358.

Decree

Date: November 11, 1979 [Aban 20, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Topic: The assignment of the Friday Prayer Imam for the province of Lar

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Ali Lari

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Abdul Ali Lari (May his graces last),

Due to the request made by the people of Lar, you are hereby appointed as the Friday Prayer Imam of that city so that in performing this great Divine duty you may familiarize the local people with the critical tasks they are facing and encourage them to avoid discord and differences.

It is hoped the honorable believers, too, will make use of this opportunity and convene more glorious congregations and demonstrate their full cooperation and perform their revolutionary and Islamic duties. I ask the Exalted God for everyone's success.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 12, 1979 [Aban 21, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The critical mission of the officials—the establishment of trust and security among people

Audience: The personnel of the Police Station 21 of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The critical mission of the officials in the Islamic system

I would like to thank you staunch youth who are now serving in the Islamic police forces. I hope that the Exalted and Blessed God is pleased with the services you are rendering. May God help you succeed in reconstructing Iran in the way Islam looks at it.

At the time of the Shah although you and I were engaged in some kind of misconduct, this act did not harm Islam because it was practiced during period of the government of evil-spirit. But now when you are experiencing an Islamic government, subsequently you are also considered as the force for Islam, you are the police forces of Islam, if God forbid if any wrong thing is committed by anyone of us and you, the Islamic Republic of Iran will be blamed for it. And those who are against our Islamic movement are looking for excuses to blame it and to raise hue and cry and blow the trumpet to sabotage the Islamic Republic. Therefore, our tasks, our divine tasks, are extremely intensive now. It is duty that all of us should stay united and without your being domineering over the nation or without our nation making trouble for you, we should continue in a brotherly fashion the work that we have started up until our goal is reached. God willing, I want to convey the good news to you that if we become united and Islamic rules are carried out at all phases, then there will be created in the nation and the country and all its aspects trust which is above all virtues. Suppose you were on board a ship and you had all sorts of merry making. The very concept of getting drowned would make all your pleasure dissipates. Afterward no pleasure doesn't feel sound for you and turns in to bitterness. If country is unstable and furthermore there also exist a fear of being detained of America and there also exist an alarm of being detained in the hands of super-power; if there doesn't subsist satisfaction in our hearts and independency of spirit and we don't up rise subsequently these pleasures will not give taste anymore. If we get satisfied that we are independent, our destiny is in our

own hands and we don't have any lord over us and if we were sure that we were independent, that we were not bothered by any military interventions or that nobody interfered in our own affairs we would enjoy a spiritual security which is the best God-given asset to man. I will assure you that such satisfaction will be accessible for you very soon.

The creation of a feeling of security and satisfaction among people

You should not worry that those who betrayed and fled from this country will return. They will never comeback here. And do not be afraid that those powers who plundered this country and stashed away and destroyed the possessions of this nation, which is now in a shambles, will ever return. Never be frightened of them. Do not allow this fear to creep into you. Be steady in trading your path. What I want to advise you to do is that the centers within the control of everyone; what so ever within the control of army, what so ever in the control of military forces, what so ever is within your control; these centers should be resembling of that the people who enter your departments feel they are secure what I want to advise you to do is to.

You are aware that previously people were not at ease to enter any police station. They would suffer a lot of discomforts. Those maltreatments have created a lot of psychological complexes and which will take ages to heal even now that the government of the Shah has fallen. This will be accomplished through the way you behave towards the people. You have to treat people amicably bearing in mind that they are of you and you are one of them. Now, the situation is like this.

You have noticed how people welcome you when you treat them kindly. They would use favorable slogans for you. They would also utter good slogans for the army. And this is a good sign of progress when in a country everybody is trying to keep its independence. Do not let the nation feel alienated from you or separated from the army. If separation takes place, then turbulence is inevitable. The more united you are, the more assured you will be and the sooner you will reach your objectives.

I hope every one of us will realize our specific tasks. Let us think that we are living with our brothers in this country. May God assist and grant you success and health you the best of luck.

Message

Date: November 13, 1979 [Aban 22, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Protecting the revolutionary act of the occupation of the espionage den by the Muslim university students.

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Shirazi (May his blessings last)—the holy city of Mashad,

Your telegram from the Great Mecca concerning your protection of the revolutionary act of the occupation of the espionage den by the Muslim students of the universities and the Iranian voluntary fighters and the ensuing proceedings caused our extreme delight. Your confirmation and that of great Islamic scholars and other stratum of the nation; May God assist them all, of this courageous act has caused the encouragement and steadfastness of all Islamic fighters and the complete despair of all enemies of Islam shows absolute unity to attain the final victory. I ask God for the health and prosperity of all you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 13, 1979 [Aban 23, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Prompt aid to the earthquake-victims region of Khorasan

Addressees: The Iranian nation

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him we shall return*

Until now, we have received terrible and horrendous news of the devastating earthquake of Khorasan and of the vast financial and human losses our brothers and sisters have been afflicted with. I would like to extend my condolences to my dear nation, especially to the survivors of this calamity, I ask the honorable nation to extend, without delay, their assistance towards their brothers and sisters and rush to their rescue in any way they can.

This disaster needs general cooperation and assistance. My respectable brothers and sisters! Make haste in helping the servants of God. Anything you spend in this way may be reduced from your obligatory Islamic dues. It is authorized and I ask the Almighty God to remove the difficulties of the honorable nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 13, 1979 [Aban 23, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: General mobilization for assisting the earthquake stricken people of Khorasan

Addressee: The Islamic Revolutionary Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic,

As we have been informed the disastrous of the Khorasan earthquake has brought about great suffering which requires speedy action. It is compulsory that all relief organizations and forces act in a coordinated way to rescue their brothers and sisters. Order all organizations concerned to act promptly, keeping in mind to observe the necessary coordination.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 13, 1979 [Aban 23, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the Friday Prayer Imam for Shahr-e Rey

Addressee: Muhammad Baqir Rafii

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Rafii (may his graces last),

We have received a long scroll of petitions from the local people of Shahr-e Rey—may the Exalted God bless them—for the maintenance of Friday Prayer in that city. Due to the demand of time and the need of the Muslims to more congregations, you are hereby asked to accept this great Divine task and you are hereby assigned to lead the prayer congregation. It is hoped that dear populace of that city will make up the best out of this chance to convene more gloriously with more participation the Friday prayer. I ask the Exalted God for everyone's success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 14, 1979 [Aban 24, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The west and the unwarranted expectations; the need for general participation in the referendum for the Constitution

Occasion: The end of the term of the Consultative Assembly

Addressees: The representatives of the Assembly of the Experts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Constitution

I would like to say a word that is that you, gentlemen, have taken great efforts during this term and have done this service and now as you are heading for your cities and towns, I want to advise you to tell people not to stay idle and indifferent to something that concerns their destiny, that is the constitution. It is the fate of all of us. If people do not show their enthusiasm in casting their votes, it is then implied that they are indifferent towards Islam, their fate and towards their country. This would have a very bad repercussion not only for the whole world in general and but also within Islam and its authorities.

It is a duty for all not to stay indifferent over an issue which is related to the fate of our nation and Islam. Rather, we should expend all our energy to follow so God willing problems came to their end and this law is passed. We are not happy with the mere passing of this law. We are after that majority which has showed up in the previous referendums. Or else we will have the majority since people of Iran are Muslims.

There are, of course those who raise hue and cry concerning this issue here and there. These elements are forestalling the movement's fruition by disseminating false propaganda from one place to another. Regretfully, some from among us talking adversely, although inadvertently, about the constitution. Certainly, this is not the right way because these gentlemen have been elected by the nation.

The west and its adherents

We are not allowed to interfere with what our nation has decided. We depend on our nation. The nation has appointed the gentlemen. And they have drafted the Constitution, and had it ratified. And they are experts. They have completed the task in the way that the nation wanted. So, there should

not be any talk that so and so article does not comply with the western rules. We have come up to drive out the mentality of these gentlemen from westernization yet this task may be consummate within our next coming eighth generation. I do not know what these people have seen of the West? The west is the same, as you are examining, is committing crimes in a such manner and the person who is absolute criminal¹; take him away, look after him and support him. They would take no heed of an oppressed nation. They would not let the security council [of the United Nations] convene a session [to settle this issue]. They have plundered Iranian reserves and possessions like highway robbers. They have unlawfully confiscated our reserves. This is the state and situation of the west. And all the organizations which have been set up are to watch the interests of the west. Not one of these is concerned with the oppressed. During the sessions they have held; you will not find one situate whenever America or others, who have an immense power have cared for weak country which has a clash with them. It is for sometime now that Lebanon is afflicted with this cancerous tumor [Israel]. What have these councils done for this [predicament], what have these councils done during the period we were suffering, during more than fifty years when we underwent all these sufferings. What have done these councils for us; these were meant to convene in the interests of the super powers. They deceive us saying that these assemblies, security councils the United Nations and other organizations have been established for our sake. All of them were meant to make a fun at us and we are also being trapped.

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

The expectations of the west: unconditional surrender

To those gentlemen, who claim that certain articles of the Constitution do not comply with the western laws, want I say that what pleases the West is for us, to surrender everything we have unquestionably. This is what the west is after. If these gentlemen demand this, it is rejected by our nation. And these people should realize that there is nothing in the west except crimes and treacheries. I am not referring to their nations; rather, I mean their governments, their states. Anyway, I ask these intellectuals or pseudo-intellectuals not to play with the fate of this nation. Now, your country is afflicted with all sorts of miseries; you are confronted with a super-power called the United States: It is not time to divide and to utter things against the interests of your nation. Now it is the time for them to think in a concerted way and unite so that our hardships will be eliminated. If they are national, let them work for their country; and if they are Muslims, let them work for their Islam. Of course, there are groups which do not believe in anything. They could be found everywhere.

The claimants for the human rights vis-à-vis the Iranian nation

Any way what is necessary for all of us to do now is to follow up the issue of the referendum and to urge the general all walks of life to participate in the voting. I ask you to inform the preachers and the orators alike in the towns and cities and the elite and the intellectuals, as well, to encourage people not to stay idle or indifferent concerning their participation in the voting in the referendum, so that we are not met with a result which is not what we approve of. But there are some disturbances of which we should not be afraid. We have already been confronted with worse than these predicaments. And our nation has several times been on the verge of collapse, but each time it has come out victorious. Now, our nation is in a position that such problems cannot shake it. Let them utter whatever they want and keep our wealth frozen [in banks]. Let them veto the resolutions presented to the UN. Now the world should realize that those claimers of the human rights have caused the most pernicious sorts of problems for us.

My hope is that we will move ahead to the fulfillment of our goals. Sometimes we get ourselves involved in some activities, the results of which we may not anticipate at present. But at the end, we see that we have been on the right path. We conclude from these affairs that Allah has been with us and He had made the progress of events smoothly. We heavily rely on Allah and we are certain He will not let us down. We are in remembrance of God. We ask God, the Exalted and Blessed, to rescue this country these corrupt

elements. We ask God to entrench this country. We ask Him to entrench this Islamic government. God willing.

Decree

Date: November 15, 1979 [Aban 25, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Endowment of the residential lands / the Black American hostages

Addressees: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khoeyniha; Hasan Karrubi

1. Phone Mr. Hasan Karrubi and tell him he should coordinate his activities with Mr. Quddusi or other officials involved not to cause problems and turbulences must be avoided.¹

2. Tell Mr. Musawi that tomorrow I will give you orders you to release the women and the Black detainees and let them be sent back by the government abroad.²

¹ At the beginning of the Islamic Revolution Mr. Hasan Karrubi (Mr. Mahdi Karrubi's brother) started to turn over to the oppressed ones some pieces of residential lands to meet their housing needs. However, since he had not coordinated his activities with the governmental and revolutionary institutions, and since some problems had resulted, Imam Khomeini ordered him to coordinate his activities with Mr. Ali Quddusi, the public prosecutor, a general of the Islamic Revolution and other concerned officials to avoid turmoil.

² This is Imam Khomeini's handwritten note concerning the American spies at their embassy who had been taken hostage by the university student followers of Imam Khomeini. There were some women and blacks among the hostages. Since Imam Khomeini believed that the women and American blacks were among the oppressed stratum of the American society, and were given such missions against their wishes, he ordered their immediate release. The following day this group were released and sent back to their country.

Message

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The release of the women and black hostages

Addressees: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khoeyniha, and the university student Muslim followers of Imam Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Musawi Khoeyniha; the honorable university student brothers and sisters residing at the center for American espionage,

The center for espionage and conspiracy in Tehran called "The American Embassy", and the officials there who have conspired against our Islamic movement lack the international political prestige. The American threats and the widespread propaganda of the American government against us are not worth a penny in the eyes of our people. Neither Carter's military threats against us are rational, nor are his threats of economic sanctions of any value. Carter is making one big mistake and that is the erroneous assumption on his part that all nations of the world are at his service. He will soon realize such a mistake; the repercussions of such a mistake are now obvious. The Nation of Iran has risen to stop the pernicious activities of the American den of espionage in Iran and this occupation and detention of its professional spies shall continue to the day when Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi is extradited for the trial and retrieval of what he has plundered from the Iranian treasury. However, since Islam considers special rights for women and due to the fact that these black detainees have been subject to American suppression all their lives and they might have been sent to Iran by force, therefore you should be lenient towards these two groups and should release them if their espionage activities are not proven. Submit them to the ministry of foreign affairs to send them back to their country immediately. The honorable nation of Iran shall not issue the release of the others. They are to be kept in Iran till the American government surrenders to our demand.

And peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A reminder to the Muslim people of Kurdistan

Addressees: The Kurdish sisters and brothers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My regards to the Kurdish sisters and brothers, who through their loyalty to Islam and the Islamic Republic have stopped the conspiracies of the enemies against Iran. The reports of the special delegation were indicative of the fact that the Kurdish brothers and sisters do not consider themselves separate from Islam and Iran. They showed that all the pernicious accusations leveled at them by the evil-wishers are nothing more than a conspiracy. But let me call your attention to certain points, my Kurdish brothers and sisters:

1. At this critical time when our nation is confronted with plunderers, above whom is the United States, and when we endeavor to take back the immense amount of our reserves taken out of the country by Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi and to bring him back to Iran for trial, our Kurdish brothers and sisters are expected to prioritize participation in this national feat and coordinate themselves with other layers of the society and to stop the plots and conspiracies which our foes are contriving. Also, you must decisively refrain from any discord that ill-wishers are trying to sow. My brothers! Any division and disturbance is in the interest of America and other foreign powers. It is those who take advantage of our differences and try to enslave us. Be alert and advise the conspirators. If they do not listen to you, expel them from your territories. Or else capture them and submit them to the governmental authorities.

2. The whole nation and I are aware of the cruelties inflicted to you Kurdish brothers during the despotic government of the Shah and of the discriminations you have been subject to, which is against Islam. However, it was not only you Kurdish brothers who suffered. Your other Turkish, Lor, Arab, Baluch, Fars and Turkman brothers, too, had the same fate. They have all been on the same boat. If you cast a glance at the slum dwellers in the south of Tehran, you will observe that they are the most deprived. I know that your demands were not met even during the interim government. But let

us be aware that all your Iranian brothers have been suffering. And let us realize that the interim government has been seriously involved in handling the problems. But there has been too much turmoil that it will require time to implement reforms. I hope that the entire nation and you Kurdish brothers will be living in comfort in the near future.

3. You brothers are aware that reconstruction could not take place under chaotic conditions and where people are living without security. You, beloved brothers, try to keep peace and order and be aware that peace and quiet will set the stage for progress. It is to your own and to Islam's interest to remain quiet.

4. I want the special envoys to continue their negotiations with good intention. I ask them to consult with religious, political, and national dignitaries as well as with other layers of the community so that their needs will be satisfactorily met and peace and quiet, which is the greatest divine grace, may be given a chance and you may live in prosperity and peace together with your other brothers. In this way the foes and foreign vested interests will be served.

5. The great Islam had rejected all sorts of discriminations and does not stipulate any special prerogative for any specific group. The only blessing for all people is piety and loyalty to Islam. Under the rule of Islam, all the layers of the community, including the Kurds, have the right to govern and handle their regional affairs and to reject any cultural or economic or political discrimination. The Islamic Republic of Iran is required to fulfill these demands as promptly as possible. The regulations for this will be ready in the near future.

6. Now I would like to draw the attention of the highly respected Islamic experts and the intellectuals and other Iranian citizens towards the conspiracies being plotted against the Islamic movement by our country's and Islam's enemies. Is the modest asking of this servant of the country who is passing his final years of his life for you to stay united something unreasonable?

7. My fellow brothers and sisters all over the country, I extend my hands towards you and for the sake of Allah, Islam, and the country I beg you to do all you can to save your country and employ your cold and hot weaponry—i.e. your pens and the machineguns against the enemies of humanity—headed by the United States. Do not use these weapons to destroy one another.

O God! you witness that I have fulfilled my duty, which is offering advice to my nation. O God, through your Infinite Might join in fraternal

unity the hearts of the citizens of this country. For sure, you are close to everybody and you will answer people's invocations. My warmest greetings to the dear nation and to Kurdish brothers and may God bless you all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Aban 26, 1358 / Dhul-Hijjah 26,
1399 AH

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the head for the ministry of Internal Affairs

Addressee: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani,

According to the recommendations made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran you are hereby assigned as the head of the ministry of Internal Affairs. I ask the Almighty God for your success in the fulfillment of the task assigned to you. I hope you will earn God's satisfaction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Minister of Finance and the acting head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency, Dr. Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr,

In accordance with the recommendation made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed as the Minister of Financial Affairs and as the acting head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I ask the Almighty God to grant you success in fulfilling the duties assigned to you, and may you to earn His Divine Pleasure.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Minister of Energy

Addressee: Hasan Abbas-Pur

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency, Dr. Hasan Abbas-Pur,¹

In accordance with the recommendation made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed as the Minister of Energy. I ask the Almighty God to grant you success in fulfilling the duties assigned to you and may you to earn His Divine Pleasure.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ He was martyred in the explosion at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican party on the seventh of Tir 1360. In the bomb explosion that was carried by the terrorist group called Mujahidin Khalq [Munafiqin] tens of political-religious personalities were martyred.

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Topic: Appointment of the Minister of Agriculture

Addressee: Abbas Sheybani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency, Dr. Abbas Sheybani,

In accordance with the recommendation made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed as the minister of agriculture. I ask the Almighty Allah to grant you success in fulfilling duties assigned to you, and may you earn His Divine Pleasure.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of Minister of Housing and Urban Development

Addressee: Muhsin Yahyawi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency, Engineer Muhsin Yahyawi,

In accordance with the recommendation made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed as the minister of Housing and urban development. I ask the Almighty God to grant you success in fulfilling the duties assigned to you and may you gain His Divine Pleasure.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Topic: Appointment of the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Nimat-Zadeh

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency Engineer Muhammad-Rida Nimat-Zadeh,

In accordance with the recommendation made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed as the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs. I ask the Almighty God to grant you success and may you gain His Divine Pleasure.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare

Addressee: Musa Zargar

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency Dr. Musa Zargar,

In accordance with the recommendation made by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed as the Minister of Health and Social Welfare. I ask the Almighty God to grant you success in fulfilling the duties assigned to you and may you gain His Divine Pleasure.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The threats threatening the Revolution

Audience: Isfahan's governor-general and the personnel of Qum's Housing Foundation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Untoward Actions

There are complaints coming from Isfahan. Yesterday there was a letter from Mr. Khadimi.¹ His interpretation, as implied in that letter, was that people in the vicinity of Isfahan are being plundered. This is the way he said it. A group of gentlemen, too, brought their complaints here. It was quite a big group. Then their representatives came here. I told them I have not been informed of what was going on in the areas to know exactly what is information. However, it is my responsibility to inform the gentleman here of one significant point. Today the Islamic Republic is installed and all [political, social] wings are performing their tasks under the banner of the Islamic Republic. If, God forbid. Something happens against the Islamic objectives, both the performer of the wrong-doing and Islam in general will suffer. If, for instance, a policeman or a revolutionary guard does anything wrong, the police department and Revolutionary Guard department will suffer. Then, at a higher level, the Islamic Republic will suffer. Then those who are against Islam will propagate that the Islamic regime is the same as the old regime: nothing has changed. They would tell people that they got rid of a despotic regime to fall in the hands of another tyrant regime. Previously we were held responsible for any thing wrong which we did: Islam was not trained. But today, since all affairs in this country are taking place under the name of Islam, any mischievous act will be ascribed to Islam. And those who want to meddle [in our affairs] and the owners of poisonous pens, both inside and outside the country, who see that the interests of their masters and their own have been shattered, are waiting to see a loophole, aggravate and faint to such a magnitude in order to spoil and destroy this Islamic movement shaky.

¹ Mr. Husayn Khadimi, one of the distinguished clerics of Isfahan.

The danger of internal corruption

Therefore, it is obligatory for any one to observe the Islamic standards and norms in every place where services (to the people) are rendered. If a revolutionary guard does not observe the Islamic codes, he is like a cleric who has failed to observe the Islamic codes. In a similar manner, when a cleric flouts Islamic rules, it is Islam which suffers. Now the tasks of the revolutionary guards are taken to be Islamic. Now, if God forbid, people harbor against a section of the Islamic system or institution, complaining that the officials are no different from the previous ones, foreign media will have grounds to ventilate the issue and noise abroad that what we are engaged in are communistic issues and not Islamic ones. Then they (foreign media) will say that Islam is the same (as communism). There is also a class of pseudo-Islamists who feign knowledge of Islam and ascribes these improprieties to Islam. This is internal corruption which develops from inside and no outside ornamentation would save it from inevitable deterioration. This case is like a musk melon which you nurture and do everything to care for it but a worm inside is eating it away: then when you open it, you will find out that it is rotten. Let us not let Islam become blemished. Those who are working for and are serving Islam such as clerics, judges, revolutionary guards or military men should not let Islam be annihilated. We should present Islam, internally and externally, in such a way to negate foreign propaganda which claims that no justice or discipline or an Islamic program is at work, that anarchy rules and everyone does whatever he wants.

The danger eclecticism and going astray

In general, I should warn you against flaunting power in every affair. The strata which are involved in rendering services for Islam, as they themselves say, must be all ears to what norms Islam says, which we also adhere to. But it is not right for someone to say he does not understand Islam or be selective in understanding Islam. Each field has its own expert. If a patient refuses to follow a (doctor's) prescription and wants to treat himself, he will die. A person who treats himself may sometimes meet with a fatal outcome. Now, suppose we did aloof to the experts in Islam who are versed with how Islamic principles should be implemented and acted in the way we desired, and suppose we let those influenced by the communists and Marxists penetrate into our movement, we finally would be left with an Islam blended with the Marxist doctrines. This a great threat for Islam, indeed. You should all be concerned with this threat. You should seriously eliminate it. Being defeated by the enemy is of no importance to note.

A danger greater than that of America

If America stages an onslaught against us and destroys us, it has not achieved much. Of course it is a great (defeat), but a defeat in our school of thought is greater. We should apply (the techniques of) our school thought and present it abroad in such a way that foreign writers cannot fan the flames of anti-Islamic propaganda or take steps by raising hue and cry to vanquish our school of thought disseminating that we have not been able to implement or publicize that the Islamic school of thought is what they (our economics) are claiming it to be. Presently, there is a certain clique which misinterprets and misconstrues Islam in order to defame it. What they do not know of what they are saying is that this group has been defeated (ideologically) in Europe and other foreign (countries). They now want to revive the some issue and embellish the left-over dregs discarded in Europe and give them form in Iran and Islamic country. They do not know this and because they are ignorant of Islam to programs and stances, they do whatever they want without think. Now there is a group who are doing exactly this. They were defeated ideologically in Europe and presently they are pouring into country and try to poison Islam.

If asked what has happened, they would reply that they had brought about a revolution and though that we would sow chaos. A revolution does not mean anarchy that they. Of course, each revolution needs to be faced with some short-comings. But those committed to and interested in this revolution and who believe that we have staged a genuine revolution and have replaced a despotic regime with a just one, should perform their acts in accordance with the Islamic codes of justice. Nobody should toe his own line of thought and whatever he wants.

There were some of the heads of the revolutionary guards who had come to see me today. I told them to go and improvise some sound methods of action so that the Islamic principles are taken into account. If we do so, we would be victorious, and all our work will be rectified God wiling.

Speech

Date: November 16, 1979 [Aban 26, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The cooperation of the different layers of community and its brilliant outcomes

Audience: The personnel of Qum's Housing Foundation.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praising the spirit of cooperation among masses

What makes me feel more satisfied is the spirit of cooperation among different layers of community members of which have been pursued into taking up their tasks. Of course, along side this cooperation, there are some who are engaged in sabotage. But this cooperation is strongly felt everywhere, and in Qum, where, I have heard, it is perhaps better. According to some reliable narrations, science and knowledge stems from Qum and then has spread to other places. In the same way our movement and uprising took its root in Qum and then was spread. I hope Qum would provide a paragon for other places. I appreciate your hard work. I shall be very happy to see that various individuals, both men and women, in these deserts and other places have abandoned their school to go to areas of reconstruction have taken up responsibilities. This action is reason that gives us hope that, God willing, these affairs will be carried in a meritorious manner. More important than this, is that these tasks should be performed according to the sacred (Islamic) laws. That is every individual, whatever he is, is duty bound to his work in a way that God wants. Sometimes, some young people such as our revolutionary guards and those around committees want to do something for God, but they do not know how. They might even perform something against God's pleasure but they are not aware. What is crucial is that we should coordinate our issues with sacred (Islamic) canners.

The value of cooperation and collaboration

The work you are doing is valuable, from one point of view assisting people and (young) brothers as valuable as an act of worship. An instance of this is when a group apparently from America, came here and said that they had come to assist in reconstruction activities. The value of this action is even loftier than the act itself because this group who was living in welfare

and whose field of work is not in reconstruction endeavored to get involved in this activity. I told them: "You are students and are not versed in work and cannot carry out tasks as skillfully as farmers do. However, the fact that this group came all the way from America to do reconstruction work will energize the farmers. When you work on farms where farmers are harvesting crops, you will not be able to harvest an acre of crops as farmers do in one hour. Nevertheless, this act will make them several times stronger. When people see that a contingent of engineers, scholars, students and doctors abandon their own jobs, this gives them strength. Not only does this act carry weight, it also serves as an act of alms-giving and reinforcement. What of grater value is when hand-working people like farmers see that a group, which is supposed to be working somewhere else, comes and helps them.

Helping out the oppressed layers of society

This cooperation of yours is valuable in different ways. One is attending to the affairs of the oppressed, who have been suffering and in great tribulations for a long time. It is a proven fact that anybody who helps a faithful believer has in fact helped God. Another value of your good work is your presence in the villages. Engage in road making, even if it is not your job; true merit is when the villagers see that some well-wishers have come from cities to attend to their affairs. Another thing of value is that this act invigorates the people's spirits.

God willing, the whole nation, which rose up to rectify their country's situation, will hopefully build the ruins of several years a new. This very gathering of theirs has God's backing. God lends every gathering a hand, "God's Hand is with congregations"¹ When a group wants to carry out a task, it is accomplished soon, and this is a cause for happiness. We will negligent of whatever tasks up. We will advance with power and might.

In carrying out one's duties, the concept of either defeat or victory is not an issue

When I was in Paris, some of these pseudo-well-wishers tried to convince that "nothing can be attained, we do not have enough power and their power is supreme". They wanted to turn me aside from this way in their own mind's eye; I used to tell them that we have certain duties to carry out. Performing duties don't necessarily bring about success for me. If we succeeded, we would thank Allah. And if we failed, then we are not higher in rank than Imam Ali (a). He, too, failed, but he performed his duties. What

¹ A narration, narrated from the prophet (s), *Sahih Tarmadhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

if we face defeat while carrying out our duty; I am saying at such stage that that we do not fear any commotion. We hope, first of all, definitely believe that nobody can impose the contrary over a nation which is working together with right objectives. If these couldn't get control over those ones then suppose Secondly that the enemies could eventually dominate and destroy us; there cannot be imagined moreover of it. We would have lost our lives while serving and this is in itself a value. We will not surrender unnecessarily. Either they attack over, commit murders, and get us destroyed or we succeedI wish you all success. Proceed with your Islamic belief power and God willing; export this Divine-gift to all over the countries of the oppressed. May God bless you.

Interview

Date: November 17, 1979 [Aban 27, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American hostages, extradition of the Shah and the Iran-American future relations

Interviewer: The reporter of CBS television network of the United States

[Your Reverend Ayatullah Mr. Mc Farr is from CBS television network. One of the three important American television networks it has a program called "Sixty-Minutes", which is broadcast every Sunday. This program is one of the most watched programs and one of the most reliable ones trusted by American viewers. He is asking you to be permitted to ask certain questions concerning the latest occurrences in regard with American Embassy.]

Yes it is all right. But I ask him not to distort the facts. Some of the previous interviewers approached here, recorded the interview, and distorted my statements. They even have added some untrue statements. This is against the journalistic ethics. I hope my statements be broadcast not a word less or a word more without distortion or intervention in our affairs.

[I want to assure the Reverend Ayatullah that you get satisfied and he is also assured that your Reverence will become delighted at the result of the broadcast of this program. He thanks you for the honor you have given him and is asking God for your recovery from your cold. You might feel better. He assumes that you have already seen the questions. These questions he will address to you are very important. However, depending on the answers you would give, he might have certain other questions which are relevant to the questions previously presented. And depending on the answers Your Eminence gives, he may ask questions for clarification. Nevertheless, they are the same main questions. He assures you that this interview will have an impact on the whole world and he recognizes himself its significance.]

[Is Your Reverence still of the opinion that the American hostages will not be freed unless the Shah is not handed over to Iran?]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This issue concerns our nation. It is the demand of thirty-five million of our nation. We

should look into the reason why our nation insists on the Shah's extradition and until that time, the hostages will be held and why Carter persists in keeping the Shah.

Let us see why our nation insists on the extradition of the Shah. What does our nation, which considers the Shah its enemy, want to do? He is not a gift to be kept in the museum. There are two reasons for nation's and ours' insistence on his return. These two reasons which one is of more importance than the other; the first reason is that we are the nation whom economy is not that strong and most of our assets are in the hands of the deposed Shah and his relatives. These assets are being kept in the American banks and those of other countries. These assets belong to the nation. We insist on the return of the Shah to find out where this usurped wealth of poor people which captured by him and his cohorts because it must be returned to the nation. The second reason which is of more importance and we desire that he should come up to here so we can find out the roots of the thirty-seven years of crimes in Iran and the disloyalties he has committed against Iran. We want to know who ordered him to perpetrate these crimes and killing. A human being who wants to rule over a country does not get involved in wanton crimes. He must have received orders from somebody else. He himself had admitted that he has a mission to carry out for his country. We want to find out where he got his orders to commit such crimes in his own country, who and what persons had ordered him so? From this point of view, our nation wants him extradited to prove the two points we brought up, and carry out whatever verdict is reached during his trial.

But concerning the next issue: Carter continues keeping this criminal. Is it out of Carter's feelings for humanity and Carter's sense of friendship for the humanity has persuaded him to insist such extent and take a stand against the Muslim nations, intimate and bring about troubles and endanger the region. Does a philanthropist act this way for "humanitarian reason?" We do not see any traces of philanthropy in Carter. Any one that keeps a criminal under one's care and supports in the name of humanitarianism should not commit such crimes and massacre in many countries. This man is not a humanitarian and it is not doing it for humanitarianism. If he had any humanitarian feeling, he would not have allowed such crimes be committed against thirty-five million people one of whom was Muhammad-Rida and all of whom were from one country and nation. His actions show that he lacks such a feeling. What happened that numerous crimes were practiced against us during thirty-five years.

Recently the mass killings were committed by him during the rule of Carter and never had his “humanitarian feeling” motivated him to at least ask the Shah to desist from doing so. Instead, to the best of our knowledge, Carter not only did not dissuade him, but he even encouraged him. As they insist that this done on humanitarian grounds; obviously, it is not for humanitarian reasons. It becomes clear that such is being done so their secrets don’t outflow and the secrets of American head of states don’t seep out. We will leak the secrets of Carter and his predecessors

Recently, many crimes have been committed by the Shah and this was when Carter was in power. But to the best of our knowledge, not only Carter did not ask him, but he even encouraged him to carry out his horrendous crimes. The reasons why Carter insists on keeping the Shah are for his secrets and those of his predecessors [previous American presidents] not to be disclosed. It becomes obvious then that it is to keep the secrets of American leaders undisclosed. By having the Shah back to Iran we will reveal Carter’s personal clandestine activities and those of his predecessors to the American nation and they will understand and let the American people know what had been going on in Iran. The Americans, then, will find out what mischievous actions their presidents have been involved in and how far they have disgraced the American nation in the eyes of Muslims. That is why we insist on the Shah’s extradition and why Carter has been refusing to meet this demand. Carter knows that if American people found out of his mischiefs, he could no longer lead a decent life and would lose the chance of being re-elected. American people will cease supporting Carter if they learn of afflictions he and his predecessors have caused our nation, are made to understand by the mass media regarding the suffering our nation has undergone. Iran. I am certain Carter is being supported by a special layer of the community in the same way that the Shah was being supported by a specific clique of protectors. For instance, when an American president came to Iran, a certain group of people was taken to welcome him as the representatives of the Iranian nation. Whereas the Iranian nation never had any correct information about it nor was it ready to welcome the Shah or his guests. But they had a large number of agents to carry out such schemes. I am sure Carter, too, has some agents, perhaps security organization and its agents, who work for him. And these agents insult and treat harshly our university students living abroad. Carter himself who claims to be a “humanitarian” ordered [his security agents] to harass Iranian students who had gone there [the U.S.A] to seek scientific education has issued orders to

hurt Iranian university students living in the States. He has ordered his agents to attack them with dogs and commit other crimes against them.

[This is what this so-called Mr. Humanitarian and we, as an oppressed nation, want to expose the nature and roots of the exploits of those who committed treason against us. But this is not the answer to the question of whether the hostages will be released or not.]

The answer was given. [The answer is no] because this is the demand of the nation will not allow such move. We cannot act against the nation's will. [Will these hostages then be held right there for good?]

Yes, they will stay here till the Shah is extradited. It is up to Carter to decide. He can be instrumental to their release. Let him surrender the criminal; we shall release the hostages.

[And is that the only condition?]

He wants to continue asking. I will not answer more than one question. I do not have time. I don't have time. Ask me your last question.

[I did not mean importune you. I just wanted an explicit looking answer.]

It is clear no question remains. I do not have time. My health does not permit me to continue with this interview. His other questions might remain unanswered. Let him have his last question.

[Your Reverend Ayatullah: Mr. Carter accuses the government of Iran as a terrorist and reiterates that if anything, God forbid, happens to these hostages, your government will be held responsible.]

Is a nation of thirty-five million a terrorist? Ask Carter if his other political judgments are like this. When thirty-five million people support these detainees, are they still terrorists? I heard Carter as saying that they¹ were not university students and that they were hooligans. His statement is regrettably irrational. He has said these are rascals, and terrorists. In your logic, are rascals and university students the same? Are you taking object

¹ It refers to the Muslim University students, The Imam's followers, the occupiers of the American Embassy in Tehran.

persons and university students to be the same? In no country in the world have students been subject to such effrontery. Do you consider our nation a terrorist? Is your political judgment telling you to consider our nation as terrorists? Be sure that our nation is Muslim and a Muslim is not a terrorist and that our nation will treat these people¹ amicably. Our treatment of the detainees is better than the treatment given by you to our students living in the United States. Is it not a terrorist act to harass our students and have dogs attack them? And is it a terrorist act on our part to keep these detainees in the place where they used to work provided with all means of convenience? We have let the observers see how they live here. Is this an act of terrorists or is it “a humane” one? The acts that people like you commit are similar to terroristic acts.

[Your Reverend Imam: Mr. Sadat, the Egyptian president, who is highly religious and a Muslim, has said—Pardon me this is not the interviewer’s wording, but Sadat’s wording, that you have disgraced Islam and he has so far advanced in his insolence as calling the Imam as a lunatic. Could you comment on this statement of Mr. Sadat’s?]

Answer Sadat’s Islam is different from the real one. His Islam complies with the opposite of the Quranic texts. In Quran it is explicitly said that a Muslim does not make friends with the foes of Islam. And Sadat has made friends with Carter and Begin,² and taken a stance opposing Muslims.

It is evident that words have occupied another meaning with you, when you call Sadat religious one committed to Islam and Muslim a genuine. It is stated in the Quran that those who make friends with the enemies of Islam are not Muslims. Sadat claims to be a Muslim, but he attacks Muslims. Mr. Sadat knows what Israel is doing to the people of the southern Lebanon. He knows what this criminal (i.e., Israel) is doing to the people of Palestine. Then he befriends Israel and still calls himself a Muslim. Now we should weigh his actions based on Islamic criteria and standards to see if he has preserved Islam’s dignity. Likewise, our nation’s actions should be evaluated based on the same criteria in order to find out whether it has betrayed and disgraced Islam. This is the way Mr. Sadat and the likes of him act. Even the Egyptian nation does not agree with him and Muslims have already condemned him. Our situation has been such due to the pressures exerted on

¹ The American spies.

² Menachim Begin, the Prime Minister of the Occupying Regime of Quds; and Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States.

us by Americans and other superpowers, we that had lost our independence. We had lost our freedom. We had lost our reserves and assets. Now we have risen up to secure our freedom.

We have risen up to gain our independence. Does Mr. Sadat consider an uprising for independence, for our Islam, for the realization of an Islamic republic as acts against Islam?

Does he see Islam's dignity and endangered when a nation rises up to topple despots and the monarchical regime and to establish an Islamic regime. Does this ruin Islam's reputation? Do we disgrace Islam when we want criminal [the Shah], who has betrayed nation, Islam and the Holy Quran, extradited to be tried here or the man who offered his private plane for the Shah who disgraced Islam?¹ In the nation which wants to be extradite and try this criminal (Shah) and expose the crimes he had committed the traitor and defomer of Islam, or the one that entertains and gives shelter to that criminal. It becomes clear then that Mr. Sadat misconstrued the meanings of the phrases "Islam and treachery," and should therefore be corrected. The meaning of each word itself should be applied.

[Therefore, is Sadat a traitor to Islam?]

He has betrayed both Islam and the Muslims. Now, when he signed [the accord] with Carter and Begin, Camp David called, which is entirely against the interests of Muslims, he committed treason against Islam.² It is treason when he protects a traitor to Islam. Sadat has betrayed Islam and I ask the Egyptians to get rid of him in the same way that we have got rid of that traitor [the Shah].

[Your Excellency the Ayatullah: What do you expect from the United States for the release of the women and the black hostages?]

We set women and the blacks free because in Islam women are accorded special respect and the blacks have always been suppressed by the United States and the afflictions have been committed against them. They are not held gravely responsible in our views. Perhaps they might have been forced to come here. We did it as an example of an Islamic and Godly act, and we do not expect any reward from Carter.

¹ Prior to Shah's flight from Iran, Anwar Sadat had offered to grant him asylum.

² Based on Camp David Accord, the Occupying Regime of Quds was recognized by the Egyptian regime.

All we ask is for Carter to give back the traitor¹ to us. He is who committed crime against a nation and country and it is a universal law to extradite the criminal to the country. He is acting against all of laws rationality and wisdom.

[Have they been freed?]

I have no information

[Your Reverend Ayatullah: You seem a kind man, a sacred man. You have a sacred face. Reverend Ayatullah; you have a face popular among the people. I, as a human, wish that, God forbid nothing untoward happen to the relations of the two countries. I hope nothing unusual will happen.]

I, too, pray God that Mr. Carter will care for the welfare of his country as well as ours; and I hope he will extradite this criminal, who should be, based on all existing laws when he is returned, all problems will be solved.

[I have met your grandchild. I, too, have children. I sincerely hope nothing untoward will happen.]

God willing, nothing untoward will happen. Tell them we will give away everything of ours for Islam. We will sacrifice our grandchildren and our sons. Our nation is ready to sacrifice everything. Do not get worry about us!

[No, he is not worried about us; rather, he is worried about both nations.]
It is up to Carter to remove the nation's worries.

[Are you in person or Iran in general presently at war with the United States?]

What do you mean by "war"? If by "war" you mean military conflict with the American army, no such a thing exists now.

But, if by "war" you mean "war of nerves," it is being created by Carter. We have always avoided wars. We are a Muslim nation and we want peace for all nations. But Mr. Carter will not allow peace to endure and prevail this peace. What will bring peace for us and for the American nation and for all nations in the region is for Mr. Carter to put aside his so-called

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

“humanitarian sense” and submit to us the traitor who has committed crimes. Everything will be settled then. We want Carter to change this espionage center into a decent one. It should be a center for human activities, not a center for dominating another nation, not a center for intelligence against a nation. We are being faced by these two problems.

If these two problems are resolved, nothing will remain for disagreement. We are not opposed to the American nation. They are, in our views, like other nations. We are at peace with all nations. We are ready to face even if Mr. Carter intends to plan some actions against us which leads to some undesirable troubles.

[If Your Reverence is so sure that American embassy is an espionage den, why did you not go close it down? Why did you not cut your diplomatic ties with the United States? Why did you wait for a group of Iranian youth to do the job and occupy the embassy?]

We had never assumed an embassy to be a espionage center. And if our youth assumed and moved ahead which was against my own assumption. I myself have never considered such a thought.

I had not previously assumed that Carter would do anything against universal standards and regulations, and convert this place into a center for espionage, for conspiracies, and a center to dominate the nation. Now that our youth have acted in accordance with their assumptions, and I am not informed of whatever possible reasons they did it for, their work is approved by the entire nation. Now that we have understood it is a center for spying, we will close it down. While Carter is at power, I do not think we will establish any relations with the United States.

[But Carter will be the president at least for another year.]

Well, it depends on our government. When we and the government see it advisable to cut relations in all aspects, we will do so.

[Is the severing of relations with the U.S. presently being discussed?]

We will see to it.

[Will you permit them to ask the remaining two questions which you have already approved? In the year 1976, this interviewer made an interview

with the Shah at the Niyavaran palace. During that interview they read to the Shah the report of some research done by CIA psychologists. They had found the Shah to be a shrewd, power-mongering and dangerous one. Last week the New York Times, rather boldly, gave a view on Ayatullah. They had made a survey and asked from different persons about you. One psychologist claimed that you have a strong sense of revenge. Is it possible that I request you if could you please comment on this?]

Do these psychologists talk from memory or politically? Do they base their discussions on memorized things without analyzing them, or are they politically oriented? They have said the Shah was an intelligent person. I want to say that if he were intelligent, he would not be afflicted with the sufferings he is now undergoing. If he had been shrewd, he would have listened to the advice given by the Islamic clergy. That he is now burdened with tribulations is because he was quite stupid and dimwitted. The other two attributes bring power-hungry and ego-centered, befit him perfectly. And to extant, that is why he met with so many problems.

Concerning my being revengeful, you, yourself, could ask this nation and the congregation of the nation. Take note of point: whether all thirty-five million nation be vindictive? Did it stage such an uprising to seek revenge? Or, did they want get rid of oppression, tyranny and plundering? Now, this nation will oppose anybody who has denied them their freedom. Is this considered an act of revenge in your terminology and that of those psychologists?

Is it being revengeful on the part of a nation who has risen to gain its independence and rebel against those who robbed them of it? Is it called revenge in terminology of your psychologist. What do we have to revenge for?

We demand the extradition of this person so that we may try him and find out the roots of the crimes he committed against Iran. We will let the nations of the world know who the enemy of mankind is. This is not an act of revenge; rather, it is a human act performed by a nation who has risen to defend itself. Defending our interests is not revenge in our terminology. Perhaps, in the vocabulary of your psychologists, it has been named as revenge.

[Your Reverence, would you permit this interviewer to go to the American Embassy to talk to the hostages and tell the world about the good treatment that they are receiving?]

I see no problem. He may go there. Our youth are there. And they will not hinder anybody from meeting with the detainees. Let them see that they are comfort, healthy and enjoying welfare, how comfortable the detainees are. There is nothing whatsoever that may cause them any inconvenience. They are being kept in a place where they are protected. You can rest assured that they are well protected and are in good condition and will come to no harm. You do not have to worry. Islam in regard with these issues; treats with its prisoners on humanitarian grounds and protect them in all aspects. We are the followers of Islam and our youth are as well Muslims students. Be sure they will treat them kindly. I even asked my son¹ to convey them such aspect of the issue and take care and he has assured me that they are in good condition.

I hope they will be safe here without getting hurt until this (issue) comes to an end. However, they should ask Carter to prepare the means for their release. Our nation is talking about its demand. Let them accept this demand. They will be also released.

[Will you permit him to go alone?]

He should arrange it with the Muslim youth there.

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Interview

Date: November 18, 1979 [Aban 28, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The occupation of the espionage den, the issue of the hostages, and the Iran-America relations

Interviewers: American journalists

Question: You have kept a number of hostages in Iran against all international conventions. Will you release them? And when?

Answer: Do international agreements stipulate that a spy function as an ambassador or consular in a country or should be work in the capacity of a charge d' affairs? Should it not be the case? Certainly, it is not proper to detain those embassy officials who do not intend to carry out espionage activities, and commit treason and who do not plot for the collapse of the host government. But what our nation has done is the capture of a bunch of spies who, according to the rule, should be interrogated and tried. They should be treated in accordance with our rules. However, what Carter has done is against the international laws and regulations. This is because the criminal¹ should be returned to his own country to be tried; another country does not have the right to keep a criminal and give him asylum. This act contradicts international laws, not continue keeping him. It is Carter that has been acting against the international rules, not us.

Q: Carter has made it clear that he would not return the Shah to Iran. This is when the diplomat-hostages and their relatives are extremely worried. Is there a way to negotiate?

A: Until the time that this criminal is not returned home and until Carter doesn't respect the international laws, we cannot hand the spies over. We will have shown mercy upon these detainees if we release them upon receiving the Shah. Otherwise, their trial should be arranged and they should be treated here according to laws and regulation.

Q: The condition put forward on your part is the return of the Shah as only pre-condition?

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

A: The return of the Shah is the only condition, and this is based on the clemency we are granting them.

Q: Iran and the United States are in political and economic conflict and Iran would not accept any envoy from the United States to discuss with. What is the reason behind this issue?

A: This economic and political conflict is brought about by Carter. We are neither frightened by his political war against us, nor by his economic sanctions. We are certain that the United States is the loser in the political war against us and his economic sanctions would not in any way harm us. We are not, therefore, ready to negotiate before the Shah is sent back to Iran and prior to Carters compliance with the international rules. We do not see any sign of humanitarianism in Carter, however.

Q: You have been reported as having said that having diplomatic ties with the United States is not in the best interests of Iran. Is it possible for you to decide at any moment to sever all your ties with the United States and send back to the United States all Americans living in Iran together with the detainees?

A: It is possible. However, it should be studied. The kind of relations that the Americans have had with us so far and the manner through which they have managed their embassy in Iran would not be acceptable to us. But if this espionage center is transformed into a true embassy status of this embassy and if the American relations are different from what they had been at the Shah's time and if we see it advisable to keep certain relations with the United States, and finally if the government justifies the nature of these relations, we will continue with our relations.

Q: What I had in mind is this question: if the relations are severed, will the hostages be released immediately or not?

A: We should first see whether these detainees were envoys and embassy officials or did they come here for espionage? Of course, under no circumstances could the spies be released. No laws stipulated on the extradition of spies. But the officials staff will be free to return home if the relations with the United States are cut.

Q: Are you willing to meet with Carter to convince him to carry out your demand? If the answer is positive, are you ready to meet him in a third country such as France in which you spent some time?

A: Our meeting will not affect the issue. If Carter through his meeting want us to weaken in our position and the demand of sending back the criminal, which he should hand it over to us according to international laws; if he wants us to step down from our demand that would be impossible. If he had the criminal sent back to Iran, it would be useless meet. Therefore, I am not willing to meet him.

Q: I had dialogues with many bystanders outside the American Embassy. They assured me that these hostages would not be assassinated whatever happened. Could you make the same statements?

A: Definitely, what they say is correct. They are under the protection of Islam while they are here. They would not get hurt and they would enjoy all the comfort. Based on the laws, despite of handing the criminal over to us we should put them on trial according to law because they have been spies, after which we will show them clemency and send them back, but only if the criminal is returned to us.

Q: Your Reverence, there is a significant point here to observe. If the king is not returned, will these hostages be definitely tried?

A: If it is prolonged, they will definitely be tried.

Q: Are you going to act upon any verdict that the court issues?

A: Yes.

Speech

Date: The evening of November 19, 1979 [Aban 29, 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The relations with America and other superpowers; the secrets behind the survival of Shiism

Audience: A group of preachers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

From Muharram to Muharram

The current month of Muharram is different from previous Muharrams. One of the differences is in previous Muharrams we had to reckon with the despotic Pahlavi dynasty, which was the very foundation of corruption. In the current month of Muharram we are facing the mother of corruptions,¹ who have dominated all weak nations by installing agents over the nations to plunder them. praise to be Allah, in the struggle against that ignoble offshoot (of corruption) we came out victorious through the efforts of the nation and yours, the preachers (clergy) from all over the country, particularly those from Qum, which has always been the foundation of dignity, and through reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God and unity of expression.

Carter's world

In a statement, Mr. Carter has declared that if the diplomats who are now to the den of spies are to be detained and tried, the world's anger will be aroused. The arrogant powers see our world as a different world. They look at it from their own peculiar arrogant point of view and as someone afflicted by a spiritual disease. They look at the world from their specific arrogant point of view and disease. This disease has caused them to look down upon great masses of nations in the world. They suffer from a mental disease which forces them to look down upon the deprived nations. Mr. Carter and his likes comprise not even fifty thousand out of the three billions world population. These are the hands of governments who force others to practice tyranny and aggression. They consider all nations as nothing. They believe that the world is made up of a limited group like Carter and his cohorts. And

¹ The United States.

those who are in the other parts of the world which have joined his gang have such approach towards the whole of the World.

The megalomania of the Shah and Carter

In the aggressors' point of view, other major walks of life of nations which are as vast as the oceans in which Carter and the likes of him are nothing but a drop yet these don't take them into account. This (megalomania) malady prevents them from seeing these nations. Consequently, when they are posted on the seat of the presidency they see things in a different light, that is, from a diseased viewpoint. So, it may arise the anger of some of their ministers in somewhere and some individuals who are a part of their assemblies, or some people associated with them. He imagines them as whole of the world and name them as diplomats. He considers them as diplomats whereas it has been proved with evidence that they are spies. The world, too, looks at them as such based on own imagination. To certain extent the Shah also suffers from the same disease. This very disease caused his destruction. The same disease made him see only himself and a bunch of flatterers around him. He could see the flatterers around him and ignored the whole nation. He could not comprehend that the base of a country is a nation. The governments are just a minority which should serve the nation. They don't understand that the government should serve the people, not dominate them. The Shah was also suffering from such a disease: that he thought of himself as everything and the absolute ruler he considered himself as the whole nation. He did not consider any values for others. This attitude caused him to engage in all sorts of treasons all of which he committed dueled by the thoughts that nobody had right to question his actions. He could not imagine that there might be a power which could oppose bayonets and machineguns. This disease caused him to get involved in committing crimes. Based on this mentality, he saw no other power but himself and as a result, his excesses ended up in what you and we witnessed. This,¹ too, suffers from the same disease, but to a greater degree. This is because the more you have power; the worse is your disease.

America's continuous failures

First, I want to emphasize that when I talk about America I do not refer to the American people unless I explicitly name the American nation. We do not oppose nations. The Shah's failure caused the America to suffer from two kinds of failures: one was the economic failure; the other one was the

¹ Carter.

political failure. Mr. Carter tried his best to keep Muhammad-Rida he previously sent envoys many times to negotiate with us and was latterly determined to keep Bakhtiyar, but failed. That failure was huge by itself, but the second failure which he is going to face is even greater. Offering shelter to a person who was a criminal who committed crimes for almost more than thirty years and all our thirty-five million are witness to his crimes, expected for a small group, population attest to this fact yet don't perceive. But thirty-five millions of population and hundreds of millions of the world population know as well that he was a criminal, a despot, and a tyrant. He committed countless cases of crimes and evil acts; he committed crimes against the nation and subjected them to so much deprivation; he imprisoned and exiled to such extent; Keeping Shah and giving an asylum is itself a political failure throughout the World yet Carter who is suffering from such disease should know that the persons who are spies and living in spy-den will remain and put to trial until he denies from hading the criminal over to the nation; this is also a defeat which is even worse than second defeat. If he does not send the Shah back, these detainees might get tried. And if this happens, Carter then will understand what it will lead to.

Hollow Drum

Carter tries to frighten us with the threats of military intervention or economic sanctions. However, he knows that this drum beaten by him is hollow and these are mere bluffs. This is because he is incapable of carrying out military expeditions against us; besides, his inferiors would not listen to him. This mistake is originated by the disease which is being suffered from these superpowers; this is again a mistake which he assumes that all countries are in his hand like a ring. For example; if he mentioned for depriving us of buying wheat, all other countries would pay respect and abide by his orders. He became aware that he is even not followed even in his own country. His Secretary of Agriculture has informed him that his decision is not sound one. We do not need American wheat; we have large oil resources. It reminds us of Churchill, that great British statesman who went to the parliament at the time of his War with Germany and he was almost afraid of facing defeat; whenever he came up to address British parliament to explain his sufferings that where they have been defeated yet concluded that victory belongs to those who are sitting on the oil reserves.”

Doing homage to oil

We are swimming on the waves of oil, but you have plundered our wealth. You have stolen our reserves. Instead, you have supplied us with weaponry, and those weapons were good for yourselves. We possess oil. The world needs our oil. The world hates the United States. Carter is hated by the world. The world does not care for him, but cares for our oil. Because of our oil, the world would bow to us. The world would not bow to you when you try to be the president for the second term. You try hard to be re-elected, but you do not know how. Carter used to think that if he imposed economic sanctions on Iran, the American nation would applaud him, but now he has realized that a large group of society who are black have abandoned him. There was a group of five hundred black priests who took to the streets against Carter recently and shouted slogans in favor of Iran. Later on, others will do so, as well.

The world against the United States

But the true world rests on the shoulders of deprived and the oppressed. The World consists of oppressed people. If the world is understood with this reality that these are the oppressed people who manage the world and the oppressors and arrogant do nothing except getting engaged in corruption. If such aspect and image of the world exist that is not be in agreement with you. Such world doesn't get along with the president who claims for being fond of human rights yet simultaneously put the human to death and leads towards destruction. Claim of being in favor of human rights is not acceptable from such person. You; who claim to protect human rights; bear in mind that the people of Iran are also humans; Iranian are also human beings. What has happened to you that this nation has suffered from so many miseries during some years of your government and during the past fifty years rule of yours predecessor. Neither you nor yours predecessors who do claim to be a champion of human rights neither the legislative bodies established by you raised a voice of opposition. You intended to have fun at us and did not utter even a single expression that why Muhammad-Rida is acting in such way. On the contrary, you supported him and tried your best to keep him in power. It is funny that Carter claimed that extensive freedoms had been offered to Iran and as a result tone of voices is being heard and the people are out crying that they are demanding freedom because their freedom is extensive. They have excessive freedom which has been stem from certain disease.¹

¹ A certain type of stomach disease caused by excess in eating.

Spies or diplomats?

Let him (Carter) know that we are not withdrawing even a single step from our position. This is our right on this globe and whole of the world is familiar and it is stipulated in all International rules and laws that a criminal should be returned to the location where he committed crimes to be tried. We ask Carter to give the Shah to us for putting him on trial. We demand certain criminal so he can be put here on trial. If they return this criminal to us, we will close down this place which is not able to be converted as an embassy anymore but if the espionage center is ended and they intend to have an embassy not an espionage center; such thing would be possible yet not certain. It is possible if they hand him over and bring the spy den to an end then we might continue with our limited relations of such type which are in our interest. We will not cut the relations off until he (the Shah) is there and for the sake and protection of these (detainees) who are in our custody. These are spies not diplomats. It became apparent that he (Carter) considers the spies as diplomats because of holding a certain outlook and suffering from such type of psychological diseases.

Warning to the aggressors in power

It is time for dominant rulers who have been aggressively dominating their nations to change; those who behave with the oppressed people of the world in such way; they should also change their attitudes. Their thoughts are no longer valid. Their methods were good at a time when people were not vigilant. Now, people have awakened everywhere. In the last some years and especially during these two years, we have witnessed tremendous changes and transformations our country. The persons have been converted to other ones; the people are same yet their thoughts have been changed; the thoughts have been changed. As the nations have been changed and improved and these nations are no longer quiescent to be ruled over them and they remain totally obedient. You should also reconsider your attitude. These head of states including America and non-America should change themselves. It is not in their interest if they don't adjust themselves and it could be lead towards their destruction.

I used to tell those who came to Iran from abroad that the governments of the world would have problems dealing with their respective nations. The problem with these governments is that they consider themselves a ruler and dominating powers and do not give importance to their peoples. Therefore, they are deprived of the nations' support. We have witnessed in Iran: while the government considered itself as power dominating and ruling over the

people power “The king of kings” or “Aryamehr”, the nation didn't support him. If he had the support of his nation, he would not have had to leave for some other place. Now, that despotic government has changed into an Islamic government, which is not yet one hundred percent Islamic; rather, it has some taint of Islam. Now, the governments don't consider themselves despotic. They are not allowed to detain people, or to imprison them for no reason. Such things never take place. As they don't pretend to be as despotic subsequently the nation become as their supporters. Now the nation supports such a government. If the government faces any problems, it is the nation who finds a solution for it.

The separation of the government from people as a major problem:

Now, let these governments get rid of that disease and resolve this problem. Those foreign governments have their certain standing yet I talk about the Islamic governments to resolve this problem. They have the key to the problem. Let them learn lessons from Iran and compare two periods; Muhammad-Rida's era with the present situation. If some problems had appeared for the government in those days; the nation used to make the problem severe instead of removing and might made it extensive. But now if the government faces any problems, people solve it of their own accord. We have seen that these rulers have not tried to solve people's problems. Presently, we see the rulers in the Islamic countries suffer from the same disease, i.e., megalomania as the Shah and Carter are. They only care for their own interests and those of the flattering people around them. They do not care for their own nations, however. They do not take their nations seriously. Thus, they show all sorts of cruelty, injustice and mischief against their deprived people. They are generous towards their close associates and spend on them extravagantly which they had snatched from deprived class. As a result, at the time of crisis, they are not supported by their people. The nation will ignore them at critical moments. It is in the interest of the governments to resolve this problem. These governments would be independent and would get rid of the superpowers' hegemony if they improved their relations with other Islamic governments and if they cooperated with one another. These superpowers will take advantage of the disagreements among us. If Muslims united and cooperated with each other, the governments would have to respect their rights. But there are some governments which will not allow the different nations to cooperate. The Islamic government and the Muslims will meet with no obstacles if they

unite. There will be no power stronger than Islam and the Muslims. This is because there are a billion Muslims in the world with huge reserves of oil.

The issue of the shadow of God (Dillullah)

Now we come to the responsibility we have at this junction regarding this super power and the illusions existing in the mind of this gentleman. We should act exactly as we did during the previous year, that is, since last Muharram or a bit earlier than that until Muhammad-Rida's fall. Now we should be the same way. Now, different walks of people must unite even further. Those days, some people must have said that "the Shah is the king of the nation after all—he's one of us. Or, he is the shadow of God"—or such nonsense. Being "Shadow of God", however, if considered by the Infallible Imams for the governments, will be a tough task. This is because the "Shadow of God" does not have any thing of his own; whatever is there, belongs to the "Owner of the Shadow." "The Shadow of God" is of no movement of its own; any movement belongs to the "owner of the Shadow."

"Shadow of God" was the great Prophet, who was nothing on his own; whatever is there is Revelation. Whatever is there belongs to God, the Glorious and the Greatest. If this common belief that "the King is the Shadow of God" is accepted, all kings of the world will be done for. This is because they are not "Shadows of God, but the Shadows of Satan." Nevertheless, such wrong logic has been around. Even a well-educated clergyman believes so. Someone told me once that he was in Masjid al-Haram in Mecca. It must be last year or so, the time we were in conflict with this person [the Shah]. He said he was sitting in front of the Kabah and felt like praying and asked his companion to pray for the removal of the Shah, but he said "no, we must pray for his survival." Well, there have been such logic occasionally, but such logic is rare, if any in the case of foreign powers.

The secrets behind the survival of Shiism

There should be a great mistake on the part of someone or he might be treacherous if he follows foreigner who is stranger and excludes our setup. It is not clear that whether he acts upon the foundations of his own religion and it is also not obvious that how much he has supporters to be followed; in addition he is opposed to our nation and if there is class among our nation who are in agreement with him against the desire of our nation, they are less in numbers. Therefore our unity should become strong during this period of time. If there were some variances in those days yet now all classes should get united and pave this way. You will definitely be victorious. The right will

always prevail. The right will always prevail yet we will have to find the code of victory that what was the secret of our victory and the reasons of the survival of Shiism throughout the course of history. And it is our tasks to carry out some research to find out why Shiism has prevailed despite the small numbers of Shiites from the reign of Imam Ali (a) in previous centuries. Presently, praised to be God; the number of Shiites has increased, but in those years it was small not compared with others. Let's explore the secrets of the survival of the Islamic and Shiite's countries. We should protect such code and secret. One of the most important secret has been the Doyen of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (a)¹, and his sacrifices which safeguards Islam. He safeguarded the Islam by putting into practice and protected it. He defeated through the uprising planned by him. Although he got martyred yet defeated Umayyad and others and this movement must be protected.

The significance of the mourning ceremonies

We should protect these secrets if a country wishes to remain an independent and free nation. These ceremonies have always been performed due to the commands and guidance of the Infallible Imams (a). Our youth should not assume that previously people used to weep in such ceremonies, and that now we do not have to weep any more. This is a big misunderstanding. When Imam Baqir (a) was on his death-bed, he ordered his followers to hire somebody at Mina to weep for him for ten years. What kind of fight is it? Did Imam Baqir (a) need somebody's tears? What Hadrat Baqir (a) wanted to do with weep and wail by managing to take it place in Mana during the days of *Hajj*. This point of weeping and wailing there for a period of ten years covers essential, political, psychological and human significances. When the people will move toward there and inquire about the reason of lamentation and they will be given answer about the tragedy which has taken place. This will cause to attract people towards this school of

¹ Imam Husayn (a) the son of Imam Ali (a) and Fatimah (a), the daughter of the holy Prophet is the third Imam of the Shiites, who was born in late sixth century AD in the city of Medina. The holy Messenger (s) gave him his preliminary upbringing and his teachings. Imam Husayn's presence in the political and military conflicts during the early stages of the Islamic faith introduction shed dazzling light on his sublime character. He rose against the corrupt and tyrannical regime of Yazid Ibn Muawiyah although he had no more than 72 people supporting him. In a confrontation with Yazid's numerous soldiers in the desert of Karbala in the present Iraq, he and his 72 men were martyred and he was decapitated.

thought that renders in destruction of oppressor and it will strengthen the oppressed.

The effects of weeping and Rawdah [congregation for the commemoration of the martyrs of Karbala] in Shiite school of thought

We have already sacrificed many young men. There were many martyred ones in Karbala, as well. Therefore, we should keep on holding these lamentation ceremonies. It is not the weeping which is significant; rather, it is a political, psychological and social issue. What does Imam Husayn (a) need weeping for? If the issue is defined by only weeping then what is meant by making believe or acting as wailing. Whether acting as wailing is required and is it of some value? Whether the doyen of martyrs has need for our weeping and wailing? The Infallible Ones (s) insisted on people's gatherings. They recommended that they weep. This weeping will safeguard the very foundation of our school. These groups of people who take to the streets during the days of Ashura don't assume for adopting it as demonstrations; the demonstrations exist and aim at political function as it existed in the past yet these mourning and reciting of elegies are the secrets behind our victory. These for the commemoration ceremonies of the martyrs of Karbala should always be performed throughout the country. Everybody should participate and everybody should weep. What is more unifying than these ceremonies? Have you ever seen that a nation become unified to such extent? Who has unified them? It is the Doyen of the Martyrs (a) who made this unification possible. On the days of Ashura and Tasua, for example; on the date of 28th and ... the bands of mourners with certain dignity proceed in the streets of all Muslim countries. Of course, the non-Shariah aspects should be considered as invalid and the *shariah* considerations should be observed in such gatherings. Everywhere in the world you can come across with certain people who are harmonious in such way. These gatherings with such dignity and message take to street and who can cause to get the people gather and where in the world have you seen such huge gatherings are in harmony to such extent? It is a common feature of the Muslims in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Iraq and Afghanistan and everywhere move about you will find the same situation. Who has caused for such harmony to be formed among the people? You should never lose such harmony. They make our youth neglectful. Our youth and dears with pure hearts are not fully aware of the evils planned for spoiling their minds through vaccination of certain thoughts. They themselves are being vaccinated by others and subsequently those blemish the minds of these through injecting certain thoughts.

The foreign hands which cause disunion

In certain period some foreign hands approached and caused discord between the clergy and the youth by bringing forth the issues of shaving beard and putting on collars. There existed some grounds for such misuses and it was not carried out without motives and intentions. They indoctrinated the clergy saying "what are these collar styles? Why do they youth shave their bread?" Meanwhile, they viciously indoctrinated the youth that it was the English who brought forth the clergy. They caused our separation and disunity. But who took the advantage? It was those who had plans for plundering our oil reserves. They have created discord among us to achieve their goals. They try to disrupt our harmony. When they break our harmony and coordination, they will then easily get what they are after. Today, when we are on the verge of Muharram, I am told that some youth are being misled by the claims that gatherings for the commemoration of the martyrs of Karbala are not necessary any longer.

The role of Rawdah in the revival of the Ashura School outcomes explained

They are not attentive about those who opposed Rawdah were those who also opposed the clergy, those who opposed the existence of the universities, those who opposed the workers, those who opposed the farmers and those who wished to plunder us and keep us miserable. The issue of Karbala martyrs is a unifying factor among the nation; and it is one of the most significant political factors in the world. It is also a psychological factor. It unifies all hearts. If we pave the way wisely, we will succeed for such unification. We should appreciate its significance. Our youth must pay attention towards these issues. . Our youth should be aware of the fact that there are some agents who plan to get rid of effective personalities. They want to disrupt the gatherings. They plan to render these mosques useless. These gathering for commemoration of the martyrs, mosques ceremonies and weekly meetings being held for the commemoration of the martyrs of Karbala attract the attention of people and create harmony. It will not feasible for the governments if they intend to create a harmony among all lyres and accomplishing of such goal wouldn't be simple for them even by spending millions of *tumans*.

It was the Doyen of the Martyrs (s) who coordinated our actions. Shouldn't we weep for such a great man who has coordinated our activities? It has been these tears which guaranteed out survival. Our youth should not

be deceived by those devils who try to deprive us of such assets. These have protected us, and these tears have secured our country.

The Necessity of the gatherings for the commemoration of the martyrs of Karbala (Rawdah) and chest-beating rituals

You gentlemen have a duty to remind people of Imam Husayn's agonies in Karbala. The duty of general public is to take huge and glorious groups, practicing chest beating rituals, towards the streets: They should refrain from those actions which are Islamic ally improper. But the bands should proceed in the streets and beat their chests. However, they should safeguard their unity. These bands have made us survive. This coordination has been very effective. They deceive our dear youth with pure hearts by uttering some inappropriate expressions in their ears like what we have to do with weeping and wailing? Imam Husayn (a) would not benefit from our weeping even if we cried up to the doom's Day. We are the ones who will benefit. Lets consider the worldly gains yet the benefits related to the world hereafter own their certain place; taking worldly gains in to account and psychological aspects how it brings the hearts in harmony. We should not leave these stronghold. Those who try to take away this stronghold from us have been deceived by some corrupt agents on the back stage the Scenes. They wish to destroy our nation. We should be awakened and our nation must remain alert.

Our revolution owes its success to the oppressed class of society

In the end, I would like to warn all the walks of our nation against one stranger, one foreigner who is determined to plunder our country. We are facing with a stranger whose espionage center had been working against all Muslim nations and the most functional existed here. Now we shouldn't be seated indolently just for criticizing each other; I make a criticism on him and you give comments about him and this one condemn that one. Oh! Our writers, orators and other associations including writers associations and lawyer unions; whole the country is yours and gentlemen must sustain this country. They determined to plunder it. It is up to you to protect it. In order for you to keep it, you should stay united. Now look at that walk of society which you call the low class', but I prefer to call it the high class. See how united they are. See who calls *Allahu Akbar* (on the roofs of the houses) tonight. They are determined to express their feelings by uttering the expression of Allah Akbar. You must move out to observe who are expressing "God is great". They belong to same class and lyres. We are gratified grateful to them for their favors, I kiss their hands and we owe a lot

to this class who move out tonight and utter the expression "God is great" and take part in rallies tomorrow. Let's up them hold and don't get involved in activities which are followed by no purpose more than merely seating, writings, uttering and performing heated discussion.

The elections for the Assembly of Experts and the Constitution

Our nation has elected a group of members for the Assembly of Experts and each one selected his legal representative. You insist on democracy; can you find a type of democracy better than this one. No body was forced to cast his ballot. You may not find a single case in Iran in which force was used to compel someone to take part in the elections. Even electoral propaganda was scarcely made yet the people were well familiar with them. Everyone was well aware of his local zones and cast ballots in his favor and they won the majority of votes. Why these want to make turbulences and quarrelling over? Why do you always express your comments in a certain way that it is good enough or satisfactory? This is proper expert assembly for which people desired so what you have to do with this matter? The people have elected their representatives and deputies for the assembly. These were the representatives of the people and they passed the laws and regulations. As I observed to some extent; perhaps I had observed over all; divert from Islamic standards was not found; you gentlemen and all cleric orator, speakers, writers, and presenter might back the issue up; it would be a fault if we get seated and criticize merely which can lead towards our failure for compiling constitution. This one is a sound constitution. Let us vote for it unanimously. You, gentlemen, should awaken people and make them vigilant. Those students of seminaries who leave Qum for other cities and suburbs should inform people of the facts. They should stay in those locations till the election is over. You students stay there for Ashura. There is no need to come back because there is a gap of only one day; it is not too much as they are already there during the days of Ashura. When Ashura is over they should stay there to make the people vigilant and guide them. The same thing should be done by our writers and our preachers. Suppose if some matter goes against someone's opinion as he is modernist yet such ones should comply with the public votes and consensus. People have unanimously voted for the Constitution. What people decide, we will comply with. The last Muharram brought for us the gift of demise of our minor enemy¹ and I hope

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

that this Muharram will keep our major enemy¹ within its own size. May god protect you and bless you with success and favors.

¹ The United States; Carter.

Commendation

Date: November 1979 [Azar 1358 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran

This pamphlet contains the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which was prepared by the honorable representative of the Iranian nation, most of whom are from among the distinguished clerics, Islamic scholars and well acquainted with the commands of Islam. The constitution was unanimously ratified by the majority of the Iranian nation. We hope, God willing, that we will attain our Islamic ideals, and that it will be in existence and in operation till the appearance of Imam Mahdi (a).¹ May peace be upon the true believers.

¹ Imam Khomeini has written the above foreword in the beginning of the Constitution.

Speech

Date: November 30, 1979 [Azar 1, 1358 AHS / Muharram 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The fate of the world of Islam and its reliance on the Iranian Islamic Revolution

Occasion: Returning from *hajj* pilgrimage

Audience: The Pakistani army officers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Great Satan vis-à-vis the Muslim nations

How lucky you are that you could make pilgrimage to the Holy Mecca, the center for Revelation, and to the Illuminated Medina, the center of in Prophet-hood. May God approve of your pilgrimage.¹ We are brothers of all Muslim nations. We shall share their joys and sorrows. Today our nation is facing a huge satanic superpower. These foreigners have illegitimately dominated the nations, Muslim nations and the eastern nations in general for the last three centuries. And more recently, in the last fifty years they committed all sorts of crimes through Rida Khan Pahlavi and his son Muhammad-Rida. Their crimes, however, have reached their climax in recent times. Of course, the main supporter of these crimes was the United States. The magnitude of their crime was beyond the tolerance of our nation, however. Then our nation, relying on Allah and Islam, staged a revolution against the corrupt structure of the kingdom, illegitimate, and established the Islamic Republic of Iran, instead. While we are engaged in the restructuring of the ruins imposed on us by foreigners and their agents, we have to face the hegemony of the United States. We hope that our brother nations, who have been subject to innumerable cases of injustice and despotism by the satanic powers, will carry out a similar revolution. We are happy to know that Pakistan has already started such a movement. Now that I glanced at a newspaper, I found out that the Pakistani nation has risen against the United States, and the universities have been closed down for three days. This is good news for our nation since we feel we are not alone in our endeavors.

¹ Prior to Imam's speech, one Pakistani uttered an invocation. Then the audience uttered: Amin.

The impotence of the superpowers vis-à-vis the united Muslims

The Muslims of the world should unite. They should work together. They should not divide. They should not consider the borders as the separation of hearts. The borders are separate, but the hearts should be united. Muslims are strong and have a lot of potentials. They also possess lots of resources. Muslims are one billion. They can stay united. They can produce a huge power. Because they are rich in resources, they would need nobody's assistance. Rather, other countries would need Muslims' assistance. Unfortunately, due to viscous indoctrinations people are conditioned to fear the superpowers throughout the history. Propaganda was launched by the super power to make our and your nation feel fear of them. We led to the belief that these superpowers are invulnerable and if any nation raises a voice against them, it would be demolished by them. But we have found the contrary to this propaganda. We have realized that superpowers could not play with destiny country if the nation got united. In God we will trust. On Islam we will rely. Islam and God will protect us against evils. We hope all Islamic nations will join us in this endeavor.

The fate of the world of Islam

The struggle between us and the United States is in fact the conflict between us and America but struggle between Islam and disbelief. If they defeated us, which is very improbable, they would have defeat Islam and the Muslims. All Muslims should realize this is not the merely our destiny which is at stake and facing a risk of annihilation or survival. The destiny of Islam is the destiny of all the Muslims. All Muslims should contribute to this issue. If God forbidding this movement slows down or gets ruined, it could be lead to the annihilation of the entire East and particularly the Islam's fate is the fate of all Muslims. All Muslims should care about their fate. If our movement showed any signs of deterioration, the entire east, especially Muslims, would suffer. I urge all the Muslims, all Islamic armies, all Islamic armed forces, all the presidents of the Muslim countries to cooperate to go together with our movement and cooperate with us in the struggle between Islam and disbelief, not only between Iran and America. This is the struggle between entire disbelief and the whole of Islam. Muslims should up rise and get success in this struggle and they will definitely succeed. They should not be frightened away by empty boasts. They should not fear the United States simply because it is a super power. They should not be intimidated that America is a satanic power which could wipe out everything in a single day". These are nonsense. The United States is unable to do such a thing.

Urging the Islamic *ummah* to up rise

The United States could not challenge the Muslim nations. The world is now concerned by this struggle. World is keen interested to see that what will happen with this struggle. The discords have been occurred in the United States of America. There are some discords going on within the United States. The Black form Americans, who have been subject to the hegemonies of the United States for long, are now with us. They might even up rise. At such a critical moment, when we are struggling against the devilish conspiracies of the United States, Muslims should cooperate with us. They should consider us a friend of the Muslim world including Pakistan, Iraq and Indonesia. Let them all uprising. They should all oppose this man's¹ tyrannies against us.

The United States now is harboring a criminal² who has been involved in numerous cases of manslaughter in Iran, who had made the cobble stones of our city streets stained with our youth's blood, and who has plundered our wealth and deposited them in foreign banks. It is stipulated in the universal criminal laws that a criminal should be tried in where he has committed his crimes. Their stimulus for keeping such a criminal seems to be childish. Now that we are asking for that criminal, they intimidate us with their navy at the Persian Gulf or with their warplanes in our skies. What are we afraid of? Are we intimidated by their warplanes? Are we afraid of their fleet?

Cautioning the United States

We are among those who are fond of martyrdom and consider it as salvation. Now my nation insists that I pray for them to get martyred. What is a nation who is fond of martyrdom frightened by? Do they frighten them by death? These people consider martyrdom as their honor. Then they are frightening us of death! Death will frighten those who do not believe in the Unseen. What should a person who fears God be afraid of; who he is aware of the Doom's Day, who he believes in the Unseen. The United States is making a mistake. Carter, too, is making a mistake when he is obsessed the illusion that he may carry out such a mischievous act. The world would not let him do such an act. The American nation will stop him. Is it an easy task for the United States to come over here and massacre our nation? They cannot. Even if they engage in such an act of tyranny, they will face our nation's ferocity. Our youths now have announced that they would explode the embassy with those who are in if Americans take any obnoxious action

¹ Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States.

² Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

against Iran. These youths, who have always been subject to all sorts of hegemonies, are out of our control. Neither could we control a nation whose members have always been subject to injustice for the last fifty years, especially during the last thirty-five years of the Pahlavi Dynasty. Let the Americans send their paratroopers to Iran and see the consequences then. We will exterminate all of them. We, too, might get killed. However, they will be killed, as well.

Iran's failure is the failure of the East

Please send my greetings to your army and to Mr. Diya al-Haqq.¹ Tell them for me that their brethren in Iran are now fighting (the forces) disbelief. You should rise. The Pakistani army should rise against such a tyranny to which the Iranians are subject now. We have risen against injustice. This will have a tremendous effect on your fate as well. You should not assume that you will remain intact if we lose this battle. If Iran is defeated, the east is the loser, too. It is the defeat of the oppressed classes of the society. We should remain united. We should terminate the viscous deeds of this den of iniquity. We would like to expel them at least from our country so that they would never appoint their army advisors here and be permitted to convert their embassy into a center for espionage.

May God give you good health. May God strengthen Islam and the Muslim armies. And may God save those Muslim leaders who are after the interests of Muslims.

¹ Muhammad Diya' al-Haqq, the Pakistani President.

Message

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Carter's great error

Addressees: The liberation movements of the world

In the Name of God, the compassionate, the Merciful

Your telegram supporting the oppressed nation of Iran in their rising for their rights against the government of the United States has been a matter of our delight.

You are well aware of the fact that the traitor,¹ who destroyed our country during his reign, caused the death of many of our youth, and plundered our national reserves, has been given shelter in the United States now. It is one of our rights to ask for the repatriation of a criminal to his country of origin to be tried for his treasons and crimes. Mr. Carter tries to disregard rules and regulations by relying heavily on bayonets. He is using coercion and conspiracies and employs intimidation to make us fear military intervention and economic sanctions. In Mr. Carter's² logic a nation's rightful demands should be answered back by bullets. In the logic of his, there exists The Medieval logic as well as the law of jungle, which dominate over all human values and international laws. This is the logic of all the arrogant and oppressing powers vis-à-vis the oppressed ones. Those powers, which are not based on the Divine-human instructions, make the eyes blind and the wisdoms diseased.

One of Carter's greatest errors is the fact that he has not yet understood the very basis of the Islamic movement in the present era and the present generation. They look at the current movements and the liberated nations liberated from the spiritual shackles of their melancholic ideology. And this error is a conspiratorial one. The Muslim nations should, through their unity

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi, who was taken to the United States under the pretext of being ill.

² Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States was a democrat. In his second term for presidency, he was defeated by Ronald Reagan, the candidate of the Republic on party. The political experts maintain that the main reason for Carter's defeat was his failure in handling the issue of hostages in Iran and the defeat in his military expedition against Iran and also in his foolish and inexperienced treatment of the Islamic Revolution. In one of his lectures, Imam Khomeini had predicted Carter's failure to win the presidential elections, saying that Mr. Carter should look for a job other than the Presidency of the United States. This prediction materialized after his heavy defeat by Reagan.

in belief and their divine power, make these satanic powers forget their arrogance. The east and all the oppressed ones should realize their own significance. They should disregard the indoctrinations of the arrogant and should emphasize their own divine powers. The superpowers, too, should realize how small they are vis-à-vis the uprising nations so that peace and quiet prevail everywhere and the tyrants are denied the chances of aggression.

My brave brothers who have up risen to gain freedom for your native lands: make your nations vigilant and wash your brains from the ill effects of the prolonged indoctrination and self-denial before the west and the global arrogance, and join our movement, which is an Islamic one. Today Islam is facing disbelief, and logic is confronted with power and hegemony. Prior to being an Iranian, our movement is Islamic in nature; it is the movement of the world's oppressed walks prior to be of any specific geographical district. We invite the world's Muslims, the world's oppressed walks to rise and defend their Islamic and national principles.

Israel has occupied Jerusalem out of the Muslim territories. It did not face any opposition on the part of the Muslim governments. Now, it has become evident that the United States and its corrupt offshoot, Israel, are planning to occupy Masjid al-Haram and Masjid an-Nabi. Now, once again the Muslims are indifferent to the issue. Rise and defend Islam and the Center for Revelation. Do not fear these commotions. Today, Islam needs you. You are responsible before the Almighty God. Trust in God and stay united.

Following the principles of Islam, we will defend all the oppressed and deprived ones. We will, as well, defend any organization in the world, which has up risen to save its nation. We will whole-heartedly defend the struggles of our Palestinian brothers and the people of the South Lebanon against the tyrannies of Israel the usurper. God willing, we will defeat the enemies of humanity and Islam. We hope to embrace the Muslims' victory in the near future. I ask the Almighty God for your prosperity. May peace be upon you all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Offering thanks after the receipt of a telegram

Occasion: The arrival of the New Year

Addressee: Jafar Muhammad Nomairee (The President of Sudan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Jafar Muhammad Nomairee, The President of Sudan, Khartum,

The amicable telegram of yours on the occasion of the arrival of the New Year has given us deep delight. We pray the Almighty God for the prosperity and success of our Sudanese Muslim brothers in their struggle for becoming victorious over the enemies of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Offering thanks in reply to a telegram

Occasion: The arrival of the New Year

Addressee: Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (The President of Maldives)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, the President of Maldives,

Your telegram on the occasion of the New Year has given us deep delight. I pray the Almighty God for the prosperity and success of your Muslim nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Offering thanks in reply to telegram

Occasion: The arrival of the New Year

Addressee: Erich Honecker (The President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your honorable Mr. Erich Honecker, the President of Democratic East Germany,

We have cordially received your telegram on the occasion of the arrival of the New Year. I pray God for the success and grandeur of Islam and Muslims all over the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1400AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Offering thanks in reply to a telegram

Occasion: The arrival of the New Year

Addressee: Yaqub Muhammad (The Great Mufti of the Romanian Muslims)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Honorable Yaqub Muhammad, the Great Mufti of the Romanian Muslims (Bucharest),

Your telegram has given us deep delight. I pray God for the prosperity and success of the Muslims all over the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The dispatch of an envoy to resolve the problems in the province of Gilan

Addressee: Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Honorable, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi,

Concerning the difficulties that have arisen in the Gilan province, you are hereby assigned to pay a visit to different regions of the province of Gilan and survey the problems and then, in coordination with the distinguished local scholars, and Hujjat al-Islam Ihsanbakhsh and other dignitaries—May God assist them all—try to resolve them. You should as well invite people to stay united and to avoid differences at a critical juncture of time such as the present. It is obvious that the other relevant organizations, too, such as the Corps of the Revolutionary Guards, the Mobilization for Reconstruction and other groups will cooperate with you in this significant responsibility and will benefit from your advice and guidance. I pray God the Almighty to make you succeed. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 25, 1979 [Azar 4, 1358 AHS / Muharram 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The significance of the recognition of the opportunities and the time conditions for bringing up issues

Audience: The personnel of the Corps of Revolutionary Guards of the Islamic Revolution in Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Iran vis-à-vis the most powerful of the hegemonistic government of the world

At times we are faced with an important issue, but we cannot bring it up. An example is our insistence on a gathering to talk about prayers, which are very significant, at a time when an earthquake has occurred because of which a number of our brothers are buried alive and they desperately need our assistance. The issue is excellent but the timing for such a discussion is not proper. The same is true with your country, which is involved, in a terrible turmoil at present. We are facing the threats of the United States that is equipped with all sorts of modern weaponry. It is a unique power in the world, but we are equipped with a more powerful weapon than theirs which is our belief in God and Islam. So, we are confronted with a supreme power, which is equipped with both modern weaponry, and satanic powers. They are also inciting other countries against us and try to mobilize their allies in order to confront our nation. Now they are making propaganda against us everywhere in the world. They are using the world mass media against us. They are, at the same time, threatening us with military intervention. Under such conditions, we should avoid disagreements and disunity. Rather, we should discuss our problems in a calm atmosphere.

Avoiding disturbance and concentration on our objectives

You should be alert to avoid any kind of disturbance or convulsion at such a critical time and focus on the main issue. If you do otherwise, it will be to their benefit. They would make use of the internal turmoil here. They have mischievous aims. Now I should let you know what is in the interest of our nation, in the interest of Islam and in your interest. This is the right issue, which should be dealt with, but convulsion is not to our best interest. You should put together every bit of your energy, either mentally or otherwise.

Now, we should not be deviated toward issue other than protection of Islam, even if those issues are important issues of Islam. Now our first and the most significant issue is to protect Islam. You should be at the service of Islam.

Internal disputes

Now confrontation with the United States is our hottest Islamic issue. Now if we disperse and scatter our energy in differing directions, we have set the stage for the United States to take the advantage. There are some hidden hands, which are setting such a stage. At times, they deceive our simple-hearted youths. This should be taken seriously by you gentlemen, and prepare yourselves to defend our nation. You should not resort to false propaganda. We should not divide. Now everybody should concentrate on one single issue. You remember we did not face any internal convulsion when we were struggling against our internal enemy. All of us had one thing in common. Everybody uttered the slogan *Allahu Akbar*. You used this slogan to stand firm against our internal foe. Now you are facing a power hundred times fiercer than that internal enemy; a thousand times more. You are now caught in such a situation. Your country is in a state of turmoil. If we are not alert enough, we will be done for. We should stay united. We should not misguide our attention towards those situations, which are not crucial. Suppose, you are facing with a problem. In such a case, you could send two or three of your representatives to talk to me. Now, our only problem should be confronting with the United States. Today, if your complaints through ways other than the sideway be sure that America will misuse it. Be wave! One may often be provoked without knowing who is provoking him; consequently, he may lose his control over his actions.

Some pieces of advice to the Revolutionary Guards

You should know that I like you. The Revolutionary Guards protected this country at a time when nobody could do the job. This is a divine love that we have towards you. Remember we will not do anything against you or Islam. And remember that my advice to you to be on the right path is to your benefit, in the interest of your country and Islam. At the same time, you are aware that I like him.¹ He wrote to me that he was sick and that he had a heart problem, and he asked me to appoint somebody else for his position. So far, I have not replied to him, but we could not ask a sick person to stay at a position while he is not physically ready for it. I want him to go abroad and have his heart treated. You should help him with this trip too. If there is any

¹ Mr. Lahuti.

other problem, it is proper for him to come over and discuss it with me. He could also send somebody else to discuss his problem with me. However, I would not support chaos and convulsion. If there is a strike in a factory, governmental office and ministry it will be in the interest of foreigners. Now, you will notice that the issue is of significance, but the timing is not good. Now it is time for us to concentrate our energy on safeguarding our country. We should tolerate any inconvenience however hard it might be. Such problems should not be discussed in commotions. Rather, their representatives should come and discuss the problem with us.

Now, he is facing a heart problem and you should not insist on his staying at his job when he is not physically ready. He should go abroad to get treated if he desires so. Since you will later need him, I have not replied to him. He has not come to me, either, to discuss his problem with me.

Use your energy against the US

I would like to reiterate that you are facing a force, which will destroy your country if you are negligent. Your paying attention is shown by concentrating all your effort on condemning the U.S. Use all sorts of demonstration against it. Train yourselves militarily in the best possible way. Train your friends, as well. An Islamic country should be militarily prepared at all times. One of the chapters of the jurisprudence deals with archery. Well, in those days archery was common. Now we have other sorts of weaponry. In Islam, archery was prevalent because it was not considered as a gamble. Horserace, too, was legal in Islam. And everybody is advised by Islam to learn horsemanship. Now car driving is explicitly taught. Everybody is advised to know about war-crafts, nowadays.

The Twenty Million Troops

The youths of a nation should be equipped with both religious and faith weaponry and material weapons. They should be ready to handle guns. They should both learn it and teach it to others. This Islamic country should have twenty million riflemen after a few years. Then such a country would not be vulnerable. Thanks God, now our country is not vulnerable. Now God is our protector. We have risen for God to implement His religion. God is definitely with us.

I hope there will be no defeat for us. May God help you all. Please take note of what I have told you. Tell and advise your friends and relatives that today is not the time for dispute. Now, it is Muharram and processions should take to streets. Let them utter the previous Islamic mottos. Let them

mourn. May God protect you all. I pray for you all. Now my health condition is not good any more, so I will stop talking.

Interview

Date: November 26, 1979 [Azar 5, 1358 AHS / Muharram 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The United States' crimes, treasons, and the Iranians' innocence; the objectives of the Islamic Revolution

Interviewer: A Japanese journalist

The Japanese journalist: On behalf of all Japanese people I would like to thank you for this interview. Last year, in Neauphle-le-Château we made a short interview with you. This year, however, we would like to present the realities of Iran to the people of Japan in more detail. The Japanese people know little about Iran. Now let me ask my first question:

Question: It is said that you have considered Japan as one of the adversaries of Iran in your struggle against the United States. Is it true or do you think differently?

Answer: In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. First let me comment on this statement that the Japanese people are unaware of what is going on in Iran. Why should the Japanese mass media not report on such a movement with such a great magnitude, and why shouldn't they publicize crimes that the United States has been inflicting upon the Iranian people for the last fifty years? If they had done so, the Japanese people would have known earlier. This leads me to conclude that the American authorities most likely would not allow the Japanese mass media to propagate anything about Iran.

Now concerning the second part of your question, which deals with the Japanese nation, I would like to stress the fact that we would not oppose any nation, neither the Japanese nor the Americans. They have not committed any injustice against us; it is the governments that we oppose. Now we are waiting to see what the governments of the European countries, Asian countries and Japan would do vis-à-vis the crimes that the government of the USA has been committing against us and the unlawful activities that Mr. Carter is engaged in keeping the criminal, and his threat of the economic sanctions and the military intervention. Now we are waiting to see what the European and Asian and Japanese governments will do regarding this hot issue. Will they agree with the aggressors or with the oppressed? Will they agree with our outcry for justice? We would like to see what these

governments will do concerning a criminal who has plundered this country for fifty years. Then, we will distinguish between those governments who defend the oppressors and those who defend the oppressed ones. If the Japanese government defends the aggressors, we will not agree with it, but if it supports us, we will not disagree with it.

Q: Since our arrival here in Iran, we have noticed people show a lot of affection towards us, the Japanese. We would like to know whether you would put Japan on the Western camp or would you think it is different.

A: I have already offered an answer by saying that we will not disagree with the Japanese nation as such. Neither would we oppose the American nation for the matter.

However, Carter is making false propaganda by claiming that Iran is against the American nation. This is one of the crimes that are being committed by Carter by giving asylum to a criminal. His other crime is the spread of the false accusation claiming that we are against the American people. Through his action, he tries to make the Americans feel hatred towards us. It is far from the truth, however. We reiterate that we are against Carter, who is keeping a criminal, and who is influenced by the Zionists. We declare that we are against *him*, we do not oppose nations. Rather, we are friendly with the oppressed ones, among whom are the nations. We are against those who do injustice to their people.

Q: Do you consider Shiism a religious as well as a political ideology which is in conformity with today's realities in Iran?

A: Since the advent of Islam, Shiism and Shiist Imams have existed. Shiism is a socio-political sect. During history, Shiism has always opposed all the tyrants such as the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties. The reason for the opposition of the Shiite leaders with the oppressors lies in the fact that these latter usurped rein of the government and treated people unjustly. The Shiite scholars and dignitaries have always opposed such governments. The officials of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties and other rulers constantly caused hardships for Shiism. Most of the Shiite scholars were Jailed, or exiled. What is of significance is that the Shiite scholars are determined to take part in the political activities of the country. Shiism tries to stop the aggressors from interfering with the internal affairs of the Muslim countries. The Shiite sect is the defender of the oppressed and the deprived walks of

society. It strongly opposes tyrants and the arrogant. The Shiite scholars have been consistent in their both ideas and actions. They will remain so to the last day of humanity.

Q: This journalist says that he has read your book called *the Islamic Government in France*, which is also called “*wilayat-e faqih*”. He says he has read in your book that Islam is the religion of pardoning and clemency. But in a referendum, held in France 79 percent of people believed that your struggle against the Shah stems from your personal hatred and revengefulness towards him. What is your opinion regarding this? Please make a comment

A: This is also one of those issues, which the superpowers have created for us. Due to the interferences of the superpowers, the nations remain unaware of what we are after. If nations had known, their ideas would have been different. The logic of nations is different from that of the governments. When the governments distort the truth, the nations, too, are misguided. One example is the statement you are uttering concerning pardoning in Islam. Mr. Carter says the same thing and has misled his nation. This is due to the fact that people are unaware of our objectives. What we are saying is that during the last fifty years both Rida Khan, who was brought to power by the English, and his son, Muhammad-Rida, who was supported by the Americans, have plundered this country. We have been robbed of our wealth that should have been spent on our needy. Instead, our wealth was given to the castle dwellers. The superpowers, too, had their lion-shares. Our nation lives on a great treasure of oil, but is hungry. The Americans and their likes used to plunder our wealth and share it with the royal court dwellers. We demand the person who is being kept in the United States. Our nation is asking for the person during whose reign our country was ruined. Rida Khan and his son were imposed on us by the superpowers. We are repeating that we have been robbed of our wealth. Now we want him here to be tried and forced to return to the country the wealth and assets that he has illegally taken from this land. He has killed many youths of ours. We cannot take revenge on him fully. Therefore, no body is said to be after taking revenge. He has killed more than one hundred thousand people. How can we take revenge on him? We want to take back our stolen wealth. We want him here to determine who the real criminal was. We want to recognize who it is that made the world turbulent. We want to find out which governments have been instrumental in such horrendous criminal processes. We want to know how

these cases of injustice have taken place. We want to see who have been the agents for these crimes. If this is termed the logic of taking vengeance, then their logic is different from that of the oppressed. This has been the case that during the whole history the logic of the tyrants has always been different from that of the oppressed. Remember Islam is the religion of pardoning. But the logic of Mr. Carter and his likes is different from this logic. Our logic leads us to prosecute a criminal for his wrongdoings. We want to take back the wealth that he has taken. We would like to know in what banks our assets are being kept. Mr. Carter keeps him and his assets. At the same time, our people are faced with hunger. Our logic tells us to try the Shah in a court of justice. But in the logic of Mr. Carter, this is called taking revenge' and so do other governments obedient to Carter. But in the logic of the oppressed, this is not taking revenge. Their logic tells Mr. Carter not to keep that man and not to blockade our possessions.

Q: Your Reverend: In the views of many experts, the Iranian government has been deteriorating constantly after the Revolution. What is your comment?

A: This is the logic of the pillagers and plunderers. In order to see the difference, we should compare the Islamic Revolution with other revolutions in the world. Did they have rules and regulations immediately after the revolutions? When our revolution occurred, we were connected to the world. All political parties were free to act. These parties were free for the following five months. Iran has its normal ways of life. The chaos and plundering which took place in the October Revolution, for instance, did not occur in Iran. Even now everything is in order in Iran since it is the people who observe peace and quiet. The Islamic Revolution was staged by the Muslim people, and they themselves, without the interference of the government, execute order. When the Revolution occurred there were some turbulences at first, but people took control of the situation within a short time. The nation itself is responsible for order. Our nation agrees with the Islamic government. They have unanimously voted for this government. Our nation would prefer to act in accordance with the Islamic rules. One of the principles of Islam is keeping to rules. People themselves are after rules and discipline. When they say the government is deteriorating, they are mistaken. Rather, the government is improving. We have been under the pressure of superpowers for centuries; now, we are liberated and headed for a bright future. This is the excellence of our nation. We do not see excellence and progress in filling our

stomachs with food. We see eminence and elevation in the advancement of our religion. We are happy to declare that we are now advancing our school of thought. How can one claim that we are deteriorating? They see excellence in the filling the stomachs, but man is not a beast. He is a human being; a human being who observes and respects all human issues. And man will observe regulations. Our country is advancing, not deteriorating. These misleading claims are made by people like Carter. In their logic, exultation means our giving away our oil and our being only bystanders; and deterioration, in their conceptualization, are stopping them from plundering our oil reserves. But we are not deteriorating. We will advance our country and we will cut the hands of the foreigners short from interference with our internal affairs. And this is excellence and not deterioration.

Q: Your Reverend: While you were in Neauphle-le-Château, you promised to secure freedom and to expand it, but we saw that after the victory of Islamic Revolution, there were some demonstrations against women and some ethnic minorities, such as, Kurds were under pressure, and the political parties and their newspapers were banned. Could you please comment on these contradictions?

A: These turbulences were caused by Carter and his likes. We should find out who is behind these political turmoils. Who is bringing up the issue of Kurdistan? And who is eager to solve this issue? Who is trying to protect our Kurdish brothers against the numerous tyrannies, which they had been subject to? We will do our best so that all walks of our society be in a welfare state. Our Islam stipulates that nobody should be subject to injustice and neither should anybody involve in injustice. This is an Islamic issue. We are after such an issue. From the very first day of our Revolution, there were all sorts of freedoms, and everybody was free to engage in any political party. But then conspiracies began. They made use of pens to mislead our nation. They were, in fact, the mercenaries of the deposed Shah, the United States and others. We gave them five months and after that we located the conspirators. We identified those who wanted to establish the foreign domination over us. We consequently found out that most of them had their roots in the Israeli conspiracies. They were heralds for Israel or the United States; of course, in disguise. It is one of the rights of a nation to destroy those agents who desire to demolish it entirely. Otherwise, our nation is a freedom lover: freedom of all sorts, but it hates conspiracies. It does not defend corruption. The women who staged the demonstrations were not the

right ones. They were the women who were termed by the Shah as “liberated women” and corrupted by him. These women wanted to engage in debauchery. They wanted to carry out some actions against chastity and were disillusioned to see that the government was not ready to accept their wrongdoing. They were the ones who took to the streets and acted in a terrible manner. Or else, freedom is not banned in our system. People are free to the extent that they would not get involved in corruption.

Q: The issue of hostage taking of the personnel of the American Embassy makes many countries worry. They think hostage taking will become a common practice. Are you of the opinion that by taking these fifty hostages you will be able to bring the Shah back to Iran?

A: You seem to have the same concept of “countries” as Carter does. The superpowers consider the governmental organizations as the “countries”. So, in their conceptualization, when the government does not like something, “the country” does not like it, either. But compared to the nation, the government is nothing but a drop. Now let us see what we have done. If our actions are justly introduced to the people of the world, we will find out who will support us and who will oppose us. Which number is greater in the world, the number of the tyrants or the number of the oppressed ones? When you study the status of the world population, you will find out that the number of the oppressed is greater. The number of the tyrants is few, but this few are equipped with all sorts of satanic weaponry. This has always been the case during the history of mankind. If by “worry”, you are referring to that “few”, you are right. This is because the tyrants are the friends of the tyrants. If the world realizes our situation, definitely the tyrants will oppose us. But those who approve of our work are in fact defending the oppressed. When you say “the countries” are worried, I will conclude that your logic, too, is the same as the super powers’. You have been influenced by those superpowers who define a “country” as a collection of parks, huge mansions, and the castle-dwellers. And they would not consider as a country those who live in slums or in adobe huts.

If this is the case, then we will separate these two issues and declare that those who worry because of our actions are the castle and mansion dwellers and the armored superpowers. The other groups are the nations. A nation is like a roaring ocean. Nations agree with us. Our issues are the problems of the oppressed. They will be with us if the oppressors let our voice reach them. Our issues encompass the deprived versus the tyrant and the

slaughtered versus the slaughterer. We want our country to be ours. We want to remain independent. We want to be free. We want our mass media to be free. We wish our pens to be free. We want to spend our assets on ourselves. We would like to feed the hungry, to dress the naked, to shelter the homeless. The tyrants do not like this. The cruel ones do not like our Muslim youths to capturing the espionage den of a bunch of spies. They want spying to spread and the espionage dens to be established in the countries of the oppressed. However, the logic of the oppressed is different from this. The logic of the deprived who make up the majority of people of the world, dictates that each countries should be independent, that the assets of a country should be spent on its own people. But the logic of the tyrants says that they should be allowed to plunder others because others are not human beings! These superpowers will never care for us. They would not consider the deprived as human beings. When they refer to human rights, they have in mind the rights of the tyrants. Human rights will allow them to plunder our oil reserves and give us nothing instead. The benefits will go to them. Every nation is supposed to obey them. So, this is the logic of the tyrants, who are in minority. Therefore, they should be worried about what is going on in Iran. This is because we now announce that the tyrants are in danger and will be destroyed. The countries should be of the deprived. God, the Almighty, has decided to grant the deprived with the earth and annihilate aggressors and the arrogant. Now we are the first who has up risen. We will support the oppressed nations, and the oppressed nations should destroy the tyrants and drive them out of history. The tyrants oppose us severely. They are, however, in minority. The oppressed will be delighted to hear what we have done to this den. In those countries where the story of our endeavors has been circulated, the oppressed have already expressed their delight. They have denounced the United States, but were stopped by the police. If the bayonets are removed all the oppressed will up rise. In the logic of the oppressed, this espionage den should be closed down, but the arrogant are of the view that it should be there. But it is the oppressed whose rights have been denied and should be compensated for. However, the arrogant would claim that the oppressed do not have any rights. All the institutes of the human rights are formed to exploit mankind. The whole Security Council, which was convened last night with Carter's permission deals only with the hostages, but it, has to keep silent when it comes to the Shah. Neither should the Security Council say anything on the assets, which have been stolen from us. It has been informed to talk on the hostages, but remain silent regarding The Shah. Carter knows if the issue is taken seriously, he would be in deep

trouble and would be inflicted by the same disaster that the Shah faced to. Therefore, he has stated that his servants in the Security Council should discuss the hostage crisis. We will never recognize the Security Council as a valid international body, however.

That is all, and peace be with you.

Message

Date: November 27, 1979 [Azar 6, 1358 AHS / Muharram 7, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The convention of the UN Security Council for discussing the issue of the American spies (in Iran)

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

These days, it is rumored that the Security Council¹ is holding sessions to discuss the hostages whose espionage has become evident to our nation. Having been engaged in political and military maneuvers, Mr. Carter now is content with the Security Council's verdict regarding the hostages, despite the fact that our nation is well aware that any council or court which lies under the domination of the United States, will issue verdicts which has previously been dictated by that country, and conviction and condemnation of a deprived nation such as Iran is welcomed by them. Our nation does not approve such Security Council that has been held for fulfilling the formalities and which's role has been predetermined. The trial of the deposed Shah and the espionage affairs of the American spy is possible only if held in Iran. This is because the evidence for the committed crimes is only available in Iran and cannot be transferred outside this country. We have had one hundred thousand martyrs, and several million witnesses and more than a hundred thousand disabled ones who could not be sent outside the country to be appeared for the witnessing. Besides, there are many records, which could be accounted for here, and the investigations in regard with spy den should be held in same location, which was so called as embassy. The evidences of crime are available only on that location. Concerning this issue, any decisions made in any council or the court lack the judicial validity and it would be doomed to rejection in the eyes of our nation. Our dear nation should be aware of the fact that they are victorious in this arena and foreign conspiracies will go in vain one after other due to our strong faith in Islam and God.

¹ The most powerful organ of the United Nations which has five permanent members (the United States, England, Soviet Union (Russia), France and China) and ten temporary members. The verdicts of this Council are issued in consultation with the permanent members—which have the right of veto.

I have mentioned it frequently that regarding this crucial issue, all stratum of nation, of whatever faith, religion and political inclinations that they have, they should stay firm and united against the numerous offenses of the United States and should not set the stage for division which is in the interest of the opponents of our country. May God's peace be upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Azar 6, 1358 AHS / Muharram 7,
1400 AH

Message

Date: November 28, 1979 [Azar 7, 1358 AHS / Muharram 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Voting for the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My sisters and brothers: Muharram is the month during which the Doyen of the warrior of holy defense oppressed (i.e. Imam Husayn (a) revived and saved Islam, which, due to the conspiracies of the members of the corrupt regime of the Bani Umayyad, was on the verge of annihilation. From its very outset, Islam was strengthened by martyrs' blood. Recently, Islam was on the threshold of destruction in our country, but it was revived once again through the sacrifices made by our martyrs.

Now that the Constitution is made ready and has been supported by the great Islamic scholars and the elite alike, enemies of the country are calling it into question. The conspirator elements did not desire the phenomenon of Islamic republic to be occurred and approved by launching propaganda with their pen and taking practical steps against it. Recently, they desire that it should not bring its fruits and outgrowths. The Constitution is the most significant fruit of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Refraining from voting for it shall mean wasting the martyrs' blood. Never become under the influence of the foes of Islam and don't avoid from your presence and moving towards polling stations. Islam is beyond of it that you avoid from its foundation because of a minor resolvable objection. There might appear some problems in the law, but they may be solved very easily through supplementary and complementary¹ angle of the Constitution. You dear Kurds, Arabs, Baluches, Turkmen and other walks of society, Islam is for everybody, and it is in the interest of everybody and the Islamic Republic, God willing, is resolute to solve and resolve all problems and shortcomings. Those elements who try to dissuade the Kurds in the Kurdish regions and in the places where our Sunni brothers live, from casting their ballots and they don't have any sympathy for you and yours country. Do not give them a chance to make you avoid from

¹ The articles which should be approved later appear in the complementary and supplementary angle of the Constitution. The Constitution of the past regime, too, had one amendment.

fulfilling your divine duty and persuade you to take stand against your brothers.

On the Election day, I will personally cast vote in the favor of Constitution. I request you, dear brothers and sisters belonging to all faiths and walks of life to cast your positive ballots for this destiny making constitution. My Dears; today we have taken stand against satanic power enemies who intends to destroy our country. Don't let to get weaken the foundation of the Islamic republic and the opponents of Islam become happy. I will ask God for success for the dignity of Islam and Muslims and bless you with his favors.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 28, 1979 [Azar 7, 1358 AHS / Muharram 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the Minister of Post and Telegraph

Addressee: Mr. Mahmud Qandi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Honorable Dr. Mahmud Qandi¹,

In accordance with the proposal of the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, you are hereby appointed the minister of post, telephone and telegraph. I pray God to help you in fulfilling your required tasks and gain God's satisfaction

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Mahmud Qandi was martyred at the explosion of the Headquarters the Islamic Republic party of Iran by the Munafiqin (hypocrites) Group on the 7th Tir, 1360.

Message

Date: November 29, 1979 [Azar 8, 1358 AHS / Muharram 9, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The permission for the use of the religiously gained income for the earthquake-stricken people

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*“Verily, we are from God and to Him
we shall return.”*

The honorable and benevolent nation of Iran, my great brothers and sisters:

I am well aware of the sense of responsibility and cooperation, which exist among all walks of life. You will move to the earthquake-stricken regions to survive your brothers and sisters in this cold winter season and will help to the Muslims and helpless children within your resources. As I too feel the sense of responsibility to ask you dear ones not to delay and waste any moment for rushing towards this act of Islamic worship and humanistic adoration. Do not be satisfied with the fact that you and your loved ones are in comfort but your brothers and sisters in those disaster-stricken regions are in a horrible situation. You should be aware, as well, that these kinds of calamities and catastrophes are examinations given by God. In the previous earthquake, you were more than generous in helping out your fellow and provided not only their first needs but also welfare resources within very short period. . Do the same this time since the winter is even severe. I give the permission that you could spend on the account of Imam and *sadat*'s share.² I pray God for your success, and for relief of our brothers and sisters. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur*, the date 10/9/58 AHS is recorded, but in accordance with manuscript the correct date is: Muharram 9, 1400 AH.

² *Khums* is made up of six shares. Three shares of the *Khums* belong to the Imam and the remaining three belong to the offspring of the holy Prophet. Of the three shares that belong to the Imam, one share belongs to God the Almighty, one goes to the holy Prophet and the third is set aside for the infallible Imam. During the absence period of the infallible Imam, this part of the *Khums* is left at the disposal of a comprehensively qualified jurisprudent. In reality, this part of the *Khums* sees to the worldly needs of the *mujtahids* to be spent for the propagation of sublime Islamic culture and provide for the requirements of the Islamic government as allocations of budgets take place through the employment of this share.

Interview

Date: November 29, 1979 [Azar 8, 1358 AHS / Muharram 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The reason for capturing of the espionage den of the United State; the Western prejudiced propaganda; conspiracies and sabotages

Interviewers: Five European journalists

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I would like the journalists neither to edit nor to distort my statements. I want them to publish them as I utter them, with no addition and omission. I ask them not to disrupt and not to be carried away by wrong indoctrinations. They shouldn't become I want them to report honestly on the Iranian issues that I inform them of.

Question: We have come from small European countries. All of us are under the pressure of American imperialism, as well. We thank you for providing us with a chance to carry out this interview and make address to these countries. After recent occurrences; it seems that the American military intervention in Iran to save the life of the American hostages would be considered as a real threat for the world peace. Would you assume that the Americans would take such a risk just for keeping the criminal Muhammad-Rida or do they are following some other purposes.

Answer: They might have some other purposes. This is because I do not see any philanthropic sentiment in Carter or in other American authorities to make them keep Muhammad-Rida. If they had really loved humanity, they would not have declared that for the sake of some individuals kept here in Iran they would make life miserable for 35 million people in Iran by imposing economic sanctions against them and so these get smashed as result of hunger in their imagination or that they would stage in a war which would result in devastation of their, our and other countries. So, the issue is not that of philanthropism. There might be some other reasons at work. One probability, which is stronger, is that they are worried that this corrupt person,¹ if returned to Iran, might blab the crimes, which the Americans have committed in Iran through this person. The American authorities are well

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

aware of the fact that only Muhammad-Rida and the American presidents know of the crimes they have committed. These are secrets between Muhammad-Rida and those American presidents. Carter now fears that we may try Muhammad-Rida. Then the crimes committed by other American presidents and especially by Carter himself will be known as well. As we have demanded that Muhammad-Rida should be tried and God willing we will definitely arrange trial. Subsequently, we will also demand for the trial of other American presidents, besides Carter, for the crimes they have committed against Iran. It will not make any difference if the criminal is Carter, Nixons or Johnson.¹ Now, we will try Carter and then others. That is why Carter is so worried. He fears his crimes being known and we may follow the case in regard with his crimes. Then he will be failed for fulfilling his desire and miss the chance for being reelected. That is why he acts frantically. He resorts to different means. Everyday, we receive several letters from different from abroad and different countries who recommend us to release the hostages and including some other issues suggesting to do in this or that way. Therefore, Carter's impetus for taking these frantic measures, are not out of his humanitarian sympathy. He is frightened; that is all. He is right to be fearful since every treacherous person is always fearful. He erroneously assumes that by maneuvering in certain ways in the United States, he would settle his shaky position inside that country. He is planning to be re-elected. He has done all of his efforts and all the superpowers follow their special interests as it has been proved for us through experience. These immense powers including super and other powers do not care about humanity standards even pertaining to their own people. They only see themselves, nothing else. They only do activities for their own sake. If some people of their own country get ruined or the people of other countries get destroyed. They only intend to avail the chance of becoming a president for some years and they are not bothered about other happenings of the world. For this reason, I give think a possibility; I have a story to tell you now. When I was in Paris, one high-ranking person was telling me that once there was turmoil in China yet I don't remember the details. They were worried about what to do in regard with their embassy in China. That person had informed and it was translated for me that me as follows that the statesmen were worried about the precious furniture that they had in their embassy in China. They did not get worry about their personnel working there. For them the furniture was more important than the lives of their fellow-countrymen in the troubled area of China. They were concerned about the damage of

¹ The American presidents.

furniture yet not about their personnel. This is because they are not educated in the school of humanity; it is because they are not civilized, and they have not been trained divinely. They see nothing except themselves. They are after their personal interests. Carter is one of those who have not been trained divinely. You might have heard that he recently attended the church for the first time to pray for the release of the hostages. Be aware that his prayers and invocations are like the ones Muhammad-Rida uttered once in a while in Mashhad. This is like the parable stated by Ubayd Zakani,¹ the famous Iranian sage. The parable goes like this, "Give everyone the good news that cat has become pious." Therefore, Carter's harboring Mohammad Reza for humanitarian reasons is absolutely out of the question. Now it is up to Carter to decide not to instigate a war and to avoid causing calamity for his country, whether he makes judgment to instigate such war for which there exists no possibility of coming victorious out of the war or he decides to adopt the standards of wise and wisdom and hand such criminal over to us who has committed crimes towards this country more than fifty years, killed our youth and plundered our resources, he plundered and made the country to get ruined. Whenever he handed him over to us; if supposed that these persons are guilty; undoable they are guilty and we recognize them guilty yet if they return him to us and make our possessions available; at such juncture we don't feel unwillingness to grant amnesty to these hostages.

Q: The Western mass media constantly report falsely on the chaotic state, hegemony, and dictatorship in Iran. Since you are addressing Europe for the first time, what is your comment on these false statements?

A: As you have acknowledged describing that they are telling lies. Despite the propaganda that the west is spreading concerning its civilization and humanistic behavior, I wonder why these media, which are sensitive ones, should spread false information concerning the events, which have not been occurred in Iran. They are launching a false propaganda and telecasting it. If some event has happened here in a certain manner, is this freedom correct? Why should the statesmen let these newspapers spread rigmaroles? Why should they claim we are dictators? Where could you see dictatorship in Iran? Here, everybody is free. We even let different political factions carry out their activities freely for five months. These traitors have committed crimes and the evidence for their crimes is found among the files in the

¹ Ubayd Zakani is the Iranian humorist poet who wrote the book called "The Mouse and the Cat."

espionage den. We let the journalists free for five months to be free to write what they wished for, but then we found out that there were the hands of the foreigners behind the scene, the hands of Zionism and the United State. They were after the destruction of this country. Therefore, the courts now are ready to try these journalists. They say there is dictatorship here. You go around the country and see if you can find any sign of dictatorship. But concerning the chaos, I should say that there will be some turmoil when you have a change of government in any country. For instance was the French Revolution in France, which is assumed to be the most civilized country on earth, as innocent and peaceful as the Iranian Revolution? Look at the number of the casualties in the French Revolution to see the difference. The same thing happened in course of the revolution in the Soviet Union. We claim that our revolution is unique in that it was an Islamic one. It has not been a overthrow of one government by another, or a coup d'état of a military person against a government. Rather, a nation who was Muslim and pious rose against a tyrant and defeated him. On the same day of their revolution, all airports were in operation. But this has been different in other revolutions during which the airports were closed down. In those revolutions newspapers were closed down. Even in our life-time we have seen many coups d'états in which censorship and suppression were very common. We have had such a great revolution because it has been Islamic in nature, and we have been obeying Islamic regulations. We did not even let the traitors get killed in this revolution. Some traitors, however, got imprisoned, but while in prison, they were treated finally. Of course, the convicted ones were punished for their crimes, but the rest of the nation did not suffer at all. We do not have serious turmoil. From among all the revolutions of the world, ours has been the most peaceful, but there are, of course, some remnants of the previous regime that are troublemakers. They receive some orders from abroad, however. But they are in minority. We will not consider them important. This is because we are keeping a tight rein on the affairs.

Q: Some political parties in Iran state that the Council of the Experts has adopted the Constitution based on Islamic rules, but their rights for political activities in the future have been barred. What is your comment?

A: Either these political parties you are referring to has ignored looking at the Constitution and then have started saying non-sense, or they have looked at it, but would prefer to express false statements. The Article 26 of the constitution has provided freedom for political parties, associations and

the Islamic societies, as well as the minorities. The only requirement for them is not to conspire against our Islamic Republic. But the problem lies in the fact that after the Islamic Republic came into being, most of these inactive parties made their presence known and mischievously started conspiring against our Islamic Republic. Some of them were after a democratic form of republic, not for an Islamic one. More than 98.2 percents of our people have voted for an Islamic Republic. The either remaining less two percents tried to sabotage or stop people from casting their ballots. When people voted for the Islamic Republic, this minority tried to interfere with the preparation of the Constitution. Later, they interfered with the election of the Assembly. Still later, it was time for them to criticize the Council of Experts or to call the principles into question. Now that the Council of Experts is convened, their principles should be put to referendum. Now, is this not a true democracy? If we assure the political parties that there will not be any censorship in this country, what else will the parties ask us for? We had set a condition for them not to conspire against the Islamic Republic. They should not plot against Islam, either. But this minority is after the destruction of the country and Islam. They want to ignore the Constitution even if it is ratified by an overwhelming majority. The names of these agents have been just found in the documents obtained from the Espionage Den.

Q: Islam always refers to the Mercifulness of God. Do you believe that people will treat these American spies mercifully both before and after their trial?

A: In Islam, forgiveness is recommended. It has mercy at the appropriate time. The convicts will be treated within the specific frame of the law. Punishment, too, is predicted in the law. Thus, if these detainees have committed crimes, there will be punishment for them. But it is up to the jurisprudent to pardon the criminal if he thinks it is necessary. Thus, if the United States returns the Shah and the frozen assets that we have in the banks abroad, we will free the hostages even if they might have committed crimes.

Q: Does your honor assume that the Arab statesmen who support the American crimes will be punished by their people who are loyal to Islam?

A: The statesmen in the Arab world are well aware of the crimes that Muhammad-Rida and his father have committed against the Iranian nation for the last fifty years. They know well that these two have killed many youths of ours; that they have destroyed our country and our economy. Now

that we are asking for the Shah, these Arab statesmen support the aggressor, the United States, and associate with the United States. Islam orders them to support the oppressed ones, not the oppressor. They should support us. They are Muslims; so are we. Muhammad-Rida is a criminal; Carter is a worse criminal since he is doing injustice against us. The Arab statesmen should announce that since they are Muslim, they should support us. What has happened to them by a foreign state? However, they should anticipate a condition like that of Muhammad-Rida. It is advisable for them to listen to us, support us, and condemn the United States. They have a strong and effective weapon in their hands, and that is oil. Foreigners need their oil. They do not need the foreigners. Why have they made themselves so miserable? God has announced: "Dignity is for the believers." They should be honorable. Once you used to think the superpowers were supermen. Not so today! If these statesmen remain silent the, they will be most probably treated by their nations as Muhammad-Rida was treated by the Iranians.

Q: Do you believe other religious sects such as the Catholic Church or the Orthodox Church will help you against the social injustice?

A: Mr. Pope sent us a person to discuss with us the freedom of the spies. We in our turn discussed some issues with the Pope's delegate and informed him of the crimes that we have been subject to for fifty years and complained about his indifference towards us in spite of the fact that he is the deputy of Jesus Christ (a). If Jesus Christ were present now, he do Mr. Pope and other religious leaders think that He would join Carter or the deposed the Shah and would leave this oppressed nation alone? Mr. Pope and other Christian clergymen, as well as the clergymen of other faiths, considered it probable that if Jesus Christ returned he would join the group of the oppressed. We are oppressed because we have been robbed of our assets and wealth and our youths have been murdered for the last fifty years. Our culture has been demolished. There has been suppression. Everything is destroyed under the reign of this father and son. Now our nation has risen up against him, but Carter refuses to have him returned to Iran. The ambassador or the charge d'affairs is not among these detainees, however. These might be servicemen of the embassy. We do not know whether they are diplomats or ordinary personnel. What we are sure of is the fact that this group have come here for spying and for our destruction. We have a great deal of evidence to their espionage. Don't you think that Jesus Christ (a) would sympathize with us if we told Him what we have already told Mr. Pope? Would Jesus Christ (a)

support Carter and his associates? Would he support the Shah? Or would he prefer to defend this suppressed and oppressed nation? If Mr. Pope would think that Jesus Christ (a) would support the aggressor, then this would be in contradiction with Christianity. Therefore, Mr. Pope could not have such a belief since; he is a follower of Jesus Christ. If Jesus Christ saw our situation now, he would sympathize with us. Since the Pope is Christ's follower, he, too, as well as other preachers of Christianity, will have to sympathize with us and should condemn the aggressor and stop his aggression. Since Christ (a) would defend us and due to the fact that the Christian nations are followers of Jesus Christ; therefore, all of them should support us. Do they, God forbid, think that Jesus Christ is a supporter of the aggressions!? Is he against the oppressed? I do not think any Christian would ever utter such a word. Now we will address the American nation, who is Christian, and other Christian nations, to support us in the way that Jesus Christ would do if he were among us now. Would you think that if Jesus Christ were in place of Crater, God forbid, he would have done the same thing? They killed our youths. The American police have let the dogs to torture our youths. Do the Christian nations think that Jesus Christ would accept such deeds of terror. If they think that Jesus Christ is happy with injustice, this would be in contradiction with Christianity. Such a thought about Jesus Christ (a) is blasphemous. We will never attribute such accusations to Jesus Christ (a). Now Carter possesses bayonets, war planes, tanks and power, but this should not be expected to cause of timidity in the world of Islam, Christianity, or Zoroastrianism. You Christians or Jews or Muslims, or Zoroastrians,¹ be aware that your religious leaders are with us and against Carter and his likes. You have to be with us. What we said to the Pope's delegate, we are repeating to you. We are an oppressed nation. You should judge on the magnitude of the crimes we have been subject to it. Carter is doing injustice to us. Now, I am telling all the world's Christians, Muslims Jews and Zoroastrians, you are responsible for what is being done to us. Your religious leaders have been on the side of the oppressed ones. You, too, should support us, not Carter.

Q: What is the diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards the European governments? Do you think the European countries could help

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

your economy? If the answer is positive, what are Iran's conditions to accept such assistance?

A: We would like to have friendly relations with all the countries of the world. We like to have cordial relations with them. This, however, will not apply to those countries, which have been hostile to us or have committed injustice against us, or have tried to dominate us. We are against them and would not let them interfere with our internal affairs. We may not have relations with them, either. But this is different in the case of those governments that have been friendly to us. We may exchange goods and we may have trade relations with them. They need our oil and we will need a limited list of some goods. This should be done through the government and through the Council.¹

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

¹ This is because the Revolutionary Council managed the affairs of the country at the beginning of the Islamic Revolution.

Decree

Date: November 29, 1979 [Azar 8, 1358 AHS / Muharram 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Addressee: Sadiq Qutbzadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your honor Sadiq Qutbzadeh,

In accordance with recommendation of the Revolutionary Council, you are hereby appointed the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I pray God to help you perform your duties and to satisfy Him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: November 29, 1979 [Azar 8, 1358 AHS / Muharram 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The the Shah's crimes; the Islamic Revolution; and the failure of the universal political equations

Interviewer: The reporter of the American Time magazine¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Question: You have identified the deposed king of Iran as an international criminal, but you have not yet specified his crimes. Could you tell us specifically about the rounds of crime he might have committed?

Answer: The the Shah's crimes are countless and even making a summary of them is rather difficult. We suffice with saying that only during the past two years while people had risen to demolish the Pahlavi regime and to establish the Islamic Republic of Iran, we have had 60,000 killed and hundreds disabled. His crimes since 1342 (1963) onward has been the history of mankind. During his reign, the Shah made us economically dependant on foreign countries, especially on the United States. He made Iran go bankrupt. In order to continue with his kingdom, he provided the United States and the Soviet Union with free oil and gas. Our industry is a dependant one. He made Iran into an assembler country. He had demolished our agriculture. He has submitted to the west our underground resources and our over ground able minded human resources; i.e., our youths. In other words, he has caused brain drain of the youth caused their recruitment and absorbed by foreign countries. The King of Iran has aligned Iran with United States in that he had made Iran as a supporter of the tyrants and aggressors. This is clearly shown by the Iran's positions in the international arena. On the surface, the Shah might have taken an anti-American stance due to his fear of the Iranian nation, but behind the scene he has been a defender of the American policy. Examples are his position with respect to the Palestinians and Israeli issue. At some circles, the Shah used to pretend to defend the Palestinian cause, but he sold our oil to the enemy of Islam and Muslims, the usurper Israel. He

¹ The American Time Magazine introduced Imam Khomeini as the man of year in its last issue in the year. It published the text of the interview with Imam Khomeini under the title of "To the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, the Great Ayatullah Imam Ruhullah Khomeini."

used to support Israel militarily. In doing so, he acted willingly. The Shah made us reliant militarily on the United States and getting rid of this reliance seems a difficult task, indeed. He used to supply the Americans with free oil and then he helped them establish their military strongholds here in Iran. Above all, he was resolute to annihilate Islam and Muslims all together. A complete account of his crimes makes a thick book. Culturally, he made our youths inclined towards the west. He brainwashed our youths by the western culture. To neutralize this poisonous brain washing is a great deed, however.

Q: To what degree are you qualified to judge him? You are a human being. How could you be certain that judgment will be honest and based on Islamic code? Has God ever spoken to you or has He ever revealed to you to provide you with some advice?

A: The items of the Shah's crimes I have so far referred to are the results of the judgments of all Iranian nations. I have repeatedly announced that I am the speaker of the sentiments of all Iranians.

Q: Are you still sticking to your beliefs and ideas? Now that the whole world has condemned the act of hostage taking?

A: This condemnation does not stem from the will and determination of the nations. Rather, they are influenced by the super powers' indoctrinations and propaganda. Now we are resolute to show to the whole world that we can defeat these superpowers with our faith. We are confronting the United States with all our might and we do not fear it.

Q: You complain that the west has imposed its values on the Iranians. Then, why are you trying to impose the Islamic values and Islamic justice over the western representatives?

A: We shall never try to impose our Islamic values on the west, neither over the west nor over the east. Islam is never imposed on anybody. Islam is against the imposition of its ideology over others. Islam is not a school of imposition. Islam has spread freedom in all its dimensions. We only present Islam to the world. It is up to the world's people to adopt it or not.

Q: Have you realized that Carter is not legally authorized to deliver the Shah to Iran or to a third country even if he personally wishes to do so? Do

you expect Carter to go against the American Constitution? Is this not in contradiction with your ethical principles or the Islamic code?

A: Could the United States and its president legally threaten Iran by tanks and machine guns but it could not “legally” surrender the Shah to Iran? What kind of rules and regulations prevail in the United States that authorize the President of that country to exploit other nations, but fail to “legally” surrender a criminal who has been the agent for numerous crimes? Is this really termed “law?”

Q: You emphatically use the espionage den for American embassy in Iran, but there is no evidence for such an accusation. Are you aware that each diplomat is supposed to collect data concerning the country in which he works and do you know that this is considered legal? Don't you know that a diplomat is easily expelled from the country if there are pieces of evidence confirming his or her spying instead of being harassed by the host country?

A: Collecting data is different from engaging in spying. There is evidence that these diplomats had special plans for each region of Iran. They had plans, for instance, for the closure of our schools. They had plans, as well, for the armed conflicts to be brought about in different areas of the country. Is this merely collecting data? This will be known and revealed by our Muslim students in future.

Q: If you were against the American activities in Iran, why didn't you close down the embassy? Or why didn't you expel some of its personnel?

A: Closing down or not closing down depends on the government. I do not interfere with this kind of affairs.

Q: Do you agree with America's natural endeavor to normalize its relations with the new government in Iran and are you content with America's sales of spare parts to the Iranian army and with America's attempt to remove the hurdles on the way of the Iranian trade problems acceptable to the Iranian authorities?

A: It is clear that we will not accept any relation which is against the interests of our nation, but trade relations and other kinds of relation, if not

against the interests of our nation, are accepted by me and the convention of such contracts will be done by the government.

Q: Are you aware to what degree you have isolated Iran? All your aligned countries, even the Islamic countries have condemned hostage taking. You have expelled the United States from Iran, but who will release you from the pressure by the Soviet Union?

A: We expelled the United States so that we could establish an Islamic government. America's expulsion does not mean that we would substitute the Russians for them. The slogans our people utter confirm this fact. In all their campaigns, our people shouted "Neither East nor West, but the Islamic Republic." If one day, the Soviet Union exerted pressure on us, we would deal with them in the way we dealt with the Americans. We shall rely on God and on the people's everlasting power.

Q: You have to accept the fact that the United States would never deliver the Shah. If you doubt this, simply you have not understood the United States, but the King might leave the United States when his visa expires. In that case, will you release the hostages? If the United Nations accepts to deal with your complaints, should it also try the entire world's dictator?

A: Just the reverse! We have understood the United States perfectly well and we know how to stand firm against it and defend our dignity. We have understood the United States and have resisted against its greatest injustice, which is sheltering the Shah. We are resolute to defeat the United States. We will defeat the United States in the region. If the Shah leaves the United States nothing will be solved. Then we will, God willing, try the United States. An international body should see to it so that the United States is convinced to return the Shah to Iran. Such a body should confiscate all the Shah's assets, which he has stolen from this country, and return them to Iran. An international body should try all dictators. This is natural. We will reject injustice and we will not tolerate cruelty.

Q: Why won't you accept to be arbitrators? Accepting mediators is a rational act since there are different opinions in the world. You have already

rejected the arbitration of Ramzi Clark,¹ Waldheim,² and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.³

A: I did not intend to show disrespect towards these people. I have been defending Palestine against Israel for the last twenty years. I used to mention Israel's danger when there was no mention of Israel or Palestine in Iran. We will support the rightful struggles of Palestinians against the Israeli occupation, but there is one significant point here, and that is, I would like the world to know that nobody should arbitrate between an oppressed one and an oppressor. Under such conditions, one has to defend the oppressed and attack the oppressor. Arbitration between an aggressor and the oppressed one is a great injustice. For this reason, I will not accept any arbitration. A logic, which defends the tyrant against the oppressed one, is not logic. If you consider the dispatch of your delegates as arbitrators between the Palestinian and Israel as a logical act, we will not consider it logical at all. We will only consider defending Palestine as a logical act. Anybody in the world who will defend our rights will be confirmed by us. Of course, such a person should not be a cruel one. It is because we will never confirm a tyrant, even if he works in our interest. We believe in some principles and we will stick to them forever.

Q: You have been living a very isolated life. You have not studied modern economics and international relations. You have been majoring in divine studies only. You have not been involved in Politics, nor in the issues of social life. Don't you think there might be some factors involved in this equation, which you may not have understood?

A: We have broken the universal equations and the social and political criteria through which universal problems were measured. We have established a framework in which justice is to be defended and tyranny should be attacked. We shall defend any just person and will struggle against any cruel one. We have founded such a construction. We hope there will be some people who will re-construct the United Nations, the Security Council

¹ Ramzi Clark, the previous Attorney General of the United States who came to Iran as an arbitrator to release the hostages.

² Kurt Waldheim, the previous Secretary General of the United Nations upon completion of his term as the Secretary General, he returned back to his country, Austria and was elected as the president.

³ Yaser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Liberty Organization, who as a member of a board of arbitrators came to Iran for the release of the American hostages.

and other international bodies on the same foundation, not based on the influences, of the capitalists and power-mongers who misuse their powers. Yes, according to your criteria, I know nothing, and I prefer to remain ignorant.

Q: Have you ever made a mistake?

A: Everybody makes mistakes except for the Great Prophet (s) and the Infallible ones (a).

Q: As a politician, honestly answer: hasn't the revolution been defeated? Your economy has not revived; the poor people in the slums in the south of Tehran are still poor. The army cannot defend itself if it is attacked from outside. There are no usual or political activities in Iran and the political parties are in chaos.

A: What you say might be true, but the Revolution is not defeated. The foundation of the Revolution has become stronger. This is a proven fact that our people have got accustomed to the Revolution. All of us are revolutionaries. They desire martyrdom. I am serious. We can easily defend ourselves against the United States. It may destroy us, not our Revolution. For this reason, I say we are victorious. Pay attention to our revolutionary slogans. They say "The aircraft carrier is not effective anymore, and Carter is ignorant of the logic of martyrdom." What does America know about martyrdom? Therefore, we shall resolve all of our problems, but the chaotic state of affairs are rooted in the past fifty years. It will take at least twenty years until conditions become normal, but our people have not risen to receive any benefit. What they have been saying is the slogan, "independence, freedom and the Islamic Republic." The Islamic Republic now is in existence. For a complete independence, we should cut the hands of the East and the West from our internal affairs. This we are resolute to carry out.

Q: Have you not somewhat lost the control of affairs. In the view of some the occupation of the embassy has occurred without your consent and that of the Revolutionary Council. Have those students taken hostages without your consent? Do you have any control over this group?

A: Your lack of knowledge about the Iranian people has caused you make terrible errors. Due to the injustices, which our nation has been subject to by the Americans, they are revengeful of the United States, and we lead people toward independence and release from the American tyranny. For this reason, they have occupied the American den of espionage. That is an espionage center and people rightfully ask; “what do we want America for?”

Q: Is this fair for you to play two roles at the same time? At times you issue orders to people to carry out certain tasks, but when you want to shun responsibilities, you will answer you are unable to do anything; you would say, “It is up to the people or the students to decide.”

A: It is a fact that I, as Khomeini, give out my opinions, but you should be aware of the fact that hostages are in the hands of the Muslim University Students.

Interview

Date: November 30, 1979 [Azar 9, 1358 AHS / Muharram 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American instigation of psychological warfare; the propagation of propaganda by the Zionist mass media

Interviewer: The reporter of the French newspaper Le Monde

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Question: You have severely annoyed Americans or even you have had them kneel down. Ethically, you have insulted them. Where would you go from here? How far would you expand this enmity? Are you going to enter a war?

Answer: In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. We should treat the American nation and their government differently. We should never oppose the American nation as such. It is Mr. Carter who is instigating all this and has started a psychological warfare which might end up in military intervention. We have never insulted the American nation.

It is Carter who is giving asylum to our enemy¹ who has plundered us and created commotion and turmoil in the world. Our youths are keeping these spies to find out what they are.

Q: American sentiments are badly injured and Carter has no other option than war. Nowadays the issues of the bombardment of Qum and taking Imam as hostage are being brought up. What is your idea?

A: The issue of American sentiments being hurt is out of the question since Americans are told a false the story. The government will not let them be informed. Only a limited group has heard the story of the hostages. Carter's associates may have become annoyed, but not the American public. This topic is heard very often. When the deposed King did something which the Iranian nation opposed, he used to claim that the nation as such were content with it. The same story is repeating itself in Carter's case.

Mr. Carter is being rejected by his nation and should look for another job. He has shown that he is impotent. One who has got weak nerves and

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

makes fuss over a trivial, task does not qualify to be the president and govern the American nation.

Q: The delegates from the Arab nations who gathered in Tunisia had an anti-Iran stance. How could you depend on Arab sympathy with Iran?

A: We hope the Arab governments would cooperate with us in the same way that their nations sympathize with us. And let the Arab statesmen realize what we have been after; we have been after liberation from foreign hegemony.

We prefer to gain our independence and do not want foreigners to plunder the Muslim nations. These Arab leaders do not oppose us. Some of them might have committed some errors in the past due to the indoctrinations to which they have been mischievously exposed to, but I hope someday they will make up for their mistakes. I hope, as well, to see all Muslim nations unit and keep away from the foreign plunderers.

Q: You have confirmed the stance of the Muslim Iranian University Students.¹ Is keeping these hostages Islamically justifiable? Even when a war is being fought?

A: What I have previously declared might have reached you in a distorted manner and I assume the Zionist mass media is responsible for this misunderstanding. I have said that the control of the youths will be beyond my reach if America continues to keep the Shah or tries to bombard us. Our nation has suffered for fifty long years from the super powers, especially from the United States. If the United States does something wrong to us, our youths know how to deal with the Americans. I won't initiate anything wrong. I have already sent some supervisors to inform me about the treatment the hostages receive. They have told me the hostages are comfortable. Not anyone of them has been hurt.

Islam orders to treat all people amicably except for those who will endanger the Muslim's interests.

Q: What is your comment on the present crisis in Iran?

¹ "The Muslim University Students Following Imam" who occupied the American embassy (the espionage den).

A: The present crisis in Iran does not terrify us, but concerning a probable war, I remember the statement of Ave Sina (the great Iranian physician and scientist) who said: I fear bulls because they have weapons (i.e. horns), but lack common sense. In the same way, these superpowers have weapons, but unfortunately they lack common sense. And this applies pretty well to Mr. Carter. However, the world's nations and great powers will not permit such a thing to take place. Any war now would be a third world war and these superpowers fear it greatly. We are not worried about these issues, however. You see what our nation like.

We firmly believe that by getting martyred, we will gain a better position in the Hereafter. Why should a person be worried about transfer from a mean world to an excelled one? We are not daunted. Those who do not believe in the Hereafter must worry. They might even be tyrants who fear encountering the other world.

Neither would the economic crisis nor other issues make us worry. We have decided to cultivate the land ourselves, to harvest the product ourselves, but not to let anybody deprive us of our assets or interests. So no crisis really exists. Europe is fearful of such crises and they are right to be worried. It is now up to the French government and other European states to guide Carter to judge judiciously and deliver the criminal (i.e. the Shah) to us; then everything will be settled.

Q: The Shiite clergymen have always been in the lead of the political movements, but is it not also true that since the Shiite clergy have not been able to manage a country in this complicated world; they should be assisted in technical affairs by non-clerical elements?

A: This is also one of those cases of propaganda against the clergy. Does Mr. Carter, who is the president of the United State, do everything on his own? Of course not! He appoints experts to do the jobs for him. The clergy does not want to operate factories; neither do they want to fly airplanes. Those who claim that the clergy should get involved in politics are ignorant people. Perhaps they understand, but prefer to mislead others. The clergy watches the administrators not to go astray. They keep a watchful eye on the situation so that a coup d' etats may not take place. They supervise affairs so that nobody is treated unjustly. The clergy want to stop plundering, tyranny, injustice and theft.

Q: My last question. It seems improbable for the United States to deliver the Shah to Iran. Then what solution would you propose?

A: We will ask why the United States is not able to surrender him when the international law has stipulated that a criminal must be tried where he has committed a crime.

Mr. Carter is an obstinate person; he bears a grudge against us. Maybe he prefers not to understand the issues correctly. He is setting fire on his country and on other countries simply because he has given asylum to his friend through whom he has previously benefited a lot. He fears that he himself could be tried like the Shah for plundering this nation. However, he could easily solve this problem methodically; nobody would stop him. Even his own nation would appreciate his good work of getting rid of the Shah, but if he still continues to keep the Shah, we will insist on doing what is right. We will fear nothing. Despite the maxim uttered by Ave Sina, we are not daunted by the weapons this insane has in his hand. We are not worried because we do not care for this world. Because this world has nothing to offer to us except hunger, injustice and domination by super powers. We are prepared for everything.

Message

Date: December 1, 1979 [Azar 10 1358 AHS / Muharram 11, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Disagreement with any delay in the referendum on the Constitution

Addressees: The people of Kurdistan, Baluchestan, and Turkamansahra

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My brothers in Kurdistan, Baluchestan and Turkmansahra and other Sunni brothers,

Concerning your request for the postponement of the referendum so that some of the principles could be revised, I should remind you that any delay of even a few days would endanger dear Islam and our country which is being threatened by disbelievers. Be sure that your demands, either tribal or national, will be taken care of like the demands of other walks of our society. God willing, everybody, in near future, will enjoy the comforts of life and will live in welfare. I ask you dear Muslims to cast your positive ballots. This will satisfy the Almighty God.

The Bureau of Imam Khomeini,
Qum¹, Muharram 11, 1400 AH /
Azar 10, 1358 AHS

¹ This message is Imam Khomeini's own manuscript and was circulated under the title of "The Bureau of Imam Khomeini." The Imam was sensitive to the announcements of this bureau and nothing was circulated without his permission.

Permission

Date: December 1, 1979 [Azar 10 1358 AHS / Muharram 11, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission to receive Islamic income

Addressee: Mirza Muhammad-Baqir Ashtiyani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad-Baqir Ashtiyani—may your blessings last,

I pray God for your full health and success in carrying out your religious and social tasks. You are hereby appointed as my deputy to collect the Islamically due payments, spend them on the right cases and send the rest to me so that I can spend it on the sacred seminaries. In the end, I pray God for continuing of your endeavors to propagate the sacred religion of Islam.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram 11, 1400 AH

Message

Date: December 6, 1979 [Azar 15 1358 AHS / Muharram 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity for calmness, tranquility and avoidance of being disrespectful to the clergy

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable and heroic nation of Iran—may God bless you all,

At this juncture of our history when our beloved country and the great Islam are face to face with the blood-sucker United States and should deny the foreign agents and the rotten remnants of the old regime any chance of sabotage, we hear that some people, ignorant of the depth of the issues, and under the indoctrination of our foes, have caused some disorders and turmoils and God forbid, may cause great gap and discord in our society. I ask the honorable nation of Iran not to bring up any issue which will be misused by our enemies, and I insist that you respect the distinguished religious scholars and jurists of Islam. My brothers should be aware of the fact that the turmoil and revolt which occurred at the home of Ayatullah Shariatmadari was the work of the agitators which should be condemned.¹ And the agitators should not repeat such horrendous acts anymore. I implore all the university students and the scholars at the seminaries, all intellectuals, scholars and writers to put aside all sources of disagreement. Rather, I ask them to focus on the enemy. This is my divine and national task to ask you for this feat. I ask God to bestow the unity upon the nation, grant Islam and the distinguished clergy glory and make our Muslim nation victorious.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Muharram 16, 1400 AH / Azar 15,
1358 AHS

¹ In a riot which took place in Qom by a band of agitators, a young man was killed at the home of Mr. Shariatmadari. Imam Khomeini issued the above message to prevent further revolt.

Dialogue

Date: December 6, 1979 [Azar 15 1358 AHS / Muharram 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Mr. Shariatmadari and the party of *Khalq-e Musalman*

Addressee: Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Falsafi: One day in the morning, Imam had a friend of mine deliver a message to me asking me to go to Imam. When I arrived at his home, Imam was alone. He started talking about the political party of *Khalq-e Musalman*.¹ Imam said:

We are aware of the fact that the foreigners, especially the United States, are enemies of this Revolution and try to damage it by any means they can reach to. Now they have established a political party. This party of *Khalq-e Musalman* definitely has its roots in the foreign sources. They have used the word *khalq* (people) in the title of their party, in the same way that they tried to incorporate the term “democracy” inside the title “Islamic Republic of Iran,” so that it could be read as “The democratic Islamic Republic of Iran.” By *khalq* in Persian we refer to *masses* or people. From the outset they want to create conflicts among the Muslims by bringing forth the duality of the Islamic Republic Party and the Party of Muslim people. This will be a severe blow to the Revolution and cause waste of the Muslims’ blood. They are decided to defeat this Revolution this success, and to substitute something for it to secure their own interests.

The problem lies in the fact that Mr. Shariatmadari has announced his affiliation with this party with the title of “Ayatullah” and has announced its affiliation with himself. This is taken to imply that there is cooperation

¹ The party of *Khalq-e Musalman* (or Muslim people) was established by Mr. Shariatmadari in the month of Esfand 1357 AHS. Many distinguished members of monarchists, liberal and communist parties joined this party and gradually took an opposing stance against the Islamic Revolution. After the capture of the American espionage den in Tehran in the month of Aban 1358 AHS and upon the disclosure of the documents revealing the connection of some of the active members of the party with the American Embassy in Tehran, the nature of the party and its affiliation with the American embassy was revealed and its religious members discarded it. A little later, with the disclosure of the plan for coup d’etat and conspiracy against the country by Qutbzadeh in the cooperation with Mr. Shariatmadari, the political party of *Khalq-e Musalman* disbanded.

between Mr. Shariatmadari and this political party. This is extremely hazardous, indeed. It might waste all our efforts. The reason why I asked you to come here was for you to go to Mr. Shariatmadari and tell him this party has its roots in foreign sources. He that has accepted such a task is either aware of the facts or he is ignorant. Tell him for me that it is to his benefit to announce through the mass media that he has withdrawn from it and that he has no affiliation with this party. Only through this approach could he save his prestige.

Mr. Falsafi: I immediately left Imam, and headed for Mr. Shariatmadari's home. I let him know of the Imam's message. Mr. Shariatmadari was also required, in the message, to write and sign a letter, announcing that he was not related with this party, and that the party was not reliant on him, either. When I told him the message of Imam, Mr. Shariatmadari found the issue very strange and replied: "Sir, this party belongs to the Muslims. I am affiliated with this party. I have formally announced it and everybody is aware of it. If I deny my association, I will lose my dignity. Should I belittle myself by announcing that I am not related to this party? I will never do such a thing." He emphasized this negative statement strongly. Then I left Mr. Shariatmadari to visit the Imam. I told the Imam, "He says he is reluctant to endanger his prestige by denying his affiliation with this party. He says by such act he will lose many of his friends that have been the founders of the party."

The Imam was sorry and then added: This man does not realize the situation. Go and tell him that his prestige will be ruined by being affiliated with such a party. Tell him he will even lose his prestige more if he continues his cooperation with this party. Tell him if he disconnects with the party his dignity will remain intact. Tell him he is quite "a gentleman" in Qum. This is my last word.

Tell him if he loses his dignity by denying affiliation with this party, we will protect him and we will compensate for it.

Mr. Falsafi: I let Mr. Shariatmadari know the Imam's intention and I added: I advise you to write your resignation and sign it. Then we will have a meeting at the Azam Mosque. We will also invite the reporters from the radio and television. We will invite Mr. Golpaygani and Mr. Najafi. We will ask the Imam to participate. I would be the speaker and I would speak of anything that you recommend. For example, I would say that Ayatullah Shariatmadari, who has done a lot for the Islamic Revolution, has recently

found out that the party of *Khalq-e Musalman* is pernicious and is against the interests of the Islamic Revolution. In fact, the Islamic Revolution is a sole truth and that is Islam. For this reason, I would announce that Ayatullah Shariatmadari, having consulted with Imam Khomeini, has decided to resign from this political party and written that the party is not afflicted with him. Since, in presenting this topic a lot of respect was used, he answered, "I do not think the Imam will do so." I replied, "Okay, I will go and ask him. If Imam Khomeini promises to do so, will you sign your resignation? Besides Imam, Mr. Golpaygani and Mr. Najafi, too, will be present. They definitely will take part in the session." Once again Ayatullah Shariatmadari was puzzled, then he added: "Okay, go and tell Imam. See if Imam will be ready. If he is ready, we will do what he wants."

For the third time I went to see Imam, saying, Mr. Shariatmadari agreed with my proposal, but he is worried you might not agree. Do you agree? Imam replied:

Yes, the Islamic Revolution and the keeping of the dignity of Islam and the curtailing the hands of the foreigners from our internal affairs is so significant in my view that I will agree with this proposal. I will also take part in that session. I will come and sit there. Please express anything you may find expedient.

Mr. Falsafi: For the third time I went to Mr. Shariatmadari's home and let him know of Imam's decision, adding "It was decided that you prepare a text. You and I will review it tomorrow and correct any problems it may have. Then we will take it to Imam. If he agrees, we will sign it and then we will hold the session." He replied, "Yes, it is not bad, I agree with it. But on one condition: Tonight I have to consult with some friend. Without consultation, I will not make a firm decision. Let me use tonight as a consultation time. I will write the text. If we consulted and if some features were added, tomorrow you and I will finalize it." I thought the issue was resolved. I left Mr. Shariatmadari's home for Imam's residence. I let Imam know of Mr. Shariatmadari's decision. Imam replied: Stay in Qum tonight and leave here tomorrow.

Mr. Falsafi: When the following day I went to visit Mr. Shariatmadari, he answered, "My friend did not agree with this proposal and have said that both in Qum and Azarbayjan a lot of people would lose their dignity and I, too, would suffer the hardest blow. They advised me not to give my consent. Therefore, I will not write the text." I returned to Imam's home and let him

know what was said. Imam became sorry. Then later those events happened that everybody knows of.¹

¹ Read the details of this encounter in Falsafi's book entitled "The Memoirs and Struggles of Hujjat al-Islam Falsafi," pp. 366-370.

Message

Date: December 6, 1979 [Azar 15 1358 AHS / Muharram 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The riot of the party of *Khalq-e Musalman*

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Iranian nation—may God bless you all,

You are well aware of the fact that the evil wishers constantly conspire against Islam and our country, but in vain. This time the referendum of the Constitution has caused them to suffer an ignominious and disgracing failure. As a result, they have got terrified. They started their riot with sticks and clubs, taking advantage of the simple-hearted individuals. At this juncture of time, we are encountering tough enemies such as the United States and their proponents as well as the nasty remnants of the old regime who have vowed to disturb the tranquility of our environment. For this reason, I warn you vigilant and intellectual nation that any turmoil inside the country will have adverse consequences for Islam, our country and would only satisfy the enemies' vicious desires.

I warn you that my supporters are not allowed to hurt anybody who tears up my pictures or burns them, or insults me. They are resolute to bring forth disturbances and create upheavals. You should stay cool and should not confront them. such a confrontation is prohibited religiously, a matter of God's dissatisfaction and considered a major religious sin. May Almighty God save us from the evils of the devils. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram16, 1400 AH / Azar 15,
1358 AHS

Speech

Date: December 6, 1979 [Azar 15 1358 AHS / Muharram 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Avoidance of creating turmoils: The nation's welcoming the Constitution

Addressees: The representatives of the Counsel of Experts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The public turned to the Constitution

I would like to thank you gentlemen for the hardships you have endured for the preparation of the Constitution and the Counsel of the Experts. I hope your services for Islam will be accepted and confirmed by all Muslims. I wish you success and I am looking forward to your further services offered for Islam.

This constitution, which has been prepared under the supervision of scholars and experts, has caused some people to worry, but I am not worried at all. This is because this Constitution is well written. And if some groups assume that what they wanted is not stipulated in the Constitution, they are mistaken. They should know that Islam is everybody's and the Islamic Constitution is a panacea for all social diseases and troubles. I hope any defect or shortcoming in this law will be rectified later by the Consultative Assembly. The groups should not worry; however, everybody should note that step-by-step all problems will be resolved.

From the very outset, we have been encountering opposition of the dissidents and opponents. During this time, they were happy that the Constitution would not enjoy such a high public turnout. Then, they were pleased to see that were surprised to people did not welcome the city councils, and wished for the lack of interest on the part of people in voting for the Constitution. But finally, they in out, that people welcomed it even more eagerly than they did for the principle of the Islamic Republic. Of course, I do not have the exact statistics, but I am told that the number of the supporters of the Constitution has been higher. Now, this eye-catching victory has disappointed those groups; as a result, they have started rallying and expressing their disagreements in a bullying manner.

The small, negligible political parties and the opponents of the Constitution

Saying that the Constitution has some weak points which could be rectified is one thing and using clubs and creating turmoil in the society is quite something else. The agitators include the remnants of the nasty and deposed dynasty of Pahlavi, and the pro-American souls. Then they start deceiving the simple-hearted, naïve people. These people assume that the agitators are right, but in reality they are not. They have been opposing the Islamic Revolution from the start of its conception. But now that the nation has unanimously voted for the Constitution, they are getting disillusioned. They erroneously assume that they could combat with a nation who has been continuously endeavoring to root out corruption. Now, they say they do not agree with the Constitution. Let them disagree since they are in absolute minority. Besides, they are not the decision-makers. The nation has made its decision and people have voted for it unanimously. False movements will not be of any effect, however.

Causing disunion is one of the major sins

And today I warn the whole nation, the whole tribes, the whole political parties, that your major enemy is the United States. The superpowers are against you today. If you love Islam, you should, as well, love the Islamic country of Iran. Now Islam is in real threat. If you are a national person, then you should be aware that your country is endangered now. Now if you make internal conflicts and if you create internal turmoil, then you have committed an irrational act. This act is islamically prohibited and is difficult to be pardoned. The bright-minded, the well-wishers and the astute people should advise these inexperienced agitators. They should be reminded that they are Muslims. Why should a Muslim defy Islam? You unknowingly are fighting with Islam, with a Muslim state. You are not aware that by causing disunion you are making your foes happy. You are making the superpowers happy. You either understand this simple issue or you are deliberately causing disunion. The nation should now identify those who are trouble-makers and disruptors. They create turmoil under the name of this guy or that guy. Their disturbances, however, are beneficial to the super powers. Their agitations are among the major sins. Thus, it is better for them not to get involved in creating turmoil.

A message to the general public

I hereby announce that nobody is allowed to punish those who tear my pictures, who insult me or who call me names. I do not want anybody to get in conflict just because I have been insulted or shown disrespect. Today, we need tranquility more than any other time. We should cooperate to stop the very act of agitation. Stay quite. But try hard to get rid of the hardships. I tell the Kurds, Baluchs, Turks, Fars, Sistanis, Baluchistanis, Arabs and the whole nation that Islam today is confronted with blasphemy. All peoples should assist us: They should put aside their cases of disagreements.

The mysterious hand behind creating opposition and diversity

Last night I heard of a dispute. I became very uneasy. I wonder why should some people unknowingly involve themselves in unwanted dispute and create diversity and discord. Now one ignorant person says something nasty. Then a second person strikes him and in this way turmoil is brought about. In the last regime it was very common for an agent of SAVAC¹ to kill somebody and then a commotion was set forth. Now the same thing might happen. A man kills another person and then a riot takes place in the community. This devilish act is not Islamic; it is against the humanity, as well. It is against the principles of a community. It is better for these agitators to stop acts of violence.

May God protect us all and keep our country out of the reach of the enemies. May God awaken us of this state of sleep and dream.

¹ The secret police at the time of the Shah.

Speech

Date: December 7, 1979 [Azar 16, 1358 AHS / Muharram17, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Independent thinking and an independent culture; the role of Islam in the Liberation Organization

Addressees: Mr. Musa Zargar (the Minister of Health); the deputies and high-ranking personnel of the Ministry of Health

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Westernization and self-denial

This country has a history of twenty five centuries behind it. Within the last fifty years of this long history we have witnessed the calamities that the nation has been exposed to. The treasury has been robbed; the youth have been mischievously received. They have been kept backward. Their educational system has been ineffective. Even those Iranian young students who have been studying in the universities abroad have received education different from what the native students of those countries usually receive. Iran has become a laboratory for the chemists of the so-called civilized countries in that they test the drugs on us prior to using it in their own communities: we have become, in fact, guinea pigs for those laboratories. We erroneously assume that only the west exists: anything else is non-existent. We have been turned into westernized beings. Our thought patterns have become westernized altogether.

Now that our country attempts to gain its independence, it should have citizens who should think independently. Our people should find themselves. They should not be carried away by goods which, for example, are manufactured by England. We might produce better drugs than foreign land. We should not be carried away by foreign-made drugs, either. Our market should stop being stricken by the western standards. We produce good cloth but we write in Latin that it is made in England. We assume that if anything is from abroad it is perfect. Our culture, too, has got the flavor of western civilization. We are westernized even in our culture.

An independent culture is the first step towards the independence of the country

If we desire to be independent, our thinking should be independent, as well. By free thinking (or independent thinking) is meant the ability to think

without being inclined towards another system of thinking. It is also true in scientific conceptualization. In the act of scientific thinking, one could not rely parasitically over another system of ideas. We should be aware that we ourselves possess a culture, a rich one. We should decide to disconnect with other cultures. If we are still under the wrong assumption that anything which comes from Europe is the right one, we will not gain our independent thinking. The European ideology is already out of use, but they are welcome here. For instance, one way of their conceptualization was to be equal. But equality was never acted on. The same failure, too, is seen in their principles of economy.

The blind adoption of the imported ideologies

This is severe form of dependence to ignore one's own culture and resort to other cultures. It is also wrong to discard the Islamic economy and rely on other systems of economy. Some people adopted the Marxist economy although it has already been a bankrupt ideology even in other countries. Now we have been liberated from a fifty year long imprisonment. Now we are encountering another problem and that is our severe reliance on other systems of ideologies. This could be solved only through the endeavors of our teachers at schools and universities. Our persistent problems in Iran are due to the fact that our country is not Islamic yet.

An endeavor to establish an Islamic government

The foundation of an Islamic Republic has already been established. Its constitution, too, has already been approved. Both of these have been approved unanimously. But it was not our main objective to have a flag of the Islamic Republic or to issue stamps of this republic. Rather, we have had in mind to have a country entirely based on the Islamic principles. The experts of Islam should introduce the genuine Islam to people. Our offices should be Islamic. An example is this ministry of health. It should always operate under the Islamic codes. The services offered by this ministry are honorable and significant but they should be Islamic in nature. The offices of this ministry should be based on the Islamic principles. It is not acceptable to claim that we are Muslims but in our offices we could not find any trace of Islam. It is a shame to find usury and usurers in our markets but claim that we have voted for an Islamic order. It is deplorable to see bribery dominant in our offices. It is saddening to see in some offices the lack of interest in activity on the part of the personnel. This is in contradiction with Islam. We

should put forth energy to make an Islamic country. Only Islam can insure our salvation.

Islam is the source of dynamism and sacrifice

Our revolution could not have been successful if something else, for example a political party, has been used in its place. Since the conception of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran several political parties have been in operation but none of them has been successful because none of them was supported by Islam. They could not succeed because we are a Muslim nation. The Muslim nation will follow anybody who calls others for Islam.

If we had deleted the word "Islamic" from the "Islamic Republic," we could have never brought people to the streets to protest to the previous government. People do not like to get killed for the cause of "republic;" neither do they sacrifice their lives for their stomachs. People will not sacrifice their lives for freedom. This is nonsense. Only a person who believes in the other world could mobilize people for struggle. This happened at the outset of Islam when only a few warriors could defeat the two most powerful empires of those years, i.e. the Roman and the Iranian empires. These warriors at times did not have anything to eat. For instance, a warrior tasted a date, giving it to the second one to lick. Most of the time they were fasting. Their military equipments consisted of camels and swords, nothing else. They defeated their enemies due to their faith: their swords were nothing compared to the weaponry of those two super powers. They believed they would ultimately enter the paradise whether they killed their enemies or were killed by their enemies. This logic of theirs caused their success.

Now a similar logic has been initiated in Iran. During the past few years a lot of lectures have been presented to the Iranian people to make them aware of the facts. People of Iran have drastically changed now. People now have the same ideology as the people at the beginning of Islam. Even now once in a while some people come to visit me, asking me to ask God for them to get martyred. But I ask God to make them successful.

If this morale is created in a people, they could attack the tanks with their fists. Now, thanks God, this morale exists.

Sabotage and obstructionism by the agents of the United States

Our enemies have been looking for excuses to involve in sabotage. At one time the election for the city hall did not succeed. The reason might have been the filibuster on the part of the personnel. This issue made the enemies of Islam to rejoice. They concluded that Islam had failed. Then the issue of

the American espionage den was brought up. Once again our enemies became happy and came to the wrong conclusion that the revolution had failed. But later on they realized that people were still active. They saw that people were standing firm against the United States. Then the issue of referendum was brought up and they were severely disillusioned to note that people were still on the scene. They were mentally damaged to see that more than ninety percents of the population had voted positively. Now they are after some other conspiracies. We anticipate they would make trouble at the election for the president and for the representatives of the Consultative Assembly.

We hope for a universal government of Islam

However, we rely on Allah and we work for Allah and we are resolute to establish an Islamic government in Iran: not only in Iran but everywhere. Our hope is like that of the prophets who wanted all human beings to be Muslims and believe in monotheism and find their ways toward the heaven.

Islam has never dreamed of expanding its geographical regions or to defeat countries in the way that Mr. Carter has been doing. Islam is not after territorial expansion. Islam wants make men. It sees other countries are destroying man as such. Islam wants to put human being on the right track.

The prophet's objective was to liberate man

It has been the objective of any prophet, including the Islam's prophets (s) to save men against the aggressors. Moses (a) was shepherd who belonged to the oppressed layer of the society. But he instigated the other oppressed people against Pharaoh¹ and defeated him. Our Prophet (s), too, belonged to the class of the poor who were considered insignificant. He educated the oppressed people to uprising against the aggressors. Then they started from the Arabia, cleansing the earth from the oppressors. Then, they fought against Rome and Iran, defeating them severely. They did not want to defeat Iran to add it to their territories. Rather, they wanted to save Iran against the devils. Most of the time it worried the Prophet (s) that people will not easily turn into Muslims. In the Holy Quran there is a verse which says the Prophet (s) seems to lose his life because people do not turn into Muslims. The prophet worried for people.² He cared for people. He loved

¹ Moniker used to refer to the god-king that ruled Egypt during the time of Moses (a).

² *Surah al-Kahf* 18: 6: "Then maybe you will kill yourself with grief, sorrowing after them, if they do not believe in this announcement."

humanity. He wanted to save mankind. He did not want men to go astray and to ruin others.

Carter's Philanthropism

Our nation now has uprisen to save itself; it will, God willing, save other nations against the aggressors as well. These oppressors will never believe that there are some people on the earth who firmly believe in God, and who strongly reject material schools of thought. Mr. Carter does not have the belief that there might be somebody on the earth who cares for humanity. He claims that he is keeping Muhammad-Rida out of his humanistic sentiments. Look at these philanthropic feelings which force one to keep a criminal and then try to impose economic sanctions against Iran! He is keeping a criminal who has murdered so many innocent youth. By his economic sanction Carter assumed that we will die of hunger! This stems out of his philanthropic sentiments, indeed! Then he proposes that he will interfere militarily to annihilate us. This shows his humanistic care for humanity, indeed! He and his likes have repeatedly shown this philanthropic feeling in Vietnam and elsewhere. They lack the conviction that each person should love humanity. They only care for their own interests. Now Carter is trying hard to win the next presidential election. If hundreds of people are killed it is of no concern to him. He is after his own victory; then he has forgotten humanity altogether.

The universal uprising of the oppressed

But we let him¹ know that the word has drastically changed. The oppressed people have uprisen everywhere. Nobody can stay on the way of these floody surges of human beings.

All nations have uprisen now, not our nation alone. They are beginning to move. Previously nobody dared to oppose the president of the United States. But now, you see that people use the slogans such as "Down with Carter" and, God willing, "Death with Carter."

We hope that all phases of our life would change for the better. Under the banner of Islam we could achieve everything. All kinds of liberties and freedoms exist in Islam. In Islam you could gain thought independence, cultural independence and economic independence. I hope, as well; that all layers of our community could achieve these. But we have to serve our country. It is a task for us to serve these people. We did not previously have this country: now we have it. We should act in a way that nobody might

¹ Carter.

think we are incapable of managing our country. But, thanks God, we are able to do so, at present.

A revolution without bloodshed

Our revolution has been the best in the world, compared with other revolutions. The other day they gave me a report of the cases of murder in these revolutions. The numbers varied from some hundred thousands to some millions. But in our country, not one person got killed after the revolution. After this revolution all airports were open and in operation. Everybody was free. And a group of people who had committed crimes were tried and some were executed.

Mr. Carter's philanthropic sentiments were shown in his protest against the execution of Nasiri or Hoveyda. But when these corrupted individuals had harassed people for more than twenty years, nobody protested. Not a single word was uttered in protest by the human rights organization or by the United Nations or by the Security Council when these crimes were being done in Iran. See how much commotion they created for Hoveyda's death and how much support they show towards the Shah!

The plan for the trial of the American presidents for their treasons in Iran

Now that we are keeping some American spies here, they say it is against the international laws. But the international laws stipulate for the personnel of an embassy to remain ordinary employees carrying out their usual services and not to involve in espionage. Our students, through the pictures they have obtained have shown that these detainees have been engaged in activities which could not have been ordinary; rather, they had been engaged in spying. They are, therefore, criminals. They should be tried here in this country; and God willing, we will try them. Later, we will try Carter, Nixon, Johnson and Roosevelt,¹ for their crimes which they have committed against us.

We are a weak nation but we have a strong logic. We use our logic when we talk. They want to kill us, but we will defend to the last moment. They want to use economic sanctions against us; then we will tolerate. Besides, other countries will not listen to Carter. The people of the United States will not listen to Carter, either. This is because the American people have already shown their dissatisfaction towards these sanctions. Other countries, too, are not Carter's servants, either. Carter unknowingly assumes that other

¹ Carter, Nixon, Johnson and Roosevelt, were presidents of the United States.

countries would follow him if he used economic sanctions against us. No sir, you are making a big mistake! He should review his plans for Iran.

I ask God for your success. May God protect you. May you be successful.

Speech

Date: December 7, 1979 [Azar 16, 1358 AHS / Muharram 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: describing the American plots and their agent's conspiracies against the Iranian Revolution

Addressee: The enemy of Kim Eel Sung (the President of North Korea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

American's continual conspiracies against the Islamic Revolution

I would like to express my thanks to both the president and the people of the North Korea for their support at this critical juncture of our history. You are defending us out of your humanistic sentiments.

For the last fifty years we have been dominated by the United States and other super powers. The agents of these foreign powers were both Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Phalavi who engaged in so many cases of injustice and cruelties against the Iranian nation that their tolerance came to an end and they revolted against the aggressors empty handed. People stood in front of modern weaponry just with their faith. From the very first step of the conception of the Islamic republic the United States showed enmity. Americans did their best to support the Shah. Carter sent me some envoys. When the Shah left Iran, Bakhtiyar came to Iran and was protected by the United State. He worked for the Americans. When Bakhtiyar left Iran, Americans put out lots of energy not to let our revolution succeed. Their agents who were the remnants of the old regime engaged in a lot of conspiracies, with no results, however.

These agents tried their best to stop the carrying out of the referendum for the Islamic Republic. Having suffered failure in this regard they mobilized themselves to sabotage the elections for the Council of Experts. When the nasty agents of the United States met with failure, they started to conspire against the referendum for the Constitution. They even broke the boxes of the votes and prohibited people from casting their votes. However, thanks God, people came out victorious. They almost unanimously voted for it. Then the representatives of the Consultative Assembly worked on the Constitution. However, the United States still provokes some conspiracies against us.

The clubs against the law

It is strange that those who claim that their actions are based on the principles of freedom and democracy now are resorting to the clubs to stop the process of the enactment of the Constitution. They desire to change the articles of the Constitution. They have, however, forgotten that Iranian people are still the same people who voted for the Constitution. They should know that the same representatives who are fond of Islam will once again approve of the Constitution. These representatives love their country. Suppose they put the Constitution to people's voting. They once again will vote positively for it. These people love their Islam and their country. They will vote the same. They are using too much ado for nothing. The revolt that now is found in Azarbayjan is carried out by the American agents. The honorable Azarbayjanis should know that the American agents are behind these actions. The revolt in Qum, too, was done by the same agents. They want to stop the passage of this law. The disagreement with the Constitution is the enemy of Islam.

Islam versus blasphemy

Let our Azarbayjani brothers realize that today we are confronting with blasphemy and Islam is in danger. Anybody who revolts against this republic at any place and location in Iran is considered an enemy of Islam because such people would not like Islam to materialize in this country. If you think the Constitution has got some shortcomings, you should let the Islamic government get established and its president get elected and the Consultative Assembly get in operation, then these shortcomings will be taken care of. This will be done by your representatives. Using clubs and intimidation and harassment will be of no effect. Some of these club bearers have got records among the records and documents obtained from the den of espionage. Let people not get deceived and manipulated by these aggressors.

Looking forward to convening international court against the United States

May God save our nation from the evils of the United States. I hope the people of the world will sympathize with us. And if the American nation realized what their presidents have done to us in the last fifty years, they would agree with us. I hope we could finish the trial of these American spies here, and then we will invite some envoys of the United States to take part in a session held here in Iran by the lawyers from all interested countries. Then they could research the cases of the cruelties that the presidents of the United

States have imposed on the Iranian nation. Then the people of the world will realize what crimes the United States commit in the poor countries. They have recently condemned us in some pre-determined sessions.¹ This session (of the American senate) was convened by the command of Carter. Such sessions, however, are of no value whatsoever.

The espionage den and the American spies in Iran

We will not consider these detainees as the real personnel of an embassy. Neither do we consider that place as an embassy. If that place were an embassy and if these people were the personnel of an embassy, they would be right to protest. We will consider the place where they worked as a center for espionage. These are not diplomats. Instead, they are spies. Therefore, they are criminals. And the criminals should be tried in the places where they have committed crimes. We will convene such a court in the future. We will invite the envoys of all nations to take part. Then we will try the United States in such a court.

Once again I express my gratitude towards all those nations who supported us. I ask God to make all oppressed nations succeed.

¹ The American senate, upon the suggestion of Jacob Javits, the Zionist senator, condemned the actions of the revolutionary courts of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the execution of Habib Ilqaniyan, the Zionist capitalist.

Letter

Date: December 8, 1979 [Azar 17, 1358 AHS / Muharram 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The announcement that one check has been received

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi—may his blessings last,

I hope you are in good health and busy fulfilling your divine tasks. Enclosed we have received a check to the amount of two hundred thousand *tumans*.

I ask God to make you succeed in the propagation of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram18, 1400 AH

Speech

Date: December 9, 1979 [Azar 18, 1358 AHS / Muharram 19, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The status and significance of radio and television in the Islamic Republic; keeping unity in the face of conspiracies

Addressees: The five-member council of radio and television

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The radio and television, the most sensitive means of the propagation of propaganda

The radio and television net, as I have repeatedly said, is by far the most sensitive apparatus for publicity. People make use of it through their eyes and ears. People resort to this system more than other systems. A nation gets improved by the improvement brought about in its radio and television net. If this system remained in the same condition that it had at the time of the Shah, people would not improve. One of the tasks of this system, which is under the supervision of Mr. Musawi, whose past records we are aware of, is to take care of the contents of its program, which should be based on the principles of Islam.

The mere act of voting for the Islamic Republic of Iran is not enough. Its systems of information, its newspapers, its mass media, its governmental centers, its bazaar and its factories should be in such a way that anybody who enters such a country could perceive that he has entered an Islamic community. The trace of Islam should be present in these centers. Anything in contradiction with Islam should be removed from such centers.

The role of the radio and television network in the improvement of the Islamic order

One issue of concern in television is the issue of films. These films should be instructive. Those films which cause our youth to get spoiled should be avoided.

Those who are in charge of films should be advised to show good and moral values. However, if they insist on showing nasty films, they should be liquidated. Your tasks are decisive in that you either cause the development and progress of the Islamic Republic through presenting the public with

¹The date of this lecture is recorded as 29/7/1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

proper films, or you might hinder its progress. It takes time to make the personnel of certain departments realize that we should stop imitating the west. They are under the illusion that whatever is shown on the American and English televisions, should be imitated here. Be careful to appoint employees who believe in Islam and in the Islamic Republic. The content of such films should be Islamic. Put this fact at the top of your agenda everywhere in this country. Invite learned and shrewd people to deliver lectures on useful topics on your networks.

Care should be taken in the broadcast of films

Concerning films, care should be taken to broadcast those films which are not misleading to our youth. The films which are shown to children should assist them in independent and creative thinking and in becoming responsible individuals. Do not let irresponsible people broadcast any film they like. If there are such people, guide them. If they do not care, expel them. This is urgent, indeed.

Keeping in line with people's demands

The revolution which took place in Iran was the result of two factors. The first factor was Islam. In every corner of the country the cry for Islam was loud and clear. People abhorred the previous regime for the mischievous acts that were common in that regime. Our youth early in their lives found out that the old regime was corrupted from its very foundation. But people were Muslims. They were after Islam.

Now we should find out what kind of programs our Muslim nation prefers. We are not allowed to produce anything which is not approved by them. We should listen to our nation. We should care for what they want.

A nation whose slogan is "Neither east, nor west, only Islamic Republic," has set the stage for our planning the programs. We are not allowed to say this nation has arisen for democracy. There is everything in Islam, including democracy. We are not permitted to impose anything on them against their wishes.

It is a long way to arrive at our objectives

The second factor behind our revolution was the fact that all layers of our society were united. If there were some opponents among people, they were made silent through the pressure of the majority. They were not allowed to sabotage. Everybody was after Islam

These two factors contributed to the victory of the Islamic Republic. We should not however, be under the illusion that we have so far resolve every problem. We are not at the start of our path; rather, we are at mid-way. We have not yet reached our goal.

It was our aspiration to cut the hands of those superpowers which dominated us, whose military advisors were busy in our country, who issued commands to the cabinets what to do and what not to do, who appoint representatives for the Consultative Assembly. Muhammad-Rida himself has confessed to the fact that these representatives were appointed by different embassies in Iran. When he said such a statement he had in mind to confirm that he was not influenced by those embassies anymore. He intended to accuse his father of this mismanagement, claiming that he himself was free from this kind of error. But he showed his lack of skill to confess to the fact that he was innocent. Everybody knew he was even worse than his father. He was more dependent over foreign powers than his father. The amount of his father's dependence was less than his.

Islam and unity, the two factors of victory

These two factors, i.e. Islam and unity, brought us victory. Upon the victory of the Islamic Republic over its enemies, the opponents who were silent at the initial stages of its victory, but were influenced by the western pernicious propagandism, started forming hazardous political parties. In this way, they did not cooperate to stay united. They could have formed different parties after our republic had been firmly established. It was wrong for them to start such programs right in the middle of our path. Some, however, left their wrong path. Following all these, there occurred other turmoil, such as the Kurdistan revolt and the Azarbayjan turmoil against which we are struggling.

The creation of turmoil by the United States

This turmoil at Kurdistan and Azarbayjan are not what the Khurds or Azaris would like to have. These turmoils are imposed on them by outsiders. The agents of the previous regime, too, have active role in them. As soon as turmoil is created at a location, for example, at Kurdistan, then the agitators gather there. But we have received scrolls of petitions for the establishment of the Islamic Republic there. They abhor separation. Of course, we are aware of the problems everywhere in the country. The Kurds do not like war. No nation likes war. Man is always after tranquility and calmness in the region he lives.

However, there are conspiracies. Those who previously had interests in this country now intrigue and instigate the groups of agitators. Some individuals follow these instigators blindly, and some follow them intentionally, and create turmoil. Some of these revolts have been successful, but most of them failed, like the one in Qum.

People in Azarbayjan have never discarded Islam. They have always been loyal to Islam. They have always loved their country. They have been pioneers for the independence of the country. The Azarbayjanis have always sacrificed their blood for Islam. It is totally wrong to claim that Azarbayjanis do not care for Islam anymore. We hear it said that Azarbayjanis have occupied the television offices or the offices of the governor general. These are not done by a Muslim. Rather, such actions are done by the agitator and conspirators supported by the United States. Conversely, the Azarbayjanis are interested in Islam.

Warning to Iran's different peoples

We sure these turmoils are not done by Azarbayjanis, one of whom categorically denies such accusations.¹ The agitators wrongly announce in their radios that army has joined them, or that the police is united with them. Such utterances are put forth by those who do not believe in Islam. They are uttered by traitors. Those who have occupied the television office and who think they have discovered something and have achieved miracles are those whose records are among the records of the American spies. The nation of Azarbayjan should be careful not to be carried away by these persuasions. This might blemish the reputation of Azaris who were well known in their Islam. Such a revolt is an act against Islam; it is against the Islamic government. We hate bloodshed. We hate our brothers to get killed. These rotten souls could never do such acts of violence. If somebody we asked the Azaris to settle the problem by themselves, they would definitely do so without delay. The Azaris, however, should be careful to ignore these agitators.

This fact should also be observed by our Khurdish, Baluchis, Sistani and Bakhtiyari brothers. At one time you did not have your country; now you possess it. You should, therefore, manage it.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadiri whom the agitators in Tabriz and Qum refer to as their leader.

The need for the arrest of the agitators and their accomplices

Anyhow, these are some of the problems we are facing. One of the tasks of the radio and television network is to inform people on what is going on in the country. They have announced that the Furqan Group¹ has joined them, that the people's partisan troops² have joined them. Who are the members of these small groups? Those who claim the Furqan Group or the people's partisan troops have joined them are the real instigators. Let our brothers not to get deceived. No Muslim would ever follow such groups. No seminary student would ever join these groups. No Islamic leader would ever agree with these groups. Do not accuse the Islamic leaders of joining these illegal groupings. They do not agree with these groups. It is an Islamic taboo.

The uprising against the Islamic government is essentially an anti-Islamic act. Now we have an Islamic state. The punishment for the uprising against Islam is a capital one. No seminary student has ever declared the people should uprising against Islam. Not such a student would ever act against Islam. Some attribute such a big crime to the Islamic leaders. These are utter lies. They would not utter such rigmaroles. The uprising against Islam is blasphemy. It is above all other sins. Muawiyah did the same thing and Imam Ali (a) considered his murder legal. It is not an easy job to uprising against an Islamic government. Now they have uprisen against an Islamic government.

Inviting the agitators to compromise and to observe peace and quiet

I hope these agitators would be wise enough to stop these acts of corruption and aggression. And the clergy in the cities and towns should advise them. The clergy should warn them not to carry out illegal acts. They should not wrongly think that they can not be stopped. We do not want brother-killing to be the order of the day. We have showed that we did not want bloodshed in Kurdistan. We want peace and quiet there.

Thus, one of the main tasks of the radio and television network is to broadcast issues as they are. The supervisors of this network should not let those who distort facts get control of the system. The content of the programs should be Islamic in nature. Since these days we are being confronted with a satanic enemy, any opposing voice would be an instance of blasphemy. And

¹ The Furqan Group was one of the deviated political parties which assassinated some of the revolutionary dignitaries such as Martyr Murtada Mutahhari, Mufattih, Qarani, Haj Mahdi Araqi and Ihsan (his son).

² The people's partisan troops, was one of the oldest Marxist groupings who believed in armed uprising. It subdivided repeatedly and ultimately some of its members joined the communist party called Tudeh Party (the party of the masses).

these voices indeed stem from blasphemy. Our nation should be on the alert at all times. May God bless you in carrying out your tasks successfully. Take care to throw away any program which is not Islamic.

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

Speech

Date: December 10, 1979 [Azar 19, 1358 AHS / Muharram 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The conspiracies of the American agents in Iran

Addressees: The University students of Kermanshah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I become delighted to see the bright faces of you good friends of mine, who have walked from Kermanshah (a city located 350 kilometers from Tehran) to come here to announce your support for Islam and for the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for the University students who have captured the espionage den. I humbly ask God to make you succeed. I wish you will succeed in cutting the hands of the agents of the foreign powers from your country. You have come here together with the greetings and encouragements of the people of the villages and towns and cities along your long journey from Kermanshah to Tehran.

The conspiracies of the American agents in Iran

However, among the people there are some American agents who are busy agitating and making disturbances. You might have heard about the revolt in Tabriz. These are not people from Tabriz. The Tabrizi people would not rise against Islam. Tabrizis, like other Muslims, have always supported Islam. They have been genuine supporters of Islam. The agitators are the agents of the foreign powers and we have found records of their conspiracies among the files in the espionage den. We have documents against those who occupied the radio and television offices in Tabriz, but these agitators have been expelled by people. The leaders of these rebels have had connections with the United States. Nowadays they have tried to deceive the villagers in Tabriz villages to revolt against the central government. They plan more conspiracies, everyday.

Cautioning the Muslim nation of Azarbaijan

I would like to warn the pious people of Tabriz, the villages of Tabriz and all nation of Azarbaijan against the command for the start of holy war

issued by Mr. so and so.¹ Do they issue the command for a holy war against Islam? And that only for the sake of Carter? Are you issuing such commands to let Carter succeed in occupying your country? Those who utter such nasty remarks are the servants of enemies. They are related to the American embassy. Somebody all of them will be tried in court. They will be taken in custody. Let the Azerbaijan people capture them; we will then try them. These are true enemies of Islam. These are the enemies of Iran. Definitely they will be tried. The villagers of Tabriz should ask the clergy about the nature of this kind of propaganda. They should not do anything to agitate a bloodshed and massacre. We do not want to destroy them. The Tabrizis will do so themselves. We are not after bloodshed. Rather, we prefer peace and quiet. We need tranquility to improve in our plans.

Now we are confronting a huge enemy. This enemy is determined to demolish Islam, to capture Iran, and to have control over our lives, like before. But suddenly a group of rascals, whose origins are known to us, rise to support Carter. Let the clergymen in Tabriz send some envoys to the villages to direct people towards the right path.

The honorable people of Tabriz should guard against such conspiracies. But this should be done calmly. You should prohibit bloodshed. You have come here to support Islam. The Azarbayjan people, too, try to defend Islam. Every citizen of this country has uprisen to defend Islam. However, a group of atheists, ignorant of the principles of Islam, a group of traitors have started agitation. They had planned to revolt in Qum. But it was stopped. Then they headed for Azarbayjan. There, too, they met with failure. Now they are in villages to start disturbances and riot. However, such uprisings will be pacified by the villagers themselves.

Invitation to uprising against the great Satan

Now we are on our way. However, we are confronted with a super power. They do not want us to succeed. These agitators were against Islam from the very beginning. They used to publish their publication in clandestine way. Their secret manifestoes were all against Islam. Iranian people, in general, as well as the people of Azarbayjan should be alert. Let us rise against this big enemy. We will definitely succeed in this affair. We will never let the enemy come to this country to dominate us. Let them devise plans to use economic sanctions against us. We do not get frightened by such

¹ By Mr. so and so is meant Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari. Some of the proponents of the party of the Muslim Nation spread the rumor that he has issued a command for the start of a holy war against the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, he denied such allegation.

sanctions. Besides, other countries are not slaves to Carter. They will ignore him. It is the illusion on the part of the superpowers to assume that nations all over the world would obey them. Carter is in trouble even in his own country. They have criticized him for his harsh and irrational decisions. Such a weak person should be expelled from the political arena.

The American nation should impeach Carter and get rid of him. He is not appropriate politician for the United States. He is a nasty president. He has brought ill fame for his country. Carter has, through his actions, mobilized the Muslim nations against the United States. He does not deserve to be the president. The American nation should not reelect him. The reason is that he has betrayed the Americans. Now, he is involved in conspiracies. He is acting against the American interests. This is and will be confirmed more by the American scholars.

I ask God for your health and for success for all Iranians. I am at your service. May God bless you all. May God destroy your enemies.

Message

Date: December 11, 1979 [Azar 20, 1358 AHS / Muharram 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The transgressors of people's lands and possessions

Addressees: The supervisors of the Revolutionary Committees, the Revolutionary Guards, and the Revolutionary Courts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

There have been numerous cases of complains against some revolutionary committees, revolutionary guards and courts that they have involved houses and have confiscated people's properties and have cut the trees of gardens and have damaged the plantations.

I hereby notify and command all responsible personnel of all committees, courts and revolutionary offices to stop this illegal act. This is an Islamic country and the Islamic standards should be taken into consideration. In the coming days I will send some envoys to deal with these complaints. Those who have confiscated people's possessions or lands shall be severely punished. The respectable people of Iran should cooperate with this special board of inspectors. I ask people to stop the acts of these aggressors.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Azar 20, 1358 AHS / Muharram 21,
1400 AH

Decree

Date: December 11, 1979 [Azar 20, 1358 AHS / Muharram 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The dispatch of delegates to settle the disputes in the provinces

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Honorable Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi,

We have received numerous cases of complaints from different provinces of Iran. I hereby appoint you, who are trusted by me, to go to deal with these cases together with a delegate, whom you will introduce to me. Prepare a list of the complaints and their contents so that we could refer them to the legal courts to be dealt with and that the offenders get punished.

It is urgent that you contact with the distinguished religious scholars and the trustees in every location and carry out your task with their cooperation. It is evident that people of all walks of life will cooperate with you of the cases of offense.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 20, 1358 AHS / Muharram21,
1400 AH

Speech

Date: December 11, 1979 [Azar 20, 1358 AHS / Muharram 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The conspiracies of America and small political parties vis-à-vis the Islamic Revolution and the Constitution

Audience: Different layers of people and the shrouded men and women of Babolsar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

America and the small political parties vis-à-vis the Iranian nation

I would like to sincerely thank you shrouded men and women who have come from the city of Babolsar to support Islam and the Islamic Republic. I pray for all of you. I am at your service. You are well aware of the fact that this juncture of our history is extremely crucial. We are confronted with super power of the United States, which has at its disposal all means of propaganda and weaponry. On the other hand, we are facing the remnants of the old regime and the disbelievers, who are active in every corner of the country not to let us succeed with our Islamic Republic.

You referred to those cases in your city, Babolsar, in which propaganda was spread to discourage people from voting for the Constitution. These agitators would not like Islam to be established in this country. From the very beginning, these aggressors tried frantically to keep that corrupted man in power. Then, they attempted to keep the kingdom regime. Later they endeavored to defend Bakhtiyar. Their final trial was to support the previous constitution. But they have failed in all of these efforts. They camouflaged and became national figures overnight. Some of them became religious. At one time, they were fond of kingdom and wanted to renew it. At a later time, they equaled the word "kingdom" with the word "aggression." But, in fact, they were after a government based on kingdom.

If the United States prevails, Iran will disintegrate

Now we are at a critical moment of confrontation with the United States. It would be better if some individuals discarded their disputes and concentrated more on this issue. These individuals do not realize that if this nation were defeated in front of the United States, there would remain nothing of Azarbayjan or Iran in general. Those agents who are at the service of the United States and are cooperating with that country and are producing these commotions can not visualize what would happen to them if the United

States dominated Iran. They could not realize what would happen to the respectable nation of Iran, to Azarbayjan, to Khuzestan, to Kurdistan, to Sistan and to Baluchistan. All these masses of the Iranian nation agree with the Islamic Republic of Iran, but they defy the United States. But these people, unfortunately, are deceived by these agitators who appear in disguise as patriots. They misguide people and influence them in the wrong path. All this they do so that the United States could follow their plans against us.

The American worries over the Iranian disclosure of facts

The United States is worried to see our youth are united and have got shrouded and is ready for being martyred. It also fears its political defeat. The United States is worried that we might disclose the crimes of the previous presidents, and especially those of the incumbent president. The Americans would like to make us busy with insignificant disputes and lead us towards inside decay. They want to create internal conflicts. They have created the revolt of Azarbayjan for their purpose. They want to keep us busy inside so that we might forget about our main enemy, which is the United States. They want to distract our attentions towards Azarbayjan, although the issue of Azarbayjan is not very important, in deed.

Some agitators carried out some infamous political acts. However, the Azarbayjan people should condemn such devilish acts. But these vicious people, through showing their favor towards a man,¹ who himself has denied such allegations, are trying to mislead the simple hearted, naïve population. They try their best to hinder the Iranian nation from getting along with their projects. These turmoils are superficially created so that we might forget the main issues and be carried away over unimportant topics.

The objectives of the agitators

The Iranian nation should be alert, and not be deceived by those agitators who call themselves the “supporters of the nation,” or by those rebels who invaded the offices of radio and television in Tabriz. These nasty individuals want to deter us from disclosing the nature of those crimes which the previous presidents of the United States have committed against Iran. This is their only method to create artificial commotions in Iran. We have to stay alert. The nation should realize that our task is more delicate and complicated than our task at the era of Muhammad-Rida during the days when we were face to face with Muhammad-Rida, all nations recognized their enemy and that was Muhammad-Rida. But today we are faced with a band of agitators

¹ Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari.

who are hidden among our nation. They pretend to belong to the nation but their path is different from ours. They agitate people against us and we are aware of their agitation.

Now we have a harder task ahead of us. We want to force the United States to account for the crimes they have done against us. They want to prevent us from convening an international court here in Iran in which all delegates of all nations could participate and through which we could disclose the crimes done against the Iranian nation. We want to find out who has plundered our national reserves. But they would like us not to succeed in these affairs.

Inviting our nation to stay alert in the face of conspiracies

As I have been informed money and weapons are being distributed among people in Tabriz. But this simple hearted people do not realize what is going on behind the scene. You are receiving this weaponry to rise against Islam; you received this money to defy Islam. We know the sources of this weaponry. Let our people get alert. You, who have come from Babolsar, be watchful not to let this kind of conspiracy take place in your region. Our people there should not be influenced by the propaganda newspapers being distributed among people, as this sister of ours has announced now. People should not assume that the Constitution is not national in content. They should not think this law is not Islamic. This rule was written by those who were nationalist and religious. These experts prepared the rule and then it was confirmed by our nation. Those who deny the legality of this rule are doing injustice to our nation. They want to prevent this nation from following its objectives. Be alert! Do not listen to these rigmaroles! Today you should stay united, against the United States. We will, God willing, succeed. Islam will succeed. May God help us against those who are going astray.

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

Speech

Date: December 12, 1979 [Azar 21, 1358 AHS / Muharram 22, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: All inclusive nature of Islam; reliance on our identity; struggle to be self-sufficient; trial to gain independence

Audience: The craftsmen from Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The role of the hegemonic powers in making a single dimensioned Islam

I would like to thank you for your coming here. As those gentlemen told us you had been at the service of people free of charge you have, in fact, served Islam. You are well aware of the fact that we are now confronted with a super power. They are making all sorts of propaganda against us both inside and outside the country. They are making propaganda against our Islamic Republic. Those who are making propaganda inside the country are those who are basically ignorant of even the word of Islam. Some who have come from abroad claim that they have not seen any trace of Islam outside. Those who have heard the name do not know what it means. Even some of those who have lived inside the country recognize Islam in part. Our specialists of Islam, too, know it superficially. Some forces never let Islam materialize in Iran. These forces included Bani Umayyad and Bani Abbas Caliphs and the Iranian kings, especially Rida Khan and his son of the corrupted Pahlavi dynasty. Of course, these two latter tyrants were influenced by foreign forces. They confined Islam inside schools and mosques. Of course, Islam was taught from its prayer point of view. Even if a clergy was asked about Islam, he referred only to this role of Islam. Of course, other dimensions of Islam, such as chapters on the Islamic government, Islamic justice and the Islamic punishment, are written in books. But these books are confined to the libraries only.

The deviational interpretations of Islam

Islam has come to educate people. This education should be all sided, however. Man is not his physical aspect only. In this sense both animals and men are the same. Unfortunately, we have been under the influence of two types of interpreters. One type of these interpreters emphasized only the spiritual aspect of Islam, forgetting its material aspect altogether. These interpreters went so far as to interpret the killings mentioned in the Holy

Quran as “killing one’s own self.” They interpreted all worldly aspects mentioned in Islam as spiritual events.

We are at times confronted with a second type of interpreters of Islam. Those who were engaged in the interpretation of Islam and narrations went to the other extreme and emphasized on the worldly aspects of Islam. They sacrificed spirituality at the expense of materialistic aspects of Islam. This second group interpret every thin in terms of worldly affairs, forgetting the unknown world altogether.

The deviational analyses in the Islamic Republic

This deviation is even seen in our actions and beliefs now. In bringing forth this revolution all layers of society took part. This participation included all classes of our society, from Tehran to the remotest sections of the country. Everybody shouted “The Islamic Republic: we do not want the Pahlavi regime, we want Islam.” Even an elementary school student shouted this slogan. The elderly man, too, who was bed ridden at the hospital uttered this motto. Those people, who went on the roofs at nights and shouted “Allah is the Greater,” too, were shouting for Islam. But there are those who say these shouting were for “democracy,” although most of common people had never heard of the word democracy before. Even if they were thought the meaning of the corrupted democracy, they would still insist on Islam.

The principle motives of the Iranian nation in the Islamic Revolution in Iran

The opponents of the Islamic Republic would claim that people did not care for the Islamic Republic. Rather, people were looking for better conditions of life.

Is it rational for anybody to shout for filling his stomach but endanger his life? Could he shout for his stomach but cause the death of his child. Those who voluntarily stood against tanks and machineguns and attacked the enemy with their fists asked for better houses? For better furniture? Did they ever think of these worldly affairs in those critical moments? Everybody had risen to revive Islam. They had Islam in mind. They worked hard for it. Even now people ask me to ask God to let them become martyrs. So, we see that house or food or furniture were not what they were after. They adopted martyrdom not for this, but for the other: the same martyrdom that God’s men and prophets have always been after. Those of us who got martyred were among these men of God. But now, those who interpret the Holy

Quran and narrations in terms of materialistic aspects could easily interpret people's shout for Islam in a wrong way.

The freedom seeking aspects of the monotheistic religious schools

In Islam you could find topics on knowledge, monotheism, prophethood and the world hereafter, i.e. the world which nobody could become aware of except through revelation. The Holy Quran includes everything. Islam includes everything. It is not like regimes; rather, it governs. It is not a regime like that one of Carter's or Muhammad-Rida's. Even in the Holy wars, Islam did not struggle to expand its territory. Islam has always intended to make man. Islam has wanted to liberate the man from the claws of the dictators and the super powers. This has been the objective of all monotheistic schools to liberate man. Islam has come for the liberation of man. By this liberation is not meant the material liberation. Oil is not considered significant for Islam. Islam does not think about houses. Rather, Islam thinks of something more exultant. Islam considers all aspects of life, both the material and spiritual things. Islam also thinks of its role in the government, in the justice system and in the spiritual aspects as well. In Islam the spiritual aspects are given more prominence than the material ones. The divine schools try to make the man improve because he is a small replica of all action. You can find in man the aspects of revelation. The prophets came to help man find this way, to help him reach the light.

*Allah is the guardian of those who believe, he brings them out of the darkness into the light.*¹ Allah helps man through His prophets who educate man. They help man by taking him out of the darkness.

Brainwashing people for the purpose of leading them into slavery

In order to plunder us, the superpowers planned to steal our bright young men and convert them into European ones. In this way, they made us believe that whatever we have is theirs. They tried to steal our independent thinking. And they succeeded in doing so. Now, there are thirty five million people living in Iran and several hundred million people living in the East. They and we have become so enchanted by the west that we have forgotten ourselves. We make the best kind of cloth in Isfahan but mark it as a product of England. Why? We have been indoctrinated that we are not able to produce anything. However, we are able to produce things they can never think of.

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2: 257.

The exclusive art and crafts of the Iranians

If you ever go to the Faydiyyah seminary,¹ you will notice a door which enters the sacred shrine of Hadrat Masumah (a). It used to have an inscription. I have not been there during the last thirty years. When I was at that school, a group of experts came to Iran and watched that inscription. They said it was unique and that nobody ever in the world could produce one like that. The reason they presented was that the ink used in writing on it had been a mixture of different colors, each one of which had been produced under certain degrees of temperature. It had been prepared by our artists with such great expertise that it has not changed during these long years. Those experts said no price could be put on it, because it was unique.

We have been so brain washed that we have put aside our crafts: the crafts of tiling, embossed articles, carpet weaving, making brocaded silk and velvet, these elegant crafts were gradually forgotten due to the wrong propaganda and because of the negligence of this father and his son. This is because they made us fond of the west. We can not sell our cloth unless we mark it as an English product. We have enough number of physicians but they report that Muhammad-Rida brought a physician from abroad to cure the tonsils of one of his relatives. See what kind of treason they have committed against our nation. They have claimed that they do not have a physician to cure even the tonsils. Our surgeons and physicians have been humiliated by these actions.

A colonized brain as against an independent one

I used to tell those physicians who came over to visit me that it seems their education has not been right since nowadays people go abroad to cure even their weakest kind of diseases. But those physicians replied that they do not know what was going on. What is the reason for this chaotic condition? This is because our brains have washed and something else has been put for it. Our brains have been colonized. We have to replace it now with an independent brain. We will need latter form of brain in managing this country. Our university professors should change the brains of our students. They should develop the independent brains in these students. Our culture and economy, too, should be independent.

¹ This is one of the best-known Shiite religious seminaries in the city of Qum in Iran.

We should be content with what we can produce in our own country. We should not rely on others to help us out. We will only have an improved cloth industry if we use our own products. Let us not be dependent on others.

The first step towards independence is to find ourselves

What a shame it is for a nation to beg the United States for wheat. This is in fact asking your enemy to have mercy on you. We would not be independent unless we could be self sufficient and strengthened our agriculture. We should curtail our cultural and economic reliance on others. Rather, we should depend on our own culture and economy. We shall never be independent unless we could believe that we can stay on our own feet. We should let our youth know that we are real human beings and capable of doing things right. The foreign propaganda has alienated us from ourselves. Our farmers, our workers and our office personnel should identify themselves. They should be proud of their country. They should believe that we have everything, that we are rich. They have made the people to suffer hunger in those places which are rich in oil. Our water and our lands are not used properly. Our lands have been idle. All this has roots in the colonialization. They prefer people be poor in the center of oil filled lands. They were after cheap workers to establish their colonial rules. They have kept people backward for their own purposes.

We could never gain our independence unless we found ourselves, unless we replaced the colonized brain in our youth with an independent one. The independent thinking is the first condition to gain independence. We should get away from being parasites over other cultures. If we did not show perseverance in keeping the foreigners out of our culture, as we have done upto now, then they would return once again because they are patient. They could easily dominate us if we did not watch them closely. They will use this domination through our own hands.

The fear of the world mongers and world conquerors of Islam

Now you are faced with all sorts of disturbance and turmoil in different corners of this country. These are artificially created to disturb your tranquility and peace. They do not want an Islamic Republic to be established in this country. They fear Islam because Islam has inserted a blow upon them. Several blows they have been exposed to in the past by Islam. One elderly man living in Karbala, named Aqa Mirza Muhammad-Taqi,¹ hurt the

¹ Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Hairi Shirazi, better known as Mirza, the junior, was a student of Mirza Hasan Shirazi (or Mirza, the senior). This latter issued the decree for the sanction of tobacco. In the war for independence in 1920 in Iraq, Mirza Muhammad Shirazi had an important role in issuing the decree of Holy war against the invader English.

English severely. He expelled the English from Iraq. These foreigners have suffered a lot from Islam, from the clergy of Islam, from a Muslim scientist and a Muslim businessman. For this reason, they do not want the Islamic order to get established here. They create turmoil everywhere under different names. At one time they revolt in Kurdistan. At other time they bring forth disturbances in Azarbayjan. They are not going to stop agitation because they have failed politically.

The political failure and Carter's ethics

Now Carter is facing an infamous political failure. As you have seen in newspapers he is busy sending his secretary of state to different countries to ask them to use sanctions against us. What a philanthropist Carter is! Carter is keeping a criminal, named Muhammad-Rida, for his later conspiracies against Iran. Now he is busy mobilizing other nations to take part in a general sanction against us. But unfortunately for Carter, nobody took him seriously. They have rejected his demands. Even in his own country he has met with complete failure. Some of the ministers of his own cabinet do not agree with him on this sanction. This philanthropist now is decided to expel fifty thousand Iranian youth from the United States and he has ordered his police to harass our youth with dogs. But an immigration judge has turned down the plan for the deportation of the Iranian youth living in the United States. This is both an ethical and political failure. Now everybody knows their ethical standards. They fakely pretend to be philanthropists. They claim to consider human standards to cure a wretched person¹ in the States.

Westernization of some elites

Now Mr. Carter has betrayed himself: he does not want to salvage these fifty spies caught and kept here. Human beings are not taken into consideration by him. What he is after, however, is his reelection for the presidency. He frantically attempts to become the president. These extremely serious philanthropists test their drugs over us and use us as guinea pigs prior to permitting their use on their own people. This is similar to the experiments being done on animals by researchers.

Unfortunately, some of our elites have high opinion on Americans or Europeans. They are right in denying themselves. Their minds have been exposed to the western way of thinking. Whatever blows are being exerted

¹ Muhammad-Rida.

on Iran is not realized by these elites who are enchanted by the western civilization. Some of these agitators who have been expelled from Iran and who have taken shelter in England are still trying to disturb our country. However, these people have connection with both England and the United States. Somebody they will probably return to this country to create more problems for us.

Extreme caution vis-à-vis the conspiracies

They have determined to renew the old conditions once again. They consider themselves national and intellectual. They pretend to have sympathy for our people/

We should stay alert and vigilant and control the activities of these elites. If we do not pay attention, the old tragedy would repeat itself. But this could be stopped by trying to establish Islam here with your assistance. We would have independence and other things which Islam has in provision for us, as well.

Do not rely only on “If God wishes so,” “In the Name of Allah,” or invocations. We should act out our plans at the universities and at the offices. Stop using European style in the offices. Use Eastern patterns. Use human patterns. Use the title “Islamic” everywhere and do not be afraid.

The need for the purifying the Persian language and culture from foreign words

One problem we are facing is our fear of identifying ourselves. We are fearful of considering ourselves as human beings.

Another problem we are facing is the use of European words in our speech. Listen to the lectures offered by people. Whoever used more foreign words is more learned! They consider someone a scientist if he employs foreign words in his speech. This is due to the fact that speeches and lectures are colonized, too. The speaker is colonized, as well.

You go to the United States. See if anybody uses one single Persian word in his speech, or in his writings, but we prefer to use foreign names. We would like to use Latin transcript. This is because by using foreign words a businessman can find more customers and he can pass himself off as a learned man. If he used several isms, then his position is secured in society as an intellectual. He, in fact, compensates for what he is lacking.

We would not get our independence unless we used our Persian words—do not say we should not use Arabic; no, Arabic belongs to Islam and Islam belongs to everybody; what does not belong to us, however, is a collection of

isms prevalent in the speech of the elites. We would not gain our independence unless we changed the named of the streets, unless we used Persian words over the products we manufacture ourselves, and unless we found out ourselves and changed our brains. We would not gain our independence unless our writers stopped using foreign words.

Struggle to arrive at self-sufficient and needless

We should trust our human characteristics. We should employ our Persian vocabulary and use our own knowledge. I do not claim that you should not adopt the foreign knowledge and technology, but be aware that they have kept us backward. So, naturally, we will need them. You should adopt proper phases of their knowledge. The foreigners teach us bad things. Our youth are being taught the colonized type of knowledge. Their medicine is colonizing. They would not let us improve. We should find our own ways. There are many countries which have adopted knowledge from abroad. But later on they improved themselves. Japan was one such country. India was another example. Thus, we should help ourselves out. The first thing for us to do is to have confidence in ourselves, the conviction that we are able to act, that we are somebody. I hope we could establish Islam in this country as it is pre-determined by Allah and could help this oppressed nation who has been kept backward for the last twenty five hundreds years, especially in the last fifty years. We hope to reserve out interest for ourselves.

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

Decree

Date: December 13, 1979 [Azar 22, 1358 AHS / Muharram 23, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The convention of the international jury for the analysis of the hegemonic diplomacy of the United States in Iran

Addressee: Sadiq Qutbzadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Honorable Mr. Qutbzadeh, the Minister of the Iranian Foreign Affairs,

It is imperative that you, in cooperation with the Revolutionary Council, immediately convene an international jury to analyze the hegemonic American diplomacy in Iran, especially during the reign of the traitor and depend the Shah of Iran, and expose the result to the international judgment so that the United Nations—which under the influence of America, has condemned us—might get well informed of the American crimes against the oppressed nation of Iran. At the same time in order to offset the American propaganda you are allowed to invite an international independent corps to observe the life conditions of the hostages kept in the American den here. And peace be upon you.

Ruhllah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Azar 22, 1358 AHS

Speech

Date: December 14, 1979 [Azar 23, 1358 AHS / Muharram 24, 1400 AH]¹ a.m.

Place: Qum

Subject: The three dimensional danger of the pseudo-pious ones, quasi-intellectuals and the hypocrites

Audience: Supervisors and employees of the Fourteen-chapter Imam Khomeini Relief Committee Center

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The relief committee and the mission of giving relief aid

I would like to thank you, sisters and brothers of the relief committee, for coming here today and for your endeavors. I pray for all of you. You are well aware of the fact that there are a lot of destructions everywhere in this country and we need your assistance. Our nation and country needs this relief aid in many different ways. This is because the damage done to this nation and country is multifaceted. To compensate for this destruction we will need your assistance. One sort of aid is material damage. You, gentlemen, sisters and brothers, have endeavored to provide relief aid to make up for the physical damage suffered by the people who had been deprived during all this time. They have been injured. They have suffered miseries. They t have become disabled. They have lost their homes. Their lives might have been ruined. All these calamities were caused by the past regime and the things need to be repaired; thank God, you, brothers, sisters and other benefactors have helped and will help. It is hope that the reparation will be easy and soon.

Another sort of damage suffered by this nation is spiritual in nature. Our nation has suffered both spiritual and cultural blows. Of course, this second kind of damage need more time to be compensated for, more than the material losses. Also, it is the injuries sustained by these individuals and the handicaps, poverty in the country and the spiritual losses that need reparation more than anything else and it is not soon before they could be amended.

The business like politicians

Compensating for the spiritual damages requires a lot of researches which should be done by caring experts, and not by those who pretend to be

¹ The date of this speech is recorder as 24/9/1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

sympathetic towards the Iranian nation. It has become very common for some individuals to pretend to be revolutionary, nationalist, and sympathetic towards others. Those people who protected the previous regime now pretend to be revolutionary and defendant of Islam. They claim they are against the previous aggressive regime. These are people who change colors under specific conditions. If conditions do change, you will see that some of these writers and intellectuals once again start praising the old regime. These people are among us but their hearts are inclined towards the previous grandeur they enjoyed. If, tomorrow, the tables are turned, once again they will beat their chests in support of the previous regime. And, then, if the banner of Islam is hoisted, they would beat their chests for it, even though they do not have any business with it. If the banner of blasphemy were raised, they would beat their chests in support of it to gain benefit. If the United States defeated us, they would support it. Now right where I am standing there are numerous people who have relations with the United States or with people in conclusion with America. These people are chest-beaters. For them there is no difference between the banner of Islam or the banner of blasphemy. They are after their businesses. They are after fame and name and want people to know them as intellectuals. They want to gain fame as whatever has currency among the people

The danger posed by opportunists and hypocrites

Now people are inclined towards Islam. However, these hypocrites, too, pretend to be revolutionaries. When others lost their sons, their houses and their wealth, these opportunists were resting at home. They did not assist even if they were silent. They were merely spectators. Some were resting outside the country and were closely watching to find out who the winner would be. Now that the Muslim group came out victorious, they marched behind the banner of Islam but they never cease performing their devilish acts. On the surface, they support Islam and would call the previous regime as "*taghut*", but deep inside they are against Islam and the Islamic republic. If Carter got control over Iran now they would support and welcome him. Of course, these individuals now continue to have their close relations with the United States. It is one of the traits of the hypocrites to support the man in power. Even at the time of the Great Prophet (s), he was more harassed by the hypocrites than by the infidels. The infidels opposed the Prophet (s). Sometimes they won the battles and at times they lost. But what could he do with the hypocrites who would claim that they were for Islam and believed

it? What could the Prophet (s) do with Abusufyan¹ and his followers? They hypocrites told the Prophet (s) they were Muslims and they performed their prayers and even took part in congregations and listened to the prophet's lectures and at times they even shed tears. He could not do anything with these hypocrites.

Nowadays, we are confronting with these hypocrites. Dealing with them is more difficult than dealing with Muhammad-Rida. Muhammad-Rida was firm in his rule; he attached and killed people. The nation knew how to deal with him consequently, they started struggling against him. Today, however, there is group which has pretensions towards Islam, apparently invites people to Islam, talks about Islam, whose writings are for Islam and takes step for it but deep inside opposes it. Behind the curtain, this group differs with it. What must be done with this group? It is difficult to deal with this kind. Resolving the conflict with the hypocrites is arduous. The great Prophet could not solve this issue. The holy Amir [Imam Ali] was afflicted by this issue and could not do anything. Resolving this is an arduous task.

The pseudo-pious ones, the pseudo-intellectuals and the hypocrites, the triangle of deception and hypocrisy

What are we afflicted with now we are e a group of hypocrites, who, on the surface support Islam but deep inside are antagonistic towards it. It is extremely difficult to deal with them. Their cases are different from the cases of Nasiri and Hoveyda. They were obviously the enemies of Islam and Muslims and people knew what to do with them. They finally took revenge on them. But what are we supposed to do with the pseudo-pious who hold a rosary in their hands and claim to serve Islam. Nothing can be done with this clan of hypocrites. From its inception, Islam has been facing with this bunch [of hypocrites]; and finding a solution to this issue is harder than any other issues Islam and Muslims have been faced with. Those who cry out and shouted slogans for Islam, nationalism and being Islamic turned out to be pseudo-Islamic and they were so "nationalistic" that later were found to have relations with the United States. Some of our intellectuals are like this; they are hypocrites. They could have stood firmly and professed to be a Shah's supporter. Among those who have executed one stood up and declared he

¹ Abusufyan was the head of Quraysh tribe and the staunchest enemy of the holy Prophet of Islam. He was at the head of the non-believers and idol worshipping groups who opposed Islam and persecuted Muslims.

was a supporter of the king.¹ This man stood firm, and was killed. He went directly to hell, however.

The hypocrite's issue is the most difficult problem of Islam

Now what should we do with this bunch of hypocrites who enter the arena but are not men enough to say that they dislike Islam and that is a thing of past and is no longer useful! Directly that they hate Islam. Your relief committee is not capable of dealing with these people. You could help an injured person or a poor one or rescue the weak ones, and may God bless you for saving them. But neither you nor other layers of society could deal with these deceitful people solving the hypocrites' issue is one of the biggest problem which has afflicted our nation and Islam from the very beginning. What could Islam do with Muawiyah who was the Friday Imam? He used to tell the people of Damascus that he was a Muslim and claimed he would go to war for God Islam and serve (the people) he was a hypocrite. But an enemy of Imam Ali (*a*) can not be a Muslim. He used to propagate that Imam Ali (*a*) was not a Muslim so much that when Imam Ali (*a*) got martyred at the altar, the people asked: Would Imam Ali pray? What was he doing in the mosque?

Now, what should we do with these hypocrites? We can only seek refuge in God, the Blessed and the Exalted, we should only disclose their activities; that is what the people must do.

The mission to expose the wrong doings of the deceitful people

These people who proved to be hypocrites, have entered the ranks of Muslims and are sabotaging Islam and Muslims should be identified and every file found on them should be exposed to reveal that they are hypocrites. We should resist against them to expose [their true identity]. There are those like a merchant whose forehead shows the marks of prostration or a writer who starts whose writing with "In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, praise the Islamic Republic and eulogize and loud it, but behind all this, they damage Islam. There is nothing that can be done with these elements. Whatever measure we take, they would profess they were Muslims and reputable people; unless they are exposed and their true identity revealed, we cannot do anything. One way is for anybody who finds any information on their past and treacheries to report them. Such pseudo-pious men would pray behind a [the congregation prayer] leader and

¹ Mahdi Rahimi, the last martial commander law of Tehran and suburbs during the Shah's last days.

even pay him the determined Imam's share to deceive him. However, they are against this (Islamic) regime and would like to apply it. It is hard to deal with this kind of people. We have no other choice but to expose them and disclose the facts. People should report on the past of these people. Of course, a Muslim's dignity should be protected. Nobody has the right to accuse whoever they wish as an enemy and therefore is a member of or related to SAVAK unless it is proven that he wanted to denigrate Islam's dignity. In which case he no longer commands respect.

Inviting people to observe the Islamic codes

Act on [Islamic tenets] cautiously. Base your actions on the Islamic codes. Follow the Islamic regulation in your committees. Do not misuse your power. Nobody is allowed to accuse others of the wrong-doings they have not committed. We should act in an Islamic way so we can face God, the Blessed and the Exalted, with a clear conscience. Or, if we are caused of doing something [wrong] then we can stand [before God] with a clear record. The same thing applies to all walks of life who are in the services from those working in the courts to policemen, the army, the gendarmerie and all groups of people now are at the services of the Islamic Republic. Everything should be Islamic. All members of the police force and the army and the committees should abide by the Islamic rules and regulations

Nobody is allowed to practice (usury) and then work in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This act contradicts Islam. It is strange to be a policeman of the Islamic Republic and then do injustice. A revolutionary guard of the Islamic republic should safeguard Islam, not oppress the servants of God. Such a person should assist Islam and Muslims. I mean all layers of society should act according to Islam. Everybody should rely on Islam. Today, we are struggling against an evil-power, and the world is closely watching us the waves of your opposition to this power have reached shores around the world. We should come out victorious in this combat between Islam and unbelief. We should win even if we get defeated in the military and economic aspects. We should act like the warriors at the outset of Islam who struggled and then got martyred. May God keep all of you. I thank you all. I pray for you. I am at your service.

Statements

Date: December 14, 1979 [Azar 23, 1358 AHS / Muharram 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Freedom in elections; people's welcome of the referendum for the Islamic Republic and the Constitution

Addressees: Mr. Ahmad Nurbakhsh (the general director for the elections); the personnel of the Ministry of Interior dealing with the elections

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

People used to be indifferent towards the government and elections in general in the previous regime. But now vigilance and awareness they have freely voted for Islam and for the Islamic Republic. From now on, no government or power could impose their power against the people.

Although some agitators inhibited people from casting their votes, more than sixteen million people have voted for the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Decree

Date: December 15, 1979 [Azar 24, 1358 AHS / Muharram 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of a representative for propagating Islam in Australia

Addressee: Muhammad Menhaj

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Thiqaat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Menhaj—may his blessings last,

Since you have a long history of propagating for Islam, and due to the extreme need of the world nations for the propagation of the right sacred principles of Islam, you are hereby invited to travel to Australia and carry out this important task over there.

We hope the Iranian citizens living in that country and other committed Muslims would provide you with their fullest cooperation. I wish for your success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: December 15, 1979 [Azar 24, 1358 AHS / Muharram 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A description of the various dimensions of American interference into Iran's Internal Affairs and American crimes in Iran

Audience: The reporter of the Time Newspaper

Question: Regarding the severe anti-American sentiments created in Iran and the anti-Iranian sentiments created in the United States, what is Imam's comment on the Iran-America relations in the future if the present crisis is resolved? Do you think this enmity between Iran and America will continue in the coming generation?

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Answer: You referred to anti-American sentiments in Iran. Here we hold harsh sentiments against the American government, not against the American people. When we use the term America, we mean the American government, and not the American people. What is going on in the United States I am not aware of. But my guess is that due to Zionist propaganda, the American people might have negative feelings towards us. They think what the Zionist are saying is true.

But I am not hopeful that neither the United States will change their attitude towards us nor will it improve due to the fact that they have lost a lot of benefits in Iran. And worse than this the American government has lost its political prestige in many places because of the political atmosphere created [after the revolution]. Regarding this issue, there is a possibility that the Americans hold such views as it is said. Through the printed media, radio, television and other means there is a greater possibility that we can influence them to change their views if we disclose the facts about Iran to them in the U.S. Then the American people may adopt our views, which are not bad, about them, and they, too will change their attitude toward us.

The American people have thus adopted such a negative view of us because they consider us their enemies; we have assumed for ourselves the image of underdogs and are crying out meekly because we have suffered thirty-odd years under the rule of this king, have been installed here in Iran by the Allied Forces when the heads of the three governments came to Iran.

As the Shah himself had confessed, when Roosevelt came here, the Allied Forces thought that it best to keep this man (the Shah) and his family installed ruling over us in the same manner that the English installed his father (Rida Khan) as the king of Iran. Thusly, we witness that America hoisted in power to dominate us someone who virtually divested us of our honor, decimated our oil reserves and young forces and other assets we had. Because of this, we hold unpleasant views of the American government and our nation the same negative views towards American people.

This especially true when it has been revealed recently that America has converted its so-called embassy into an espionage den not only on Iran but the region. The personnel of this embassy act as spies. Now that the Iranian nation has found this out, it considers the United States government as its prime enemy. The American nation as such is innocent in regard to this matter, but it has to know that America has oppressed and wronged its own nation in the same way it had done to the Iranian nation. The American government has done injustice to us in that it has robbed us of our possessions and properties through its agent in Iran, called Muhammad-Rida. It has done injustice to the American nation in that it has jeopardized their decency and pride. Now the East may look at American people in a bad light and Carter is to blame for this. Now the American nation should realize the danger of Carter's being the helm of the [U.S.] presidency in that he will further ruin their pride and honor. Thus, we have to wait and see how the problem will be solved. Now we cannot surmise how the issue will be resolved; we should try to foresee what the situation will be if a solution is found.

The United States might try the military or economic options against us. It might also put pressure over its allies to do the same and make us isolated. This, of course, is not a rational solution. This will only aggravate the problem and will render it unsolvable. It is also possible that ultimately we will not find a solution to it because it is beyond our power to carry out what we want to do. If this happens, the problem will remain unsolved and may become unsolvable. However, the United States should realize the gravity of the situation. They have granted asylum to a criminal. This was their first blunder, their second mistake was to support Rida Khan's son against our nation and made him dominant over us. Like father, like son. It was a mistake that America imposed these [two criminals] on our nation and us.

The United States' next it has been their unconditional support for this man through whom could easily plunder us of our possessions and assets. The U.S. continued to defend him when our nation was trying so hard to get

rid of him. It adamantly insisted that the Shah's regime had to stay in power. And now, that the nation emerged victorious in its struggle and the U.S. could not keep the Shah installed in power, it sheltered this criminal, against whom a nation has fought so hard to overthrow, and gave him asylum. Its most crucial error has been in keeping this traitor under the pretext of philanthropism or love for humanity.

I strongly doubt that the American nation could ever be convinced that Carter has done this devilish act out of his love for humanity. This is because the superpowers have no concern for humanity whatsoever. What they care for is their own interest. They would destroy two hundred thousand people with a bomb if they found it necessary. Having this in mind, it becomes evident that their grant of asylum to this man could not have been out of their respect for human dignity. Rather, it could easily be assumed that he was kidnapped by them for their later use. He was given asylum so that he could not be tried and convicted by us. If he were here, the wrong-doings of the American presidents could easily be exposed. And if it is proved that Carter had been dishonest towards us, then the people would not vote for him.

We believe that Carter's goal is to become president a second time and he is connecting all these ploys for five or six year tenure of the presidency. By so doing, he, firstly, ruins America's reputation, and secondly, he is reflecting the severity of his own criminality by keeping a criminal who destroyed a country's dignity during his thirty odd years of rule. Carter brought the Shah to America and said that he had to stay there. The "Mr. Philanthropist" imposes economic sanctions to put us in great difficulty and sacrifice the (Iranian) nation for one ailing man to survive!

We strongly doubt Carter's humanitarian wishes! What about the thirty-five million human beings (in Iran), or Vietnam, or Lebanon and other places? We are witnessing what crimes America is committing in Lebanon; how they tyrannize its people. All with Mr. Carter's approval. What we are asking for is to have Shah to make up for the damages that they have inflicted upon us in the past. Of course, some acts of their ferocity are irreparable, such as the massacre of nearly one hundred thousand people and replace the young forces and man powers that the Shah destroyed. However, they can compensate some of the country's wealth they had plundered; they should be aware that Iran today is not the Iran of the previous regime. This era is not the era of the past until the time of the ex-regime [might resolves its differences?]

Now Iran has changed. It has improved a great deal. Miracles have taken place in Iran. At one time they could easily close down the whole bazaar

through a policeman's command. He could order Iranians to raise the Iranian flags for such occasions as Aban, the fourth and the people could not say a word (of protest). But a miracle happened in Iran that this nation underwent a transformation and stood firm against tanks with their fists and now they still are ready to do so. Now, people put in their shrouds come over here and express their desires for martyrdom. Such a nation will not surrender anymore. It will never accept any hegemony; nor will it ever be dominated.

Carter's other mistake lies in his inability to fathom the depth of the upheaval which has taken place in Iran. He is still under the misconception that this nation will be obedient to any dictator that they might impose upon us.

If Carter had a true picture of what is taking place in Iran now, he would drastically change his attitude towards us. It is time for the American nation to get rid of Carter now and to elect a right president. Only then could we normalize our relations with the United States. I have no further comment.

Decree

Date: December 16, 1979 [Azar 25, 1358 AHS / Muharram 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of an envoy to investigate the problems of Khuzestan province

Audience: Abul-Qasim Khazali

In the Name of God, the Most High

Muharram 26, 1400 AH

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Abul-Qasim Khazali—may your blessings last,

Due to some prevalent issues and discord in Khuzestan province and because of your familiarity with that territory, you are hereby appointed as an envoy to travel to that region and survey the situation and to consult with the concerned local dignitaries to resolve these problems. You should make the local population be aware of the gravity of the situation and of their crucial tasks to stand united in the face of both internal and external enemies. We definitely hope that you would have the respectable citizens' full cooperation in this feat. I ask God for your success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 16, 1979 [Azar 25, 1358 AHS / Muharram 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Carter's conspiracies and the nation's readiness to confront them

Audience: The revolutionary guards of the Abul-Fadl mosque in Tehran, and the personnel of Babol's of Islamic propagation headquarter

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam is for all human beings

I would like to thank the respectable sisters and brothers who have come here from Tehran and Babol, to discuss things with me. I am proud to see that all of you are prepared to serve both Islam and the Islamic republic. It is not for a single individual. Islam belongs to all of us. Islam is for humanity, not just for Muslims. Islam was revealed to lead all citizens of the world towards the right path. Islam, unlike other schools of thought, is unique in that it does not plan for worldly fulfill some tasks government or for material superiority. It is in the agenda of all human governments and non-monotheistic systems, to here in this world, and granted that some of them are good, they still aim to engender merely a worldly system. Furthermore, most of such human governments are corrupt because they have come into being in order to dominate others and exploit them.

Domination under the pretext of social justice

You could never find a government in the world today that acts upon the justice it is based on. Very rarely can such just government be found; they are the same worldly system. Claims of a just government are plenty; leaders of countries claim that they want to implement justice. Your and our ears have been defended by Muhammad-Rida's claims to social justice. He bragged of social justice. He insisently boosted of social justice and progress of this county to me and you saying that our country had reached to "the Gate of Great Civilization." and soon we shall reach the great civilization and Iran will be like advanced country and will attain such and such progress. He lased to make so many claims. But in the end, Muhammad-Rida was found to be deceiving people and did not desire the prosperity of our nation; rather, he was determined to push us backward and not allow this country to even take a single step to progress. He was commissioned to carry out this devastating

plan against us. He paralyzed any governmental departments and performed his mission quite well.

An irreparable blow to manpower

Observe what sort of commotions they created over the issue of land reform. The land reform was carried out in our country to destroy agriculture altogether, In the name of "land reform" in order to make us dependent on foreign wheat from abroad. See what scandals they created over the issue of "free women" and "free men." See what infamous tasks were performed by the representatives of the monarchial consultative assembly, the senate and by the agents of the Shah and them proclaimed that our country had been "freed"! What "free women" or "free men" had you seen during the regime of this father and son, particularly the latter, who was a posterior memento of the father, and who outsmarted him too. You are well aware of the fact that nobody had any freedom at the time of Rida Khan and his son. Nobody was free to utter one word of truth. Freedom in their conceptualization was setting the youth free to engage in prostitution and retard the forces of youth. The damage they afflicted on the youth was even more serious than the one leveled at our reserves. They paralyzed our youths' ability to grow. They destroyed our youth. They directed our youths toward the paths which destroyed their manpower and dignity. The youth, who had to serve the country, were pushed towards centers of prostitution and paralyzed their thought so that they could not serve this country and they became entirely useless. The regime opened the doors to prostitution centers and promoted it with so much hue and crying and goaded the youth to be buried in centers of corruption and incapacitated their intellect. They have been robbed of their youth. These respectable sisters [girls] who were ensnared in the web of the regime's propaganda and promotional trap [of moral corruption] were divested of human duty and were transformed into play things at the hands of these criminals; what these corruptors did to this sacred thing in the name of freedom is a constant cause for regret for the honorable individuals who have preserved their human moral.

An exuberant nation and constructive fervor

You have seen how lively our dear nation have become soon after the tables were turned the regime was defeated and flung out through the efforts of all classes of nation; how the people were transformed into a different creation and become preoccupied with offering the services to everyone; all over the country, we witness how busy people are to serve. Nobody forced

the crusade for reconstruction; volunteers mobilized themselves from schools and set off to go other places to serve the people. Revolutionary guards are posted everywhere in Iran without anybody compelling them to do so. They themselves formed this corps. In every locality, the local people themselves mobilized themselves (for this purpose). The local clergy, the locally trusted ones, and the local intellectuals formed these hard working revolutionary guards. They have created committees, and the courts of justice. The people themselves cooperated to save their country.

I have already told you and I reiterate now what I have said before: let it be known that the whole revolutionary corps, all the courts, all committees and all other groups are to serve Islam. Now we are Islamic republic. You are the Islamic army. You are serving Islam and the twelfth Imam (a). Be careful not to get engaged in any act which is in violation of the Islamic principles or the Islamic Republic. This is a profound duty for all, for us and you.

A sin greater than all other sins

This principle applies to the clergymen as well. Clerics are the representatives of the Prophets (s) and the twelfth Imam (a) among people. If a cleric, God forbid, commits something un-Islamic, he has wronged not only himself but has also tarnished the reputation of the whole class of clerics. A cleric has a crucial task to perform. When a clergy commits an offense, he cannot be likened to just any ordinary person that so and so has done such and such. A cleric's wrongdoing has far-flung repercussions that affect his whole perimeter of influence. A wrong did a clergy does is so grave that its forgiveness is extremely difficult to obtain from God and because he is representing the twelfth Imam (a) and Islam. If, God forbid, the envoy of the twelfth Imam (a) took a wrong turn act, people would become cynical about the clergy. Cynicism against and defeat of the clergy is the defeat of Islam. It is the class of clerics which has continually defended Islam to this day. If, God forbid, anyone of this class acts against the good of Islam, his crime would be worse than murder. His sin will be interpreted more abominable than other sins. This is because a cleric's wrong doing will disgrace the class of the clergy. His wrong action will encourage lukewarm Muslims to turn completely against Islam from Islam. If a religious scholar becomes corrupt, the whole world will be corrupt. Superficially, this religious scholar is the Imam's representative. If, God forbid, he commits a wrong deed, he will spoil the whole nation, sometimes the whole world. On

the other hand, if he is righteous, he will make the whole community or, the whole world, pious.

The double tasks of the Islamic figures

When I was young I made a trip to Mahallat. I found the people there very righteous. They were different from others. They were upright. One would scarcely find a deviated person there. When I looked for the reason behind their righteousness, I found out that the cleric and his ulama over there were a truly religious man. People in Mahallat had their eyes, ears and mind fixed at their congregational prayer leader. People would see what kind of congregational leader they had and if he was independent, and concerned only with God and not the world, people would then follow him. Thus, the tasks of the clergy are even more sensitive than those of the other people. You, too, should carry out the same tasks that the clergy are, and have been, doing even though they have just recently started (your job). The clergy serve Islam, so do you. You are the Islamic corps, so are they. Both of you are carrying out the same tasks. The nature of your positions differs. Do not think that if anyone of you did anything wrong, your offense will be dismissed lightly as if an ordinary person has committed it. People will bad name the Islamic revolutionary cops. People then would become suspicious of the corps of the Islamic guards. The opponents in the lurk to find weakness in you and start propagandizing that the previous regime has been ousted only to be replaced by another one similar, and even worse. This will introduce our regime in a bad light and (the enemies) will introduce it as a corrupt regime.

The hazards of tarnishing Islam

May Allah protect you all women and men, particularly those ladies, who strove in the front rank of this movement who stood. You have encouraged so much to make Islam materialize in this country. Every one was thinking of establishing an Islamic Republic, a divine system of justice, now. If, God forbid, any sort of indiscipline is committed or arises from you or us, which contradicts Islamic justice or the norms of Islam, the people who are sitting idly and watching (your every move) are waiting to find a blot (on Islam) and aggrandize it. They will not say that a certain Hasan or Husayn has committed a wrongdoing; they will impugn all revolutionary guards; and even the righteous (innocent) ones among you will be maligned because of one offense committed (by one among you). This will lead them to

aggrandize the issue a step further and publicize that the Islamic republic is like this. They will publish abroad that Islam, too, is the same.

Carter's conspiracies

Right now these propagandas are being used against us abroad. Those who have lost their interests in Iran will not stay idle. The superpowers and Carter, who have lost their material interest, will not be silent. (Especially) now Carter, who has suffered, and is suffering, a severe political blow, would not be silent. He is appealing to this and that president, or heads of Shah and such parliament to unit with him in this idea of opposing Iran because everyone, not only him, is terrified that Islam will become a reality. They fear lest the cries (of people) in Iran and the movement that rose in Iran, whose perimeter has reached everywhere. They are worried about the Islamic movement in Iran. They fear it might spread. Now the newspapers, radio and television all over the world are discussing the Islamic movement in Iran. They fear the waves of this movement will reach foreign shores overcome other countries one by one and paralyze the powers and make them face defeat in the world. For this reason, they will not sit idle speculating. They confer searching for sympathizers. To see what the world, that is the world's president will do; to what extent will heads of countries show their servitude to Mr. Carter and disgrace their nations and themselves for his sake. Mr. Carter was thinking he would take an unfortunate ailing to protect and cure him to show the American and other nations his loyalty to those traitors who committed treasons for the Shah and hopes to get reelected a second time. But instead, he disgraced himself.

The Shah's countless crimes and Carter's support

Now Carter is being criticized and denounced by the world's scholars and thoughtful personalities for keeping a man who has committed so much treason against one nation. Now this nation is telling Mr. (Carter) that this criminal who is with him now and has been given asylum to is not a "political refugee." Carter declares him as a political refugee so he can say he cannot be extradited back to us. Based on the law, he is a criminal. Based on the laws of the world, somebody (the Pahlavis) who had suppressed the nation for fifty years, particularly this man (the Shah) who had wronged his nation for thirty-five years, had massacred many of its people, and fried their backs on pans is a criminal. Show (on TV) once what agonizing ordeals had our Islamic and humane people, intellectuals and thinkers had gone through in underground prison dungeons intelligence security agency (the SAVAK).

Was transpired in those dungeons was beyond our imagination. And perhaps those detainees who have come and gone could not tell us all the torture they had undergone. However, we are one nation and we announce to the world the magnitude of the crime committed against us; how profusely the Shah plundered our treasury pouring our wealth straight into the pocket of Mr. Carter and likes of him. The enormity of the crimes he committed against this country and the wantonness of the massacre and plundering he had done are all beyond belief. We want him (Carter) to send the Shah back to us so he could be tried and find out why he had done all this. The gist of all matter is that lest the Shah comes back to Iran and makes an expose (of U.S. crimes in Iran) if he is tried, had amputated their legs. Some say the Shah is being brainwashed to make him forget so that he will not be able to reveal any secrets. U.S. will do everything it can and busy doing so. We do not get involved in such courses of action, but they do. They can brainwash him as much as they want to and condition him to forget everything but our nation will not forget. The voice of our nation has risen and it is shouting "down with the US," and they mean Carter. The American nation has not done anything wrong to us. The American nation understands the issue they will agree with us..

Carter's "philanthropism"

Those who oppose us are bereft of any human conscience. The superpowers lack a human mind. There are lunatic thoughts in their minds, which motivated Carter to take this man (the Shah) (and give him asylum) in the name of philanthropy. He is planning to impose economic sanctions against us and even intervene militarily in a country with a population of thirty-five million again for the sake of philanthropy. And what man (has he given asylum to); he is from here [in Iran] he has not come from anywhere else; he is from among the citizens here. Mr. Carter wants to impose economic pressure on thirty-five million people and let them perish at the expense of one murderer, who committed crimes thirty-five years in the name of philanthropy! I cannot say what kind of substance is this (the Shah) made of his essence is different from the rest of this thirty-five million populace. His essence is inhuman. If it were within your (U.S.) power, you would, but you are powerless to do so. You, who claim to be philanthropist are willing to let thirty-five million people die for the sake of one man so that your crimes will not be revealed. Mr. Philanthropist there is fifty-thousand of us in America, our beloved Iranian students in the United States. Are you planning to deport them for no reason at all? Are you really philanthropists?

Are you acting in accordance with the international laws? Do you respect human rights? Do these thirty-five million people have no human rights? Only one wretched and murderous man has the right? Most of our thirty-five million nation are pious and educated. Are you saying that they not have any right in the world? Does only Muhammad-Rida have any rights? Does only this criminal have any right? Other than this, we may surmises that, out of his philanthropic sense, Carter has been compelled to instigate him (the Shah) what we witness is against philanthropim. This is not the issue.

Carter's blunder

Carter has misjudged the issue, and pig-headedly he cannot go against the misjudgments he has made. He has decided to run for president but his approach seems to be erroneous. He was wrong in the first place to give protection to the Shah as a way to win reelection and get embroiled in a conspiracy. Some say the Shah has gone there for treatment. I do not have any information. Others, however, say he had gone there to plot against our nation. Still, others that this wretched man is sick and has cancer. Carter has taken a wrong way, he thought that the situation now is like that in the previous regime when every word he would dictate to Muhammad-Rida, the latter would in turn dictate to the nation, which would obey without a word. The situation was such in the past. The moment the Shah was ordered to carry out an errand and that he was delegated to do a task (for the U.S.), he would immediately abide by it and impose everything on the people, who had acquired a submissive nature.

“Islamic” [Submitting to Oppression] is worse than oppression itself

Carter thought that our nation now is the same nation of the past. He does not realize that our nation has undergone a transformation into a humane entity in every meaning of the word. It is now a creature which will defend itself a creature which will not undergo oppression. Islam orders us not to engage in or succumb to oppression. “*inzilam*”, which means undergoing oppression, is not less serious than oppression itself. One who surrenders to tyranny has oppressed himself. Both aspects of oppression are forbidden in Islam. You have neither right to oppress anyone nor the right to yield to oppression. Our nation will undergo no more oppression from you (the Shah). The presidents of the United States have tyrannized us and through their agent destroyed all our resources; worse than this the U.S. pushed our manpower backward. We will yield to no more tyranny. We want back the Shah to try him. We are not concerned with him personally. People

are not fond of looking at a wretched man like him. Rather, we need to try him and present the voluminous records of evidence (of his crimes). We want to present to the world the disabled youth whose limbs have been amputated by him. This is our plight at the present time, and what our nation has undergone in this thirty-five years of [the Pahlavi] rule. We will bring forth the elderly ladies whose young sons had lost their lives and show to the world the pictures of their youth who were killed at Rex¹ Cinema for instance.

American worries over the disclosure of their treasons

Today, an old man came saying that four, five or six of his children were there (Rex Cinema). We want to say that this philanthropist is keeping the Shah because he wants to take care of human being, because the Shah is not a human being to be taken care of; or do such out of his humanitarian considerations. He does this out of fear lest the first of the U.S. president be opened and revealed secrets if the Shah is extradited. The Carter will lose the chance of becoming a president in the future.

America will stamp the word "no" on him and declare his ineligibility for the presidency. His nation will understand what the U. S. presidents have done to the people and the world. The American people, unlike their leaders, have no poisoned thoughts. The thought of the nations are protected (from defilement) except those who stick around top officials. This is what their fear all about. If from the beginning, our nation has told the U.S. to keep the Shah and kill him, they would. They (nation), too, have no fear of getting killed.

The hostages at the espionage den and Carter's abuse

Do you think the American authorities feel sorry about these fifty hostages here? Or, that their humanitarian sentiments and affection for their countrymen have driven them to save these hostages. I want to assure you that it is not the case. They are in the habit of sending legions of soldiers to serve them and dispatch their troops to battlefronts to kill and to be killed. Thousands of American have been killed so far. For one voice to arise from America itself and declare that its president is such sort of a person. The American morale is like this. Their spiritual state is no longer that same primordial and human nature they had at birth. They had lost it. All human beings come into existence with a truthful (divine) nature. However, they

¹ In Cinema Rex, in Abadan, more than four hundred people lost their lives due to horrifying fire while watching a film. All of them were scorched alive.

change because of their environment, upbringing and other factors. The Americans have changed and ceased to have to have their primordial nature. They will not bother themselves for the sake of these fifty or so people detained. Here, that is, they are being detained in their own precincts, where they reside and leading their normal lives in comfort as I have been informed. I have always made the recommendation that they should live in absolute comfort. However, Americans made hue and cry that are maltreating the hostages. And some people who went there said it is not the care of the matter. The commotion is not because of these fifty or so people. It is because Mr. Carter is frantically trying to win the next presidential election. All thought are focused on this. I promise him, though, that he will not be, God willing. Becoming a president requires a special way.

Some remarks to Carter

Mr. Carter: Let us assume you want to be the president of the United States for other four or five years. Is it worth tarnishing the image of a human being a nation of two hundred and fifty million before the people (of the world)? Is it worth engaging in crimes for four more years? The U.S. presidency means committing crimes. Is it worth being a [U.S.] president, which is equivalent to criminality, for another four years. Is it right to subject the American nation, which cannot be held culpable (for the crimes its president commits) to so much indignity? Why are you turning the world population cynical towards Americans, United States? You are supposed to be a servant to your nation. If you are a genuine servant of your nation, you would declare that the Shah is a criminal and should deliver him back to the people against whom he had committed crimes. This act of yours would then be a service to your nation. Then it would be an honorable act. The Iranian nation, too, would applaud you. But, what has happened? Now the "Iranian nation considers you a criminal worse than the Shah. Now you have betrayed yourself. The American nation is convinced that you are destroying your country betrayed them, as well. Is it worth becoming a president once more to commit crimes for another five years? Being a Shah, Muhammad-Rida was in the habit of thinking that he would be a Shah forever. Because of this misconception he engaged in all sorts of crimes. He did not think that God does not want him to. But you are a president and you would hold this position only for five or perhaps six years, which is really nothing. Then you have to go. It cannot be your turn forever. Then your rivals would prevail. It is not clear whether you will reach your illusory dream. Now, it is mere illusion. You are not sure to win the reelection since your rivals are getting

ready to campaign for this position. You are in frenzy because of the illusion of occupying the presidential seat for another five or six years and be embroiled in it. You are endangering the American reputation in the eyes of the peoples of the East because of your delusion (for power). Is it really worth it to be under such wrong and devastating assumption? It is not rational to get involved in so many cases of crimes for such a delusion? The U.S. situation is in a such mess.

Some memories of Imam Khomeini's adolescence

We are being afflicted by such human beings, or people, or creatures against whom all nations should struggle. We are not afraid that we become isolated economically, nor are we afraid of perhaps a military intervention. We are not sacred of such things. Before al these upheavals (took place now in Iran) I have seen several occasions like this. You may not have a recollection of all this, but in the locality, where we hue that is Khomeini, we used to build military fortifications. I had a gun, but I was quite a young lad, around 16 or 17 years of age, at the time. I used to teach others how to use guns. Even now I know this craft. My elder brother, too, was a good gunman. Of course, now he is old. My brother and I used to fight with the rebels. They used to plunder and start turmoils. The central governmental lacked the necessary power. All this occurred prior to the emergence of Rida Khan. There was disorder, rebellion and turbulence everywhere. Kashan and Qum were dominated by Nayeb Husayn Kashi, Nayeb Husayn,¹ and his son. They used to assault our neighborhood, too. The Zallaqis,² too, made frequent attacks on our region. They once captured one district of Khomein. People took guns to defend themselves. We were among these people. We fought against the rebels to the last bit of our energy.

The disgrace of the pseudo-politicians related to America

Now we hope all the nation become gunmen and warriors. We would fight to the last moment. You brought phantom jets and dropped bombs over our heads. Do whatever you wish to do. Do not threaten us with your military. We will bury your military men here. And do not frighten us that you will make us starve until we die. God will provide us with sustenance.

¹ Nayeb Husayn Kashi was one of the notorious rebels of the central region of Iran who, together with some of his sons and relatives, was invited to Tehran through Wuthuqud-Dawlah's deceitful action and was consequently executed.

² The Zallaqis were a band of rebels at the end of the Qajar dynasty and the beginning of Rida Khan's reign.

We are capable of gaining our subsistence from God's soil. Our farmers are now alert and will enhance and revive agriculture in Iran once again. Anyway, the issue is that now we are facing such a great power. Regrettably, there are some internal agitators who try to create turmoil in Iran. They are in frenzy to help American region power. How infamous and shameful are those individuals, who were born and who have been educated in this land, to continue their relations with America, after our country and our nation had its power defeated. How could we ever justify such a disgrace? To whom should we complain for the disruption that this group of internal agitators is creating so that the Islamic Republic would not find the chance to get established? This group is alarmed lest this Islamic Republic materializes and the hands of their masters [foreigners] are cut off from our internal affairs.

The subscribers of Carter's logic

Since our arrival here and prior to it [Carter's followers] they have been busy causing turmoil. They did this step by step. People wanted to vote, but they would not allow them and harassed by a group of agitators. You people advanced and defeated these agitators. Then it was time for them to take the second step, that is, to oppose the Constitution, about which they said a lot inane remarks. These agitators once again were mobilized to disrupt the voting saying that the Constitution could not be ratified. The people cast their votes and this second voting was around 90 percent, which was more than the previous one. Ninety percent of the people voted for the constitution. Now that their masters are being defeated, these agitators once again get engaged in conspiracies and want the votes of a handful to supersede the entire nation's vote and term it national exigency.

This is exactly what Carter's logic delicates; it means that thirty-five million people of Iran should be trampled upon and crushed for the sake of one person. Also, for a limited, few or for their love of America, they want to quell the Islamic movement and Islam knowingly or unknowingly. It is cause of regret. But they will not able to because today our country and our nation have undergone a transformation; they have waken up and their eyes are now vigilant. These conspiracies are one futile, are alert now. Our nation will defend themselves against all these conspiracies.

May God keep you in good health. I pray for you, my sisters and brothers and will serve you until my last breath. May God keep you safe.

Speech

Date: December 16, 1979 [Azar 25, 1358 AHS / Muharram 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The comprehensiveness of the Islamic school of thought; the traits of the Islamic government

Audience: Some people from Kangavar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam is the most perfect school

May God bless you all, both sisters and brothers. May you succeed. May God keep you under the auspices of Islam and the twelfth Imam (a). Through your concerted efforts, we hope to spread Islam everywhere the same way that we have up until now, God willing.

Regrettably, the school of Islam has not been fully understood, or if it has been only a little. They (foreign powers) did not let the masses of people understand Islam in depth. Even the principle of the Islamic government, which has been an essential concept of Islam, had not been of import among the Islamic nations. People assumed an Islamic government would be identical with the ordinary world governments. But Islam is everything, because it is the command of the Blessed and Exalted God. It fits every dimension of men. The issues under consideration in Islam can never be found in any world's regimes. The governments of the world emphasize the government as such. Most of them, if not all, are tyrants.

In Islam, a government is only a means to an end because in the final objective is Islam. All instructions that derive for Islam consider man's natural life. This is not its goal, though. It also takes into accounts man's spiritual progress up to the point that he evolves into a divine being, which is the ultimate goal.

Islam's instructions are for the sole improvement from the natural to a metaphysical world. The prophets have come to take people's hands to deliver them for the darkness of this world to the world of light.

In an Islamic government everything is but a means to reach the world of lights, a goal which is not considered in governments and regimes. This was an issue taken into account in the prophetic school of thought in but never acted upon. At the time of the Prophet (s) the Islamic order was only put into to a little extent effect. This order had been publicized, but was not practiced as it should have been. This was the case at the time of Imam Ali (a) as

well. The succeeding governments, such as the Bani Ummayah and Bani Abbas Caliphs and the other governments that ruled among Muslims, did not try to make use of the Islamic principles.

The monarchical regime is the worst type of governments

The monarchical regime, which has been the worst or one of the worst regimes, has never had any relationship with Islam whatsoever and no Islamic issue have ever been taken into account used in this kind of government. Some monarchs, such as Muhammad-Rida, claimed that social justice or Islamic justice prevailed in Iran. However, he was completely ignorant of the Islamic justice or Islam, for that matter.

From this point of view, we should, therefore, say that Islam has remained misunderstood. In the same way, people do not know strangers in their land, Islam, too, has not been given any chance to be recognized and the principle of the government in Islam has never been brought up.

When it was discussed even among the Muslims, they would say that it was a political issue and that they did not want to get involved. They claimed that the clerics had stay away from politics and that the mosque was where the clerics had to go! Islam has been confined within the mosque.

The prophets' mission has been man's salvage

When the Prophet (s) lived in Medina for thirteen years, not a year passed without any wars. But the wars at the Prophet's time were different from the ones waged by ordinary (secular) governments. The Prophets' holy wars basically took place for man's prosperity. The prophets noticed that people were getting drowned (in worldly affairs) and in the fires (of hell). They observed that darkness had beleaguered people and was dragging men to an abysmal well, which is hell. They came to save us. They used preaching or even force to save us.

It is narrated that the Prophet (s) saw a group of captives being delivered to him. He said "I should take these people to paradise through their chains." The prophets came to guide people. They did not come to conquer counties; they did not come to reign; they did not come to brag of their powers. All of them have pooled their energies together to save man and guide him a divine heavenly being. Unfortunately, now man has deteriorated and has become meaner than animals. The Prophets came to serve man.

Man's origin is discussed by them. The education of man is what they are after. But the ordinary regimes do not care about these topics. They only emphasize the aggressive, cannibalistic and genocidal aspects of the

government. The prophets try to save man from these cases of injustice, difficulties, darkness and tyrannies.

Fighting oppression and spreading justice

The prophets tried to struggle against oppression. Ordinary people should do the same thing and not undergo oppression. In the same way that oppression is forbidden by Islam, the undergoing oppression, too, is forbidden. To be oppressed is different from yielding to oppression. Man, however, should not yield to oppression if he could help it. But sometimes man is forced to undergo oppression. However, he should obviate tyranny as far as he can. Islamic laws take that we may kill a person for self-defense if he attacks us. If anybody tried to take away your possessions, you should fight him even if he is killed in the process. An individual should not yield to anybody's harassment. If an Islamic order is established, its first mission would be to uproot tyranny. This is because in such a government the governor should not engage in oppression, neither should the head of the government. This is because he, first and foremost, it is his duty not to engage in oppressive practices, and secondly, he will not be allowed to do so. The Islamic governments are the governments of justice. They have to establish justice; they have not come to show off their power to others. Governments should serve people. If they shunned their responsibilities, they would violate the Islamic rules. The governments at the onset of Islam did not pretend to be superior to their people. They waged wars to serve people and all actions they took were for people deliverance.

Tranquility at heart in the Islamic government

If we could cooperate and make this movement come to fruition in such a way that the essence of an Islamic republic crystallizes and Islamic laws are implemented, then there would be tranquility welfare for all groups, tranquility in people's hearts and assurance for all. One of God's greatest graces is for calm and peace to dwell in the hearts of men. There would not be assurance in people's hearts under the rule of foreigners and, worse than this, under the rule of tyrant governments. When a citizen went shopping at the bazaar, he harbored fear of being arrested by the secret police under some pretexts. Or, a policeman might concoct an excuse to throw him into jail. In Islam, such insecurity never exists; one only has to fear oneself. He should not fear the government. This is because Islam is the rule of justice; if a citizen does something wrong that requires an investigation, he has wronged himself. A rule of justice means that oppression has to be obviated. An

Islamic ruler does not ever take a step towards oppression and injustice. The laws of Islam stipulate that an Islamic policeman or an army personnel is not allowed to do injustice. Everybody should be at the service of the nation. Pray that the hands of these saboteurs creating turmoil in the Islamic republic be served.

God willing, all of you will attain prosperity, health and righteousness in traversing this path that you have taken until the next stage (of the struggle) becomes a reality. The entire nation must rest assured that Islam is for everybody's good, God willing.

Speech

Date: December 16, 1979 [Azar 25, 1358 AHS / Muharram 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American treasons against Iran; sabotage and commotion perpetrated by America

Audience: The members of the Islamic Society of Physicians in Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The wretched and handicapped individuals on the seat of power

I would like to thank you, gentlemen, for taking the trouble of coming here so that I could discuss with you, brothers and sisters, matters, which need to be talked about, if not all, at least some of them. You might have heard that the Shah left the United States to go to another place, today. This evidence of (U.S) crimes, this criminal has to be tried here to lift the curtains which have concealed American crimes, in other words, the crimes that the American presidents have committed here through this criminal (the Shah) during all this time. We want to disclose all these crimes which had their roots mainly in the United States. The Shah was the prong of these roots. America thinks that everything will be settled when the Shah leaves the United States. The secretary of state said that he wanted to see the Iranian reaction to this move now. He said that if Iran's core of complaint was why the Shah was in America, then the whole issue would be settled now that he was no longer in the U.S. This is not but the Shah, the core of the problem. The deposed Shah now is an ailing, sickly person. When he was in power he was even more miserable because he was not mentally ready to see what people's demands were. Mr. Carter, too, is an invalid. Those who are in power, due to their small brains, wrongly assume that they are authorized to do whatever they can, to involve in any crime they wish to and to crush any nation which is against them. These are the world's most wretched people. They lack the spirit and conscience to control whatever whims come to their minds. In the same way that a wretched person cannot tread a right path, a handicapped person cannot either. These people constitute the wretched ones; their little brain cannot contain the much power that overwhelmed them, and so they cannot control themselves.

The deserving statesmen in the eyes of Islam

The prophets and men of God were never influenced by the power they had. The governor who governed a country which extended from his Hijaz and Egypt to Iran and elsewhere was more humble than any of his subjects. His spirit was never stirred by all the powers he had because of his soul was great. His magnitude was so vast that cont'd that it can conquer the universe solitary soul which emerged purified from all contamination and grew as immensely that the universe became but a dot compared to it. Such men deserve to be statesmen. Islam made them administrators. When such people are not available some individuals close to them in intelligence and competence and those who will not be spoiled by power or will not be influenced by power pretensions, should engage in the management of the country. Unfortunately, such characters were rare. Most of them are like unruly beasts, those, who, upon getting powerful, would immediately embark on wreaking mischief. These are the wretched ones like one named Muhammad-Rida, who is ailing and wretched. I say that he was even more wretched when he had power. Now, I say that you (American officials), too, are wretched and all power-wielders who go out of control and let power over take them. All these pathetic people would gather round the principle villain (Cater) and condemn a nation. Perhaps, you have heard that all of these statesmen. You might have heard that the Hague has condemned us. They imagine that now the Iranians would go crazy if they heard this shocking news! The Hague and similar organizations have repeatedly condemned Israel with no result. Besides, our issue is a question of right and we ask everyone to come here and see. We are saying that this is not an embassy at all.

A den for espionage or an embassy?

You say that based on regulations created by the gentlemen (U.S. officials) this embassy should be under American jurisdiction. We claim that it is not an embassy; its entity was not that of an embassy. We also claim the personnel working here were not embassy staff, at all.

In the name of "embassy" you created this place as a den for espionage. Let [observers] come over here and see whether the instruments we have confiscated are the usual things for an embassy or for spies. They could take a look at other embassies and Iranian embassies abroad to see if they are like the (U.S) embassy here. They could also see Iran's ambassadors abroad or the embassy staff and see if they are involved in such activities.

If, for instance, Iran or any other country uses its embassy in the U.S. as a center for conspiracy and espionage, then (American) officials could censure those Iranian diplomats to leave the country. Through these rhetorics you want to cheat the whole world. But it is too late now; nobody believes you (American officials) anymore. You get rid of the Shah so that your past conspiracies remain disclosed. But we, ourselves, will try you right here; the Pahlavi regime and the U.S republic right here. During this recent period, they (U.S) hurled accusations of committing crimes and hatched conspiracies against us.

Diplomats or spies?!

They [United Nations] have condemned us and ordered that we should turn over the embassies and the American embassy, and that the diplomatic corps ambassadors and embassy staff should be set free to return to their country. We say that it is not an embassy. You say that it is an embassy, but we say that the U.S. does not have an embassy here at all. The U.S. does not have any diplomats here. What it has are security agents and not diplomats. These persons are agents of American's intelligence services ^t¹. These agents have not come to Iran to establish political relations between the United States and Iran. Rather, they come to hatch conspiracies in Iran. Now that they have failed, they might get involved in more extensive conspiracy. At this juncture of time, when the Shah is no longer here and American interests have been served to a certain extent, the Americans may wish to carry out more conspiracies. This is what we mean. We wish to invite world experts, politicians, and scholars alike to come over here and study our situation and to see if the individuals busy working in this place are really people benefiting is an embassy? Are the conditions there those of an embassy could this place be called an embassy? Let these experts come here and look into the dossiers of these people and their previous activities. They should see whether their activities are diplomatic or not. Thus, the Hague's has issued a faulty verdict to condemn us. They have issued the verdict to the effect that the embassy should be returned to the Americans and the spies be allowed to go free. We do not have such an embassy in Iran. Where is the embassy referring to? They have ordered us to free the diplomats, but we do not know of any American diplomats here. They have not stipulated that we should return a den of spies. Let them convene another session and decide on the delivery of the den of the spies. And let them issue a verdict for the freedom of the spies. We have confiscated a center for espionage, and not an embassy.

¹The American spy organization.

The United States do not have statesmen and diplomats here. Let them find one diplomat among these hostages, we will free him. However, we claim that these are not diplomats at all. If you do not believe, send some envoys to investigate the case.

The trial of the American presidents in absentia

We will look into this matter and will try these people. And we will try the American presidents in absentia because we cannot lay our hands on them and we will issue judgment by default. We will issue verdicts based on the dossiers we have on these presidents and the crimes committed against us which have been proved. There were some clandestine activities going on between the Shah and the presidents. Evidence available abroad is beyond our reach. However, their records available in ministries will be scrutinized. There is a group now busy with the collection of documents we will base our judgments solely on the dossiers and records we have here. We will then invite some experts to come here and study them to prove that our words are not untrue. We state simple truths that the whole world will accept once they understand we are telling the truth. Of course, Mr. Carter will not accept our words. This is because he is among those wretched souls who cannot understand the truth. His brain lacks such a power to distinguish the truth. He is juggling the Shah from this hand to that hand with the Shah. He is sent to an island lest he be brought back to Iran and their secrets be disclosed. Muhammad-Rida had said that if he were to be tried U.S. president, too, would have to be tried, particularly those during his regime if he, too, should be tried. These presidents should be prosecuted. But they are beyond our reach and we lack the power to summon the U.S. presidents. However, we can investigate their dossiers available to us. We will then invite some experts to come over here to study these records for them to understand the real story. Then we will prosecute them. Thus, the sending of Muhammad-Rida from one country to another is pointless and will not solve the problem. From the very beginning, we had announced that we would try these hostages if the Shah is not returned to Iran. Now, we are saying once again that we will try both the Pahlavi regime and the American presidents during the time he was at the helm of power and up to the moment the power base was still holding. Thus, the issue is not resolved yet.

Inciting the deprived against the arrogant powers

Now they (U.S.) think the matter is closed now that the Shah has been sent to another country. There is yet an issue other than the major one and

that is we want to prove their crimes to the world. We want to make the deprived people understand their responsibilities against the arrogant powers. A majority of oppressed people do not know. We, too, who are among the oppressed, are ignorant of the things the arrogant powers have wrought upon us. We know but the tip of the iceberg. We have witnessed some (of their crimes) with our own eyes. But a majority part of it remains hidden behind the curtain of our understanding. We want the oppressed people and countries of the world to know what we have witnessed ourselves and other issues that we can unravel and make them understand what crimes the arrogant powers and the superpowers are doing to the oppressed. We are also resolute to show to the people of the United States what crimes the American presidents have committed against their own people up until now; what crimes have they committed that the image of American nation is being destroyed before the eyes of the world's people. They have tarnished the reputation of and humane nature of the American public and how terribly have they dishonored other countries and nations. Thus, the problem does not end right here. We are a weak nation, but we are a nation which relies on God. We are of a small population; the U.S. population is big, but the American nation is not with its government. You are strong and have phantoms and spears, but we have our fists and our voice of innocence. We will wait to see which one is victorious: the oppressed or the oppressor. This is a current issue that has drawn our attention

The spiritual power has led to the victory of our revolution

But what about our domestic affairs when we started our struggle against the Shah's regime it was a fight between a man who was empty handed and someone who was armed to his teeth. Once, you (audience) stood against a powerful regime equipped with high-powered military weapons and backed by world powers. That is, you (referring to the Iranian nation) stood empty-handed at one end of the struggle against the Shah with all the (war) material and enjoying the support of world power. By these two countries I refer to the governments and not to the nations. These governments, except a few, and also the big powers especially America and England, would support him. And when you triumphed these powers desperately tried to keep the king in power and upon failing, they endeavored seriously to support Bakhtiyar. Why did they fail, but you won? Did you have military power? Did you military training? We were a bunch of clerics who did not know anything of military functions. You are also a bunch of physicians who are unaware of military functions. We had not been exposed to any military training. Our

nation had not had any military training. On the other hand, they had military knowledge but we did not; we had nothing. Now that you see some guns in the hands of our youth, you should be aware that they were taken as booty; they never had guns before. The youth used to make efforts concocting something (Molotov cocktail) and would fling them at government forces, which were nothing compared to what the military had. What caused the victory of our nation was a spiritual power, a divine power. Do not attribute this victory to anybody. I would like to thank you all for your reading these articles. But I want to ask you not to compliment somebody to such a degree. We are nothing; it is only He who makes everything possible. We are nothing but the feeble slaves (of God). We could have been easily defeated. What made us victorious against our enemies was a divine force. A divine and hidden force changed this nation into something else! A nation which trembled at hearing the very name of the secret police took to the street shouting they did not want the Shah, or the monarchial regime or the secret police. This victory is achieved through, the Blessed and Exalted God, who willed it.

Fear and anxiety in the hearts of the enemies

There is one major point that they have neglected and it is the fact that God has created fear and anxiety in our foes. In the Quran “victory” is sometimes engendered through fear¹. Sometimes a small clique appears large to the (frightened) ones; sometimes a power display of the weak looks overwhelming to them. Rest assured that if God had not put this fear in their minds, they could have easily destroyed Tehran overnight. Muhammad-Rida had said before that he would destroy Iran if he left. In fact, even prior to his departing this country he had already destroyed Iran when he ruled. Now we are confronted with a ruined country. I do not know whether we could construct this country or not. This means that God created a vacuum in their hearts making soldiers and low-ranking officers disobey their seniors. God did something that you and I could not have done the senior army offices had turned into beasts but the junior officers and the privates had distanced themselves from their senior officers. And even if the high-ranking officers ordered them, they did not obey anymore I have heard that Bakhtiyar ordered the army officers to bombard Tehran, but the officers disobeyed him. This disobedience came about due to God’s will. If these soldiers had obeyed the Shah, or Bakhtiyar and higher officials, neither you nor me were sitting here

¹ Look for verses related to this topic in the following surahs of the Holy Quran: *Surah Al-e Imran* 3: 151; *Surah al-Anfal* 8:12; *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:26; *Surah al-Hashr* 59:2.

now. We would have been in a niche, or in prison or have been massacred. We would have been killed.

Confrontation with Bakhtiyar's Martial Law

But let us not forget the significance of the great victory that God has bestowed upon us. We saw that those who opposed us later unified with us. The night when they wanted to carry out coup d'etat we were in Tehran. They informed us of the event. They insisted that we should leave the house where we were staying. I told them I would stay where I was. Later I found that they had in mind to kill any influential figure of the revolution. They, then, enforced the Martial Law even within the day. But God thwarted their vicious plans. I did not know the reason. Then I was told that there have been a coup d'etat I did not realize it was a Martial Law. To have done something to counteract it, I announced to people to ignore it. They had in mind to seize all the streets and to place their forces there. But people interfered and offset their pernicious plans. All this was done due to God's blessings. This should not be attributed neither to me nor to you, or to anybody. Everything issued from God. You will be victorious for as long as you pay attention to that fountainhead of power. Do not separate yourself from that Divine power. Strengthen your close ties with the center of that power.

America's horrendous defeat in Iran

This superpower now will not cease confronting you. The way the U.S. guzzled up our oil, it was not little wealth that slipped off its hands. More importantly, the (U.S.) power, which imposed itself upon the world and against whom nobody could resist, has now suffered a severe political defeat. A small crowd (of Iranian) stood against it, expressed its will and kicked out the person (the Shah) it wanted to reign over it. In a sense, this defeat was a formidable blow to them, considering the beliefs the U.S. with which it indoctrinated that people's mind that you (Iranian nation) could not do a thing against it. If they wanted to impose a nasty contract or military pact over Iran, a ship from England would dock around Khoramshahr and its vicinity and the contract would be concluded in accordance with their whims and desires. If an American ship showed up an American in the Persian Gulf then everything was carried out and concluded effortlessly. The powers joined hands (in plundering our oil). Now the situation has changed and nation from this side of the world has risen against this superpower; (foreign) ships that arrive here wandered aimlessly. The crew on the ship threatens us but nobody pays any heed. So the Shah had to be taken away. This was

another defeat [of the American diplomacy]. They (Americans) wanted to take care of their dearest guest and to cure him. They want to cure a wretched creature. This means one step backward for the U.S. to have Shah and his mischief for keeps.

How to resolve the differences of Iran-American relations

If the United States thought rationally and if that arrogant one (Carter) because he cannot get anywhere by bullying us and instead opt for a political approach, not the political way the U.S. dictates but employing a sound political approach, then we might be able to reach a solution to the problem to contain extent. This way would not make (Carter) him look like he has disgraced the Shah so much. At the time (when the Shah was in the U.S.), it would appear quite disgraceful if Carter would extradite the Shah directly from the U.S., so he refused to do. But let me tell you something. Somebody came from abroad and told me about twenty days ago—I don't know where from—that could dispense with his false pride the host country for the Shah was ready to surrender him to Iran through a plan in which the Shah would be hijacked on the plane and would be returned to Iran. They (the U.S.) are prepared to do this to put an end to this deadlock. I am not gullible. I said I would not approve of such a plan. Rather, I preferred them to surrender him. Only if they pay proper attention to their nation's interest and corruption in their country and not just think of how powerful they are and their whims to do anything they wish. They should that now time has changed. The powerful can no longer do whatever they wish; now people put up a resistance and stand against them. It is no longer true that when some trouble befell your friend would come to your aid. Your opponent will also raise his voice from the other side. Therefore, it is now meaningless to assume that one can advance using military power. Now, if he (Carter) thinks more logically and accept the fact that the U.S. can no longer frighten us as they did in the past. They thought that it was like when a ship would dock (at Iranian harbors) and did whatever they wished and we would cower at any word of threat said—well, time has changed. Nobody will submit to power anymore. Our nation is ready to get martyred. They have put on their shrouds. So, if (Carter) thinks wisely, the problem can find a solution. The Americans must give us back our assets. They are the nation's possessions.

The tale of Rida Khan's

As history and books relate, we can claim that Rida Khan came to Arak. In describing his whereabouts, this book, which was brought to me,

mentioned that once he was a soldier when he came to Arak. He narrated in this book how he (constantly) waited for the beginning of each month to receive a meager income to run his life. He used to tell his ministers the tale of how little he received a monthly salary of seven *tumans*.

We all know that he was a nobody: he had no property, nor was he merchant or a tradesman. Many of you possibly know he came here (Tehran) with nothing. And most of you may not remember that when Rida Shah came to Mazandara, he wanted to purchase it for himself. At that time, I was told that when he was shown the map of Mazandaran outlining that northern part which he wanted to acquire he saw a demarcation separating other areas of it. When he asked what it was, he was told that those were not included in the area he owned. He ordered to coerce the people to give up those lands and conclude the "deeds of sale", not that he brought it. He usurped all these land holdings: Mazandaran or the north (of Iran) and every estate he could lay his hands on. Well, of course, he later could not be kept (in power). [When he was deposed], his heir (Muhammad-Rida) also did not have anything. He unlawfully received the royal salary because he was not a legitimate monarch, I have repeatedly proven this fact. Let our accountants calculate how much his expenditure was and how much he received as the royal salary. Let our experts calculate how much wealth he has abroad and money he has in banks everywhere, in the United States and in Switzerland. If we owe him anything, let him get it. A person who owned nothing but who now owns a lot, has to be questioned where he got his wealth from. Once there was a rule in Iran called "Where did you get it?" based on that rule, we will ask the Shah where he got all his possessions. All he has taken from this country belongs to this nation.

Our words not require much deliberation, but they do need to be inquired into. They are quite easy to understand. We are saying when Muhammad-Rida's father came to power he was penniless as he himself has confessed. And when he rose to power he neither has business nor any trade; he had nothing. Now, he is such (a wealth one). We want him to return the wealth he plundered from the nation. This issue is what we want to be acquired into (by experts) to find out if we owe him anything or he owes us. By applying economic pressures on us, the U.S. wants to sustain the life of a wretched man and thirty-five million people die for "humanitarian" reasons. Carter thought we would starve if we are beleaguered through economic sanctions. What he does not know is such things will never happen.

The American sabotage through splinter groups

Since the United States has suffered both political and economic blows, it is not going to leave us alone. They are engaged in conspiracies against us both inside and outside the country. One of their greatest plots is to hinder the establishment of a deep-rooted government here in this country. This is because such a government would terminate their exploitation here. You may observe that they have been creating problems for us from the very start of our Islamic order. They enticed a group to question the validity and legality of the Islamic republic. They say that the nation wants a “republic”. So, they ask what is the “Islamic” republic? They do not want Islam to be part of it. They planned to stop “Islamic.” They thought if it were purely republic then everybody could misuse the government, but if it were the Islamic republic then a lot of abuse will not be allowed. They still intrigued another minor political band to present the concept of a “democratic republic.” Once again they evaded using the word “Islamic.” A third group, who tried to deceive us, used the term “Islamic democratic Republic.” This turned out to be wrong as well. I told them I do not understand the meaning of “democratic.” This is because this word is very general and is interpreted differently in different cultures. It meant one thing in the past and another thing at present. I told them I would not accept anything I did not understand. But I understand Islam. I know its rules and regulations. I told them I knew the meaning of republic for which we will cast our ballots. We will not vote for anything we can not comprehend.

Sabotage and creating turmoils

What they had in mind was not the establishment of a democratic republic. Rather, they were after creating turmoils. They wanted to disrupt the election for the Islamic republic by causing a convulsive situation where in one group takes to the street while another stops the Islamic republic from getting the vote. But people defeated this minority by more than 98 percent of their votes. The referendum was unique in the world; the enemies were defeated in this (arena). Their next move was to abstract the formation of the Council of Experts. They gave rise to controversies and found fault after fault in it, but in spite all this, the people still voted in favor of it. And when the assembly started its investigation work, up to now they have just been trying to find fault in it. These very sane people are the tentacles of those who oppose the formation of the Islamic Republic through popular vote. Each one [of these tentacles] finds one kind of defect. A crowd of, let’s say, fifty-thousand is trying to impose their idea over the majority of ninety-nine

percent of the nation who voted for the (ratification of the) Constitution. Who else but a handful wants the country to have a democracy—a mere fifty-thousand want to impose this idea on a population of thirty-five million people through coercion, aggression, killing and seizing places these people create a hullabaloo in one particular to prevent the realization of an Islamic republic, or a [new] Constitution. The [former] Constitution is no longer valid that merits everyone to talk about it. Whoever talks about it does not believe in democracy and obviously is a dictator. All of you talks of retaining the old Constitution but this very same Constitution will result in a dictatorship. You must ratify a (new) Constitution that agrees with Islamic edicts and by the people's representatives. There were no bayonets to coerce the people nor a government to impose something on the people. The people elected a group (Assembly of Experts). Does this move contradict the democracy they are talking about? But later, they still were not content.

Some [of the opponents] who opposed everything used to say that a referendum was not necessary. And that an Assembly of Experts would suffice. Now that the Assembly got the vote and the referendum was held, they are finding faults in them. This behavior is symptomatic of a malady afflicting them lest an Islamic republic finds reality, which will, in turn, sever the hands (of influence) of their (American) masters. This is why these belligerent elements are fomenting troubles here and there. I am sure they would create some problems in the future for the election of the president, and more problems for the election of the representatives of the Consultative Assembly.

A revolution based on reliance [on God] and unity

Our nation should go through all these stages vigilantly. Do not fear these local disturbances. You have brought about a great revolution, which materialized through the efforts of the nation which was armed with nothing. We resort to neither a coup d'état, nor any military force. This revolution took place through the nation's efforts. These turbulences that you observe are common reactions to world revolutions in general. When the central government is not strong enough, these turmoils naturally occur. The source of these disorders lies in the remnants of the previous rotten regime both inside and outside the country. They consist of individuals who carry favor with America. Do not be afraid of them. This nation has reached this stage (of victory) through Allah's power and our reliance on Him. Preserve this reliance on God and divine power. Stay united. Do not count on a minority heedless of any advice. I hope everybody in this country will realize that by

Islamic Republic we mean “Islamic orders and commands.” Islamic regulations are good for everybody. The Islamic regulations will create so much comfort for the religious minority they have never dreamed of. Islam does not approve of any oppression towards even a deviated individual. Islam does not approve of injustice in general. Rest assured that if you continue relying in God and stay united, and keep the flames of the revolution alive you will advance. [One from the audience: Sir, we are not fearful and we are hopeful] the Imam: Thank God.

Honesty: the individual responsibility of the masses

They have ruined every section of this country and then left. Anywhere you put your hands on, you will encounter countless cases of destruction. Who else can repair this except the nation? A nation is a huge power. If thirty five million people try to carry out a plan, they can easily do it. If each stratum shun its responsibility and pass the buck to another, say the people expect the government to shoulder the responsibility and vice-versa, then nothing will be done properly. Everybody no matter where, should join hands and carry out his/her task in the job that he/she has. Everybody should feel responsible for what he does. Every person in his/her own capacity must carry out his tasks properly; do not look around to see who is doing one's job or not. It is not necessary to engage in altercation as to what will happen at the justice department what is done there is not related to what the doctors do. Doctors should perform their jobs well. Those who do not do their jobs shirk responsibility. Those at the justice department must fulfill their duties. You remember those who chanted and played in the Ashura's scenes in the past. Many would question this and we said it would be better if they chanted threnodies. A good Shimr (the murderer of Imam Husayn) was one who performed as if he was the real Shimr. And the one who acted as Imam Husayn was considered to be a good representative of Imam Husayn's character if he performed his role properly. In this connection, someone who does his job well is someone impinge upon others' job and vice-versa. If everyone does the task entrusted upon him/her well, ever then everything will run smoothly.

The spirit of cooperation and brotherhood is the basis for reconstruction

You are physicians. May God protect you. You should act like fathers towards your patients and your interest should be directed towards improving their health. You show affection towards the sick people as if they were your children. You should look at them as your brothers or sisters. God has

created brotherhood among the believers.¹ Now this is your sister who has become sick and this is your brother who suffers from some disease. You should treat him or her with utmost affection. The same should be done by the nurses. The one who manages the hospital should discharge their duties there and show interest as if he is running his own house. Everybody should feel responsible for what he does. Everybody should perform his or her tasks perfectly. Everyone should not say that it is not his/her business if another person does or does not do his job, or say that his done his job well and so another person's task is not business of his. Or if someone passes on the responsibility to somebody, he does it badly. Whatever task is assigned to you should be carried out well. A badly-done job should be at the top of your agenda. Let your work be a sample of perfection. Now a strong feeling of cooperation is present among the people. Now there is cooperation in all fields and this feeling should be strengthened. You notice that now people who would never do a particular job now goes field and do the harvest or construct houses. For instance, people from schools, doctors and physicians have become in the tasks they have not done before. People cooperate with farmers. Our physicians cooperate with villagers. With this feeling of cooperation if strengthened the ruins (in the construction) will soon be rebuilt, God willing.

May God keep you and grant you success.

¹ *The believers are but brethren, therefore make peace between your brethren and be careful of your duty to Allah that mercy may be had on you. Quran 49:10.*

Speech

Date: December 16, 1979 [Azar 25, 1358 AHS / Muharram 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Shah's trial and the disclosure of the American crimes in Iran

Audience: The disabled and those injured in the Revolution, the physicians and the nurses of the relief committees

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity for the investigation of the crimes committed against Iran by the Shah and the United States

The reason for our insistence that this criminal¹ be tried in Iran and for a trial be set up to investigate U.S. crimes committed in Iran is because witness to certain crimes cannot be sent to, for instance, America. Moreover, the jury and organizations which work there² are in the service of the superpowers. Another thing is how could we ever take the disabled victims and grief-stricken mothers and women who have lost their youth to the United States to inform them of [the magnitude] the crimes committed against them? The dossiers are here. They can not be taken out. This is the reason for our insistence for the convention of court of justice here. When I see how these people have been disabled and how these women lost their young sons two sorts of emotions are created in me: one is the feeling of sorrow and grief as to why a regime could be so ignorant of God, bestial and savage and who would commit such heinous crimes to rule for a day or two. Why is man so prone to crimes? Why is man worse than all beasts when he takes the wrong path? Another thing is, it grieves one to see that the teachings of the prophets, from the first and to the last, have not been able to rectify corrupt human beings. All these divine teachings could not lead people like Carter and Muhammad-Rida to the right path.

Simulating philanthropy in order to stay in power

Carter prays! For whom? He has the church bells tolled in order to acquire prestige and get a chance to commit crimes for another four or five years under the pretext of caring for a sick man.³ He is pretending that he is

¹ Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

² The United States.

³ The Shah.

praying for fifty Americans.¹ Now the American authorities are going around collecting signatures in the schools of the United States. This is the main issue. The superpower wishes to stay in power at any cost even if it means crushing the deprived layers of society. They claim they are keeping this wretched soul² out of their philanthropic sentiments, but engage in massacring multitudes of human beings or coerce them into killing others. They have done it in Vietnam. We witness the crimes they have so far committed in Iran: they supported one man who committed such crimes and through whom they engaged in crimes here, or facilitated their commission. They fostered that one person who perpetrated so much evildoing that left so many disabled victims, martyrs, grief stricken mothers, and then they talk of love for humanity. The objective of these criminals boils down to just one thing and that is to stay in power, the power to annihilate anyone who stands in their way.

The effects of the crimes committed by the Shah and the United States in Iran

The reason why we have invited experts to Iran lies in the fact that we want them to see all the disabled victims. How could we take them to the United States? We want to take these experts to hospitals where the disabled victims of the revolution are being taken care of. We want to show the evidence of the Shah. Carter kept the Shah for a while and then had sent him to another location, something which is his own concern, lest behind-the-curtain controversies are discovered and exposed to the American nation, which, in turn, would understand what sort of criminals is afflicting the oppressed nations of the world, criminals who put on a mask of a humanitarian to deceive. This man (Carter) makes pretensions to having been educated on Jesus, peace of God upon him, having faith in him, and shows off himself as one who prays. He goes to church and order to ring the church bells all over American for him.

The hypocrisy of the kings of the Pahlavi dynasty

We have seen instances of the hypocrisy of the kings. You may not recollection, or perhaps a couple of you might remember, but we saw how Rida Khan used to attend threnody sessions (for Imam Husayn (a)) and go from one *taziyah* to another. It was also said that he would set up such (mourning) sessions and take part in them. Then, when he got powerful he

¹ The spy hostages kept in Iran.

² Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

banned such sessions! We saw Muhammad-Rida have Qurans published in the name of (serving) Islam and once a year he went to Mashhad and, in utter shamelessness, would stand before the tomb of Imam Rida (a) but his heart was somewhere else. He used to there to deceive the Iranian nation. But we have already seen what that criminal and this one¹ did to our nation. The father pretended to be a Muslim but perpetrated that massacre, at the precincts of Imam Rida (a) shrine at Gawharshad Mosque at a Muslim temple. We also witnessed how his son, who claimed to be a Muslim, who, in his speeches, vowed to support Shiism who had published Qurans "served" this country. He carried out a lot of killings and caused a great number of disabled ones and he ruined the Iranian prestige. He decimated our wealth and reserves. He kept the forces of our youth backward. We insist on his coming here because his case is something that has to be investigated on and clarified here. We want him here, but now he has left (the U.S.). We ask the United States to deliver him to us. However, the United States has transferred him from one place to another place allied to it.

Being proud of the Ashura oriented people of the Islamic Revolution

Anyway, I sympathize with these brothers, sons and the beloved ones (of this revolution) whether they are present here or are now at hospitals, I am proud to have such youths. I am proud of them because they have revived Islam and relived the Karbala scenes in Iran. They have served and sacrificed their lives to revive Islam. Our youth you have been rendered disabled, killed or have lost their everything in order to keep Islam alive.

Universal tendencies towards Islam

The tendency towards Islam has changed in recent years. Now the different layers of the world population have focused their attention to Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran to see what will happen: one clique is entertaining for lest Islam to other lands. And another group is eager about the dissemination of Islam everywhere; Islamic nation and non-Islamic oppressed nations, too, have fixed their attention to our demand; all of them love to have the same (Islamic) regime, which will materialize here, God willing, in their own lands. Those who were traitors and took advantage of the absence of Islam are horrified lest it becomes a reality. One of those terrified lest Islam materializes in Iran is Carter because if Islam materializes in Iran, the American interests would be served forever.

¹ Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

I would like to thank you gentlemen who have walked a long way to this place to show your solidarity and unity. I also thank the disabled with whom I commiserate and the ladies who have come here; I hope that they all enjoy good health. I ask God to keep you in perfect health. And I ask God for a speedy recovery of our disabled ones all over Iran. May God grant you success.

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

Interview

Date: December 17, 1979 [Azar 26, 1358 AHS / Muharram 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The status of minorities in an Islamic government; exporting the revolution; the Shah's trial

Interviewer: The Muslim journalists residing in England; some African and Asian journalists

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Question: What is the status of minorities in the Islamic government? With so many different minorities in Iran, would it not be better to have federal government and a strong central government?

Answer: In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The minorities in Iran have been referred to as religious minorities and not only do they share everything with other citizens but they also enjoy certain rights according to the law. They live in welfare, peace and freedom in a Islamic government have identical rights with others. Sometimes, by the word minorities we refer to different tribes such as Kurds, Lors, Baluchis, Turks and Farsians. However, I do not like to refer to these people as minorities, because this word implies a separation among these brothers and such separation is never an issue in Islam. Such a separation does not exist between two Muslims who happen to speak two different languages: for instance an Arab Muslim or an Iranian Muslim. This kind of division is instigated by elements that aim at the disunity of Islamic countries. The issue of being an Arab or non-Arab does not have sense in Islam. Neither is the question of being a Kurd, an Arab or a Persian an issue in Islam. Our enemies who have done an extensive of studies on this have fomented this difference between an Arab, Lor, Turkiman, Baluchis, and the like. These peoples know that if Islam is materialized fully in Iran, the world's superpowers will lose their interests and the Muslim people who are rich in reserves and are in great majority will hold the reins of power greater than all this power. In order to plunder the Muslims' wealth, these agitators have brought about the issues of Turks versus Arabs, etc. they have created "isms", such as pan-Iranianism, pan-Turkism, and others, which are against of the logic of Islam. Their objective is to obstruct the establishment of Islam and Islamic thinking; nations are pitted against each other and, at times,

tribes against other tribes, and sow discord among Islamic nations. In Iran, the division between minorities and majorities has never been an issue. Aren't they all of one Islamic brotherhood? In addition to this, I also would like to call your attention to one thing: Now, we observe that the Kurds are asking for their special rights; so are the Baluchis. This is due to the despotic nature of our past rulers and dynasties. These governments mostly consisted of one specific layer of the society; for instance, of the Farsians. So the needs of the Kurds, for instance, were not met or just meagerly satisfied; and this applied to Baluchis, Bakhtiyaris and other tribes. Those were un-Islamic governments. The monarchial regimes were evil and un-Islamic. Regrettably, these differences were ingrained within the country and discrimination surfaced in our society.

If an Islamic government, the way the Exalted and Blessed God has ordered, finds currency, governance the way Islam dictates it to be will acquire a certain quality that when a ruler or a government official is summoned to the court, as it had been at the advent of Islam, when the ruling government treated individuals equally before the law. This was carried out at the time of Imam Ali (a), who was summoned to the court of justice due to the complaint made against him by a Jewish tributary. The judge, who was appointed by Imam Ali (a) himself, tried to show more respect to Imam Ali (a), by addressing him with his epithet protested to this behavior by making the judge to realize that both the defender and accuser should be treated equally in a court of justice. A judge should be just in looking both parties. In a court one should not sit in a more prestigious place than the other. If such an Islamic government, which we all wish for, one that we aspire for and what Islam, the Imams and the caliphs in the early years of Islam aspire for, is established, then there will not be any question of "my" or "your" right. This is because all are equal and all will enjoy the same human rights. A governor does not have any right to pay more attention to one district, than another; or develop one part of the country more than other; not even build or pave more roads with asphalt in one place than another. If such a government, which is what we all wish for, is set up, no issue will be raised among Kurds, Turks, Persians, Arabs or the rest of the country's citizens. Such problems of infringement upon rights (of ethnic groups) emerged because the governments were not Islamic. If no discrimination is exercised by the governments between Tehran and Paveh, Isfahan and Turkeman or between Turkeman districts, or in its passing judgments executing laws and schemes, then no other ideas will come up on whether minority groups should rule their own areas or should the (central) government have the

jurisdiction over them. These questions come up because minorities have been oppressed. But now that this issue (of autonomy) is being raised, we are forced under the present circumstances to allow each district of the country to carry out their specific programs based on their special needs. This applies to reconstruction, agriculture, and the municipal affairs until the Islamic government that we want is installed so that the minorities will not surmise that the central government will execute its affairs in whatever way it wishes to regarding any (ethnic) groups, will be allowed to elect their own officials. I would like to inform everybody that wants an Islam have. However, you must know, too, that once the Islamic government is in place, the Kurds, Persians or Arabs may join into hold the reins of power as they themselves have said it. This is what everyone is saying. Were such issues as to certain officials being specially appointed in their own localities ever raised in the early days of Islam? There were not such problems because no rights were trampled upon. A ruler was not supposed to discriminate against one locality unless he had gone astray. Assuming that in one country, a ruler governs based on divine duties, he is bound based on the law to treat all citizens equally, he is duty-bound to consider every person in his country and his brother and implement one and the same law for both the judge and the condemned. The same equal treatment should apply to projects on reparation and everything everywhere, would the Kurds ask then for their special rights? The Kurds today say these things because they were discriminated against in the past. If an Islamic order materializes the way we want and God wants all individuals will be brothers, a Kurd could come to Tehran and be the governor of this city. In the same way a Persian could go to Kurdistan to be the governor. Such discontent prevails because minorities had been subjected to maltreatment (by the reigning rules). These people have not had the experience of an Islamic order yet. An Islamic government had not been set up; they have heard talks about it, though. On the other hand, they may or may not have heard of it because they are ignorant of what Islamic rule is and this is the main reason why they have brought up all these issues (of gaining autonomy). If what they want does not jeopardize the country's integrity and peace, we are not going to oppose it. We do not want to rule; neither do we have in mind to trample anybody's rights. In Islam, government is based on brotherhood. At the outset of Islam the top official and the lowliest citizens were equal, and enjoyed the same (quality of) life. On a trip to a country under his domination, the second caliph had a camel and one servant with him. On the way, the caliph and the servant took turn in riding the camel. However, on their arrival at the city it was the servant's turn to ride and the

second caliph to hold the bridle. They entered the city in this manner as the narration goes. If such a government is set up based on the power and authority of Islam as it was in the early days of Islam, nobody would wish to run the government by his own clan (or race). There will never be any racial question of who is native or an outsider. In Islam everybody is a Islamic Muslim, and brother and equal to one another. If an individual comes and goes to another city, he will not be discriminated against Islam. Everybody will enjoy the same rights. In Islam there exists no cases of discrimination, no cases of racial favoritism or partiality in any regimes. All these issues will turn out to be unfounded; we will not be ashamed to be called a Persian or Turk. Are we not all Muslims? Are we not from one country? Are we not one nation? Are we not brothers? Brothers should not address oneself native and another outsider. These problems arise because these people have not seen an Islamic government. They have not been able to make Islam a reality in an Islamic government, or implement Islamic justice and Islamic programs. These issues will persist until we establish an Islamic government that people want. There will not be discrimination between a Kurd, a Turk, or a Bakhtiyari, if I may say. This rule shall apply everywhere, because all are brothers; nobody will claim, for instance, a Germany-like federal government is better. No such talks will come up in Islam. Everyone will be united. In Islam, the issue is not a matter of power, or power display or gaining power. An Islamic government is not a government that is after power, or a measure of power—one having more than another. It is a unique form of government that you will witness once it is formed. These problems will be offset if Islam is established.

Q: It is said that the Islamic revolution will be exported across the borders. But some of the Islamic regimes do not agree with the Islamic revolution and are opposed to it. However, the world of Islam in general has approved of this revolution. Don't you think of this as a sign for the creation of a strong Muslim nation in the world?

A: We hope so. Islam is not exclusive to one country, or some countries, one tribe, or Muslims. Islam has come for humanity. Islam addresses others as “*Ya Ayyuhannas*” [“O People”], sometimes as “*Ya Ayyuhal-Muminin*” [“O Believers”]. Islam tries to bring everybody under its umbrella of justice. The governments, unfortunately, do not pay heed to this fact that their affairs would be better taken care of if they gathered under the banner of Islam. Some of these governments would prefer Carter's support to that of Islam.

From their childhood these governors lived in a non-Islamic environment and then continued their studies and education abroad in Europe or America and remained ignorant of Islam and Islamic commands, or have heard of them to understand what they are and if they have they were not able to understand what an Islamic government is. They asked whether it would be to their disadvantage if an Islamic government was established the way it had to be. Such an idea has never been brought up among these people for them to realize whether Islam would be useful or harmful. If only they could understand Islam would be to their benefits, we hope that everybody would lean towards Islam and its governments.

Today, due to foreign hegemony governments are estranged from and heedless of their nations and vice-versa a situation which contradicts Islamic edicts. Now the nations are separate from their governments because they are ignorant of Islam. The governments align against one another simply to gain more worldly power. They do not realize that Islam has come to break these icons of powers and to establish a divine order which is useful for everybody. If they could realize the significance of Islam, they would show more inclination towards Islam. Of course, there are some who are given to so much carnal desire that they strongly oppose justice and for it to be carried out in the world. Now this is the case with the United States, which is our major opponent and which opposes justice and human rights altogether. Yet, they make pretensions to caring about human rights! They lay too many claims but human when we study the case of these super powers, we will realize that the Security Council and the Human Rights Organization are organizations to keep the interests of the superpowers and to suppress the deprived nations and do whatever they wish to the weak and then when the oppressed bring up their cases to Human Rights officials, they are condemned and over powered.

Now the issue of Iran is being brought up. You, as well as all nations and governments all over the world, know what this traitor (Muhammad-Rida) has done to our nation. He has robbed this nation of its wealth and destroyed the whole country. Now, he is gone there (the U.S). Now he is being kept by the Americans. He is there either for conspiracy or for treatment. We repeatedly have asked them to submit him to us for trial. Our demand is based on logic and international and national laws; international laws a person who has oppressed one nation, squandered and wasted its wealth, ruined its honor should be tried at the place he has committed crimes. However, wherever there are societies or international organizations such as the Security Council or the Human Rights Organization, they condemn us.

Now the dossiers are available to everybody proving that this place they called "embassy" has never been an embassy from the very beginning. The U.S. never had an embassy here. What they had was an espionage center, which they named "embassy". The personnel of the so-called American embassy have not been diplomats; rather, they were spies. These are trained spies. However, the Security Council passed them for diplomats. The Security Council approves of them and we are being condemned by these organizations. The weak is always condemned; condemned to die by the bayonet. The weak is always at the mercy of pernicious pens which are even, worse than bayonets. What must be condemned is the fact the superpowers can willy-nilly say whatever they want and ill-treat the weak countries in any way they want with the sanction of these so-called [human rights] organizations. Amidst or the story of our plight, the tribulations of our country and nation and the nation of Islam, we see that every universal organization is now against us. The day when the minister of the foreign affairs was invited to go abroad, for reasons we do not know, we felt that his going would be condoning something against the good of Islam and Muslims. So we did not let him go. If he had done, they could have easily condemned us through ourselves. We would have been condemned through our own envoy and we did not want it to happen. If we are to be condemned, why should it be through one of us? Let another group condemn us, as it is now that another clique is condemning us; and organizations affiliated to them (the U.S), which has the veto power. And whenever these major countries see that a country opposes their interests, they exercise their power of veto, and we do not have any right to complain, nor do we have any option but undergo sufferings. They enjoy the right of veto and use it whenever they wish to. We, therefore, will not send our envoy over there since we do not accept such an organization. We would like to announce from the very start that, from the view point of the Security Council and the U.N, we are condemned their views condemn us because they hinge on the coercive rule of the bayonets because they are mainly based on bayonets. They use bayonets and pens against us. But their pens are even more pernicious than their bayonets. Now, I do not remember what his other questions were. I think the interviewer was asking whether there was any bond among Islamic powers. I hope this Islamic movement of us could clarify the issues for all nations as it already relatively has to some. Nations are with us. If the nations of Iraq and Turkey were not under the threats of bayonets, they will join us with one unified cry. Unfortunately, (superpowers) bayonets are preventing them and expelled the aggressors. Iran stood firm against these tyrants. A

weak nation like us broke the back of the superpowers. If the nations became vigilant and could guide the governments, then, they would prosper. However, if these governments do not listen to our advice to unite with us, then they will meet the same fate as Muhammad-Rida did. Sooner or later this will happen. We hope the Islamic power the power of justice or power under the aegis of (true) justice, not bayonets, cannons and tanks will prevail and all humanity will be in solidarity would replace the power of tanks, spears, bayonets and weaponry in general. We have been promised that at the appearance of the twelfth Imam (*a*), all these differences will disappear, and everybody would be brother to one another. There will not be any bully or coercion. We hope to be able to administer a little bit of the justice commensurate with the power we possess that we will see at the time of the twelfth Imam (*a*). We hope that the nations will join with us and the governments, too, will be with us. It will be to their benefit to unit with us and we are hopeful regarding this issue, God wiling.

Q: The deposed Shah of Iran has said that if he is supposed to stand trial, the last seven American presidents, too, should stand trial. On the other hand, the Western mass media have interpreted the extradition of the Shah as a sign of taking vengeance. Please tell us what the objective behind his extradition and his trial of the defunct Shah is.

A: This one statement of the Shah is correct. Although he has never uttered one good word, this one is right He is right in saying that the American presidents, too, should stand trial. This we will do prior to the trial of the Shah. Of course, we could not bring Nixon or Carter personally here. But we will carry out their trial in absentia. We shall create an international court here in Iran composed of just individuals well-versed in international law. If they do not listen to us, then surely we shall try them. This, of course, will not hinder us from trying the Shah. The Shah's statement "If I am to be tried ..." is not acceptable to us because both of them are criminals: one a worse criminal than the other. The Shah is a criminal like his American counterparts. The Shah was an agent in the hands of his American masters. For us, the one who ordered and forced you (the Shah) to commit all those crimes is a worse offender. You were the tool through which the U.S. carried out their (criminal) activities in Iran, and, for us, the mastermind, namely the U.S. presidents are more culpable. Therefore, both the Shah and the American presidents who were involved in the Iranian affairs have to be tried. If we could, we would bring them al here to be stand trial—a fair trial.

If they really have any conscience, or if their conscience has been awakened and if it has not been changed into something else, then they will agree to come here to be given a fair trial. Just like the story of Hadart Ali, which I have narrated to you, who was summoned to the court by the judge he himself had appointed he willingly appeared to stand trial because he knew that justice would be meted out and nobody would ever commit an act against religion. We could have a jury consisting of individuals from the U.S. side and our side and they can come here to face trial. But, of course, the Shah will have to be tried here. If the American presidents had any conscience people, they would volunteer to come over here to stand trial. However, I do not believe this might ever happen. We could, therefore, try them in absentia. This, understandably, excludes the Shah because he has to be tried here, in person. This is because the evidence for his crimes is available here. We could not transfer his dossiers abroad. The same rule applies to the American presidents. Regarding the U.S. presidents, we cannot impose the same proceedings as we do not have any power over them. Since we cannot issue the orders for the arrest of these presidents we will try them here in their absence. If we were able to, we would set up a tribunal to try these U.S. presidents, see our situation and investigate all the crimes the U.S. have committed against us and listen to what we wish to say. The superpowers would not let our voice reach the world. I do not know whether you could possibly do this or not. The American nation has been kept in the dark, so they do not know what is going on in this country. Some Americans might not have even heard of the name of Iran. When this is the case, Americans assume that we have imprisoned a group of diplomats here and we are beating them up now, are threatening them with bayonets and are not letting them to take shower or eat. These items of propaganda are circulated by our opponents. It is said that once somebody dreamed that Satan had such a beautiful face. He told Satan, "Is it really you?" What has been shown to us has two faces: one looks different from the other. Satan answered, "This is because the pen is in the hands of the enemy." Now, the pens are in the hands of our enemies. These pens are worse than bayonets. And when they are in the enemies' hands, they write anything they wish. These enemies had reported that Khomeini is busy cutting women's breasts. Now, you, right here see that Khomeini is a poor student of the seminary. People are fond of him because Khomeini is their servant. A man loves his servant. Not a severed or woman's breast anything else cut off in this country. They saw that Huveyda was executed here. They thought that Huveyda was a community of women and since he was executed, they constructed that

women's breasts were severed here! No, this is not the case. It is they accuse us of anything they like. Now that you are here and are observing our condition, go abroad and explain our situation for those people. Tell them we do not want to govern. If we desired to rule, we would not sit in rooms like this one; rather, we would sit in rooms in which Carter is sitting. We would be in mansions. We would live in the White House. These (material) things are of no import to us. We want in justice be established in the world. We want to make those who plundered and committed crimes against us and wasted our resources and human power to come back here in order to stand trial. Now, Mr. Carter is not willing at any cost to let the Shah come over here and he is right for doing so. I would do the same if I were Carter. Why should he let the Shah, who can easily squeal on him, come to Iran? The keys to all the crimes and treacheries committed. If the Shah comes back here, he will reveal during the interrogation the name of the main culprit against Iran are in the Shah's hands. Why should Carter release him? Muhammad-Rida has repeatedly said in the past that it was the American authorities who pre-listed the assembly representatives; the list then would be sent to the Shah, who, in turn, would approve it. He had admitted to committing crimes of such magnitude in the past; he had also confessed they were his own crimes and those of the U.S. presidents. Such offenses are more examples of the minor crimes he had committed; and now his crimes have piled up, the number of oppressed victims has gone up. The cases of the Shah's crimes and victims are so numerous that we cannot enumerate them for the world to know.

Q: The students who occupied the American embassy consider themselves your close followers. However, in the view of the foreigners it is the students who direct the foreign affairs of Iran. What is your comment? What does Mr. Qutbzadeh do regarding this?

A: That these students are directing Iran's foreign policy is a libelous accusation against those students. But if by this statement you mean that, the occupation of the embassy has taken place of out these students' sentiments towards humanity for supporting the oppressed, and upon learning that such a place was a den of spies, are right. These students have disclosed the facts and now have put the stage for the trial of these spies. The Iranian nation agrees with this move of these students. The secretary of state, the cabinet and the nation in general, approve of this movement. The People have confirmed this act of these university students through their demonstrations

and their slogans. Why shouldn't they confirm this act? This is a place for conspiracy. People have sacrificed their youth. People had their houses burnt and at times destroyed. They have given up everything for an Islamic government. However, they feel there is a place for conspiracy in Tehran. We have dossiers concerning those agents who have been in close contact with the United States. We will not consider this place as an embassy. Neither do we consider these detainees as diplomats. This is a center for espionage for the region and those are spies. Now, the International Organizations vote for the release of these so called diplomats. But we deny that they are diplomats. We will ask experts to come over to Iran to see for themselves if these are real diplomats. Compare our embassy in the United States with the American embassy here. And then have a look at other embassies elsewhere. By a comparison you will find that this place cannot be termed an embassy. Are these genuine diplomats? Or is this a center for espionage? These are our claims and those students who have seized the embassy are not engaged in the policy-making processes of this land. We all agree with these students since they have entered a place where spying had been going on for decades.

Q: If the Islamic government behaves in the same way that it has been doing recently, the majority of countries will naturally oppose it and will adopt a hostile attitude towards Iran. Then what is the basis of your foreign affairs? Do you need some friends in your foreign relations?

A: If the foreigners could grasp our problems, then they would agree with us. In the same manner, if the governments could realize our conditions, they would confirm our deeds. If the word "relations" is taken to mean the same thing that existed at the Shah's time between Iran and America, I would like to say that by relations in those dark years was meant "slavery." A Lord used to order his servant to carry out certain tasks; a president of America used to issue commands for Muhammad-Rida to carry out. If our objective is to enhance the progress of Islam, we should not be slaves any longer. However, if we are not slaves to America, they would then cut their relations with us. We will ask God to help us cut these relations with the United States. We will not accept wretchedness and serfdom just to have relations with a superpower. It is not considered an honor to have relations with a government like that of the USA. Regrettably, the government of the United States lacks human dignity, that we cannot sustain any relations with it. The United States bleeds the poor nations dry anywhere in the world. She drops

bomb over their heads wherever it can. It plunders their wealth and possessions. What is the use of having relations with such governments? It is better not to have relations with them. It is better not to have relations with the plunderers. If we cut off our relations with them, they would then realize that there is a part of the universe called the East from where their civilization started. Unfortunately, the East has lost itself. When they recognize the East, then we will have mutual and well-balanced relations with them. What is the use of having the kind of relations that we had before with a government like the United States which established a spying center instead of an embassy. Does establishing diplomatic relations near allowing that country to install an espionage center and ignore the blood which our youth have shed for the revolution and have Muhammad-Rida (Khan) to rule over us once again, and since he is now defunct, we would have to accept his son as our king! Now Mr. Carter is dreaming of having his power restored in Iran with Bakhtiyar here in Iran and the Shah over there and some of their agents with whom they are in collusion. They are deluding themselves by concocting such notions in their heads. But it is now too late for them. Their words carry no credibility: not Mr. Carter's nor those who want the Shah back and want to restore and relive the same (pre-revolution conditions). We should, of course, have relations with the world based on mutual friendship. We cannot, however, expand our relations with tyrants. We have now relations with Muslim nations. Our relations are based on the Islamic principles. Regarding the non-Islamic governments, we would have relations with them if they treat us justly and if they recognize us as an independent nation. If Mr. Carter put aside his pride and haughtiness, we could have relations with him. This will happen only if he makes up for what he has done to us. We have a lot in common with the American nation and we could easily communicate. They should change their Lord-versus-peasant relations. They should consider us their equal. Why shouldn't we have relations with them if they treat us like human beings. We could have relations with the United States. However, under the present condition, we are supposed to act like servants. And this we will not do. They want us to serve them and be plundered by them at the same time. In the past, a house servant was paid by the Lord. Now they want us to serve and be robbed of our wealth.

Q: After the ratification of the constitution there are two kinds of government proposed. One is a despotic religious government. The second

kind is a government in which the clergy has secondary role. These two forms are common in the world. What is your comment?

A: The world does not know what Islam is. They are ignorant of Islam. They do not know that Islam has come to stop despotism. Islam does not tolerate injustice anywhere in the world, not in its own city and country, nor in the United States. A Muslim will not surrender to despotism. His religion does not approve of it. The one who is appointed to take the reins of government by Islam will oppose dictatorship because of his religious beliefs. His religion dictates that he is against dictatorship. They think, as it has been said, the knowledgeable and just jurist's duty is merely to appoint judges, based on non-suppressive measures, for example. A jurist should give his consent if people elected someone, as president. Is this dictatorship? But if a wrong doer and tyrant comes and dominates us, then it is not dictatorship? This shows that those who bring up such topics are against knowledge and wisdom. Those who oppose the jurisprudence (*wilayat al-faqih*) in fact oppose justice. In the constitution, which has been recently ratified, Islam is not supposed to govern and that Islam has no system of government of its own. Islam is not one to allow people like Hitler to rule, or Carter, who is worse than Hitler, whose role it is to crash and to kill everyone. These things do not exist in Islam at all. Islam appoints a knowledgeable and sympathetic jurist to supervise the country or say, to rule, in order to stop the unjust ones from plundering the people. At the outset of Islam, you will observe Imam Ali's government which was based entirely on justice. Later on, it was supplanted by the rule of the Bani Umayyah and Bani Abbas and their likes. The Muslims conquered Iran, too and later the ruling system became a monarchical one and Muslims could not implement Islam properly and the government could not become Islamic. So a genuine Islamic government has not materialized. Islam still is misunderstood. In the same way that nobody knows a stranger who enters a city, nations, too, do not know Islam. Since they do not know Islam, they do not recognize its commands. Neither do our experts in Islam. Since they do not have a clear conception of Islam, they erroneously assume that the government of the jurist is a despotic form of rule. These people prefer the erring Shimr (the man who killed Imam Husayn (a)) to a jurist. They are only against the jurist. The reason for this hatred is their fear of Islam. Islam will not tolerate these corrupt men. Some people have been deceived by wrong propaganda. And some deliberately create troubles. Otherwise, there is no despotism in the Islamic government.

A good example is in that of Imam Ali (a) whose government was based on justice. Imam Ali' led a life more humbly than ordinary people who, otherwise, was inferior people, could not live like him. He fed on barley bread. Sometimes he did not even eat enough of it. Most of the time he was hungry. One or two loaves of bread plus a little salt made up his meal. Could it be a dictatorship? Why should Imam Ali (a) be a dictator when he never engaged in merry-making. In Islam, the concepts of government and domination are never brought up. Muhammad (s) used to sit with Arabs on a straw mat on the floor in the mosque. When stranger Arabs attended these sessions they, most of the time, asked which one was Muhammad (s) among those sitting on the ground. They could not recognize him. It is because Muhammad (s) did not sit on a cushion or any other piece of comfortable furniture. Now, we want to live like aristocrats. Imam Ali (a) used to live in a mud house. He did not have even a straw mat to sleep on. He used to sleep on an animal skin. During the day, he used to put the camel's fodder on it and during the night he used to sleep on it with Fatimah (a). Was his government a dictatorship? Those who attribute dictatorship to Islam have not understood it. They do not know that if a jurispudent commits a faux pas, he will be fired. The position of a jurispudent is-so complicated that it could not be easily given to anybody. They claim that the authority of a jurispudent will end up in despotism. What they do don't know, however, is that the Islamic government is not a despotic government. Our religion hinders dictatorship. Islam strongly opposes despotism. We want a jurispudent to stop dictatorship. He would stop a president from engaging in despotism. He would stop the prime minister or the head of the army from getting involved in dictatorship. What is the use of dictatorship to a jurispudent? One who lives an ordinary life will not need despotism. There is no trace of government or domination in Islam. In the preparation of the constitution a lot of caution and discretion have been used. Now, some people, suddenly start complaining about an expert in religious issues to be consulted in governmental affairs. These experts were elected by people's votes. Everybody knew them and no force or propaganda was used in their election. If we repeated this election one hundred times more, the result would still be the same. Either these same experts would be elected or other experts like them. I do not think this kind of free election could ever occur in any place in the world. People have taken part in the elections enthusiastically. The voting for the Islamic republic was done almost unanimously. At the time of the Shah, when there was referendum, not more than two thousand people could be found to take part. This I found through

asking people who had gone to Tehran to report to me what was going on. When they referred to the number of six million, I knew they were lying. But we had twenty million votes on one occasion. More than ninety percent took part in the election.

So the issue is not the issue of dictatorship. Islam cannot be part of despotism. Islam is not based on injustice. Dictatorship is an abominable crime against nations. Islam has stood firm against injustice. Therefore, no form of dictatorship is present in Islam. The election of the experts is foreseen in the constitution. The experts were elected through a relatively great number of votes. In Tehran alone, the number of votes for one expert was two million. Upon the preparation of the constitution, we saw to it that the public see it prior to voting for it. Then ninety percent of the voters voted for it. No pressure was used. People freely cast their votes for the constitution. Now, there are four opponents who want to nullify the votes of sixteen million people. Which one of us is the dictator? Which one of us acts democratically: you, who become brain-washed by others, or us, who prepare two occasions for people's voting? Everywhere in the world election is done once; we have done it twice. Is this dictatorship? You have seen that some groups of people captured the television network.¹ This group is called "The devoted guerrillas," whom everyone of you recognize, who martyred Mr. Mutahhari may God bless him, killed Major General Qarani, shot Mr. Hashimi² to assassinate him and killed Mr. Qadi.³ And you should see what sort of agitators have come together to further their cases of agitation. And you have seen the dossier of one⁴ of them now available for everybody to scrutinize. If I were not present at the scene, they would refrain from using the term "Islamic Republic." This group was after what the communists wanted: "The Republic of the Muslim people!" For instance, they used a term such as "The Republic of the Kurdish people." The republic is absolute. A man came over here to meet me, may God bless him. I asked him if he was associated with this group. Then I asked him if he was a communist. He answered, "No." I asked him what the meaning of "the Islamic Republic of the Muslim people was." I asked him, "What happened to those who established such a party? Why did they abandon it?"⁵ "What is the matter?

¹ The occupation of radio and television in Tabriz.

² Mr. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

³ Mr. Qadi Tabatabai.

⁴ Shaykh Izzuddin Husayni.

⁵ This refers to the withdrawal from the party of the Muslim people by some clerics, after they understood the nature and essence of this party. Most of these clerics were among the Tabrizi clerics.

Why don't you tell me the reason for their leaving the party? They did not dare to say anything. They were frightened of the bayonets. They feared the pens. Why didn't this political party understand the reason for the withdrawal of some clerics? The Mullas (clerics) asked for the dissolution of this party but then a group joined it. Why did this group use the armed forces to seize the television network and the office of the governor-general. Why did they rise against the Islamic government? The guerrillas of the people then joined them. These are known by all. These communists are American communists who claim to be genuine communists. But they are not the real ones. The one who sets fire to the harvest of an old man and destroys the product of his one-year of toil is not a genuine communist. He is an agitator and a trouble-maker. This is not the issue. The issue is that they do not want Islam to get established. This is the current conspiracy. Let everybody in the world realize that these people fear Islam. They know that if Islam predominated, they would not have a chance to plunder others; neither could they find a chance to get involved in merry-making; nor would they be free to do anything they wish to do against the Islamic code. In their bewilderment, they start criticizing the constitution. There is no problem with the constitution, though. There is no contradictory statement in the constitution. The National sovereignty is now taken care of. It has been confirmed twice by our nation. Is this not the national sovereignty? Our nation has voted for it. But this party is acting against our national sovereignty. It is not against our national sovereignty to elect a learned, pious cleric to act as the jurisprudent so that he could obstruct the tyrant dictator from getting involved in mischievous actions. If we appoint such a person for this job, we have served our nation. In accordance with the constitution, a jurisprudent has got certain prerogatives to hinder the actions of a despot. And this law is ratified by the people who voted for the jurisprudent; but you say "no". Is it not an act of despotism? People have elected the council of the experts; this is not an act of despotism. The experts have unanimously elected a just jurisprudent who acts well and who has not betrayed his country. Now the experts have gathered and have produced rules through which dictatorship could be avoided.¹ This group has authority to inhibit the election of a wicked president, like Carter. They would not let persons like Carter or Nixon dominate people. Why are these opponents finding fault in us? Definitely these opponents suffer from some complexes, and their opposition stems

¹ Reference is made to the ratification of the principle of the government of the jurisprudent in the Constitution and the election of a leader or a council of leaders.

from these complexes. I hope they would get rid of these complexes, God willing.

Speech

Date: December 17, 1979 [Azar 26, 1358 AHS / Muharram 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of the disappearance of the Islamic feature of the Revolution; the need to act on the basis of the Islamic codes; the avoidance of the illegal acts

Audience: The commanders of the corps of the guards of the Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The dangers threatening Islam

I am really worried. I worry about Islam. We have rescued Islam from the claws of Muhammad-Rida. I fear Islam is being threatened by us now. I am apprehensive hurting Islam even more than Muhammad-Rida. There are some ignorant souls over there who assume they are serving Islam. They act on their own, ignoring principles and rules. They write us about these ignorant, self-centered activities of certain individuals. Such reports are received from Isfahan very frequently. Yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Khadimi once again.¹ In his interpretation people in Isfahan are being plundered. I have also reports from Khorramabad to the effect the people are robbed off of anything they have. There are no rules or regulations. In the old regime everything had been done without considering the Islamic standards, now everything is carried out likewise, considering no rational or logical standards. This makes us filled with awe and sorrow. The regrettable thing is that we have established an Islamic order but we wish to deprive it of its Islamic essence. We have brought about a revolution but want to carry out everything we wish to. And when asked why they reason out that since they have carried out a revolution, they are allowed to rob people of their possessions; they invade people's homes; they confiscate people's farming lands; they trespass people's rights; and they trample people's dignity. What this connotes to people's mind is that Islam is chaotic.

The internal plague pestering the Islamic Revolution

In the name of Islam, sedition communists and Marxists carry out the acts of. They propagate the communist doctrines in the name of Islam. Now this movement of ours is being ruined from inside. It resembles a melon which is shiny outward but is decaying inside. You are working hard for a

¹ Mr. Sayyid Husayn Khadimi, one of the clerics of Isfahan.

system which is decaying inside. Those who act on their own with no regards for the Islamic principles are worms which are doing harm to Islam. I do not know what to do; I feel hopeless. We will need a central power. We need an administration strong enough to arrest the agitators and make them stand trial. In every corner of the country, somebody has got a gun and makes trouble for the people by posing as a member of the committee, a revolutionary guard or a member of the mobilized forces. They break into anybody's house because of their personal grudges. They plunder people's possessions because of their hatred towards them. This is a great threat to Islam at this juncture of our revolution. This threat for Islam is even more than that posed to it during the Pahlavi's regime. Chaos now reigns. Regulations and rules are ignored. They are destroying Islam in the name of Islam; they are devastating and annihilating Islam everywhere.

The danger of the heedless scholar and the ignorant worshipper

Those who believe in Islam now should assist it. Those who dream of an Islamic order in this country should help it out of this dilemma. A large number of the population is young, but ignorant of the issues. The Great Prophet (s) has stated that there were two kinds of people who had broken his back: the heedless scholars and the ignorant worshippers. The pseudo-pious ones have broken the prophet's back. An ignorant one who performs an illogical act in the name of Islam is, in fact, harming Islam: *"Two sorts of people broke my back: the heedless scholar and the ignorant worshipper."* You who are at the power pyramid of the revolutionary army should find a way out of this labyrinth. And those officials who are at the top echelons of the courts, or, the Revolutionary Committees should do something for Islam. If things proceed in this manner, sooner or later people will detest both Islam and the Islamic revolution.

Chaos and the violation of law in the name of Islam

Why shouldn't there be regulations, while Islam is rule-oriented and systematic by nature. Islam is not chaotic and nobody is allowed to act against regulations. Everybody should obey laws and principles. These agitators neither obey the religious cannons nor the governmental regulations. They act on their own, with no regard to either their supervisors or to Islam in general. Then people conclude that the Islam is not issue; rather communism is the issue. Even one of the clerics was asking me, while showing his disapproval: "Is this a communist government?" Should the Revolutionary guards be influenced by the communistic dogma?

The agitators try to break the back of Islam here so that a coup d'etat might take us back to a regime worse than the previous one. These agitators hate Islam. Of course, I cannot claim that a policeman who is working hard day and night does not love Islam; rather, he does not know that is under pernicious propaganda. The same applies to the Revolutionary courts and to the committees. They do not know the right way. They are ignorant of the standards. They assume they are free in getting involved in anything they desire.

In a regime based on justice nobody is free to act out as he wishes. There are rules in Islam. Nobody is allowed to evict people by force from their homes. You might confiscate the properties of a criminal if the court allows it, but his family should not starve to death. Enough should be given to the criminal's family to live on prior to taking away his possessions. However, I have received several complaints that their properties have been confiscated. They complain that they have been thrown out of their homes and their carpets have been confiscated. Is this in accordance with religious laws? Is this humane?

A Feeling of Exhaustion at [the hands of] affiliated people

What should be done? Contemplate on it. Let us gather together in Tehran; all of you supervisors. Let the heads of the revolutionary guards come together in Tehran. The heads of the revolutionary guards should convene similar sessions. You should consult with one another. You should come up with decisions and regulations. Then distribute these rules. Let us have an administrative organization. You are working hard in Kurdistan. If Kurdistan is taken from us, we would not worry. But what worries us most is the act of being deprived of Islam. We want Islam itself in such a way that neither the Kurds nor the Turks will hate Islam. But the point at issue is that Islam should prevail everywhere. It is not right that people [constantly] complain of the misconduct of the governmental officials. Women and children come crying and begging me for justice. I am getting tired [of all this]. In the previous regime, I was not affected by the pressures which they put upon me. But now I am getting exhausted because of the pressures which are being leveled on me by some of our own people. Why should it be like this. Think of something. If you do not act promptly, Islam would be in danger. We are all responsible for any harm done to Islam. I will do anything in my power. You should do the same. Every one of you should be doing something. The same is true of the Revolutionary council. Anybody who is acting against Islam should be severely punished. He should be expelled

from the organization. Anybody who is publicizing for communism and think he is serving Islam in an office should be ostracized from their place of activity. It is useless for us to sit and let anybody do what ever he wants and we sit as mere spectators.

The need for purging of

I dislike severe approaches, pressures and commotion. I prefer that thing materialized in a peaceful way. I want everything done peacefully. At the offices, those who are engaged in spreading propaganda against Islam should be purged. It is your task to carry out such a task meticulously. I am not the only Muslim here. You are Muslims, too. Tomorrow, you are accountable to God. There are some policemen under you. You will be held responsible for their behavior. If they carry out any wrong-doings, you will be accountable. If you are not afraid in this world, do worry about the next one. We cannot just do anything we wish; the policemen cannot do anything they want; nor can revolutionary guards be inattentive of issues around us and you, gentlemen, just sit and watch. Undesirable elements should be purged. All of you must go to Tehran right now and set up a congregation together with the revolutionary council, and other (responsible organs). Those at the top echelons of power should draw a plan and draft the criteria based on which you carry out the affairs. Things cannot be accomplished without (the right) people or ruler.

Cries of imploration for assisting Islam

Tell me what to do now. Mr. Khadimi has written to me that people are being plundered now. What should I write in reply? This is stated by a cleric. Other people have said the something. Do something for Islam. Let us not destroy Islam with our own hands. If our foes did anything wrong to Islam, we would not be responsible. But now the picture is different. We are accountable for anything which is hazardous to Islam. The Revolutionary Council, as well as you, is accountable for any damage done to Islam. We should not be on-lookers and sit and watch the damage done to Islam. You should come together and prepare some practical rules to get rid of this chaos. If a revolutionary guard does anything wrong, get rid of him; expel him from the service. Do not let chaos prevail. If a revolutionary guard does anything illegal, fire him. Do not let chaos prevail. If you do not act quickly, the number of evil-doers will increase. We hope God will rectify the problematic situation and rescue us from help us out of this dilemma those

close to us who are evil-doers. Sadi (the Iranian poet) says: “Sadi cried out complaining about his own people.”

Decree

Date: December 17, 1979 [Azar 26, 1358 AHS / Muharram 27, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the Friday Prayer Imam for Khalkhal

Addressee: Hibatullah Yektai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Hibatullah Yektai—may your blessings last,

Upon the recommendations of the respectable people of Khalkhal concerning the convention of the Friday prayer in that city, you are hereby appointed as the Friday Prayer Imam of that city so that you could both carry out your religious tasks and inform the people of the conspiracies of internal and external enemies. I hope people will make the most out of this opportunity and carry out the prayers in the most glorious way possible. I ask God for your success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram 27, 1400 AH

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur* (Volume 22) the date is recorded as 6/10/58, which is not in accordance with the date recorded in the manuscript.

Message

Date: December 18, 1979 [Azar 27, 1358 AHS / Muharram 28, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The condemnation of terrorism

Occasion: The martyrdom of Mr. Muhammad Mufattih

Addressees: The Iranian Muslim nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Verily, we are from God and to Him we shall return¹

While the Holy Quran rests upon the logic that we are from Allah and to Him we shall return, and while Islam has selected martyrdom to achieve its objectives, and despite the fact that God's men, may peace be upon them, have inherited martyrdom from their predecessors, and while our youth ask God for their martyrdom, our adversaries, who have failed in all aspects of this revolution, are trying frantically to assassinate our dignitaries. What are they trying to frighten us of? The United States erroneously assumes that by intimidating our nation, who are the soldiers for the Holy Quran, she may hinder the advance of our movement or obstruct us from waging our holy way for God. However, the United States government is ignorant of the fact that fear of death is for those who look at this world as their permanent residence and are ignorant of their eternal resting place with God's blessings. Due to their inward blindness, they could not see the passionate scenes of the martyrdom of our brave and beloved nation: *The parable of those who disbelieve is as the parable of one who calls out to that which hears no more than a call and a cry; deaf, dumb and blind, so they do not understand.*² These people can vividly see that more than thirteen hundred years after the Karbala's epic (in which Imam Husayn (a) got martyred), the blood in the veins of our martyrs is still fermenting and our nation is still creating fervent epics each day. His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Mufattih, the respectable scholar, together with his two guards were martyred and ascended to the divine throne. They kindled the light of the Islamic movement in the hearts of our nation and our youth and gave more impetus to our nation's uprising. May God accept these three souls and be showered with His encompassing

¹ A portion of the verse 156 *surah al-Baqarah* (Quran 2:156: *Who, when a misfortune befalls them, say: Surely we are Allah's and to Him we shall surely return.*)

² The Holy Quran 2: 171.

Blessings and let them enjoy His light of Magnanimity. It was our greatest desire to make use of his knowledge for the enhancement of Islam and of our Islamic movement. We hope, as well, to benefit from the martyrdom of others. I congratulate these brave men for their martyrdom and send my condolences to those who survive them and their relatives and the Muslim nations of the world. My greetings to the martyrs of the cause of the truth.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram 28, 1400 AH

Interview

Date: December 17, 1979 [Azar 28, 1358 AHS / Muharram 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American intervention into the Iranian Internal Affairs; Braving the American threats

Interviewer: Hassaneyn Heykal, the Egyptian journalist and writer

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Question: In three days, it will have been one year since our last visit in Paris.

Answer: Yes. That is right.

Q: And many things have happened since then.

A: Thanks God. We hope to witness other drastic changes in the coming years.

Q: In your opinion, what was the most prominent event of the past year?

A: In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The most significant event was the cutting of the hands of the agents of superpowers from the Iranian internal affairs and the stoppage of the cruelty and injustices which had been leveled at this poor nation for a long time. Our greatest desire of this year is for us to see the joining of the Muslim countries to us and their awareness of the fact that the propaganda spread by the superpowers regarding their invulnerability has been proved totally false. All nations have noticed that we inflicted the severest defeat on our greatest enemy. We are still challenging the greatest idol of power of our time.¹ We hope other nations will join us in this effort. The Holy Quran has stipulated that all Muslims are brothers;² therefore, these Muslim nations should join us. Of course, I should admit that I have found the governments of these Muslim nations hopeless. But the Muslim nations are different. The Egyptian

¹ The United States.

² Reference is made to Quran 49:10.

nation is different from Sadat.¹ The same difference exists between the governments and their Muslim nations. We hope these Muslim nations will realize their genuine strength and will carry out the same agenda that we have followed what was realized and what they have witnessed in Iran. These nations should understand that what they thought was impossible could happen given their determination and will which stems from the Divine will, and change the impossible into possible.

Q: During the previous year many events took place. Now that I am in Iran I observe a lot of problems arose with your victories: for instance, there are foreign propaganda against you. This propaganda might someday turn into military assaults. Now, you are being afflicted by economic threats. In the future, you might even encounter more attacks. May I ask you a question relating to the future? What is your comment regarding your relations with the United States? What are you going to do concerning the hardships that the Iranian nation will suffer? Yesterday, Carter said something similar to a war threat. And this is not his first threat.

A: There are similar turmoils after any revolution in the world. And I want to add that our revolution has been the greatest of its kind in the world. The turbulences now and in the future are negligible compared with the successes we have witnessed. We will not face the same problems that some revolutions face even fifty or sixty years later. The significant point is that our revolution is both Islamic and national. A Muslim nation has risen up for Islam. Any revolution which has these characteristics will not be followed by bloodshed or atrocity and incivility. You are aware of the fact that in some revolutions one or one and a half million people have died. Yesterday, I received a report of the death tolls of the revolutions in the past. The number of the dead and the prisoners has been huge, being in the range of one, one and a half and even two million. During our revolution, only a limited number of the corrupt individuals who were convicted of murder were executed after they had been found guilty. After the revolution freedom was granted to people. The airports and borders were open and writers were free to express themselves. As you know, in other revolutions this is not the case. A country which has undergone a revolution is usually cut off from the world. Being based on Islam, our revolution is different from others. Since our people were devoted to Islam and since our revolution had an Islamic feature, these nasty events did not take place in Iran. The damage done was

¹ Muhammad Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian President.

incurred while the Shah was in power. The murders are taking place now are done by his agents in Iran. However, the number of these murders is negligible in our view. The issue here is the arrogant speech of Carter who is trying to bully us. I do not know if you are familiar with this parable or not. They say when a lion encounters an enemy, it carries out three acts: It roars; something oozes out of its back and wags its tail. It roars since it wants to frighten the foe; something oozes out of its back because it is frightened; and it wags its tail because it looks for some mediator to put an end to its dilemma. Of course, I would hesitate to use the title "Lion" for Carter, but he is carrying out exactly these acts. His tactics of making commotions, intimidation, threats to use military force against us and of military intervention are passed and are no longer in use. He is contradicting himself all the time. His roaring is like that of the animal which wanted to frighten others. Now all Islamic and non-Islamic nations are watching us closely and if Sadat's bayonets are taken off the heads of the Egyptians, they too are with us. The reason is that both Egyptians and Iranians love Islam. We want an Islamic government, so do they. We wish for an Islamic order; so do the Iraqi, and Turkish nations. Any Muslim nation in the world is looking for such a government of justice. Islam has remained unrecognizable and unknown in the world. Not many are aware of genuine Islam. People do not know what an Islamic government is. They assume it is something like Muhammad-Rida's or Sadat's or Carter's government. The word "regime" connotes this meaning in their minds. We cannot claim that we have established an Islamic order unless in practice we have acted on such a government. We are about to demonstrate such a regime in full. Once a businessman called an Islamic military leader names. When the leader walked away, people started reproaching the man, telling him the man he insulted was Malik al-Ashtar. The man started running to see Malik to apologize to him. When he reached him at the mosque, Malik told him "I have come here to pray for you." Islam used to have dignitaries such as Malik. If the world recognized Islam, they would adopt Islam as their way of life. The world is not familiar with this type of government. It has not been put to use in the world so far. At the time of the great Prophet (s), Imam Ali (a) and the Caliphs, Islam was practiced to a certain degree. When the Bani Umayyad, Bani Abbas and the Iranian governments started their reign, the situation deteriorated drastically. Now, it is up to you writers to serve Islam and to introduce it to the world. You should show the differences of an Islamic order from those of Muhammad-Rida, Sadat or other dictators. Their way of government is alien to Islam. If we introduce Islam to the world

properly, they would follow our way. Everybody in the world is after the justice of the sort that exists in Islam. Unfortunately, we are a weak nation and lack the required means of propagating our ideology. All the foreign mass media are making false accusations against us. It is miraculous that this movement is heading forward despite all these obstacles. You say Carter is busy bullying us. His threats are like those of that beast and we will ignore his mischievous taunting. Those people who fear death worry about these threats. You stay among these people who are uttering slogans here.¹ You will find out for yourselves what their logic is. These people say they want to get martyred. Today, I read in a newspaper that Mr. Mufattih's wife has said she was proud she has offered a martyr to Islam.² Such a nation who takes pride in having their loved ones get martyred would never surrender to the foreign powers. There are still mothers who come to me and tell me that their children have been martyred and that they are ready to sacrifice more. Mr. Carter is threatening such a unique nation of military intervention. Those should be intimidated who use invocations and prayers and the tolling of the church bells to secure their governmental positions. What are we frightened of? Why should we be intimidated while we believe we will be living in a better place after this world? Therefore, we will not take heed of their military forces. We will defy them with all of our might. If we failed to defend ourselves, we would get martyred: And this is exactly what we are after. Our predecessors faced the same threats, too. But I would like to assure you that the superpowers' approaches are useless and doomed. Previously, the mention of the name of artilleries caused people's fear. Not now. The whole world ridicules the very notion of resorting to weaponry for political objectives. However, if they foolishly resorted to these weapons of mass destruction, we would be ready for them. We, of course, prefer people to act like humans and not like beasts. Besides, if we were attacked by the beasts, we would defend ourselves. The same rule applies to the economic threats. We are not affected by these threats at all. Mr. Carter assumes we are unaware of the world situation. Mr. Carter imagines that the whole world would close their markets to us as soon as he used economic sanctions against us. Carter imagined these concepts when he was drinking coffee at the White House. We are not moved by such utterances, however. I have already asserted the fact that we would obtain our sustenance out of God's land if we had to. Furthermore, the American cabinet has already objected to

¹ This refers to the crowds who had come from far and near to visit Imam Khomeini in Qum. People were gathering around his house.

² Martyr Mufattih and his two guards were assassinated by the terrorist group called Furqan.

such economic sanctions envisaged for Iran. Other countries, too, do not depend on the USA. Mr. Sadat is an exception. He, like the Shah of Iran, is obedient to the American diplomacy. I regret at the fact that a leader of an Islamic country bargains with two enemies of Islam: the Israeli regime and Carter, both of whom are sworn-enemies of Islam. These three bargain and the Egyptian nation and you, as well, should sit watching them plot against Islam. I regret to see that Sadat sits and signs an accord against the Muslims with the enemies of Islam who set fire on the Muslims populace.¹ It is even worse that the Muslim nations and governments sit with indifference and apathy.

Q: I feel many events are the result of internal factors, rather than the external ones. Examples are the issues of the Kurds, which terminated in an armed uprising and the hostage-taking by these students. These start from within. Did the Iranian government show its consent in taking these hostages? Did it assist the students in their act? What is the Imam's comment on these affairs which are rooted inside the country? There have been some replacements of ministers within the cabinet. For instance, the minister of foreign affairs was replaced.² There might be some internal economic pressures of which we are not aware. How would you interpret these events?

A: These events mostly stem from the foreign interference. Some of them may be attributed to the agents of the previous deposed regime. The genuine nation, either Kurds or Azerbaijanis, do not oppose us. There were some propagandas going around in Kurdistan, which had foreign roots. These foreign agents thought that there were some discord between Kurds and non-Kurds or among the minority groups. This is because they would not let us introduce Islam properly. If Islam materializes in Iran the Lurs, or Turks or other layers of the society will not be divided among themselves. Separation will be in effect if the central government tries to discriminate among different layers of society. As I have already said the people's concept of government is of the sort enforced by the previous governments, which deprived people of their rights, which plundered their wealth and which sold out their mineral reserves, keeping them hungry and miserable in Khuzistan, while the oil in their land is being exported. If the Islamic government is

¹ It refers to Camp David Accord held between Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian president Menakhin Bagin, the prime minister of the Occupying Regime of Quds. On the basis of this pact Egypt legally recognized Israel.

² Mr. Sadiq Qutbzadeh's resignation and the appointment of Ibrahim Yazdi.

implemented, and if people take note of our intentions, there will not be any excuses for discontent. We ourselves want to establish our own government. We want our municipality organization to be headed by our own people. The previous government did hurt our people. That is why they are not happy with the concept of government as such. We are not facing any problem from within. Our nation approves of us. Those who are making a commotion do so because of external influence. Of course, we are suffering from the enemies' pen. They agitate people by exaggerating trivial matters. They overstress a small issue in Azerbaijan. The people there do not have anything against Islam. Then they make propaganda in the mass media against Iran. These remarks are not valid; they are sheer propaganda and false accusations. Now you are observing that our markets are actively operating and there is nothing wrong with them. Our situation differs drastically from what has happened in other world revolutions. We have had this revolution only for one year and do not expect peace and quiet within this short period of time. Previously, we used to have a huge prison called Iran. Now, thirty-five-million prisoners in the mammoth prison have been set free. Of course, there are some among us who are ignorant. Some are influenced by the external forces. And you expect too many good things to happen within a short period of time. These commotions resemble those made by Mr. Carter. Regarding the place you call an embassy, but which we prefer to call a den for espionage, you should know that a group of our youth occupied it and found out it was a center for spying and conspiracy against Iran and the whole Middle East. The personnel of this embassy are not ordinary people; they are not the usual diplomats. The United States has never recognized our territorial integrity so that to send their genuine diplomats here. Our previous governments were the servants and agents of the United States. Why should they bother, then, to dispatch their diplomats here? We were not their equal. We were a toy in their hands. No diplomats were necessary. Iran was pivotal for their Middle East plots. Carter's main concern was Russia. They wanted to establish military strongholds here as well a center for spying. Then our youths found out the functions of this center. The whole nation backs up the acts of these youth. Our government naturally could not oppose the wishes of our nation. Therefore, do not compare the occupation of the embassy and other insignificant commotions. This act of occupation is done for the release of a nation from the paws of serfdom. This endeavor is different from the commotions which have occurred, for instance, in Kurdistan. This issue is different from that issue. Neither Kurds are against us nor Azerbaijanis. All of them have expressed their allegiance to the Islamic Republic. How could a

group of people who engage in prayers and who stand in the direction of Mecca while praying and whose sacred book is the Holy Quran, go against Islam? How can such Muslims say all this and then get ready to attack Islam? This is irrational. Those who level these accusations against us are plotting against us. However, these are minor things which could be easily resolved. Besides, do not be sorry for us.

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

Speech

Date: December 19, 1979 [Azar 28, 1358 AHS / Muharram 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The defeat of the superpower's mythical power; the military intervention and the economic sanctions are at a dead end

Audience: The champions of the free style wrestling in the Asian tournaments; the champions of the ancient style wrestling

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Resistance up to the last

I would like to express my thanks to you, sportsmen, who occasionally come here to visit me and to tell me of your universal successes gained at universal sports events for your Islamic Republic. I pray for you and ask God for your success. You have made our foes understand that the Iranian youth are men of combat and men of holy war. At this juncture of time, when we are afflicted with all sorts of difficulties, you could be of great assistance for this nation. These events might be difficult on the one hand, but could be considered as an honor for a nation who has torn apart all shackles of serfdom. Most of our young men ask me to ask God for their martyrdom; and I ask God for their success. I implore God for your safety and welfare. Our enemies, who have lost all their battles against us, frantically try to disturb us through the assassination attempts against our dignitaries.

Through these actions, these trouble makers try to discourage us in our endeavor to carry out our plans. However, they fail to realize that when you try to fight for Islam or for God, your trial takes on a spiritual color and you are ready to sacrifice yourselves to the last one.

The assassination of the religious dignitaries and its aftermath

I am surprised at the stupidity of these agitators. The assassination of personalities such as Mr. Mutahhari or Mr. Mufattih is an attempt by these trouble makers to weaken our Islamic movement. And their stupidity is even felt more when they see that people unite when a scholar like Mr. Mutahhari is assassinated. If after each assassination half of the people had withdrawn from their support for Islam and the Islamic government, then they would

have tried to assassinate another personality, such as Mr. Qadi¹ or Mr. Mufattih, to let the other half of the population disperse. However, much to their astonishment, they have realized that after each assassination attempt, the movement takes up more momentum, and is welcomed more by people. The reason for their miscalculation lies in the fact that they are made blind and deaf by God. Allah has deprived them of their rightful thinking. They themselves are to blame for this deprivation. They have acted in such a way that they are deprived of the faculties of visualization and conceptualization. Now they are engaged in doing things contrary to their own interests.

The blindness of heart of the White House authorities

You should have a look at Carter who is doing everything possible to get reelected, but he is dumb and blind and chooses the wrong way. Would it not be better for Carter to stop protecting the man² when he saw the latter was falling and instead approve of the Iranian stance? However, he continued defending the Shah and his substitute, Bakhtiyar, hoping it would install him again as President? Carter has lost his chances. Would it not have been better for Carter to stop catering for a diseased and wretched soul and have him go and live somewhere else?

Carter did all of these because he was blind and deaf. He is acting obstinate children. Carter could not continue keeping the Shah. His second move was to send him elsewhere—a move which created hubbub in the world. In Panama, people took to streets in opposition to the Shah's entry there. This was against the American interests. If Carter had sent the Shah back to Iran, he could have tried to prove to the world that he had been with the oppressed and plundered nations of the world and not against them; freeing themselves from the shackles that he had been with the deprived classes and not with the aggressors. However, Carter himself is a plunderer. If he had been wise, he would not have agitated the whole world against American interests.

The rusty weapons

Today, nobody will rely on bayonets. The world has changed. Thirty or fifty years ago it made sense to rely on ones' weapons. But now, nations are becoming vigilant and are freeing themselves from the shackles of colonialization one by one. Under such conditions the threat of military

¹ Martyr Qadi Tabatabai, the Friday Prayer Imam of Tabriz, who was assassinated by a terrorist group called Furqan.

² The Shah.

intervention loses its merit. Carter constantly vacillates between using or not using force against us. This is because his eyes are wide open but are unable to see properly. They are those who have eyes, ears and intellect have been rendered inutile by God. This does not mean that they were such at birth; they themselves have put a covering upon their eyes, ears and intellect, which, in a way, is an aid to the oppressed people. This way of losing one's direction is actually one form of assisting the deprived people. Prior to all this controversy, that is before it was decided to take the Shah to America and to give this wretched man medical attention, some countries, nations, that is, were united with us. Carter and his likes have acted in such a way that their wisdoms have been blurred.

The export of our revolution and the nations' vigilance

Now most nations are with us. Our movement is being expanded and is being absorbed by other nations. These nations, which are themselves under the satanic domination of superpowers, are watching the Iranian nation standing firm against other diabolic powers. These nations are suffering tyrannies of all sorts: Egypt is run by a dictator called Sadat¹; likewise, other nations are, run by other tyrants. Nearly all nations are run by their tyrant governors. When these nations see that Iran could break ties with a super power, albeit through great losses of like, they, too, visualize some ways to terminate the superpowers' hegemony in their lands. These nations will surely succeed.

You must realize that through your great Islamic movement you, the Iranian nation, have crushed these enormous powers, which have imposed through propaganda on the minds of everyone that nobody could ever stand against England (in the past) or America today. You, beloved Iranian nation, men and women took to the streets and carried out "God is Great," undermined the greatness these powers have dictated upon the hearts of people who were suppressed to silence lest their words upset the superpowers. In the past, we, too, tried to break this image of greatness of the superpowers. There was so much repression in the past regimes that nobody could even breathe and our nation was made to believe in them that and defeated your enemies they did not dare say a word of protest against the wrongdoings of a policeman, for instance. A veil of silence was drawn over the nation. However, the voice of the nation broke this silence and gradually these beliefs were erased off its mind: firstly, that nobody could ever oppose

¹ Muhammad Anwar Sadat, the previous president of Egypt.

America; secondly, that a human being could evaluate what “can be” and “cannot be”.

Breaching the superpowers’ mythical power

The first step in any revolution is the evaluation of what could be done and what should be avoided. You have shown that you could, and that you could oppose the United States. You have demonstrated that you could occupy the American espionage den, that you could detain the American spies. You have proved this to the world. You have destroyed the idol of their false might and power. You showed to nations how to utter slogans such as “Down with Carter.” Now, this is happening in India, in Pakistan, in Iraq and in Kuwait. It is taking place in the western hemisphere, such as the United States, as well. The United States always boasted of its military forces and used to intimidate us. In the old regime, if a journalist used even one word against either England or the United States, it was Muhammad-Rida’s task to shut him up. If England wanted to set up sham a false colonialistic consultative assembly, it used to dispatch its warships towards Iran and if there were some consciences England wanted to be given to it, when Iran’s government learned of the approaching warship, pacts and treaties with England would be concluded and signed. And when, for instance, some people would show some sort of resistance around the borders, the “ship scheme” would be enough for the central government to cease resisting, and agree [to British demands]. These were scenarios would be aggrandized and propagandized by their own agents by raising hue and cry, using the propaganda machinery such as the radio and publicity media inside the country against their own country.

Aggrandizement and myth fabrication

They have magnified issues to the degree that people assumed the American parachutists would descend from the skies and would destroy Iran if people uttered even one single word against American interests. We were being constantly informed that the parachutists would descend over the American Embassy and would pour some anesthetic drugs over everybody to make them unconscious and to move the American hostages to safety. They told me they would come to Qum and would take me with them. Some even advise me not to stay in Qum during the night. This is nonsense. These

stories had better be told in the book called "Husayn, the Kurd."¹ These stories should be told by Alfe Layl.² It was their plan to intimidate us like before. The military intervention now is a useless method and is a failure. It is not valid even as a threat. These superpowers use this approach because they still assume we are a backward nation.

The impasse of the military intervention and the economic sanction in Iran

According to a survey done in the United States, it was announced today, or last night that fifty-five percent of people were against the military intervention in Iran. They had wrongly claimed something and now they make excuse by stating that people of the United States are against such an intervention. Suppose their nation agreed to such an act. We are ready to confront them. How in the world is such an act possible? These slogans have lost their meaning now. Now if they do something against us, the East will explode. This also will happen in the West. Is it possible to carry out such acts of atrocity now? The American people have said even if the Iranian authorities killed these hostages, the military intervention should not be carried out. Now it is becoming clear that they have become wiser and would not let some countries including the United States undergo bloodshed. Now they show more inclination for deploying economic sanctions against us. We are ready. Let us see what happens. Economic sanctions?! What a nonsense! Are the nations of the world obedient to Carter? Are the world nations trying to let Mr. Carter succeed for his second term in office? The leaders of the world nations know one another. They know Carter's ambitions. They know Carter wants to run for president. These leaders know well that the issue is not that of the safety of the hostages. The issue is not that the U.S. government felt so sorry for the fifty spies or whoever.

The deterioration of the human values

I have referred to this incident several times. When I was in France, one of these high ranking politicians came to me to mediate between us and that man.³ This man had said that once there was some commotion in their embassy in China. He said that they were worried for the valuable furniture

¹ It is a story book; its writer, in describing the bravery of the hero of the story used the technique of hyperbole in which exaggeration is deliberately used for effect. This exaggeration has become an axiom. Any absurd topic is compared with this story by people.

² The book called "One Thousands and One Nights" [or *Aliof Laylih wa laylih*] contains a thousand and one stories.

³ The Shah.

they had at their embassy more than the lives of the personnel being taken as hostages there. It is the habit of these people to value the furniture more than the people's lives. The reelection for the second term is more important to Carter than the lives of fifty people. Carter resorts to everything to publicize his own interest. But as I said before, God has made them blind and deaf and they fail in anything they put their fingers on. They took the Shah and kept him there so that they could gain political advantages; but they failed. People's ideas changed and they rejected Carter. Then they showed obstinacy in keeping him and not surrender him. This turned out to be against them. Now the people of Panama are taking to the streets protesting the keeping of that man (the Shah) there. The American politicians do not realize that such a worthless person should be turned to the Iranian authorities to stand trial. Why bother the people of Panama? He might as well be sent back to our own place. We know what to do with him.

The Shah's trial and that of the American presidents

The main point is that the American politicians are neither worried about the Shah nor about the fifty hostages in Iran. They are well aware of the fact that if the Shah is returned to Iran he will stand trial in a court composed of the distinguished personalities of the world. It is because this trial is not of a wretched man (the Shah) only; rather it is of a bunch of American presidents. Even this was predicted by the Shah when he stressed the fact that his trial would include several American presidents.

This is not the trial of one person, or a human being or one wretched creature. And we do not want the Shah as such; he is a miserable man. We want to make the arrogant powers stand trial so that the oppressed ones would know the nature of these presidents and that of the man who dominated us for so long. So that the oppressed people of the world, that is, the American country and its nation will know what to do with their presidents and understand what kind of human beings were ruling over us in the same manner we here, have understood what kind of people have been ruling over us. God willed it that our nation rose and expelled this man.

The trial of the Shah is meant to inform the oppressed people of the world communities of his atrocities

Let the people of the world know that when we hold a trial, we share it with the whole world. We invited the Shah's trial here is scandalous. The world's thinkers, writers, scholars, politicians, and dignitaries, even from the United States to take part in prosecuting this man in an uproarious trial to

prove to the world and all the oppressed people that they (superpowers) were uttering irrelevant words and imposing them on nations. We shall make nations understand that their rulers do not deserve to rule over them. We will make them think for themselves and among themselves to hold the reins of government with their own hands, and not allow anybody else to lord over them. We have this as our objective. We are aiming at having someone (the Shah) come here to be tried. No, this is not our goal. And Mr. Carter is afraid lest such a story unfolds! He is envisioning such a problem and the thought has thrown him into a state of frenzy. Now, he took custody of the Shah and then sent him somewhere else. I don't know what he will do next.

The treasons of the splinter political groups are and the source of their public disgrace

And the Iranian nation should realize that they are the focal point of the world's attention. The mass media of the world are focused on the Iranian issues now. You should realize your true status now that you are at the center of world's attention. You should not go astray, the treasons that are being done against the Iranian nation, either in Azerbaijan or elsewhere, are being observed by all nations. The world nations are watching closely a nation who has uprisen to govern itself and to stop the superpowers from plundering this nation's assets. However, there are some agents inside the country who oppose the Iranian efforts to stop the foreign colonialism. The splinter groups which opposes us is, in fact, earning public disgrace for itself. Carter, too, earned public disgrace for himself. The members of this clique political call themselves Iranian and pretend to love Iran and the Iranian nation. Now that the Iranian nation has uprisen and has broken the back of a superpower, its members dream of establishing a government of their own with a separate constitution and with a separate council of experts of their own. These same people have disgraced the central government. They tried to blot the name of Azerbaijanis. But they should realize that neither the name of Azerbaijan, nor that of Kurds, nor that of Baluch would ever be tainted. A treacherous minority group is making turmoils. It is opposing the votes of thirty-five million people. More than eighty percent of our nation have voted for us at the first referendum because a it seriously and did not vote. But now over ninety percent voted affirmatively few did not take.

The need for the identification of internal enemies

The world is closely watching this minority, who are standing against a vast majority, who are firmly approving of and supporting the constitution.

What is this minority group trying to say to our nation? Why should a gang of traitors be convinced that they are authorized to oppose the majority? These are a gang of aggressors and rebels who have uprisen against the Islamic government and are dreaming of a government of their own. Didn't Muhammad-Rida try to dominate the whole nation through his gang? Now, these rebels have their roots in Muhammad-Rida's gang. What do you want to say to a nation who has sacrificed its children and other relatives to support an Islamic order of its own? What do they have to say vis-à-vis Islam? Our nation should be fully vigilant and distinguish their foes. The more our nation becomes more unified the more agitations and commotions are observed around us. I hope we will follow this way of selection more smoothly in the future. We hope to establish an Islamic government, which is the aspiration of our Prophet (s), of our Imams (a). I am sure we will achieve our goals through your prayers, your attention to Good and your unity of word.

Speech

Date: December 20, 1979 [Azar 29, 1358 AHS / Muharram 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Unavoidable damage in revolutions

Occasion: Mr. Mufattih's martyrdom

Audience: The students of the college of Divine Sciences of Tehran University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Readiness for sacrifice in the path of the Revolution

We have these calamities in any revolution. No revolution is immune from these disasters. Our revolution is one which has disturbed the plunderings of both the East and the West and has cut their hands off our assets. Therefore, those whose interests have been endangered are restless to inflict damage of all sorts on us. We should be vigilant and ready for these upheavals. Compared with other revolutions, however, our revolution has been a peaceful one. In other revolutions, the number of casualties and prisoners has been tremendous: sometimes in the range of one, one and a half, and even two million. This revolution, due to its Islamic nature, has suffered fewer casualties. The dignitaries, who are being eliminated by our enemies one by one, are very distinguished personalities and we were hoping that they would serve Islam and a few have attained martyrdom¹ in our subsequent plans.

The continuity of the Islamic Revolution

I hope our students will not get discouraged by such calamities and disturbances. I want them to be strong and continue with their movement. The Iranian movement has not been an easy task. The Iranian people have performed a formidable task, a great feat. We did not suffer much because we were protected by Islam. Now we are losing people, but our nation will take their place. We have to continue treading the way of our martyrs with no hesitation. Our nation has found its way. The losses of dignitaries will not deter us from pursuing our goals. I ask God to bless our martyrs. I hope God will strengthen your moral and you must continue your studies. I hope you will keep our movement alive. May God help you succeed.

¹ Referring to Mr. Mufattih's martyrdom.

Speech

Date: December 20, 1979 [Azar 29, 1358 AHS / Muharram 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The stipulation of two basic conditions for the continuity of the Revolution; the assassination of men of God strengthens our revolution

Audience: Enshrouded farmers who had marked from Kuran deh to Imam's residence; high school students from al-Fath High School in Nahavand

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The invincibility of our uprising for God

I would like to express my thanks for your having walked (from your village) up to here. A nation whose youth endure great cold and walk under severe conditions to reach here and have done their ablution for martyrdom is victorious. You, young men are successful. Our enemies imagine that through one case or more of assassinations they could lead us astray. They are mistaken, however. Our nation is vigilant now and has uprisen for God. One who rises up for God will never fail or treat. The martyrdom of these dignitaries will not affect the moral of our nation; rather, it will incite us to be more motivated to attain our objectives. The commotion created by our enemies will not have any effect on our nation as a whole who has uprisen for God; they will not affect those university students and farmers who desire to take this movement to fruition for God. These layers of our community and others become more excited to enter the arena of struggle. The main point is that we have chosen the way of Islam and God. Our youth have found this path and are not frightened away as they used to by the government's policeman intimidation.

The two basic conditions the continuity of the Islamic Revolution

Our youth fear nothing. As we have seen, they took to the streets and uttered their slogans from the roofs of their houses. They confronted canons and tanks and advanced their cause. From now on, they will advance and go ahead successfully. But two conditions have to be met. One is that their movement should be for God. This is because God the Exalted and Blessed will assist any movement which is for God. Do not get frightened by the small crowd of individuals. But, thanks God, the number of youth who are your companions, is great. At the outset of Islam, an army of thirty thousand could defeat two empires which were equipped with all sorts of weaponry.

One of these two empires had an army of seven or eight hundred thousand warriors. But the Islamic army prevailed. One of the army leaders of those days reported that a group of sixty thousand pioneers came forth followed by seven or eight hundred thousand warriors. The leader said that they would have to inflict a sharp blow over the enemy so that they would not become more atrocious. The leader decided to take a group of thirty of his men to inflict a night assault over the enemy. The army asked him how he could confront sixty thousand with a group of thirty warriors. Finally, the army convinced him to take sixty warriors with him: one warrior against a thousand they carried the night assault over the enemy and made them disperse. Later, they could defeat the whole enemy army.

Spiritual strength creates victory

How did sixty unarmed people defeat an army of heavily armed men? The reason for this victory lies in the fact that these sixty men believed they would be prosperous if they were killed. This spiritual strength boosted their morale since they believed they would prosper whether they killed or were killed by their enemy. This happened while their number was small and their military equipment meager. An army man's weapons included a sword, a camel, a horse and he fed on one date per twenty four hours. It has been reported in one of these holy wars that a man tasted the sweetness of a date and then he would give it to another person to taste. Their morale, however, was strong and high. This supreme spiritual strength leads to one's prosperity. The more a person gets involved in seeking pleasure, the weaker he will become. Our nation enjoys a strong morale now. Our farmers, our university students and our seminary students are working hard and do not get involved in merry-making. On the other hand, our adversaries are spending their time in taking pleasure.

The difference between divine and material movements

Our enemies struggle to gain worldly assets; but you fight for God. Your movement has been for God. Their movement is for worldly gains. The difference is great. A group rises up for God; another group works for the world. The latter group quits his struggle as soon as his benefits or interests suffer. On the contrary, those who struggle for God will never surrender; nor will they quit. We have learned a lot from the Islamic holy wars. In one of these wars an infidel struck a believer in the stomach with a spear. The believer, with the spear in his stomach, rushed to murder the assassin and succeeded in killing him. On another occasion, the Muslims were outside a

fortress while the enemies were inside. In order to defeat the enemy, they had to enter the fortress. One of the Muslims asked his friends to let him sit on a shield while his friends lift him with four spears underneath. He climbed the wall in this way and opened up the gates. Of course, with his strong faith, he could defeat the guards and carry out his plan. When a group of people believe in God, they will be supported by God. And a group who is supported by God is invincible. You should strengthen your faith in Allah. All sorts of victories are with God. Any success you are looking for is provided by Him. Do not ever imagine that the Iranian nation could have done such a miraculous feat without God's assistance. The Iranian nation advanced with the slogan of "God is Great," and they were chanting, "we want Islam; we want the Islamic Republic."

Divine Assistance in the Islamic Revolution

The Exalted and Blessed God intimidated our foes to such a degree that they could not defend themselves. They could not even use their own weapons. God inhibited them from bombarding Tehran, Qum or other parts of Iran. God made them so terrified that they could not employ their weaponry. On the other hand, upon the foes' assault on us, the number of our supporters drastically increased. Some of our enemies became our friends. The leaders of our enemies were so frightened that they could do nothing. You should keep this Islamic morale of yours high. If you want, you will succeed and the country will be yours.

The second condition for victory is unity of expression

Up to now the country was not yours. You worked hard, but others reaped the benefits. Now you should try to keep your interests to yourself. You should maintain your faith. You should preserve the dignity of your country. You should keep the divine aspect of your country intact. You should safeguard this godliness. You should also keep your community united. Sometimes you might encounter some differences in opinion in villages and towns over small and insignificant issues. You should not bother yourselves too much. Do not take those issues seriously. Nowadays, there are many hands at work to create discord; you should not give them a chance. Now our enemies are discouraged. They did not want this nation to advance forward or this traitor to leave Iran but you endeavored and expelled him. You have succeeded to expel man (the Shah) from Iran and later they wanted his corrupt successor to stay, but your endeavors forced him to flee, too. Then your enemies were not content with the establishment of an Islamic

order here, but you made it possible by casting your votes. Later your foes did not want to have an assembly of experts, but you made it happen through your votes and support. At a later stage, your foes did not want the people to vote for, but again you triumphed through your efforts the constitution. In every step, you have met with success. You were not deterred by any troubles your enemy created. Some sections of our Muslim population were deceived by our enemies and did not take part in the elections. But more than sixteen million Iranians voted for the Constitution. This is taken to mean that those who were qualified to vote cast their ballots. A small minority voted against but altogether more than ninety percent voted positively for the constitution.

The assassination of God's men leads to the strengthening of our revolution

Our foes have noticed that their atrocities become null and void; therefore, they decide to assassinate the dignitaries. While they have seen that after the assassination of one dignitary, the whole population takes to streets in protest, they foolishly carry on their treacherous acts. Now, the assassination of Mr. Mufattih has made people take to the streets and become excited. They wrongly assumed if such a murder took place, people would become intimidated and deter them from carrying out their Islamic plans. What should the nation be frightened of? Our nation fears nothing. However, stay united. Take care of your brethren. The corrupt agitators might come to your village and try to create problems among you. Be aware of such plots. Any suspicious person might turn out to be a trouble-maker. These agitators are the ones who do not want this revolution to go ahead. You are of the same faith, believe in the same book, and are Muslims. Be friends and do not let insignificant disputes separate you from one another. This fact is especially important now that the enemy is looking for chances to create turbulence. May God protect you all. May you succeed

Speech

Date: December 20, 1979 [Azar 29, 1358 AHS / Muharram 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of keeping Islamic unity and brotherhood

Audience: The Muslim students of Shiraz University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Brotherhood and not leadership

I welcome the dear students who will manage this country from now on, and who have attended this session.

My dear students, what is of importance to me is brotherhood and not leadership. God, the Exalted and the Blessed, has called us brethren in the Holy Quran: *O the believers are but brethren.*¹ The concept of leadership is not brought up in Islam. Basically, our Islamic leaders, although they were spiritual leaders, never pretended to be material leaders. I prefer to call myself as your servant, rather than as your leader.

I hope I could help you and be at your service during the (remaining) days I am with you. I hope all of us will keep our ranks united in one line, with nobody ahead or behind one another as brothers in faith. We must move forward united. By relying upon the Blessed and Exalted God, we will triumph.

The turning point in the history of Iran

The Almighty God has promised victory for the deprived. Now we are witnessing examples of this kind of victory I hope this turning point will affect not only all Muslim communities, but also the world of the deprived. I hope you will realize that this Islamic government is based on brotherhood, and not on a governor or governed relationship; I hope you will understand that this government relies on kindness and love and not on superiority of the governors; neither is it a rule of the high class over the low class. I hope we could meet with success now that the morale of our youth is so high and the unity among our citizens is so sublime and the concern for Islamic decrees and commands is so great.

¹ Surah al-Hujurat 49:10.

We hope to succeed in the light of our reliance on Allah and our unity

My dear brothers, children and sisters: always try to keep your unity. Avoid quarrelling for insignificant affairs which are based on worldly considerations and which in turn are rooted in satanic deceptions. Today, Islam and the Holy Quran are in your hands. You must propagate their teachings and instructions and raise Islam's banner at every corner of the world. This will take place only if you could keep up your unity. If, God forbid, you were not serious in this affair, our success would be delayed. You are aware of the conspiracies and plots against us everywhere. The corrupt roots remaining from the old regime are coming together. You, dear university students, should come together to cooperate with one another. There are some filthy hands which are attempting to bring forth division among the layers of our society. They would take advantage of these divisions. Try to keep your unity. Do not forget to rely on God for His assistance. You should depend on the Holy Quran, as well, to improve in life. I hope in the near future you will reach success and I am positive that Islam, the government of justice, which has been concealed from the people at its schemes which have not been carried out so far, will materialize with the assistance of our staunch youth, brothers and sisters like you.

May God provide you with victory and keep you under the protection of Islam's men of God. Move straight ahead and drive the Satan away.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: December 20, 1979 [Azar 29, 1358 AHS / Muharram 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The invincibility of divine movements; the nation's steady determination

Audience: The commanders and personnel of Qum Islamic Revolutionary guard corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Paying tribute to the staunch children of Islam

I am delighted to watch your Islamic, faithful and bright faces. I love you, my brothers and my children. You are Islam's children. You are the children of the Great Prophet (s). You are assisting Islam and you have uprisen for God. You are the guards for the sacred Islam. How happy I am to watch you doing your work for Islam! How bright your faces are! We owe a great deal to Islam. During the past generations, Islam has been kept hidden from us. Our enemies prevented us from exposing Islam as it really is.

The deceits of the wounded enemies

The enemies of Islam have tried hard to sow discord among Muslims. They did not let Muslims learn Islamic principles. This is because they feared Islam and the Muslim community. Our enemies have suffered a blow at the hands of the staunch and competent your men and women who have uprisen for God. Now that they have witnessed how this nation and its guard pushed back and defeated the superpowers and when they saw that their interests were endangered and that they were expelled from Iran, they started concocting fresh plots; their mercenary agents began making commotion in different corners of this country. Now, our nation should be more vigilant and should heavily rely on God. You should get rid of the remnants of the previous corrupt regime which are in the way of Quran and Islam.

Victory resulting from perseverance and stability

My dear young men! Stay strong as God is your protector. Today, you are like the warriors at the beginning of Islam. It is as though you were fighting next to the Great Prophet of Islam against the infidels. In the same way that they overcame the enemy, strong as it was, you will, too. Victory will be guaranteed if your aim is God, if your destination is Islam, and if you plan to implement the Islamic commands.

Whatever frenzied movements the enemy has resorted to and whatever foolish things they are engaged in things will turn out to be in our interest. They assassinate our men hoping to frighten us. But instead what they see is our men's bravery. God has deprived them of their wisdom so that what they do are against themselves. They have given refuge to the deposed Shah who has kept us behind the world civilization and has committed numerous crimes. They are keeping him only to pretend to their nations that they are philanthropists. All these have turned out against them, however. This is because the nations are vigilant. They know the nature of these superpowers. Because of our nation's perseverance and insistence, they could no longer keep the Shah and had to expel him. Of course, in his new abode, the Shah is still under their protection. They are not, however, aware of the fact that our nation is ready to carry on with its movement. Our adversaries are doing things which they think are to their benefit, but, they will backfire on themselves.

The Iranian nation enjoys universal support

Today, if you read the 1 newspapers you will note that all nations, not their governments, support you. Some governments, too, are step by step, starting to support you. This is happening even to the American nation, which is becoming more vigilant. They will find out more about the nature of these superpowers who are imposing themselves on the deprived nations. Previously, the American nation did not care for us. According to a survey, more than fifty-five percent of the American people are against the American military intervention into Iran. They might even oppose the economic sanctions planned for Iran. Many nations of the world and their governments, too, have opposed such sanctions.

A nation with affirm and resolute determination

We are resolute and determined to carry out our plans. I can read the resolution and determination on your bright faces.

I fear neither American intervention, nor their economic sanctions. And the United States is unable to act upon such intervention. The American nation and congress will not allow the American government to carry out such a plan. The American nation knows well that such a military intervention is against the American interest. Do not fear any economic sanction because other nations and governments of the world are not obedient to the United States.

The universal doors are not closed on us. We have God. If the universal doors are closed to us, God's doors of blessings are open to us. We are working for God. We have risen up for God. When we observed cases of injustice in this country, when we saw that plundering was going on in this country. And when we noticed the arrogant powers were destroying the deprived ones, we rose up. We rose up for God.

Even if the doors of all countries were closed on us, God's door of blessings would still be open to us. We rely on God's graces and power. Be strong and go forward

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

Decree

Date: December 21, 1979 [Azar 30, 1358 AHS / Safar 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Inviting priests to perform religious ceremonies for the hostages

Audience: The Islamic Revolutionary Council of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic Revolutionary council of Iran,

On the occasion of the auspicious birthday of Jesus Christ (*a*), the sublime prophet, you are to invite some devoted priests to take part in the religious ceremonies of the American detainees here in Tehran so that they could carry out their religious rites peacefully.

Obviously, the black priests are preferred due to their special stance against the American hostilities and crimes.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 21, 1979 [Azar 30, 1358 AHS / Safar 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The youth's readiness for martyrdom and for supporting Islam

Audience: The enshrouded young men from Maraghah, who have walked to Tehran; the people of Mahallat, Sabzewar, Arak and ladies from Zanzan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Being proud of the youth's readiness to die

I do not know whether to thank you for walking all the way from Maraghah to Tehran and the hardships that you have gone through, or should I feel ashamed for all the kindness that you are showing to me. I feel extreme delight and pride when I look at you young people who are prepared to get martyred and who are ready to defend your homeland. You are from Azerbaijan and your province has always been at the front line of the Islamic struggle. You are the offspring of those brave men who were pioneers in defending their homeland whenever anything threatened the independence and integrity of their motherland. Be aware, the events we are now confronted with are among the nastiest of all unhappy events. But the victory which you have gained through your unity with other youth is unique in the history of this land. Your victory was the victory of a Muslim nation, which was not equipped with modern weaponry against some powers fully equipped with all sorts of modern and up-to-date equipment. The tyrannical power was protected by other universal powers. This was the victory of Islam over the infidels.

The continuous confrontation of the profiteers with Islam

You could be considered as the soldiers of the outset of Islam, those who opposed the infidels who did not want the progress of Islam. Good examples were Abusufyan and his associates. They did not want the Great Prophet (s) to establish Islam in Arabia. They hated the spread of Islam because such an act was against their interests. They envisaged that they would be unable to plunder people if Islam prevailed. Therefore, they got equipped with all sorts of weaponry and mobilized all layers of the community against God's Messenger (s) but they did not succeed. The same thing is happening today: we are observing the same confrontation with the infidels. The Prophet of God lacked any military equipment, one group was fully equipped, with lots

of wealth; the other group was equipped with little ammunition and poor but reliant on God. Because of this, God helped them to defeat the enemy. A few made life miserable for an enormous number of infidels.

Piety and building of one's self as a means to confront the world arrogance

Thanks to God your population is large now. Your faith, too, is magnificent. You should enhance your faith daily. You should make a pious man out of yourself; you should make yourself a pious one and a warrior for the faith. You will succeed if you train yourselves spiritually and mentally. We hope you will enhance Islam in the same way that the pioneers of Islam did at the outset of Islam. Now all superpowers are against us; however, we rely on Islam. Without Islam, we are nothing in front of other powers. When we have Islam, we have everything. We resemble those sixty Muslim warriors who confronted an army of sixty thousand men and emerged victorious. These sixty warriors performed a night assault. These warriors for the faith defeated their enemy. Islam made this victory possible. Now the conditions of our country and Islam are similar to those at the beginning of Islam. This means in those days Abusufyan and his associates tried hard to stop the growth of Islam. Now the same thing is taking place. Now those who have received blows from Islam since their interests have been nipped are trying to hatch conspiracies and are determined to create hardships for Islam. These agitators are decided not to let Islam progress in Iran and for the Islamic Republic of Iran not to materialize; they do not want a regime which is based on constitution which in turn is based on Islam.

A message to the Azerbaijani young men and all the border dwellers

I hope you young men from Maragah and all young men from Azerbaijan will note that Islam's conditions today are like those at the outset of Islam when the Great Prophet (s) started his movement and decided to materialize Islam. Today, you, young men, have arisen for God and for Islam and have advanced this cause with the slogan "God is Great". You will definitely improve the cause of Islam from now on with your resolution and strength. Be united. Cut those hands which try to destroy our movement by inciting an aggressive group to stand in your way. They try to deceive the simple-hearted villagers. They attempt to make this group of villagers oppose you, who have gone through so many hardships. Let Azerbaijanis note that anybody who goes astray from this path will be like Abusufyan and his associates, who hindered the prophet (s) from establishing an Islamic

government. They were frightened by Islam because of their interests. Those who oppose Islam now are the ones who fear Islam. They are worried for their interests and those of their masters. They are mercenaries. Abusufyan and his associates were better than these agitators since they were not working for the foreigners, but these ones do. They rose up against Islam for their own benefits; but these have fought for the enemy's interests. They want to make your uprising futile. Every citizen of Iran should be aware of this fact, especially in those localities where Islam is vulnerable, such as Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Baluchistan. It is because in these locations the foreign agents have more freedom of activities. Let our country men living at the border regions be vigilant. Let everybody take part in a movement which started at the Prophet's time. God is with you and will assist you all.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: 1979 [1358 AHS / 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Debarring relatives and the personnel of the Imam's office from interfering into the Tabriz issue¹

Addressees: The Iranian Muslim nation

In His Most Exalted Name

Officials and personnel in the exterior building and those who come in contact with me are not allowed to interfere in daily issues and the events taking place in Tabriz and discuss the matters by phone. They will be accountable if this decree is violated.

¹ Due to the turbulences which were created by the party of Muslim people in Tabriz, which had supported Mr. Shariatmadari, Imam Khomeini forbade his relatives or personnel from interfering into the Tabriz issue. This was done to offset the agitator's conspiracies.

Decree

Date: December 22, 1979 [Dey 1, 1358 AHS / Safar 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of the head of the Army Joint Staff

Addressee: Hadi Shadmehr

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

General Hadi Shadmehr,

In accordance with Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic you are hereby invited to serve the army, and awarded the rank of major general, and you are appointed as the head of the Army Joint Staff. I expect the army personnel of the Islamic Republic of Iran to sincerely cooperate with you to manage the army affairs, to guard the Revolution and to secure the independence of Iran.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 22, 1979 [Dey 1, 1358 AHS / Safar 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracy against the Iranian victory; the nation's motives for the Revolution

Audience: Female and male University students rallyist from Tabriz and Tehran; the Tabrizi workers; the bank personnel of Shahriyar, the revolutionary guards of the Wali Asr mosque of Sarasiyab Dulab

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The divine cries of millions of Iranians

I would like to thank you, dear university students, for your taking troubles to walk here from far cities in this cold weather, to meet me, at this humble place of mine. You are well aware that we are confronting a superpower now. We want to see what the secret behind our victory was when we initiated this movement and we would like to find out what we should do from now on. You know we had neither weapons nor proper military training. You were studying at schools then and attending to other affairs. The clerics, too, were busy studying in their own fields of study. But we had one thing in common: strong faith in Islam; faith in God; and determination to rise up for God; all these factors contributed to the gathering of everybody under the banner of Islam. The name of God was heard in every language spoken on this land: everybody advanced with the words "God is Great". Everybody got involved and personal grudges were put aside. Everybody was shouting: "We want Islamic Republic." One voice came out of Islam; it came from the hidden world. This voice strengthened our nation to such a degree that they were able to defeat their foes single-handedly. From now on, we will need these heavenly voices and this unity.

Conspiracy to get rid of the keys behind our victory

Our enemies intend to take away Islam and this unity from us. They plan to separate us from one another. They have created turmoil in every corner of this land. They want to separate the Muslim nation, which according to the Holy Quran are equal to each other and are all brothers. These brethren share their joys and sorrows. This brotherly sentiment in Islam is the source of all blessings. These enemies of ours intend to take away these sentiments from us. One day, they create turmoils in Kurdistan, the other day in Fars.

They want to use dialects as a separating factor. Then they create disasters in Azerbaijan, shouting for the Republic of Azerbaijan, separate from the Islamic Republic. Based on their views of an Azerbaijan with no Islam. This is a conspiracy to separate brothers from one another. Islam and the Quran have called us brethren: *The believers are brothers.*¹ According to this holy verse all Muslims are but brethren, whether Turks, Persians, Arabs or others. The ones who try to create divisions among these brethren and who attempt to misuse the simple-hearted villagers for their own political advantages are those who ruined our dignity during the past fifty years and have plundered us of anything we had. Now that they have failed, they are acting frantically. They realized that the Islamic unity in our country is great, that everybody has been shouting "God is Great". Everybody relied on God. Everybody was asking for the Islamic Republic. This unity was a sharp blow to America and her associates. Those who were America's agents now realized where the blows came from and they are using them as points for attacks and when you triumphed, they attacked.

Material motives and the issue of clanship are never raised in Islam

The key to our victory was the unity of word: the unity among Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Baluchis and everybody in Iran. This unity prevailed all over Iran. Reliance on God was the issue; the issue of clanship was never brought up; the notion of belief or faith never was on issue. At the start of our revolution, every bit of energy was spent to break that satanic hurdle: in those days nothing else was made issue. Needs were not considered important, either. Nor was it of significance what our dinner was when we got home or where our home was. You may have seen on Television that, there are slum areas in the suburb of Tehran. The kind of homes and life they have is quite obvious. On television they were asked: "What did you do during the day?" They would answer: "In the morning we took our wives and children to the streets to take part in demonstrations. We did not care for the conditions in our shanty for our children." You, too, did not care what problems you had, or what difficulties you had at school or what kind of teachers you had miserable conditions of your lives. Our nation, in fact, forgot themselves and relied on God. They did not care from their whims and wishes. What they cared for was the establishment of an Islamic Republic. They cared for God. They forgot themselves. This was the secret behind their success.

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49: 10.

The most valuable migrations

For as long as man thinks only of himself, he may not achieve anything. You have your own desires to take care of; I have my own wishes to fulfill: everybody to his own. Thus we have forgotten God and all miseries start to engulf us if we forget God. In your victory, you behaved differently. You have forgotten your desires. In those days if anybody asked you about your business you would laugh at him by saying: now it is not time for this kind of questions. You dispensed with your desires and turned to God. This migration from within and heading for God is the most valuable thing in the world. This movement from your inner self towards righteousness, from within towards the unknown world is among the most desired migrations. This migration strengthened your morals to the degree that you were not intimidated by tanks, guns or machine guns. The young man, single handedly attacked the tanks. This was God's power in people's veins. It was the same power which strengthened Islam from its inception. This brought about your success: you have turned your back to the world, and headed towards the unseen world; dispensed with yourselves and sought God's blessings and power. Preserve this blessing! It is this Divine grace which has transformed your nation into a great (nation).

The enemy's attack on the very secret of your success

You, who feared a policeman, were frightened by the kingdom regime of the shah. You, who were bothered by a policeman's baton, did not fear machineguns. This is where God's power rests. Keep up this divine strength. By the word "keeping" is meant focusing on God's power. Do not care for the shape of your houses or your furniture. Be after human dignity. Take care of the thing which made you succeed in defeating your enemy, the enemy who wants to rob us of anything we have. This focusing on God is the most precious of all assets. If we could lead the wrong-doers towards the right path, we would do so. The prophets came to lead every infidel towards the right path. When these enemies attacked us we removed the obstacles. We will also break the present shackles. We were previously successful in breaking the enemy's back through our unity; this time, too, we will succeed. We will attack them with the weapon of our faith. Remember that it is this very point and key of your success that your enemies are aiming at to destroy, be aware that your enemies leveled their strikes against the secrets of your success. If you remember when you established the Islamic Republic your enemies wanted to delete the adjective "Islamic." However, they failed.

The enemy's anxiety over the Islamic feature of the system

The factors which were the true means of your success, i.e. Islam and the Islamic Republic, were targets of attacks by your enemy. They said, "We do not want the word Islamic for this government." Some of these agitators stated that a "republic" would suffice. However, they wanted to append the word "democratic"! They did not have any opposition against any other word because it did not deal any blow against their interests, but not Islamic." They had not suffered a blow from a republic; neither had they suffered from a democratic republic. But their interests were threatened by "the Islamic Republic." The term "God is the Greater" had made them suffer. They said: get rid of *Allahu Akbar* or the Quran. However, when you chose the phrase "the Islamic Republic," you were the winner.

You cast your votes for the Islamic Republic an unprecedented vote in the world. It was nearly unanimous with one or two percent less. They would say it was not necessary to have an Islamic republic and that "republic" or "democratic republic" would be better. Your enemy suffered a blow here. Then they talked of the constitution. They prevented its drafting. They said they preferred the convention of the Constitutional Assembly. What does the constitutional Assembly mean? It means a congregation of three hundred people from all walks of life. They wanted to penetrate into this congregation. We refused to do so. We said we would convene our Assembly of Experts and then would put it to people's voting. The experts would then be elected by people. The main factor for their dissatisfaction lay in the word "Islamic." They saw that you had succeeded because of Islam. They did not like to have an Islamic constitution. There were one or two unsuitable persons who could get elected. But compared to six hundred elected ones, one or two was not a big number; it was negligible. They propagated pernicious information against us and this led to the discontent of nearly ten percent of the population. But ninety percent of our population voted for our democracy. This genuine democracy was, in fact, put to people's voting two times. Once the nation elected the experts and once they voted for the constitution. This democracy is unique in the world. Nothing can be achieved. In the world without propagation. They could not carry out propaganda (the way they wanted); they did not (perhaps) because they were not allowed to. Nonetheless, some sort of mispropagation took place.

The miracles of the revolution

These events in Iran are miracles that resemble these at the outset of Islam. The issues of Islam and Iran are miraculous issues. Your advancement

against that [satanic] power was miraculous. The language of an infant who has just learned to talk and the elderly man in the hospital was the same: all talked in favor of the Islamic Republic. Anywhere you went you would hear the same slogan. This was a miracle. People showed a lot of enthusiasm in casting their votes. They said a sick person cast his vote and then died. He had insisted to be taken to the ballot box. All disabled people cast their votes. Those who were not of the right age to vote protested. They gathered here one day asking to be granted the right to vote. We, too, took part and voted in favor of it. This was how the situation was.

The historic vote of the Iranian nation

Voting like this in Iran has not had any precedence. It is also unprecedented in the world. Or, it is not very clear whether there had been anything like this. These enemies of ours were defeated when they saw this. Ninety percent of the people voted twice for the constitution. Once more our enemies find fault in this. Are they worried why the nation has voted? If this constitution is put to people's voting one hundred more times the result would still be the same. Of course, if our enemies could brainwash these people not to vote for Islam, then they would stop voting and would make friends with our enemies. But as far as we are under the banner of Islam and the Holy Quran, the votes would not change. If the experts were to be elected once again, the result would still be the same. Our nation believes both in Islam and in this constitution. Our nation does not oppose Islam. Now there are a few who are opposing this constitution. It is unusual in the world for ten thousand opponents not to accept the votes of the majority. Our constitution is democratic in that according to the Islamic doctrine, affairs should be discussed in councils. When a council voted for something, it should be obeyed by all. Anybody who opposes this has done an undemocratic movement. His action is against Islam and Iran. It is against the welfare of the country.

An invitation for vigilance and the ultimate warning

The target of the assault is the exact place where you came out victorious. Be alert. You are to act out in accordance with the interests of your nation. I say this is a conspiracy against Islam. The reason is that those who were after Islam were assaulted. They, in fact, attacked the Islamic Republic. Be vigilant. Keep your eyes on the watch and your ears alert. Do not let individuals mistake. If you see anybody is doing the wrong thing, inform the people about this. Each one of you should engage in publicity.

Propagate the right things. If a clique goes to village and disseminate mischief, you, too go to the villages and make their vicious propaganda null and void. The enemies have targeted the things that you want, you want Islam. They do not want it.

You will not succeed in life unless you dispensed with your worldly desires. I hope everybody will do his best to see the Islamic movement established and Islamic commandments implemented here and not care about their worldly needs. So far as you have these bright Islamic countenances, you are victorious. We hope to succeed in economic, political and cultural aspects of our revolution. If, God forbid, the issue of military intervention were brought up, all of us would be soldiers for Islam. May God keep you all. May you be successful.

Message

Date: December 23, 1979 [Dey 2, 1358 AHS / Safar 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Imam Khomeini recommendations to the Christians

Occasion: The birthday of Jesus Christ (a)

Audience: The Christians both in Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*O you who believe! Be upright for Allah, bearers of witness with justice and let not hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably; act equitably, that is nearer to piety, and be careful of your duty to Allah; surely Allah is Aware of what you do.*¹

How lucky are those who are hungry and thirsty for justice! It is because they would never be satiated (the Gospel according to Matthew); how lucky are the ones who endeavor for justice; it is because the kingdom of heaven is theirs (the Gospel, according to Matthew). On the auspicious birthday of Jesus Christ (a), the honorable Prophet of God, I congratulate the oppressed nations of the world, the Christian nations and our Christian citizens. Jesus Christ (a) was appointed by God to defend the oppressed and to establish justice, he, through his divine sermons and behavior, condemned arrogant powers and the oppressors and protected the poor and the deprived. O church fathers and priests who follow Jesus Christ (a): rise up to defend the oppressed against the claws of the oppressors and tyrants, and for God's sake toll the bells of our churches in favor of the Iranian oppressed and for the condemnation of the oppressors.

Carter, the head of the world's tyrants, asked you to toll the church bells in favor of the American spies detained in Iran in opposition to the deprived Iranian nation. How proper it is now, under the command of the Great Creator and Jesus Christ (a), to toll the bells in favor of the oppressed nations which are being annihilated under the boots of the executioners, such as Carters. How lucky are the ones who thirst and hunger for justice endeavor for it. And woe to those who, in contradiction to Jesus Christ's commands and all prophets' instructions, endeavor to violate and suppress the rights of the oppressed ones in favor of tyrants and spies. O, you, followers of Jesus Christ (a): rise up and defend the dignity of Jesus Christ

¹ Quran 5: 8.

and his nation. Do not let the divine teachings of Jesus Christ and his divine commands be misrepresented to the oppressed and deprived nations of the world.

The very presence of superpowers agents at your places of worship, their raising their hands in supplication for and the spies and the traitors to Christian religions who are acting against the oppressed ones should not deceive you since they will resort to any means to sustain their power of government, which is in contradiction to the divine instructions. All they think about is to garner more power and grab the reins to rule the world and nothing else.

Our nation has been exposed to the hypocrisy of these tyrants for years and has suffered a lot. O Christian nations! How come Mr. Carter did not supplicate for the genocides that took place in Iran, Vietnam, Palestine, Lebanon and elsewhere? How come he did not ask churches to toll their bells for these victims? Yet, now how come he has taken part in prayer ceremonies and has asked the church bells to be tolled now that he is seeking reelection and some more years to impose tyranny and despotism over the oppressed nations?

O fathers of the church! Rise up and save Jesus Christ (a) from the claws of these killers since that Great Prophet abhors a statesman who is using religion for tyranny, and is resorting to supplication for securing a position through which he could impose tyranny over God's servants. This is because the divine commands have descended onto the earth for the salvation of the oppressed ones. O weak and oppressed ones of the world! Rise up and unite to get rid of the tyrants. This is because the earth is God's and its heirs are the oppressed ones!

O American nation! Do not pay heed to American presidents' election slogans: they think of nothing else except the attainment of power. Be aware that our youth treat the spies here amicably because Islam orders us to treat prisoners kindly, albeit they may be tyrants and spies.

O great nation of America! Ask Carter to return the deposed and treacherous Shah to Iran since in his hands lies the key to the spies' freedom.

O people of the church bells! Raise your hands in supplication, toll the bells and ask God to inculcate in your presidents a sense of justice and fairness. How lucky are those who pray and endeavor for justice.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Early December 1979 [1358 AHS / 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The dismissal of the judge of Isfahan's Islamic Court

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Khadimi

In His Most Exalted Name

I have told Mr. Omid Najafabadi not to enter Isfahan again. He has not been appointed a judge by me.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In reply to Mr. Khadimi's letter, dated the first of Safar 1400 AH in which he had asked His Reverence. Imam Khomeini, for the dismissal of Omid Najafabadi, the judge of Isfahan's Islamic Court.

Speech

Date: December 23, 1979 [Dey 2, 1358 AHS / Safar 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Self-edification and inner self construction

Audience: The personnel of the News Department and the Reconstruction Mobilization at the Radio and Television Network

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy war against one's self is the greater warf

Our country and our nation need to be reconstructed. Spiritual and moral reconstruction is prior to any other type of reconstructions. The internal reconstruction should start from within and one should be ready to combat the interior Satan of the self. This holy war against one's self is the root for other reconstruction plans. One may not reconstruct others unless he has constructed himself. And a country could not be rebuilt unless all citizens are internally reconstructed. The reconstruction should start from within.

The holy war against one's self is a Greater War. All other reconstruction plans rest on this kind of warfare against one's self. If individuals did not try to combat against their true selves, they would not be able to carry out any reconstruction plans at the community. They might even get involved in corruption. All corruptions in the world take place because one's internal reconstruction has not occurred: the Greater war has not yet taken place. All man's problems stem from himself. It is man who ruins another man. Other beasts, however fierce they might be, are not capable of committing crimes. Man is fiercer than animals since he has not tried to reconstruct himself. No beast can be linked to man no other animal can ever reach man's station.

All prophets from Adam to the Seal of the Prophets of Islam (s) have come to educate man

No other animal could commit so many cases of corruption as this two-legged animal, called man. And no other animal needs training and education more than man. All the prophets, from Adam to the Great Prophet of Islam, were appointed by God to change an animal into a man. This has been their objective. All the heavenly and divine books, the most glorious of which is the Holy Quran, which had descended to man, have had this objective in mind. These prophets and their books want to lead the self-centered egoistic man from darkness into light. Look at the following holy verse from the Holy

Quran: *Allah is the guardian of those who believe. He brings them out of the darkness into the light.*¹ God considers this world as the world of light. There is much darkness which has shrouded man. This darkness includes both internal and social darkness. When man gets rid of this darkness he will surely join the origin of light.

Selfishness is the origin of all darkness

The prophets came to salvage those who are engulfed in darkness, who are selfish, who do not value other and who are self-centered. They tried to lead them towards God seeking the light. Those who have attained such a stage of God-seeking, which is one of the stages of perfection, are different from us. They care for others prior to themselves. The Great Prophet (s) used to be deeply sorry for those infidels who refused to convert into Muslims. In the sacred verse, God says: *Perhaps you will kill yourself with grief because they do not believe.*² The Prophet (s) of Islam wanted everybody to attain light. He had been elevated by God to dispense with all the desires concerning gaining power in this world and to implant in people's mind a sense to seek and fear God. If this sense prevailed on the earth, all conflicts would vanish.

Lack of faith is the root of discord and conflicts

If all the prophets could gather at one place, they would never have any conflict. This is because conflicts and discontent stem from selfishness. Those who have done away with their selfishness have reached the stage of humanity. They have done holy war against themselves and are looking for God. One who wants to meet with God does not get himself involved in quarrels. A quarrel takes place when a person asks something for himself and the second one plans to get it. Then there develops a conflict between these two. This one wants to capture the power, the other one, too, does the same. Then a quarrel starts between the two. If people were trained in the school of the prophets, all these conflicts would vanish. All human conflicts would be non-existent. All would become brethren. This fact is brought up in the Holy Quran through the sacred verse *the believers are but brethren,*³ which means they are brothers. They faithful believers are brethren. A true believer is one who wishes his brother well. If two persons do not stick to their religious

¹ Quran 2: 257.

² Quran 26: 3.

³ Quran 49: 10.

brotherhood and refrain from helping each other, they are not true believers. If two brothers quarrel over insignificant matters, they are not believers.

The genuine faith rests on a believing heart

True faith is not merely based on our belief that there is God or that there is a prophet. Rather, the genuine faith involves more than this. What man has perceived through his wisdom should be directed towards his heart so that his heart becomes aware of such an issue. We know many things through our wisdom, but if the required faith is not there, these things would not be of any effect. An example will make the issue clear. Most people are frightened to stay with a dead person in a dark place at night, although through their wisdom they know that a corpse is harmless since it cannot move to create problems. This fact is perceived by our wisdom. However, this knowledge has not reached our hearts. But the washer of the dead knows this fact in his heart. He can sleep with the corpse at night at the mortuary. This does not frighten him. This is the difference between the intellectual perception and the faith. The intellectual perception does not have any effect on us. Its effect is meager unless our heart has understood it.

We are in God's Presence in this world

When we have perceived something through our wisdom and have relayed it to our heart, faith is created. Our hearts should believe in things. We should try hard to convey what we perceive through our intellect and wisdom to our hearts, i.e. we should comprehend things through our hearts. Our hearts should believe that we are now in God's presence that we are sitting in God's presence. If our hearts realized that we are now in God's presence, we would not get ourselves involve in wrongdoings. All sins are committed because man has not comprehended this issue yet. Our intellectual perception, too, leads us to the fact that God is everywhere. This is asserted by both our wisdom and by the prophets: *He is with you wherever you are.*¹ This is from the Holy Quran. He is with you. Wherever you are, God is with you. We have seen this in the Holy Quran; our wisdom verifies it, too, but it has not reached our hearts. We have not become like the washer of the dead. But if it reached our hearts, then it would be difficult for us to do anything wrong, to slander or accuse anybody of some wrongdoing because we believe God is present in front of us. This is because God's presence is an honorable position. We should respect that position. When you were in the presence of a great man, you would not do anything wrong. When you have

¹ Quran 57: 4.

found yourselves in the presence of some honorable persons, you would not carry out any wrong thing. The entire world is in the presence of God. Doing wrong things is to oppose God. Make friends with God because you are in His presence.

Internal reconstruction is a step towards light and radiance

Let us start this internal reconstruction from ourselves. When we initiate this edification this way, anything we do is divine. When you reconstruct yourselves, all your work will be divine. It is because you have left darkness and have entered light. All your actions would be radiant. Your very speech is filled with light. What you hear is light. When you perceive through your hears, your perception is through light. You have been converted into light. The prophets have come to take us, who are engulfed by darkness from every side and who are deprived of the light, towards light and brightness. As soon as you reach the world of light, you will become radiant yourselves. You will become the light per se. What you utter is luminous; what you hear is luminous. You have put aside your natural ears and have got luminous ears instead. You have left the dark eyes and have obtained luminous eyes instead. These are the eyes through which you could observe God. These are the ears with which you can hear God.

The problem of repentance on the old age

We have to reconstruct ourselves. When you have reconstructed yourselves all your actions would be a holy struggle. You have struggled in the way of God. Your actions are striving towards virtuous purification. Try to bring about these changes within yourselves. Do it now. Do not wait till it is too late. One of Satan's temptations is for us to procrastinate repenting to an old age. We would say to ourselves, "we are now young; we will repent when we are older." You are not aware that it is extremely difficult for an old man to repent. A young tree can be easily uprooted even by a child. When it becomes a little thicker, a man can take it out of the ground. When it becomes thicker, still it will need some apparatus to uproot. When it becomes corpulent, however, like the maple tree at Imam Zadeh Salih (Shrine)—I do not know whether it exists now or not—it is impossible to root it out. The corrupt behaviors have roots in our true selves. At the beginning, repenting is easy and we can easily cut out the root. The older one becomes, the harder it becomes to root out a sin. Man's determination becomes weaker and weaker everyday. Do not postpone repentance till you become older. The Satan of our true selves tempts us to enter the other world an infidel.

The confrontation of Satan and Satanic oriented people with reconstruction

All temptations posed on vis-à-vis prophetic calls are meant to bar us from reaching the light (of God). Satanic forces do not want us to; these devil forces are debarring our brothers and sisters who are now taking part in the mobilization programs. But there are some Satans down there who tempt them not to, let reconstruction take place, Islam materialize. These are the children of Satan. These make temptations. Those who enter the farm lands or the factories and inveigle the farmers and the workers to go on strike are the Satan's offsprings. One Satan is within us preventing us to repent. Another Satan is within them selves luring others not to take part in the reconstruction of the country. You have to identify the Satans within you. Know your internal Satan. Know the external Satans, as well, so that you could overpower them. Man's internal Satan is himself: man's selfishness and the man's wishes and whims. These are Satan's layers within us. These are Satan's armies. If you do not recognize these Satans, you may not fight them. There are Satanic men here who would not let Islam materialize or an Islamic humane system get established. The prophets and God's men have always tried to make a man out of a beast. When we become true human beings, then we will have proper regimes. Everything else would follow suit. All prophets tried to bring forth justice for man as a social being and internal justice within himself. But there are some Satans out there who want to waste the efforts of these prophets.

Under the banner of the Holy Quran

You, young men, who vehemently supported the Islamic Republic, you desired that the governmental regime of this country be Islamic. You tried hard for the Islamic feature of this government. But there are some who hate this concept. These are the Satan's army. In order to defend yourselves, you have to identify them. Get rid of them. These exist so far as man exists. The prophets and the men of God tried hard to uproot these corrupt men and to build up a real human society. Unfortunately, they failed. It is impossible for us and for you, too. But we have to try and do our best. We should not wait for the excellent form of an Islamic regime. We will try to give an Islamic feature to this regime as far as possible. We should try to go under the banner of Islam is meant to act out what is commanded for us to do.

Enjoining good and forbidding evil is among our tasks

Try to stay under the banner of Islam. Anybody among your relatives and friends who is tempted not to use the Islamic covering (*hijab*) should be advised by you to use the Islamic *hijab*. Enjoining good and forbidding evil is our duty. It is compulsory for everybody. In the same way that we have to take ourselves out of the dark and put in the light, we have to lead others towards light. You should not shun your task by saying that you are not an orator or a cleric or a religious scholar. However, you are able to talk to your son or daughter or your wife or your friend. This is the limit of your task. If somebody is committing a sin, we should stop him.

I hope God will lead us all toward the right path. I hope God will guide us towards light and turn into light this darkness beleaguering us and is dwelling in our hearts and which has engulfed every limb and parts of our body.

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

Speech

Date: December 23, 1979 [Dey 2, 1358 AHS / Safar 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Martyrdom in Shiism; the ideal Islamic government

Audience: The household of Martyr Mufattih

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The school of martyrdom, and the path

I do not know whether to congratulate you for having such a distinguished personality in your household and a fountain head of honor for you and for your family, or give my condolences for his departure. We have lost a man whom we hoped could have served (the country) more. However, your father's martyrdom is the continuation of all martyrdoms which have taken place since the outset of Islam. Shiism is a religion of martyrdom. It has crystallized through martyrdom, and has lived on through with a series of martyrdoms. I hope it will continue in the same way forever.

Since man is not eternal and he has to depart from this world, it is better for him to pass away through martyrdom for God and Islam. Those who perform their duties for God or get martyred while they are serving God shall have immortal names and shall receive special position with God. The martyrs have specific place in this world and in the world after. I hope Mr. Mutaffih, whom I know very well, shall join the martyrs of the outset of Islam. It is our duty to continue treading this path until we can establish Islam in Iran and elsewhere. The way the Blessed and Exalted God wants it. The main objective is for Islam to materialize, which has been the objective since the Prophet's appointment up until the end of time to spread Islam. Regrettably, up to now Islam has not been introduced the way it should be.

Presenting Islam to the world with correct approach

Those who oppose Islam are against our way of life and everything we have. They have tried so far to bury Islam in the books and mosques. They never let Islam, neither its government nor its justice be implemented in the external world. If we could introduce Islam to the world the way that it was introduced by past Islamic leaders and if the way it was implemented in the world by certain Islamic governments, all the people of the world would show inclinations toward it. Now, when people hear of the words, "the

Islamic Republic”, they visualize a government like that of the monarchical regimes kings, or a little better than that. This is because people have developed a mentality of hearing and seeing monarchical regimes and spending their lives till the end with such ruling systems of listening to the names of the kings. They cannot imagine any other form of government. It has been proposed before but never materialized. And if ever such schemes found reality then people would understand the true image of the regimes ruling over them.

Imam Ali’s government, the ideal Islamic government

Imam Ali (*a*), whose territory extended from Hijaz up to Egypt, Iran, Syria, and some parts of Europe, lived an extremely simple life. Others could not tolerate this simplicity. He used to tell the governors that they lacked the capacity for such a simple life. He asked them to help him lead a pious life. A man with such a domain of power used to go to the homes of the poor people at night to help them.

It is reported that one night Imam Ali (*a*) paid a visit to a home where there were some orphans. When he entered the house, these children were crying. He caressed them and gave them some gifts. When the Imam wanted to leave them, he produced a funny sound to make the children laugh. He said, “When I entered, they were crying. I would like to leave them laughing. Such a ruler sovereignty over a vast empire extending from the Hijaz and Egypt and Turkey. He led such a life of frugality that at nights he like to leave them used to sleep on a skin with his wife, Hadrat Zahra¹ and, the following day, he used the same skin to feed his camel some forage. This was how a ruler and an army commander lived. One of his great officers was Malik al-Ashtar.² It had been narrated that once, Malik al-Ashtar was going to the bazaar and while passing through an alley somebody unknowingly swore at him. Malik did not protest and continued his way. Others reproached the man, saying: “Do you know who he was?” The man said,

¹ The daughter of the holy Prophet of Islam, Muhammad ibn Mustafa (*s*) was better known as Zahra. Her mother was Khadija, the daughter of Khuwayld. She was born in Mecca in 605 and passed away six months after her father’s demise at the age of 18. She is considered to be among the greatest and wisest ladies. She was a great speaker too. She was married to Hadrat Ali ibn Abi Talib, the first Shiite Imam and their children were Imam Hasan (*a*) and Imam Husayn (*a*) the second and third Imams of Shiite Muslims. She also had two daughters called Zaynab and Umm al-Kulthum. Hadrat Zahra was the first person ever in Islam for whom a coffin was made.

² One of Imam Ali’s staunch army officers was Malik al-Ashtar, who was appointed as the governor of Egypt by Imam Ali (*a*).

“No.” when told that it was Malik al-Ashtar, the terrified man dashed to follow Malik and found him in the mosque, to apologize and say that he did not recognize him. Malik told him, “I came here to pray for you.” This is the moral discipline that exists in Iran this was the way of the leaders of Islam. The life pattern of the leader was like that of its commanders and its foot soldiers. If such a just government is implemented then the top person of a country is equal to lowest person and at times, the life of the country’s leader is even more miserable than that of ordinary citizens. Imam Ali (a) once said that once perhaps there was a hungry person living in and this thought would assume him to undergo hunger. On the night of his martyrdom, he was the guest of Umm Kulthum.¹ She brought him milk, salt and a loaf of bread. The Imam (a) asked her, “Have you seen me having two courses of food at a time?” She wanted to take away the salt but Imam Ali (a) asked her to remove the milk. This was the life pattern of an Islamic leader. When the Imam was struck by Ibn Muljim,² may God curse him, the latter was taken into custody by the Imam’s followers. The Imam ordered that they treat the assassin kindly and ordered them to take to him the same food they had brought him. He then told the follower, “If I survive, I will punish him, if not be amicable to him.” But surely, if the Imam had got better, he would have pardoned him. He then added, “If you want to carry out the law of retaliation then remember one stroke for one stroke.”

Piety is the scale for man’s personality

The Islamic government is the rule of law, the rule of God. It is the government of the Holy Quran. The scale of the measurement is the piety. “Surely, the most honorable of you with Allah is the one among you most pious.”³ Such a government, if introduced to the world, would meet with general approval. Unfortunately, we are hampered to introduce it. All sorts of propaganda are being leveled against us and Islam. However, the changes taking place in Iran are heartening. When a young man who has lost his

¹ Umm Kulthum: one of Imam Ali’s daughters.

² Abdul Rahman ibn Muljim Muradi Humayri was a member of the Khawarij (those who stopped supporting Imam Ali (a) and was extremely fanatic about his beliefs. Ibn Muljim, Barak ibn Abdullah and Umar ibn Bakr Sadi swore in Kabah Holy Shrine to assassinate Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a), Muawiyah Ibn Sufyan and Amr-e As on the same day. They thought they could stop dispute among Muslims in such a way. Ibn Muljim managed to live up to his oath on the 19th of the month of Ramadan while Imam Ali was saying his prayer. Ibn Muljim was executed for his crime.

³ Surah al-Hujurat 49:13.

father says, "I am proud of my father,"¹ and today I read in the papers that the mother of the same youth said that she was proud, too, we feel the future is bright. There are many mothers who have told me that they have sacrificed many sons of theirs and that they are ready to sacrifice more. This change of attitude is delightful both for us and for Islam. This country has gone through a drastic change. Our country's position now is like that at the outset of Islam when people competed to get martyred. Now, we are happy that Islam is now improving and we are not bothered by the internal and external blows leveled at us.

The invincibility of the Islamic Revolution

I hope no one else would sustain any injuries. They kill our dignitaries one by one in the hope to strike a blow over us. But after each assassination we see the Revolution becomes warmer and takes on a momentum. When the late Mutahhari was taken from us, people did not sit idle. The same thing is happening nor that Mr. Mufattih is martyred. People now are different in that they would not give up even if they are confronted with many disasters. The enemy's efforts are in vain since our nation is invincible now. It is nonsense to threaten us with military intervention. Supposing this happened, our country would not fear the military forces. A nation who took to the streets, resisting such an evil government and brought it down would not get frightened even if the enemies brought about bloodshed.

I hope God will keep you safe. I congratulate you and give you my condolences at the same time. May God keep you in good health. I hope you will follow the way your distinguished father has taken. We, as well, should continue his way which is the path of God. I send my condolences to you ladies, gentlemen, his friends and to the Islamic nation in general.

¹ Reference is made here to martyr Mufattih's son's speech.

Statements

Date: December 24, 1979 [Dey 3, 1358 AHS / Safar 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A description of the features of the future president

Audience: The arts university students of Shiraz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity of taking part in the election for the president

Although I am not in good health, I will try to say a few words of thanks for your having taken troubles in coming here from a far to see me. May God bless you all. The things I have to mention now is that these days one of the stages that are about to find reality in our country is imminent and that is we are getting ready to elect our president. You should have in mind the characteristics of the president as they have been stipulated in the Constitution. You should, deliberate on the qualifications of a president as described in the Constitution and if you find those characteristics in one candidate then vote for that person who has these features and if he lacks it then, avoid voting for him. This election is pivotal in your revolution. You would like to bestow upon a person the power to run your country. Do not act carelessly, go to the ballot box and cast your votes for a person who lacks bad records and is not related to the past regime. Take all these points into consideration and do not allow lassitude to descend upon you when going to polling places. May God bless you all. I apologize for not being able to continue talking with you. I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to protect you all.

Speech

Date: December 24, 1979 [Dey 3, 1358 AHS / Safar 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The treasons of the Pahlavi regime; the breach of the chains of dependence on others; struggle for self dependence and sufficiency

Audience: The teachers of the city of Mahallat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The individual's role in the society

I used to go to Mahallat during summers. When I was there I felt the Mahallati people were different from others. They were more concerned with the religion. I found out that people were good because their clerics were good. Those clerics stuck to their religious tasks. Following their examples, people, too, were good and nice. They were mosque attenders. They used most of their time in prayer and invocations. It is more than thirty years since I last saw that city. I do not know if it is still the same. I hope it is today as it was then. If a person educates himself to the level of the prophets, people, too, would improve. Sometimes an individual carries out corrupt actions and at times another individual brings forth positive changes in his society. The latter might belong to a power group; he is therefore the center of attention. Sometimes he belongs to the clerics; he, too, will be the center of attention. Distinguished personalities are rarely found among the men of power. I presently cannot recall anybody but it is not common among them. But there are strong people among the clerics. And if a committed cleric is found in any community, he will purge. If there were several of these devoted clerics in a given society, and implement Islam the way it should be, they would reform the people who, follow them, and eventually a righteous community would come into being.

Rida Khan's style of seizing power

You will not remember how Rida Khan seized the power in Iran. I remember clearly those days when Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état. First, he pretended to be a religious man. During Muharram he took part in sessions commemorating the martyrs of Karbala, due to the special role that he was going to play. He used to force the army men to take part in processions for mourning. He even took part in those plays in places where these mourning took place. He continued taking part in these sessions up to

the day his power was established. He used the religion as a weapon to reach his objectives. Then his mission started. He was to defeat the clerics. He forced the poets to write poems against the clerics. Every institute was made to oppose the clerics. Little by little, even the illiterate people deserted the clerics. The drivers either refuse to give ride to the clerics or they insulted them on the spot. I once was on a bus. There was another Shaykh aboard the bus. The bus ran out of gas on the way. The driver said, "It is because of this Shaykh that the bus ran out of gas. The bus stalled because of this Shaykh." Thus, he attributed "the act of running out of gas" to this Shaykh. A friend of mine told me he was curious to know the reason. He said a driver had told him, "we have decided not to let two types of people aboard: the prostitutes and the clerics (*akhunds*)! The clerics were forbidden to deliver sermons. The mourning sessions were prohibited. The government started defrocking the cleric and drafting them to the army. When we wanted to take part in mourning ceremonies we went to the place, one by one, in a clandestine manner. Leaving the place, too, was done secretly or else, we would be assaulted. Once I had to deliver a lesson. Only one student came to me. I asked about others. He told me the others were in the garden. He said the policemen searched the seminaries and the schools for the clerics. The reason for this lay in the fact that the government thought this group of people was very influential. This is because the government thought this class was the representatives of Islam and was the center of attention of the common people. They thought the cleric's power as an annoyance to the community.

Certain plans for the degeneration of the youth

Another plan implemented for the destruction of the youth was to open up to them the doors of the places of corruption. Such places for corruption were available to our youth both in Tehran and in the suburbs. The movies were another channel for the corruption of our youth. The places for serving alcoholic beverages were more numerous than libraries or the book stores. People said there were many brothels between Tehran and Shemiranat (the northern section of Tehran). They took these youth who were the future hopes of a community to the brothels to make irresponsible and idle persons out of them. All these nasty things happened at the time of this nasty person.¹ The son had more plans than the father: of course, he was implementing the plans which he had been given. The problem of heroin, which is severely threatening our society, did not come about haphazardly. It was pre-planned. It is because when a youth becomes an addict, he loses all he has. A youth

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

will become indifferent and idle if he is given heroin, if he is allowed to attend the brothels, if he is permitted to watch those corrupt films, and if he becomes an alcoholic. An addict to heroin or opium or alcohol becomes an idle person. The addiction of our youth was done on purpose to destroy them in this way; they tried hard not to let our country become vigilant.

The general uprising under God's protection

God helped this nation to become vigilant. People tried to gradually put aside the immoral habits. All those youth, who did not care for these moral affairs, joined our movement. They took to the streets and served Islam. We owe our success to the changes which took place in our youth with God's protection. Previously a group of our youth cared for the political issues but did not care for religion as such. They used to protect the American flag when it was up. On the following day, if the British flag was up, they would utter slogans in its support. Some of them might even talk in favor of Islam if its banner was raised. So there was no clear basis for their option. This was the position of our politically minded youth. Other layers of people, too, went their separate routes. The businessman was after his business and the farmer was after his agriculture. When they were deprived of anything they had, they would say they could not do anything.

Only a hidden hand from the hidden world could bring this nation out of its ignorance, lethargy and indolence. Everybody got equipped. However, this would be down right impossible without God's assistance. Everybody was supporting the Islamic Republic: neither East nor West, but the Islamic Republic; freedom, independence, the Islamic Republic was among the slogans of the day. This could not have been brought about by one person alone. Rather, it was done by God. All layers of the society believed in one thing: the Islamic Republic. And they succeeded. We shall remain victorious while we support our movement. We hope to maintain it.

It is everybody's task to save the ship of the Revolution

Be aware! Today is not the day to be solely concerned with our or your personal problems. If one day, anything happens to Islam or to our country, then the corrupt will destroy us; they will take us, back, to our previous position. It is not the time to complain about our salaries or our dilapidated homes. Today, we should rescue this ship which is engulfed in the stormy waves. It is not time to be idle. We should come together to salvage this ship; this ship in distress. Now our country is being threatened by all sorts of calamities: it is confronting a superpower which has the propaganda means

of the entire world available to it. All governments, except for a few, are cooperating with this superpower. All this sensitive period of time, the nation should not worry about where he should sit in office they go to; people at the Education (Ministry) should follow suit. These (trivial) issues can be attended to in a more opportune time.

The colonially based tribal and ethnic differences

It is time now we put aside all our personal whims, all our preferences related to our offices. We should be of one view regarding our country. Our common problem is to get rid of this enemy of our and to defeat it. This we can do, you and we both. If a nation works toward a common goal, it will get it. Nobody may oppose a nation's preference: "God's hand is with the congregation."¹ Nothing could be imposed over a nation which has risen up for God and has advanced through the slogan of "God is Great".

The impositions over nations occurred due to the lack of cooperation among individuals: everybody looked to his or her own interest only. The enemy then started sowing discord among them. They used to for different political parties each one of which was the enemy of the other. They brought forth the (divisive) terms like Turk, Kurd, Sistani, Baluch and Fars. Even within a city there were conflicts between two neighboring alleys. You will not remember the hostility between these alleys. If a person of one alley trespassed the other alley he used to be beaten up. This was done on purpose so that a nation cannot congregate and be united.

Unity of the masses on the way to Islam

Despite the enemy's tricks, God helped our nation to unite. People took to the streets, protesting to the regime; they shouted antagonistic slogans from the top of their roofs, demanding the expulsion of this person.² They wanted an end to the kingdom and asked for an Islamic republic. This was how we became victorious. Now it was time for our adversaries to revenge since they had tasted a bitter defeat. Islam had struck a blow on them. Then they conspired to delete the word "Islamic" from the Islamic Republic of Iran. They are still active. Our nation should always bear in mind that what bought us to victory was our unity. If you think of luxury, home, ornaments and home utensils, you will lose track of your movement. Today, it is not the time for thinking of absurdities. What we should be concerned with is the unity and the interests of our country.

¹ It is a narration from the Great Prophet (s) in *Sahih Tarmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

² Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Struggle for breaking the chains of dependence on other powers

Today we are being threatened with economic sanctions. Therefore, we should think about it. The solution is for the farmers to start cultivating land. Those who create obstacles on the way of the farmers should be liquidated. There are some who bother our farmers. The military and police personnel should stop their activity. If the sanctions are carried out, we might need foreigners and if this happens the same old story repeats itself and we will go back to where we were prior to our revolution. They say a hungry man does not have faith. If we need wheat and ask others for it we will be politically dependent over others as well. Then the cultural and military dependence will naturally follow. We will lose everything. So we have to stay united. People should not establish affiliation with different political parties. We do not need so many political parties. Two hundred of them are too many. All of these should unite to save the country in which they live. The salvation of this country depends on the improvement of its economy. We should operate the factories, large and small. Those who infiltrate these factories to bring forth turbulences should be stopped. They are sworn-enemies of this country. They would not like us to improve. They should be removed from our factories. Everybody, including the farmers, should carry out their job perfectly.

The teachers' great mission

The teachers' main task is to educate the youth. If our children are trained properly, our country will be saved. We should train our youth in such a way that they could defend this country. The future belongs to this generation of youth. Later, they will protect this country if they are trained properly.

Now our main concern is to expel our enemy. Then we will sit and think and build our future. This does not mean we should not reconstruct our country now. We should embark on it now. We need agriculture which should be developed in a progressive way. Our farmers should work harder. We should not sit idle and stretch our hands to ask our enemies for help, who will, plunder us in exchange for our livelihood.

Self-sufficiency and self-reliance: the only way to reach independence and freedom

We must struggle in such a way to attain self-sufficiency and cultivate this God-given land in our nig country, where as it has been said, 150 million people can jive. Our current population of thirty-five million can lead the

best in a country which can hold 150 million citizens if it is managed based on right principles. But they (superpowers) do not want or will not allow, this to happen. Before the Karun River reaches the Shattul-Arab waterway, a lot of water goes to waste. Once I went there and crossed it, I saw deserts and arable lands around lying idle. If the water flowing from the river is used to irrigate these idle lands, the whole Iranian populace and one hundred million people will be assured of their sustenance. I am not saying that our current thirty-five million population cannot manage itself.

Therefore, we should not allow ourselves to obtain provisions from ungodly sources to meet our needs. We should fulfill our needs not through our enemies who will make us dependant on and force us to procure our substance from them. To achieve this, everybody must work hard. Now that the nation has awakened it should make every effort. On the other side, there is this corrupt cliques which has been trying to stop people from endeavoring, you should expel and turn your back against this group. May God grant all of you health. Many long years ago, there was this man¹, whom I had been with. He has been appointed as the congregational prayer leader (of Mahallat). We hope that you can make benefit from his sermons, which are very educational. May God protect you.

¹ Referring to Mr. Sayyid Taha Muqaddasi.

Speech

Date: December 24, 1979 [Dey 3, 1358 AHS / Safar 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Struggle for the establishment of a government of justice

Audience: The families and relatives of the martyrs of Damghan, Semnan and Shahrud

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I offer my condolences to the relatives of the martyrs and I share your sorrows. What consoles us all is that what you have done has been for Islam. We all belong to Islam. We are from God and are heading towards Him and it is our duty to serve Him. I hope God will bless these martyrs and will count them as the martyrs the outset of Islam. I hope God will bestow at sobriety upon you. I hope, as well, that this movement will succeed and the aspirations of our martyred ones will be fulfilled. May God keep you all under His protection. Now that we need unity, it is urgent for us not to separate. I hope you will advance with the same force and energy that you had when you started this movement. I hope you will establish a just Islamic government. We hope to have the capacity to obey Allah as we are supposed to. I hope we could all raise the banner of Islam under the aegis of the Holy Quran. We hope to establish a just Islamic government like the one on the early days of Islam but which we could not because some agitators did not let it happen. God willing, we can erect such a government with the cooperation of all walks of life and we hope to export our Islamic movement beyond our borders. We hope all Muslim countries could unite with one another. We hope all the deprived nations could break the shackles of serfdom. May God bless you all. I bring my talk to an end now since I do not have enough time.

Message

Date: December 25, 1979 [Dey 4, 1358 AHS / Safar 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Permission for the holding of religious ceremonies for the American hostages

Occasion: The birthday of Jesus Christ (*a*)

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I issue the permission for the invitation of two Christian priests to perform the religious ceremonies for the detainees¹ here.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini²

¹ These were the personnel and officials of the American embassy in Tehran (The Den for espionage), who upon the occupation of this center by the Muslim university students, the followers of Imam Khomeini, were held as hostages on Aban 13, 1358 for 444 days.

² On 4/10/1358 AHS the priest had a meeting with Imam Khomeini. After the meeting, Mr. Thomas Eric, the supervisor of the group, said, "Imam Khomeini is a strong man, a thoughtful man and an intelligent and universal figure. He is conversant in both global spiritual and political issues."

Speech

Date: December 25, 1979 [Dey 4, 1358 AHS / Safar 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The mission and tasks of the Christian priests and a criticism of their functions and positions

Occasion: The Birthday of Jesus Christ (a)

Audience: The following Christian priests, Messrs. Jimmy Allen, Dole White (The Bishop of the Association of the Priests); Charles Chezartee (The vice for the Head of the American church); Charles Combell (The lecturer at the Center for the Study of the world religions in Harvard University; John Walsh (from the University of Brenston); William Gorbee (from the University of Brenston); Thomas Eric (The Assistant Professor of the history of the Middle East from Georgetown University)

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The duties of the upright priest of the divine religions

I offer my congratulations to the deprived nations of world and to the Christian nations and to our Christian fellow countrymen of the occasion of the auspicious birthday of Jesus Christ (s). Everything Jesus Christ performed was a miracle. It was a miracle that he was born of a virgin mother. It was another miracle of his that he spoke while he was in the cradle. It was miraculous that he brought peace, tranquility and spirituality for humankind. All prophets performed miracles in that they had come to make man. All of them wanted that all human beings live in peace, sincerity and brotherhood. All these divine messengers came to elevate man from the earth to the heavens. It is the task of all priests, including those of Christianity, Islam or Jewish nations to follow the prophets in educating man. The priests have the priority in implementing the Prophet's aspirations, which are the divine revelation. The priests have a special divine task which is more exultant than that of other people: they have a divine responsibility. They are accountable in front of the prophets and God. They have to convey to people the instructions of the prophets and help people out of their sufferings.

The task of the Christian clergy

The world's people have been afflicted by superpowers, which are Satanic in nature and oppose the great Prophets, hindering the crystallization of their instructions. The Christian clergy is gifted with numerous attributes

and one of these is that the great powers of the world are Christian, and it is exactly these powers which oppose the righteous instructions of Jesus Christ (a). It is up to the Christian clergy to start a spiritual combat against these Christian governments which are working against the teachings of Jesus Christ. They have to instruct these oppressive governors and statesmen and show them the right path.

When I meet with the Christian clergy, I have to bring up the issues which are related to spirituality and religion in general. It is up to you to analyze the world issues as they are and to study the behavior of the statesmen who claim to be Christian, but impose the harshest measure on nations. Now you are in Iran and I do not think you will stay here long enough to visit the tombs of our martyrs. You have already seen some of the tombs at Behesht-e Zahra (cemetery). You will see many such tombs scattered over our cities. However, you have not yet seen our disabled ones. Wherever you go, you will meet people who have lost their legs or hands and who have lost their mobility. It was a good idea if you could stay longer in Iran to see the evidence of the crimes of a man¹ who was supported by the American presidents. He was imposed over us by America and the American presidents.

The Shah's black report card

I wish you could go around our cities to see the kinds of crimes which have been committed in Iran. I wish you could have visited Iran during the time of the defunct Shah and got his permission to visit our prisons. Then you could have seen the condition of the imprisoned clergymen, university students, and the intellectuals. You would have seen, then, the deplorable living conditions our committed youth had been subjected to hold in the underground dens because they had asked for nothing except independence and freedom.

If I am to retell all these cases of crimes one by one, time will run out. In short, I can say the way they treated us was worse than the way a beast treats another beast. They sawed the legs of some of our youth. They fried the bodies of some of our youths. They amputated the hands of some of our youth in front of their fathers. They carried out such shameless acts on young boys that one does not have the courage to describe in words the small children to force their fathers to confess to their alleged crimes. They performed all of these crimes by claiming that they are commissioned by superpowers to carry out these acts to satisfy the American presidents. In Iran

¹ The Shah.

such abominable acts of crime have occurred that would make a Christian cleric shudder if he read about them. They have performed such heinous acts that would put the Christian priesthood under question.

A criticism of the activities and position of the Christian clerics

It is the task of the Christian clerics to free Jesus Christ (s) from the shackles that your presidents have bound him with and scrutinizing. Jesus Christ is closely watching the Christian scholars and clerics. He wants to see how you treat the aggressors who have subjected humanity to so much oppression. Have you ever brought up these crimes in your churches? Has the Pope ever condemned such cases of atrocities? Does the Pope, who has condemned our hostage taking, know the nature of these American detainees? Is the Pope, who considers himself a great Christian, authorized to condemn the acts of a deprived, poor nation like us? Has he ever condemned the atrocious acts of the kings, who pretend to be Christian within the last fifty years? Have the Christian clerics, as a whole, condemned the cruel acts, which have been imposed over us, and run counter to Christ's instructions. When I was in Paris, during the birthday of Jesus Christ, I wrote some articles depicting the crimes we have been exposed to, but the Pope did not let them get published. Why should a great Christian cleric treat the deprived nation in this way? Why should a great Christian cleric condemn the oppressed and side with the oppressors?

Are you not aware of the crimes having taken place here? Do you not know that a nation has been robbed of its reserves and now is miserable? Are you not familiar with the fact that a nation has been put under pressure for fifty years and its reserves have been plundered by the superpowers? Aren't the Christian clerics aware that Carter has, in contrast to the saying and teachings of all prophets, frozen our assets in the foreign banks? We know that Jesus Christ (a) came to establish justice and it is your task to force the aggressors to stop engaging in cruelty. Are you not aware that a poor nation is under all sorts of pressures? Are you aware that by using sanctions Carter wants to let thirty-five million people die of hunger? Is the Pope aware of these facts and then he condemns us? Or, is he being given wrong information? If he is, then how deplorable our situation we that of Christianity, and the Christian scholars is! And if he is not, how deplorable the situation in the Vatican is! Why should you not relay to the Vatican what you have seen here? Does the Vatican refuse to listen to you? Does the Vatican listen to the proponents of the superpowers and to the oppressors, but refrain from listening to the oppressed? Where should we take our

complaints against those superpower agents who pretend to be followers of Jesus Christ? Who should we discuss our problems with? Should we discuss them with you, Christian clerics? Should we complain to the Pope?

Why the silence vis-à-vis injustice?

Does the Pope listen to our pleas? Do they let him listen to us? If he listens to us, will he take action? Is he not supposed to combat those who, contrary to Christ's teachings, inflict us with injustice? Is he not aware of the cruelties which are being carried out against the deprived nations by the American presidents? Does he not know what is going on in Palestine, Lebanon, Vietnam and elsewhere? Does the Pope remain ignorant of these mishaps? Is he surrounded, by some people who will not let him know these world events? Or does he know, but prefer to remain silent? Why does he opt for silence vis-à-vis cruelty? It is Jesus Christ's command to stop these abominable acts of violence. Why, then, did the Pope let superpowers carry out any crimes they wish to and slaughter the oppressed wantonly?

The Pope's tasks

Jesus Christ (*a*) is the prophet of peace. He wanted peace to prevail in the world and today is a day of peace. On this day of peace, do you know what is going on in the war-stricken localities? Do you believe in the American president's invocations and prayers? Are you aware of all the adverse propaganda against us being carried out in America's newspapers, television, and radio? Do you know that the propaganda serves the interests of the oppressors and is directed against the oppressed ones? Are not you supposed to stop this propaganda? Is it not among the Pope's agenda to advise the oppressors? Then whose task is it, if not the Pope's? Who is to spread the teachings of Christian? Who is supposed to convey to people his ideology? Is religion only for the lower layers of the society? Is it only for the slum dwellers? Is it only for the farmers? Shouldn't the upper class layers of society get acquainted with Christ's teachings?

Helping out Christianity

Neither you nor I have enough time to listen to all these predicament of a poor nation. Through your Christian clerics, I am asking the American nation, the American clerics, the Christian clergy all over the world to rescue both the oppressed and Jesus Christ (*a*) and his religion. Both Christ (*a*) and his religion are at the mercy of accusations. Help this religion out. The Pope is being accused. People are not allowed to ask why. Are people not allowed

to ask why the Pope condemns an oppressed nation in favor of an oppressor? Let people find out about this controversial issue through you. They say the American government has mobilized the American nation against us at a time like this when peace is supposed to reign. The American president is waging war everywhere in the world. But the Christian clerics are silent. Why should they be silent? Why should they be indifferent to the oppressed? If you know our situation, why don't you combat the oppressors, or at least do not support them? Is guidance confined to the lower classes of society? Or should it be given first to the upper classes? When the prophets were appointed they struggled first with the upper class. Moses combated the Pharaoh. The upper classes of the society should, first and foremost be confronted and then guided. It is your responsibility to guide them and the American presidents as well. Give Jesus Christ. Save the Christian nation. Save Christianity. Do not let people have a misconception of Christianity. Do not let the Christian clerics be introduced to the world as the supporters of the arrogant powers. May God let people of the world be free from those who act against the divine teachings of the prophets. May God release the oppressed ones out of the claws of the oppressors.

Speech

Date: December 25, 1979 [Dey 4, 1358 AHS / Safar 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The conspiracies and plans of the superpowers against Islam and the ways to offset them

Audience: The superintendents of the Quba Mosque; the university students of Marivan

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Confronting the world devourers

We are being confronted with some issues now which we have to deal with. As you are aware, one is the conspiracies and anti-Islamic propaganda of superpowers against Islam both inside and outside the country. The other one is the internal ruins which are being exhaustively used by some as an excuse to beguile our youth.

In order for us to confront this superpower and not face defeat, we need to take some measures: Firstly, we need to improve our economy in order to attain self-sufficiency and to do this we must primarily develop our agriculture we have to. You should try to cultivate all lands through multifaceted agricultural activities. Unfortunately, there are some who, either unknowingly or on purpose, in the name of assisting farmers, the actually become a hurdle in the proper cultivation of the land and this spells danger for the country.

Economic self-sufficiency is the most significant national responsibility

You are well aware of the fact that if a country is not able to produce its needs, especially its food, it has to rely on the economy of other nations, and this economic reliance forces a country, like Iran, to be independent on other countries. Now, America has gathered all other powers around itself and is trying to apply some economic sanctions against us. God willing, it will not succeed. However, we should be prudent. If these sanctions are carried out we will be faced with food shortage and this will exert a blow on our movement which is also a blow against Islam. Thus, everyone of us is duty bound to make efforts to the utmost of our ability in this regard.

In agriculture and in animal husbandry, too, both the government and people should cooperate. People should earnestly work. This is a country which needs a lot of work force and labor. This energy of the people should

not go to waste. A country should be self sufficient as regards its food, meat, wheat and the like. Animal husbandry should be taken seriously, so should agriculture. The other day, a lot of people of Qum told me this year the agriculture in Qum is booming and that all the cultivable lands are under cultivation. Thus, Qum will not need help from abroad. I became delighted and thanked them. May God help them. This should be done everywhere. This should prevail everywhere in this country. Every location in this country should endeavor and try to be self-sufficient.

Self sufficiency is a national and religious obligation

Khuzestan has ample lands and water. If the government and people cooperated closely and cultivate its farms, we would have sufficient agricultural produce from there. Wheat produced by dry farming is very promising in this section of Iran. Besides, dry farming is more profitable than normal farming. Dry farming will probably produce twenty times more for each seed cultivated. But this proportion is eight seeds per one seed in normal farming. Nevertheless, this is an obligation for us to do.

Now we are living under abnormal and unusual conditions in this country. If we do not put forth enough energy, we will be dependent upon the foreign countries. And this dependence entails further dependence over other countries and the loss of our independence altogether. Thus, it is a religious obligation for us to work hard. We should not consider the probable benefits gained from agriculture. Now, it is a national and religious obligation for us to endeavor more. If we are capable of performing some tasks but refrain from doing so, we shall be responsible and will be accountable before God. If we took the necessary actions, we could prepare our provisions and could even export some of our produce. Now, conditions have become so deplorable that we should import meat from one country, wheat from another country and eggs from a third country. It is a shame for us not to produce, and be simple consumers and be worried about who will provide us with meat and bread. Therefore, all walks of life should endeavor and produce the sustenance we and the nation need. God willing, we will become self-sufficient.

The conspiracy to undermine the army

In this country there are some agitators who do not like to see peace prevail in Iran. They infiltrated the ranks of the army, police and gendarme personnel and swayed their views saying they had to reject stages (of development). They inculcated into their brains the idea of the meaning of

which they do not even know. And if ever this term has any real meaning at all, they do not know what it is. They thought that a “single community” meant the non-existence of an army. Everyone is either a soldier or a lieutenant general. The army, the gendarmerie and other police forces are of crucial significance to a country. These problems are created by the leftists who have affiliated themselves to Islam and are propagating wrong notions in the name of Islam to allow the dissipation of the ulterior (evil) motives of others. These pernicious elements, some of whom were offshoots of the previous regime, infiltrate the soldiers, barracks and spread deceptive ideas the army personnel in order to undermine the army. They wish to take control of the army and paralyze it. They say nobody should be an officer or a sergeant; a single community should be created. By this they mean all are either lieutenant generals or soldiers. They propagate lack of order and hierarchy in the army. By a single community they mean the lack of obedience in the ranks in the army.

The meaning of a unified [classless] community

Is it not meant to destroy the army? Does it not mean that they want no army? This is taken to mean that Iran does not need any army at all. Neither does it need any gendarmerie. Nor does it need any police force. Nor does it need a government. This group does not understand the true meaning of this term. But the term equal community means that in the army everybody should obey the major general; everybody should be obedient to the lieutenant general; discipline should prevail in the army. This term is taken to mean that everybody should be thinking of God; everyone should heed God; should not be chaos. In essence, equality means something different from what they say. In the community they are talking about they say that everyone should be peasants; but do we not need any weavers? To assume that we may not need any blacksmiths will not make the community members equal. Not everybody is equal in the society. One toils much and the other one less. This kind of society even exists among animals. In an animal society all are equal except for some which are queens. An example is the society of the termites. They live in an organized society and their so called “civilization” is older than that of human beings. In the society of bees, some are superior, like the queen, and the rest are at lower ranks. By the term equal community is not meant absolute equality. How is it possible for every body to be engineers or illiterates? Don't we need farmers or workers besides engineers? Do we not need managers? This is unthinkable!

A conspiracy named the “unified [classless] community”

They have heard the term a “unified” (classless) community, but have not had a full grasp of its meaning. There are those who look for chances to disturb the order in this country and to put us under the domination of America and its likes. This second group has joined the first group and is employing the term equal community very often. Ask them what this word means. Their answer would be “we do not want ranks in the army; we could do without ranks such as officers, major-generals and the like. We are all soldiers and we shall obey nobody, nobody should issue orders. We are all equal; we do not need supervisors, nor do we need senior officers. Is such a country manageable then? Is it not an act of treason against the army? Likewise, is it not an act of treason and conspiracy against Islam? These have been brainwashed by some and have been indoctrinated by the agitators to take off their military badges and give it to an officer and ask him,” now you give us the badge; we will be honored by it. This breach of order is to corrupt a country. Don’t we need businessmen or merchants or carpet dealers? Should the members of a society be the same? Don’t we need university students simply because if he or she got educated his or her life pattern would differ from that of the others? Are a farmer and a thinker who can plan huge operations the same? Shouldn’t there be some differences between them? Is the airplane engineer and a well digger the same in the world societies? This is not an equal community. Everybody is busy doing one particular job.

A classless society or chaos?

What are these people saying? Where in the world is there a classless community? In the Soviet Union are the supervisors and governors and the workers the same? Doesn’t Kremlin rule over the country? Don’t their army commanders command? Do the army men there take off their badges and ask for chaos? Isn’t China the same? Is there any place in the world in which army members say they want to be pure soldiers? Is there any army in the world in which all members have the same rank? What kind of rubbish are they saying? This is clear treason towards Islam and our country. It is a conspiracy against our army. The army should have its specific authority. Of course, all members should be united. This is society equals. All Iranian citizens should have one objective: to free themselves from foreign domination. They should govern their community. The equal community was the one which brought about your victory. Everybody took part in this movement with one objective in mind. The equal society does not mean

chaos in which no order or rule of law prevails. This is hazardous to our country, indeed.

The need for vigilance vis-à-vis the American threat

The young army men should realize the hazard that is threatening your country; they are threatening your country. They are cheating you in inculcating you that chaos should prevail. Before I embark on the process of and liquidating and decisively take measures against the trouble makers, you had better correct your behavior. Those shall be dismissed in the army who encouraged the low ranking officers to take off their rank badges as it has been relayed to us. You are leveling the most horrendous treason against your country. It is better for you to correct yourselves before we interfere in the affairs.

Now we are being confronted with two sorts of threats. On the one hand we are faced with the American threats; on the other hand, we are encountering those youth who are serving the United States. They fail to understand the fact that if America attacks us, we will have the necessary troops, gendarme forces, the revolutionary guards and all of us. These youth have been deceived by some who tell them about equal societies. Release their names so that they could be dismissed from the army. Carry out dismissal yourselves. Let the youth expel them. The course of action taken by these agitators is against Islam and the Iranian nation. It is against our country. It is against the Muslims' interest and expediency. The troops, gendarmes, police forces and the revolutionary guards should establish the rule of law. Nobody is allowed to violate this order.

The necessity of cohesion and coordination among military forces

When chaos prevails, lives are lost. If you live in chaos and you are being assaulted, you lack the energy to defend yourselves. If tomorrow the enemy attacks, you will not be able to ward off the assaults well. Now there are turmoils inside and outside the country. There is no unified force to stop them. Why? Because there is no cohesion among yourselves. There is no order in the police force. The revolutionary guards are working for their own and do not care about others. There are some bad elements among these revolutionary guards who are obstructing cohesion. These forces need cohesion. They cannot perform well if they lack cohesion. They should be coordinated everywhere. We have been told that the revolutionary guards enter army bases and gendarmerie headquarters threaten and insult their personnel. Why should they do so? Are you not Muslims? Aren't you

nationalistic? Are you not working for God? For your country? So, you should coordinate your actions so that you achieve something.

This is one of the problems besetting our country. Another problem we are facing is caused by some friends; and friends who are heedless are ignorant. Some committed individuals are willing to work, but are deceived by a group of infidels. And the youth, whose minds are pure and unspoiled, believe them. You must trace the roots and the originator of this problem. This is just one problem and there are still others.

Reliance on the divine power

However, we are victorious because we rely on a supreme power. We by ourselves are nothing; it is He who counts. Even when you utter some slogans in favor of me, you should be aware of the fact that I am nothing. It was He who carried out this feat. Khomeini is not involved. This revolution was done through the hands of a super power. It was He who made a unarmed people defeat a highly-equipped superpower. All of us are brothers. In Him we shall trust; therefore, we are victorious.

The vigilance of the youth

I hope that our youth everywhere: in the army, in the gendarmerie, in the police department, in the corps of the guards of the revolution, in the revolutionary courts, in the market, on the streets, and in the agriculture, shall become aware of the fact that we are being confronted with a superpower and that unless we are united they shall destroy us up. We should rely on God and stay united. If we do so, we shall not be vulnerable. If we are divided into groups or individuals however, we shall be defeated. However, if we go ahead in our revolution with a strong determination, we shall be victorious.

And I ask the Exalted and Blessed God to protect Iran, which is an Islamic state, and which is favored by the Almighty God, by the Great Prophet (s), and by the Infallibles (a), against the, both internal and external. I ask God to assist our youth who are busy at improving the agriculture, industry, army, police, and the revolutionary guards.

Speech

Date: December 26, 1979 [Dey 5, 1358 AHS / Safar 6, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The role and plot of colonialism to dispense drugs among our youth to make them addicts

Audience: Members of the Islamic Mustadafan Institute for combating addiction

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The role of reforming culture and economy in the independence of the country

A country cannot restore the prestige it has lost or find the direction it has strayed from unless everyone take measures collectively, the government or a single individual cannot do anything alone. That is why everybody should work harmoniously with others. There are numerous problems most of which are basic issues. The culture is one of the significant issues Iran has grappled with. Our culture is oriented towards colonialism and our youth have been brainwashed to think in a Western way an affliction of enormous implication to us. We should correct our culture with the assistance of our university staff members who have inclinations towards staff members who have inclinations towards the Iranian culture, and not towards the Western one, and with the help of the Iranian writers who have national interest in the Iranian culture. Through these means we shall succeed in correcting our youth over an extended period of time. Our instructions to the youth should be free from the colonial indoctrinations.

Another point at issue is our economy. If the economy is not in good shape, we shall be dependent, once more, on the foreign powers. We should work so hard that we could have surplus in our produce. We should be able to export. However, the Shah's Land Reform made us backward. Regarding the economy, everybody should be active. With the report that you have offered, I hope you not only will achieve self-sufficient in Qum but also will be able to export some. But we should be thinking of all parts of our country, not merely of Qum, Tehran or another province alone. All Iranian cities and provinces should benefit from your hard work and correct and sound planning without infringing any Islamic law. God willing, God will grant you more than you have planned to obtain.

¹ The date of this lecture is recorded as 6/10/58 in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

Iran vis-à-vis an economic warfare

There is one thing that our nation should take into consideration: if we are dependent economically over the foreign powers, we might someday be facing their economic sanctions. Then, we have to obey them and this is not becoming of an Islamic state. Now, the government should help the farmers to cultivate the lands. Everybody should feel responsible and devoted. Now your country is in such a state that it needs your sincere cooperation. You should work hard so that you would not be dependent. Now we are being threatened with economic sanctions. Most foreign states, despite their nations, agree with these sanctions against us. We should keep being alert even though their threats might be verbal. Now you are engaged in an economic warfare. There is a struggle going on between Islam and infidelity; the economic battle is just one.

Men's and women's task in defending our country

It is an obligation of our farmers and anyone who can help them to do their best in order to reach the level of self-sufficiency and even have the capacity to export in the years to come. I am not admonishing you to do so or saying it is advisable for people to do so; rather, it is our obligation. This act of yours is save an Islamic country the claws of oppression and colonialism, which human beings are duty bound to perform. If, God forbid, the Islamic country comes under attack, all the people both men and women, every body should be ready to defend the country. The country's defense is not incumbent only upon one group but rather on everyone.

The religious obligation for the attainment of economic independence

If we are confronted with a beleaguered economy which will entail an economy dependent on a foreign country, it is our religious duty to save ourselves. Anyone who can do anything for the economy must get involved. We should not wait for others to do our jobs for us. The farmers should not stay idle or lethargic; neither should the industry workers. You should not get working for your own interest. Now the whole nation is engaged in an economic warfare. You should not think that because the condition is peaceful and so you can say that you do not want to reap a lot of benefits. The time things are not at the people's discretion. God has ordered you to work hard for your community. We cannot go under the supervision of a country which does not believe in religion and be under the banner of unbelief. This is of a great importance. We should manage our economy ourselves. We are now faced with such a great Satanic power which is

threatening to mobilize all the world's countries to close their doors to us. Such threats, we presume, may not materialize but if there is one percent possibility they apply these sanctions on us, we must rise up and be ready. We should not let ourselves be caught off-guard the enemy's devastating plans. Everyone should produce something for that day. For instance, the cattle raisers, farmers and gardeners should raise their produce, and the regarding factories should step up production, especially the private ones, which bound in Iran, albeit some have been and are becoming dilapidated and anybody who can help. Everybody has to rise and save the economy.

Economic dependence is the root of other dependencies

If your country is not emancipated economically and has a dependable economy, you will meet with all sorts of dependencies. We will be dependent militarily and politically. We would have, then, to extend our hands towards the United States for assistance. Then she would impose all sorts of demands on us. Only if we were strong, could we offset her tyrannies. When she used force we would say no to her since we did not need her. Since God has given us ample lands and sufficient water, we have to engage in farming. We should employ the water capacity of the Karun River and make the barren lands surrounding it into fertile lands. Working is an act of worship; it is considered Godly. Our work is considered as prayers to God if we improve the agriculture today. Everybody should contribute in whatever capacity he or she can so that we can come out of this quagmire forth his or her energy. We want, God willing, to get rid of dependency on other countries. We hope to solve our cultural and political problems. Now, I should thank you for telling me that you have got yourselves involved in farming.

The conspiracy of paralyzing the young generation

Another issue is the case of the addicts. Do not take it as an accident that suddenly we had a bunch of addicts and heroin dealers. It is the plot of the superpowers. They know that the youth can be abused in every way possible.

But the young generation is the one who can manage our economy quite well. Our youth can equip themselves from the cultural, political and military aspects. It is up to the youth to carry out such plans. We elderly people can step aside. It is the youth who can accomplish a lot. However, the youth are not thinking deeply to comprehend the plots easily. They desire sometimes to smoke opium or heroin. But they are unable to realize that this is a plot, not only against Qum, but against the whole country. They deliberately do this to paralyze our youth to incapacitate them so they cannot rise up. A heroin

addict cannot think about politics; neither can he be active in the economic circles; nor can he take part in wars. Such an addict is inutile. He will doze off while sitting and thinks he is enjoying his life. However, this addiction was more common at the time of that man.¹

The combat against narcotics

There are all sorts of schemes against our youth. One plot is narcotics, such as opium, heroin, and the like. What you are doing now is Godly task. The issue is not the salvation of one man; rather, it is the salvation of Islam. The issue is even subtler than this. The distribution of heroin across the country, either done by persons knowingly or unknowingly, is part of a bigger plot to make our youth inutile and, in the meantime, plunder their oil. They are taking away the dignity of the youth. Now it is up to our physicians to cure these addicted youth, and to give them constructive advice. These youth should be rehabilitated. These addicted youth should return to the nation and Islam. Our youth have carried out this revolution with a lot of efforts. If they had been addicts, they could never have been successful. Could an addict have taken to the streets to protest against the tyrant regime of the past?

Addiction to the narcotic substances is forbidden

The addicts are religiously obliged to put aside their addiction, because they should return to their Islamic prestige and dignity. The addicts should stop smoking narcotic or alcoholic substances. All these drugs deprive the youth of their life. A capable man who could have done a lot of useful things, now has become an addict, who should sit next to a brazier, taking opium and dozing off.

The stupefaction of the youth's thoughts through moral corruption and sensualism

The issue of addiction did not occur in Iran haphazardly. Neither did the centers for prostitution and debauchery happen accidentally. The superpowers used their pornographic magazines for this purpose. They had decided to absorb our youth out of their workshops towards the places where they could indulge in sensuality. They had planned to transform a university oriented man into a corrupt individual. They had in mind to convert an official into a debauchee. If an individual went to this place of merry making, he would soon get used to it. When a young man got involved in corruption,

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

it would be hard for him to stop. Our youth were supposed to manage the battlefields; instead, they were taken to the corruption centers. The plan was to make our youth waste their precious time and kill their motivation. The satanic powers wanted our youth to engage in absurdities so as not to be trouble makers for the plunderers of our oil. They had planned to take away from us our oil reserves. And oil is not the whole thing; we have all sorts of other precious minerals and reserves. Our adversaries know well that our youth could stop their vicious acts. Therefore, they have decided to spoil our youth by making them addicts. In this way, they could make our youth absurd. Under these conditions our youth would become insensitive to what is going on around them. They could not care less if the country is being plundered and would say, "The hell with it!"

The danger of war against Iran

A youth who is supposed to defend the dignity of his country, his nation and his religion is confined to the brazier to smoke opium and to the tavern to drink alcohol. These are just plans. These acts are not taking place by accident; rather, they are pre-meditated. You are aware that during our revolution most of our youth dragged themselves out of the corruption resorts and joined others in the stages of our revolution. Now, our youth should think that we are still at war with superpowers. We are now in the middle of a political war, an economic war and, probably, in a military conflict. Our youth should avoid going to such corruption centers. They should do so for the sake of Islam, for the nation, for their country, and for their human dignity. They should be exposed to right education, instead. The pictures you showed me today of the addicts frightened me. Are they all from Qum or other places, as well? May God help you.

A reminder to the nation

I hope the entire nation would consider this problem carefully. Our nation should be aware of the fact that there is a plot going on to absorb our youth towards the centers of corruption so that they could easily rob them of their wealth. Our nation should set Qum as an example for their efforts towards enhancing agriculture and becoming self sufficient. I hope every section of this country use the models that the people of Qum have adopted in rescuing their youth and in enhancing their farming. Our youth, as well, should know that the hands of colonialism are at work behind the curtain. Let them not fall in these nasty hands. Our enemies are alert; you too, be alert. May God grant all of you strength. I hope everybody would succeed.

Decree

Date: December 27, 1979 [Dey 6, 1358 AHS / Safar 7, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The dispatch of envoys to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Philippines

Audience: Husayn Nuri

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 7, 1400 AH

Your reverence, Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mirza Husayn Nuri—may his blessings last,

Following the repeated requests of the Muslims in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh concerning the dispatch of a high ranking religious authority you are hereby appointed as my representative to travel to these countries to study closely the status of the Muslims and the seminaries and their needs and to meet their needs as far as you can. You are advised to benefit from the consultation with the local religious authorities. Furthermore, if you deem it expedient, have a trip to the Philippines and remove some of the obstacles which probably exist on the way of the Muslims there. I ask God to help you succeed in your divine tasks. May God's peace and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 27, 1979 [Dey 6, 1358 AHS / Safar 7, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The enemies' plot; creating internal discord

Audience: The personnel of the Oil Company

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The safest Revolution

The post-revolution issues are of two sorts: one issue is related to the continuity of the revolution. A revolution resembles a child who needs to be educated, raised and nurtured. The second issue is secondary in nature, but should be attended to very carefully. Every revolution is followed by a series of disturbances and turmoils. Great revolutions, such as the French Revolution and the USSR October Revolution had a lot of turbulent aftermath. The number of casualties in some revolutions has been one, one-and-a half and sometimes two million. The reason for these bloodsheds lies in the fact that those revolutions have not been moral or Islamic in nature. Another reason is that not all revolutions have arisen from among the people. Therefore, we could easily contend that our revolution has been the safest of all revolutions. After the Islamic revolutions only those individuals who turned out to be traitors, through courts, were either punished or executed. However, following the ouster of the previous regime, freedom was granted to people immediately after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. We had freedom of writing and freedom of speech. All the political parties were free to declare their existence and nobody bothered them.

The mass media affiliated to the United States and the Zionist

We had absolute freedom for five months. But later it was found out that some of those newspapers were affiliated to both Israel and the United States. They were planning some conspiracies against the country. Then some courts started doing an investigation on the nature of these mass media. It has never happened in other revolutions of the world that freedom could be easily granted to the mass media. In those revolutions, freedoms of all sorts had been taken from people. No newspaper was permitted to get published after those revolutions. Killings were very common after some revolutions. Liquidation of all sorts would start following the revolution, including the

expulsion of the dissidents. However, none of these harsh actions took place in the post-revolution years in Iran.

The plot of corrupting the Revolution from within

Our adversaries, who were veterans and experienced politicians, noticed that this revolution had not occurred as a result of coup d'état; rather it had happened because of the people. Therefore, they thought, the best way to get rid of this revolution was to cause its decay from within.

The direction of the adversaries' plots, is to create internal conflicts and to bury the revolution by bringing forth some sort of a coup d'état and appointing some dictator to rule over people like in previous times. Our nation should consider this obvious issue seriously and should note that a superpower which had suffered a blow and lost all sorts of interests in this land including strategic and oil resorts cannot easily get pacified and leave us alone. Iran is a sensitive, strategic area for the superpowers. These superpowers will not be allowed to establish their strongholds and hatch their plots here by men and women, young and old, who rose up against the tyrants in this country. Being disappointed, our enemies decided to bring forth the internal decay of this land.

Infiltrators and conspiracy to sow discord

The enemy's agents infiltrated all walks of life: especially at the oil fields. They could easily be identified in the army, in the gendarmerie, in the revolutionary guard corps, in the committees and in the offices. These agents have lost some of the interests which they enjoyed during the past regime. Now, to compensate for the loss, these agents are working hard to disturb the present Islamic regime. They are sowing discord among people and disturbing their unity. These agents are aware that people gained this revolution through their hard work and unity. They know that the people's reliance in God and their unity are two factors of their success. To attain their goals, our adversaries make use of our youth who are unable to grasp the depth of our predicaments. Our clean-hearted youth are easily tempted and deceived by these agents. In the name of sympathy for Islam the country and for the nation, these agents take advantage of the sincerity and dignity of our youth, so that the country cannot attain stability. They plan to disturb order and peace in this country. They plan to create turmoils in our offices, courts, committees and among our oil workers. They do this to bring forth the notion that this country could not easily be managed and that it needs a foreign administrator. There is presently some dissatisfaction among different layers

of our society. But people should exercise caution to the objectives of these agents who are engendering discontent among them. These agents disturb our farmers on their farm lands under different pretexts and prevent them from doing their tasks. They perturb our industry workers, as well. They discourage our workers from working diligently. They carry out their pernicious plots in the armies, gendarmerie, and other police centers. One objective is easily discerned in these trouble-making plots: to undermine the unity among people. They want to prevent solidarity from forming among the people. They want to stop this unity which made the people triumph their cause. They do not want this consolidation to live on because if it does, then their interests will be served and the nation will ultimately triumph. They know that they would not succeed against people's determination to succeed. In their concept, the best approach would be to divide. So they disseminate among workers inculcating in their heads words like; "I don't have a house," "my salary is not good," "my social rank or military rank is not high," and "there is no need for discipline in the army."

The danger of negligence and deception

Some beguiled youth among our army men have been spreading false notions that in the army all should be equal and that ranks are not necessary. Words and statements such as these which do not exist in Islam get circulated in the army. This notion was created among them to damage Islam; you will remember that at the outset of the revolution everybody was united in their effort to get rid of the old regime. There was no such discord. If such disunity had existed, the revolution would never have triumphed. Such discord was absolutely non-existent. Nobody thought about their own farms, their industries or their homes. Everybody thought about establishing the Islamic republic. It was this unity of expression and solidarity which existed among the nation and which did and does, attract the world's attention. Those who are aware of this know very well where to initiate the disruption of this solidarity how to upset this unity. They follow the advice of their supervisors to upset our unity. They are inspired by their foreign bosses to sow discord among all walks of life by all means possible. Everywhere you go they level accusations against us. Everywhere you go they bring about discontent; they bring about disturbances everywhere. Everywhere you go; there is commotion as if the country is heading towards anarchy. They will not let the country be managed properly at all. They would not give a chance. They would not let peace prevail for our reconstruction mobilization to get under way. They are installing the peace process to prevent the oil industry from

being managed the way it should be everywhere the same predicament prevails. All this is because that our youth are negligent of the great conspiracies being hatched against our country now. The enemies are laying their finger on the sensitive aspect of our revolution, that very same aspect which rendered them losers is again being targeted; they are trying to shake your point of strength.

Two crucial features

Your unity was your point of strength. There were two significant features in our nation which was the key to its victory. One feature was the disregard for one's desires. Everybody was chanting "God is Great," "we want the Islamic Republic." Even if somebody complained to his friend about his difficult life, his friend would chuckle and say, "Now, it is not time for this kind of complaint." The second secret behind your victory lay in the fact that everybody congregated for God. The evidence of this statement is the continual cries by everybody to get martyred. Martyrdom is for God. A small child and elderly man were asking for one single objective: the Islamic republic. Now our enemies are trying to assault these two targets. A group of people attacked the Islamic feature of our movement, saying they do not care for an Islamic republic; what they preferred was a republic. The reason was that those experts had realized the fact that the success of this Islamic republic lay in its Islamic feature and that people would not like to get martyred for a state republic only. Rather, people would like to get martyred for Islam, not for the republic; neither do they care for a democratic state. This enemy realizes this. Therefore, they started a unified combat against our movement. They started with their pens. They wrote Islam was an old and archaic concept; it is good for fourteen hundred years ago; hence, Islam is no longer applicable [to our time]. What it meant was they wanted only a republic and "Islamic" "republic" is not necessary.

The assault on the secret of the victory

From the time you overcame this obstacle and returned to set up an Islamic republic, this clique from among the people was after this ploy to crack the secret of your victory. They understood that Islam was the key to your success and they attacked the Islamic nature of our movement. They hindered people from voting for the Islamic state. They forestalled the casting of votes in several areas. In some places they broke and burned the ballot boxes. They stopped people from voting at gunpoint. However, they faced defeat because people cast their votes in spite of the adverse

conditions. Subsequent to this, they made each step you took forward at Islamicizing the movement a target of attack.

If I try to tell you all the details, neither you nor I would have the time to listen to them. However, if you delve deeper into the issue, their point of opposition has always been directed against the issue of the Islamic nature of the movement; this was done either knowingly by a subservient clique, or by unaware youth. After this phase and the subsequent stages they faced defeat. Ultimately, they were mercenaries or deceived youth who tried to put hurdles in our way. More than 98 percent of our population voted affirmatively for this Islamic movement. Then they opposed [the formation of] the Assembly of Experts, again and again. Nevertheless, the people designated and elected the council of the experts. Later the constitution was put to people's votes. Once again, it faced opposition repeatedly. However, in spite of all this, the nation emerged victorious people faced a lot of obstacles. But at the end, they came out victorious. However, our enemies did not remain silent. The opposition continues up to this stage. Later, the president is going to be elected, and then the members of the national consultative assembly and they certainly will face a lot of opposition.

The enemies' efforts to bring about differences

In our movement, the unity among people was amazing. There was one view heard everywhere, whether in Bandar Abbas (in the South) or in the North. You would hear it both in the east and the west. The children and the elderly people were after one thing. The farmers and the scholars alike were after one thing. Meanwhile, those who were against this movement were silent at the time. People thought they were completely victorious, disregarding the fact that they had only taken one step forward. They did not realize that we had a long way ahead of us. Then our enemy started sowing discord among us. Now, there are those who are fighting others. A group of people are killing others. Another group accuses a third group of having done wrong. They disturb the officials at the offices. They bring about explosions. They disturb our oil factories. There is just one hand behind these turmoils a hand which does not want the Islamic Republic, which is based on God's commands, to get established.

Lurking over fledging revolution

Today, we have the great task of raising this "small child" [revolution]. It is about one-year old and still fledging. We have to take its hands in ours to help it walk. All layers of our society should realize the fact that our enemies

are reluctant to see this young revolution to become mature. They have suffered a lot from this "child" and will suffer more if it grows up. Therefore, they are against this revolution. They incite and excite people against one another wherever they can. We could easily see this enmity reflected in our mass media, magazines, radio and what not. The men of the pen and letters, too, attack one another. Our enemies inveigh any aspects [of the revolution] in which they can advance their sinister goals, and take steps to accomplish them at every office and every place you go. They escalate their attacks in sensitive areas and the more critical the area, the worse their assaults are until they can gather a crowd from everywhere to cry out in unison Voice. Of protests rang out in Azarbayjan and amplified the commotion. At one time, they attack in the north. Then, they bring about turmoils in the north. Then they attack the south exacerbate the situation. Later they gather at the oil fields, disturbing our oil workers. At one time, we were told that the workers were given money to stop working and go on strikes! Where did this money come from? They pay the workers not to work because they cannot bear to see the country be in good shape our country to work properly? They want to constrict the vital artery of our country.

Islam and unity: two main pieces of weaponry for our nation

Our enemy will employ any means to destroy us. They have plenty of money and use it; they employ intimidation to achieve their objective. They receive money from both east and west to disrupt us. They are after demolishing those two sources of our dignity which Islam from us. They want to disarm our nation. The arms our nation had been carrying have been Islam and our unity. You did not have any weapons, but your enemies were equipped with all sorts of weaponry. Your weapon was your belief in God, in Islam and in your staying together. Now, your enemies are determined to disarm you. They plan to take away from you your Islam and unity. Of course, it will take longer before they can divest you of Islam in taking Islam from you, they do not stand a since people are Muslims, anyhow. They cannot order the people not to be Muslim, so instead they obstruct the Islamization of this republic. There are a lot of activities going on this end, as it has always been. And they also set loose a clique to spread subversive statements among people to create the differences which you are witnessing and aggrandize the people's frustrations adding fuel to the fire. A nation which lived in persecution and imprisoned for fifty odd years will naturally develop frustrations. They exacerbate these complexes to take the people against the path of the revolution and deceive the frustrated nation into

believing the enemies wish them well. The plotters understand quite well that they are leading the people against the nation's goal. But in the area of making differences in people's ideology they are successful. They incite and excite people and tempt them to do wrong.

Our tasks today

What is our task today? We should firmly keep the secret behind our victories. Anywhere you see some disorders, go ahead and correct the situation. Do not complain. Today, it is not the time for altercations. Forget about the minor things today. The main issue for us today is the essence of our Islamic order which is being endangered today.

We have to take care of our revolution, which resembles a child. We should train it, nurture it, and nourish it each passing day. We should give it a chance to grow up. They plan to take it away from us. If, God willing, the enemy succeeded in seizing it from us, the infrastructure of the revolution would be lost and all the walls then would crumble. If we do not advance with the same zeal we had before this revolution of ours away from any sort of corruption and decay. It would be like a musk melon which looked, flashy outside, but rotten inside.

The negligent friends vis-à-vis the wise enemies

The enemies of ours would like to make us rot and then introduce us as a decaying "musk melon" and, therefore, useless elements. They want to show to the world that we lack political maturity. They want to show that Iran is a chaotic land; it is a land where the lower social classes do not care for the upper ones. It is a country the army of which soldiers do not care for the higher ranks. It is a land where coherence does not exist, where offices do not function well, where everybody tears everybody else up. Such a country, in their conception, may not continue to exist. Then they are supposed to sympathize with us and to appoint some guardians for us. Our wise enemies are working to achieve these goals, but our friends are negligent of these.

Let our people awaken. Tell others about the hazards. Let our sisters tell their friends and our brothers what kinds of hazards are threatening us. Our enemies would introduce us as incompetent rules. I have already told you. When I was in Paris I heard Mr. Carter saying that the Iranians were given too much freedom. This slyly implies that we do not deserve to be free. We have to be always under domination. He thought the Shah was right in having curtailed our liberties. He was of the opinion that if Iranians were given freedom they would go crazy. This is what he was saying at that time.

Now, he is following it up. They want to spread the wrong information that this country lacks sound foundations. It is not ruled by law. Everybody is free to harass others and there is no court to curb their devilish acts. Then they conclude that such a country should have a guardian.

Those friends of ours who tell us about minute, insignificant problems are negligent of the facts that we are faced with bigger issues. If a sick person is suffering from cancer but his physician is worried about the roughness of his hand's skin, he is driving the sick person towards death. He has to treat his cancer; the toughness of his hand's skin would not kill him. Now our country is infected by some cancerous tumors. These should be treated first. If we cared about our salaries or our ranks in the army, we are going to get destroyed. The cancer which now afflicts us is devastating, indeed. If we forgot about the hazards of this cancer and paid attention to minor topics, such as the lack of good salaries or luxurious homes, then we would be left with no country to care about; the cancer would kill us all and the roughness of our hand's skin would never matter anymore.

Today is the time for us to do away with our superficial problems. Strikes and taking sanctuary will not do. Why should a person excite other to take sanctuary upon meeting with a small problem? Who is going to take advantage of it? Why should a group of people put aside their farming or manufacturing practices and resort to taking sanctuary? Is the nation going to benefit or is it others who excite them to carry out such devastating actions? Don't our enemies want us to go back to our previous status? Let our writers elaborate on these. Are our writers not Iranians? Have they not been educated in this country? Is it not their homeland? Are they not indebted to their country? Are the intellectuals not indebted to their country? Are the clerics not indebted to their country? You university people are indebted to this land. This is your land. This is the country of all. You are indebted to Islam. Now if our country and our Islam are in danger we have to endeavor to salvage it. Let us forget about our trivial issues which stem from our selfishness. They bring about strikes for no good reasons at all. They take to the streets for no reason. All these taking refuge and strikes are in contrast to our national interests. When Carter shouts and threatens we should stand firm and united. It is our task to do so. Let our youth not be carried away by these pseudo-politicians who prefer to see us miserable. I hope God would awaken us all and would make you succeed. I thank you who have come here to meet me. I pray for you and am always at your service.

Speech

Date: December 28, 1979 [Dey 7, 1358 AHS / Safar 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The mobilization to combat illiteracy

Addressees: The Iranian nation

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Noon, I swear by the pen and what the angels write.¹*

The honorable Iranian nation:

You are well aware that in the previous regime what was overshadowing the combatant Iranian nation was despotism and dictatorship, together with the absurd propaganda and the overstatement of minor issues. A nation who was deprived of the basic needs was made to believe to be at the zenith of prosperity. Among the fundamental needs of any nation is the free education for everybody; the same thing applies regarding republic hygiene and housing. Regretfully, our nation was deprived of this basic welfare in the previous regime. Most of our citizens are illiterate and are unable to read and write, let alone having the higher education. It is a point of shame for a nation which has been the cradle for sciences, knowledge and literature and which has been living under the banner of Islam, which regards compulsory, to be deprived of the skills of reading and writing. We have to, in our long term planning, convert our dependent culture into an independent, self-sufficient one. Now, without wasting our time and disregarding the tedious red tapes, we have to mobilize ourselves, God willing, to prepare everybody to be capable of reading and writing in the near future. To achieve this objective, every illiterate man and woman should get ready and each literate person should teach others how to read and write and the ministry of education should carry out this program wholeheartedly and avoid indulging in formalities and bureaucracy. I will ask my faithful and devoted Muslim brothers and sisters to get ready to uproot this painful shortcoming. Educating others and getting educated is a form of worship to which the Almighty God has invited us. The Friday Imams in cities and villages should invite the illiterate ones in the mosques and religious centers to teach them how to read and write. They should not wait for the state financial support and should, in their private homes, teach the illiterate how to read and write.

¹ Quran 68: 1.

The illiterate, too, have to be ready to learn. I ask the honorable Iranian nation through their perseverance, to change Iran into a large school and to spend one or two hours of their free time on educating the illiterate ones. Be ready since the Almighty God is your supporter. I ask God for prosperity, health and welfare for the honorable nation of Iran. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 28, 1979 [Dey 7, 1358 AHS / Safar 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The objectives of an Islamic state; the enemies' antagonism toward on Islamic sovereignty

Audience: Hamid Algar (the American Muslim writer and scholar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The government systems of the world

You know that the government systems have been non-divine and non-monotheistic both in the previous regime and other regimes in other territories had been monarchial in nature during man's entire history. The principles and laws on which these regimes, whether monarchial or otherwise, were based on human laws, which were the concoctions of the human brain. Those systems mainly aimed at the domination of people. At times, some of them implemented their laws; their goals were executing these laws establishing which were limited to order in the society, granting freedom to the people and others of this nature. But a monotheistic regime, which is divine in nature, is the Islamic order which we are ready to establish here. Perhaps prior to Islam, had been such regimes, which were governmental and which implemented divine laws, or may be there had been few or no government based on the divine rules. Scarcely were there regimes which were monotheistic. The divine governments were non-existent. In a divine order only the divine rule controls the behavior of man. Prior to Islam there were governments based purely on man made rules. Those governments were mostly limited and weak. But in the Islamic governments the only prevailing power has been the commands of Allah. Only God rules in these governments. Neither the prophets nor the caliphs did add anything of their own. In the minor issues, the governor could interpret the situation. But in principles and in main issues the divine rules prevailed. The Great Prophet (s) of Islam, who ruled over all affairs, never presented any law or principle of his own. He only carried out God's orders.

The differences of the Islamic government with other governments

The big difference between world or human regimes, in whatever form they may be, and a regime which is divine and which adheres to divine laws is that the former do not concern themselves in the purification of one's self.

Their main concern was the rule of law and the establishment of order in society. Anybody is free to carry out anything inside his home. However, he is not allowed to come out of his home yelling and screaming; thus, he is not allowed to disturb the general peace of the community. Only a divine government which counts the rectification of man the way he must be as its main objective. First of all, man is an anarchical and, at times worse than animals. If he is left to grow unbridled, he will surpass any other creature in the terms of lust, fierceness and mischief. No animal can be likened to man. The extent of animals' mischievousness is limited, indeed. So is the range of their lusts and fierceness. Since man is superior over others in the scale of creation, he could easily surpass the ordinary limits in his lusts, anger and haughtiness. He could go to the infinite limit. Now to verify this proposition, look at the state of a man's attitude when he owns house. He still desires a second one. Even if a country is his, he still looks for a second one. If he could own the whole earth, he would still go after the conquest of the moon or Mars. Neither his lusts nor his greed could be limited. The Prophets came to set a limit to man's desires or greed. However, man does not know any boundary if he is left unbridled: he then wants everything for himself and desires to sacrifice everything for himself and desires to sacrifice everything for his own interests. The prophets were missioned to control this unbridled one and to bring his actions under control. They tried to educate him in such a way that he could achieve prosperity. For the prophets this world is only a means, nothing more. Man does not know where he is heading for, but the prophets do. They know he would reach the sublime degrees of humanity if his desires and wishes are bridled.

The prophets' way is the way to man's prosperity

What is regarded as the destination for these governments is considered as a way or approach by the prophets. In the prophets' view even the whole world is not an end or destination by itself. It is not an altar or end point. The world as such is just a means to arrive at the sublime nature of humanity. If he ever reaches such a degree, his prosperity is limitless. Man is prosperous in this world, but his prosperity is not non-infinite. It is because this world is not an end by itself: there is still another world beyond this one. The prophets have seen this beyond. However, it is a hidden world to all of us. The prophets had realized that if man were set free, he would indulge in merry making, in rage and in craftiness and devilishness. If these are curbed, then he could be driven in the right path towards the sublime destination. This could be done only by the prophets. Unfortunately, the prophets were not

very successful in this objective of theirs. There were numerous obstacles on their way. One reason was man's limitless border of lust, rage and haughtiness. The prophets were well-wishers and were determined to help man overcome these obstacles. However, they would be met with little or no success at all. Nevertheless, whatever, welfare and blessings which exist in our world are due to these prophets' efforts to educate man. They could retrain man to certain extent and to do this was absolutely difficult for the prophets, who were meagerly successful. If you subtract the prophets from the ordinary man's life, you would see what kind of turmoil would reign in this world. It was the prophets who curbed man's desires to a certain degree and we owe them the blessings that exist in our world today.

Islam plans for all the dimensions of man

Islam has plans for all the dimensions of man; it is systematic and rule governed. It does not emphasize only the unknown world to the exclusion of the present one; it does not stress only martyrdom. Since man has got different dimensions, so does Islam. It tries to correct all dimensions of man. It does not consider one dimensions of man only. For instance, both the spiritual and natural aspects of man are considered by Islam. Islam was treated with cruelty at the outset by Bani Umayyah and Bani Abbas caliphates. Later, it developed and found its way into the hands of the Iranian kings who treated it in an incorrect way. They transformed Islam altogether. The Bani Umayyah Caliphs changed Islam, which had a divine aspect, into a worldly government: an Arabic government which was to make propaganda for the pre-Islamic Arab customs as opposed to those of other nations. This was in contrast to the Islamic ideology which put aside the idea of nationalities and looked at man as forming a united, single nation. Islam had no preference for any skin color; it practiced no discrimination against races whatsoever. The Bani Umayyah Caliphs were going to revive their pre-Islamic traditional Arabic ignorance in the name of Islamic principles. Even today some of the Arab leaders are after the revival of the pre-Islamic Arabic cultures of the Bani Umayyah era. These Arab fanatics did not let Islam develop in the right manner, however. Thus, Islam remained unknown for nations up the present time.

Rida Khan and his missions

Perhaps most of you will not remember the historic events of the last fifty years. But I have witnessed the coup d'etat of Rida Khan in 1299 AH.¹ Rida Khan grabbed the reins of the government with the assistance of the British. Later, the Britons confessed to the fact that they had put Rida Khan in position of power and that due to his disobedience they exiled him where he had to be taken. From the time he came to power, he was antagonistic to Islam. He waged war against Islam by using himself. He stated by carrying to Islam. He destroyed Islamic rituals which were loved by the Muslims. Since in Iran the issue of Imam Husayn (a) and his martyrdom is of utmost significance, he tried his utmost to show his affiliation to the Imam. He used to hold some commemorative mourning ceremonies for Imam Husayn (a). He used to attend the "takiye" barefoot. He, in this way, could attract people's hearts. When his government was consolidated, however, he changed his tactics. In his actions, his model was the Turkish leader, Ata Turk. He started effacing the traces of Islam. The first thing he did was to abandon the commemoration ceremonies for Imam Husayn (a).

He banned all commemorative gathering in which recitation of the sufferings of holy martyrs were recited in threnodies. Nobody in Iran was allowed to hold such sessions even with a limited number of participants. There was no such sessions held in Qum which has always been a center for spiritual ceremonies. If they wanted to have such a session, they had to finish it by dawn. The government has special spies and inspectors to see to it that such sessions remain banned. It was Rida Khan's objective to do away with Islam altogether. He banned the use of turbans by the clerics. They used to say only six persons were allowed to wear turbans in Iran! This was, of course, a big lie. They did not want the clerics to use it.

The heavy blows leveled at the British by the Muslim clerics

The point is that the British had seen the strength of the clerics. During the past century they had observed that the Muslim clerics had stood up to any threat which was done against the Iranian nation by any foreign power. They had seen that when they captured Iraq, a great Muslim cleric, called Aqa Mirza Muhammad-Taqi,² stood up firm against the invader. He

¹ The coup d'etat of Esfand 1299 AHS by Rida Khan. As the result of this political movement, which was carried out by the English, the Qajarid Dynasty was brought to an end and Rida Khan took the reins of the government.

² Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Shirazi (one of the greatest Muslim clerics) who, through his legal Islamic decision (*fatwa*), mobilized the Iraqi people against the British invaders and caused their defeat.

sustained the independence of Iraq. The Britons has also seen that that Mirza Shirazi¹ had saved Iran against the Britons through the issue of an Islamic verdict (*fatwa*). Thus, in the eyes of the Britons it was the clerics who were the real menace. In order for them to plunder our mineral reserves and make us their permanent customers, they had to get rid of the clerics. Therefore, they started suppressing this layer of the society. This seminary of yours, which used to have fourteen hundred religious students, was reduced to four hundred suppressed, defeated and weakened students who did not dare to express their opinions. In short, they closed down the clergy system in Iran. Every religious scholar was suppressed. Of course, at the time of Rida Khan, the clerics rose up once or twice. But such uprisings were defeated because the population did not dare to support the clerics. Once such uprising took place in Azarbayjan; another time it took place in Khorasan. And once it occurred in Qum. But each time such uprisings got suppressed using force. The British diplomacy realized that if they wished to rob us of our reserves and assets they have to eliminate the clergy so that the nation would not be able to gain power, get consolidated and find somebody to lead them from among the clergy. The Muslim clergy has always defended Islam and its rules. Sometimes they would succeed in advancing their cause as in the case of Mirza-yi Shirazi who was adhered to all over Iran. More after than not they tasted defeat, however.

Muhammad-Rida Shah and his treasons

When Muhammad-Rida came to power, he did whatever his father had done in his early years in power. For instance, he had a new edition of the Holy Quran published in his name. He used to go to the Holy Shrine of Imam Rida (a) in Mashhad once or twice a year. He used to pray and tried to deceive people. Later, he decided to use force. He took away freedoms of all sorts from people. He used the mass media against his nation and in his own interests. The intellectuals were put in prison and people were suppressed. People's reserves were plundered by the foreigners. He wrote a book called "Mission for my country," in which he referred to the imaginary progress that we had made. But people observed and felt the contrary of what they were told. You would see poverty in every corner of Iran. Everybody was in dire misery. People lacked proper shelter. People lacked everything. The very same people were living on oil fields sat on them and starved. They were bare footed and barely had anything to wear. I used to cross the villages of

¹ Mirza Shirazi, through his banning the use of tobacco, caused the cancellation of an accord between Nasiruddin Shah with the British company, called Raji.

Ahwaz when I was traveling by train. The bare footed Ahwazi children used to run beside the train to receive something from the train passengers. They were in deplorable conditions. They were running on a terrain beneath which there were oil reserves, which were being plundered by the foreigners. First the British robbed us of our reserves. Later, it was the United States, which plundered us. The Americans had outdone the Britons in robbing our nation. In place of our reserves, the Americans built military strongholds inside Iran to defend their own interests. Besides, they took away from us both our oil and our money we gained through the sale of our oil. Thus, our nation suffered such a catastrophic fate. On the other hand, they imposed heavy contracts on us which made us more dependable on them. People became restive, perturbed and agitated; their life would be spent in prison or exile. Even if one was out of prison it was still like being in prison. Everybody was being watched by the police agents to make sure that nobody uttered a word (of protest)—not you or anybody.

The great uprising of the fifteenth of Khordad

The people had become agitated. They were waiting for somebody to shout. On the fifteenth of Khordad such a chance came about. It began in Qum. The religious scholars in Qum let their protests be heard. On the fifteenth of Khordad, a great uprising took place in which great massacres were carried out by the government agents. At that time I was in prison. When I was released I was still under house arrest. There I was told more than fifteen thousand people had been killed. And God knows how many dissidents had been taken into custody by the police. People had become hopeless. They had to tolerate the rascals. A father watched his son in great misery; so did a son see his father in great pain. A wife saw her husband in great misery. Thus, life had become intolerable. People were waiting for a spark to be ignited. And the 15th of Khordad was this spark, which had previously been lit; and the people staged the 15th of Khordad rebellion but it was snuffed out. However, the nation was not one who would tolerate till the end. The nation was intending to do something. The nation had not entirely surrendered. They waited for the events which took place two years ago and up to now their fervor has endured in a chain of events.

The motive for martyrdom and creating a revolution

The people were prone to uprising. They were dissidents; they were antagonistic towards the government. Besides, a great change had occurred in their mind; they had spiritually changed. They had become like the people

of the outset of Islam: they wished for martyrdom. Now we are witnessing the same morale in you who are ready to die for this revolution, in those women who tell me they have lost their sons, but ask me to beg God to let their other sons get martyred, or in those young women and men who ask me to beg God for their martyrdom. People have drastically changed. The king had not been able to even keep one layer of the society satisfied with the government. Only the upper layers of the armed forces and police were considered significant; the rest went unnoticed. They did not count on the lower ranks of the society such as the people in bazaars, in mosques, in seminary schools, and in universities. Their biggest error was in not considering the ordinary people, however. When everybody chanted for the Islamic republic, nobody dared to oppose. They chanted: "we do not want a monarchial regime". Both Britain and the United States supported the regime of the Shah; so did some of the leaders of the Islamic countries. However, the number of such leaders was small.

The ambiguity of the term "democratic"

Upon the people's victory over these obstacles, the differences surfaced themselves. Some of these might be instigated by some hands behind the scene. We have seen many such traces at the previous atrocities against us. they have attempted to take away from us two things, which have been the main factors for our victory: one is our unity; the other one is the people's demand for an Islamic republic. Our adversaries opposed the prefix "Islamic" at the start of the Islamic Republic. They preferred the term "democratic" in place of "Islamic." Some of the kind ones used the term "the democratic Islamic Republic." However, these terms did not appeal to our nation. They said they understood the term "Islamic"; they added they also comprehended the term "republics," but were not aware of the term "democratic." They said the latter term has continuously changed its content in the past. It had one sense in the east; quite another sense in the west. Plato used to define it in one way; Aristotle defined it in still another way. People said they could not vote in favor of something they could not understand. They said they had a full grasp of term "Islamic," however. They said they knew that Islam was a regime of justice. They said they realized the content of justice in Imam Ali's government. People refused to use the ambiguous term "democratic" next to the term "Islamic." People contended that the use of the word "democratic" is an insult to "Islam" because the concept of justice is intrinsically incorporated in Islam. They said that by using "democratic" next

to “Islamic,” is like saying a just Islamic republic and this is tantamount to an effrontery to Islam because Islam is justice in itself.

Intellectual bickering

The intellectuals and writers preferred the omission of the word “Islamic.” We understood that the reason for their hatred lay in the fact that Islam has inflicted blows on them. Now, the superpowers have understood that the oil reserves of Iran are not theirs any more. Who has deprived them of this asset? The answer is: the people who are chanting for Islam. They thought if this word were deleted from the Islamic Republic, then the republic would lose its national support. Our adversaries tried to take away from us this national support. The nation is the supporter of any government. Now we see the reason behind the intellectuals’ insistence on the omission of this term. Still they are insisting on such a deletion. They declare “the constitution is not a national law; it has serious defects.” The constitution was drafted by the people’s delegates; then it was put to public vote. Now a minor group, whose leaders we know well, oppose the votes of the majority. What this boils down to is the fact that they prefer a government like the previous regime. They have suffered severe blows from Islam. They do not want it to get established.

The clergy, the steady stronghold of Iran

In all stages of the revolutionary activities and movements the role of the clergy was supreme. Then academicians, intellectuals [not all of them though] the university students, nearly all of them, and the businessmen who also played a significant role. However, it was the clergy who mobilized people for combat. In each district there are between one and four mosques. The clerics in these mosques are trusted by people. This is what I have always preached people on: do not abandon this steady stronghold. I have also advised the young intellectuals, who demand the independence of their country, not to leave the clerics. If the clerics had not been on the scene during this movement, nothing could have been done since people would listen to nobody else. People do not pay heed to the intellectuals, who are about ten or a hundred or. I do not know if they have a political party. Nevertheless, one thousand people would listen to the Islamic party only. These intellectuals are [constantly] shouting slogans, but whatever they utter is nonsense. It is only this gathering of yours which could mobilize others and take them to the brink of martyrdom. We are aware of the degree of the enthusiasm people have for the clergy. However, each clergy’s radius of

influence on people varies from one another. But no matter how wide their perimeter of influence is, the people within it listen to what they say and even if people get killed, it is prosperity for them since they know that the clergy are their well-wishers.

The role of the religious scholars and mosques in the revolution

It was the orators, preachers, mosque-goers and the clergy in general who brought about this revolution. Then they were followed by the people; all the layers of our community took part in this movement. However, the impetus came from the clergy. I will ask our people, who are nationalistic, to be with the clergy at all times. Do not leave them. Now, you are aware of the plots against this group. The agitators are the losers both here and in the next world. I do not want to claim that anybody who wears a turban on his head is sacred. Nobody can make such a claim. But what I want to say is that those who oppose the clergy do not oppose the bad clerics; rather, they oppose the good clerics who exert influence on the people. If those who are scheming have a sound reason to oppose this group, what they do can be justified, and they say that it will be a carrot move to purge (the clergy ranks). I agree to this and a purging will be effected at the appropriate time. But not when the nation is experiencing turmoil; perhaps at a later time after the revolution and when the country has advanced a little forward and conditions have settled back to normal. Revolutions everywhere in the world have been accompanied by some turmoils. As soon as the present turmoils are removed, we would carry out purges. Today, is not the time to break the support of and that which can mobilize the nation, which is now facing a superpower; we cannot remove those who can easily mobilize our nation, albeit we might not be happy with some of them.

The tale of Sayyid, a *mulla* and a dervish

The agitators have their special plan to get rid of us one by one. I do not know whether you are familiar with this tale or not. They say one day the owner went to his orchard and saw that a Sayyid, clergy and an ordinary man were stealing some fruits. The owner of the garden said: "This one is a Sayyid and an offspring of the prophet; this one is from among the religious scholars and he is to be reserved; but you, wretched guy, what do you have to say?" In this way the gardener made friends with these two and captured and chained the third thief. Now that one of the three was captured, the gardener addressed the clergy, saying well, "The Sayyid is the prophet's offspring and therefore we could not reproach him. But you al-Shaykh (addressing the

clergy), why, with your turban and beard, why did you come for stealing?" He united with the Sayyid and captured and fastened the clergy. Then it was the Sayyid's turn. The gardener said, "Has your grand father told you to steal?" He jumped at the Sayyid and bound him up. These agitators have a similar plan. They have plotted to get rid of us one by one. They claim, "What does akhundism (dominance of clergy) mean? They should not rule over our country." They are under the false assumption that *akhunds* (the clergy) want to seize the country and give it to another person and then do what they wish to do. But this is far from the truth. The plot is to separate the nation from the clergy. They want to separate the impetus and the mover from the nation. This was also the plan at Rida Shah's time. The plot was to get rid of the clerics from bottom to the upper echelons.

Islam, the religion of politics

That Islam paradigms which can improve the world, be expressed and spread in the world is the reason the enemies want to take it away from the people. They want to carry out this plan step by step. The target is Islam. The enmity is aimed at Islam.

You have asked me if the religious scholars would have a political role to perform in the future. The role of the clergy is to lead people towards the right path. The agitators are frantically trying to separate religion from politics. Islam is a religion of politics. You have done some research in Islam. The religious decrees and commands are political in nature. The Friday prayer, the Friday sermons, religious feasts and sermons in these feasts, congregational prayers, religious gatherings, pilgrimage to Meca Mashar, Mina, the Arafat rituals are all political in nature. In Islam, the prayers are politically-oriented. Islamic politics is religious. The agitators want to separate politics from Islam. They claim the emperor should govern the empire and the cleric should reside in the mosque. It is not the clergy's duty to say anything when Rida Khan hurts people or plunder them. Let the clergy attend to his prayers. It is not up to the clergy to protest if the nation is robbed of its oil. The clergy should be silent when devastating contracts are imposed on the nation. Let the clergy be wrapped in his cloak. Let him pray in the mosque as much as he likes. Who will oppose him?

The distortions made in the religion of Jesus Christ

He can say prayers as much as he wants and nobody stop him do it. I do not think Jesus Christ (*a*) was ever the way he had been presented. Had Jesus Christ given instructions to people to accept injustice? Has he ever

taught people if they are slapped on one side of their face, they should be ready to receive another blow on the other side of their face? This is not God's command. This is not the instruction of Jesus Christ (a), either. He is exonerated from such accusations. He is against injustice. He was appointed by God to offset cruelties and injustices. Unfortunately, he has been misrepresented. Islam, too, was inflicted with the same calamity at one time. However, there are some scholars in Islam who do not let it be distorted. We are facing fewer troubles today concerning the misinterpretations made on Islam. Time had changed; so have people's thinking.

The absolute *wilayat-e faqih* (the guardianship of the jurist)

You asked about the role of the clergy in the politics. My answer is positive. They have their role in the government as well. They do not want to be the governors, but they want to have roles. At the time of the elections of the president we were told even by the university people that it was better for the president to be a cleric, since clerics were trustworthy. The clergy should have a significant role but not as president; but he will be involved in the presidency could control the actions of a president; as if he himself controls the nation or the country. The clergy will control the activities of the president. If he tries to go astray, he will be stopped by the clergy. In Islam the clergy have a lot of prerogatives. However, at the time of the drafting of the constitution, the planners had to compromise with the intellectuals in taking away some of these prerogatives. The jurist has to meet certain qualifications and conditions prescribed by Islam which cannot hurt anybody. This implies that with the mandate that God has prescribed for the jurists, he can never step beyond the limits of righteousness. A jurist has to meet to hold such a position. If he told one word of lie or take one minor illegal step, he would be divested of lie, that position.

The best critical of the constitution

We are determined to stop despotism. The article in the constitution which created the office of the jurist was adopted to stop tyranny and despotism. The opponents of the Islamic Republic expressed the view that the position of the jurist would endanger injustice. What would injustice generate? It does not generate that which the constitution has determined. Yes, there is the possibility of the appearance of a despot. But a jurist cannot be a despot. A jurist with the qualities [that God has prescribed] is just. A jurist who will be divested of his office if he acted against the social justice or who will be considered unjust if he tells a word of lie or looks at someone

unlawful to him cannot commit any wrongdoing. The jurist will stop others from getting involved in wrongdoings. The president is not required to possess all the qualities prescribed for a jurist. If he does anything unjust, however, he will be stopped by the jurist. If the chief of the army does anything wrong, the jurist has a legal right to dismiss him. The best article in the constitution is the position of the jurisprudent. But some of our opponents are either ignorant or have malicious intent.

The clergy, the chief and expert in law

You say that the clergy may later get engaged in the affairs of the government but they may not become a prime minister or a president; and it is ill-behaved of them to be so. However, they should play the role of supervision. The clergy is not the government. From the very start it had been one of the clerics' prerogatives to have such roles. However, they have been deprived of this right in the past. Now God has given them a chance. People demonstrated for this right of the clerics to be restored. The clerics could control the affairs but they are not the experts. How is it possible for a cleric to become the chief of the army? He does not have the expertise. If a cleric accepts a position for which he does not have the expertise he is making a mistake. However, since the clerics are conversant with Islamic laws, they are given the authority to control the affairs of the government and of the officials. And we have, therefore, to obey the jurist. He may stop the prime minister and the president from getting involved in wrongdoings. He will stop the tyrants and the despots from carrying out their malicious acts. If anybody tried to violate the people's freedom, the jurist would stop him. If the government wanted to convene an accord with foreigners through which Iran would become dominated by those foreigners, he would oppose such contracts. This [constitutional] article is one that will rectify the foundation of a country. It is a noble principle which if, God willing, materialized all affairs of the nation will be ameliorated.

You have asked me whether the clergy would join the government or not. I would not say they would not join the government, but they are not outside the scope of the government. They would not occupy the position of the prime minister and perform his job. They are in the government in that they would control the activities of the prime minister. If he is doing anything wrong he would be stopped by the jurist. Therefore, the jurist does not have (an active) role but he has a role to play. I do not have time left now. May God keep you in good health.

Speech

Date: December 28, 1979 [Dey 7, 1358 AHS / Safar 8, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The misconception of the term “A Homogeneous Society” to deceive the youth

Audience: The personnel of the Yazd police personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic Republic means God’s government and God’s law

I wish the success of all layers of our society, especially that of the Yazd police personnel. I pray for your success and beg God to make you succeed in carrying out your duties. Today, all the police personnel across the country are serving Islam. At one time such forces were at the service of the arrogance. Today your responsibilities are heavier. Today you are the police force for the Islamic Republic, for Islam and for the Imam of Time (the twelfth Imam (a)). The duties which are on the shoulders of the last Imam’s forces are different from those carried out by the civic squadron of arrogance. This is because the twelfth Imam (a) differed from the arrogance. One was the government based on injustice and the other one was a government based on justice. One was the reign of the arrogance; the other one was the government of God.

In Islam there is one rule and that is the rule of the God, there is one law and that is the law of God. Everybody has to abide by this law. Nobody is allowed to break that law. It is the law of justice; it is a community of justice. But there are some corrupt individuals among the police personnel, army and gendarmerie who spread the misconception and have compelled the youth to commit unmeritorious acts telling them that since we have carried out a revolution and the arrogance has gone and an Islamic republic has been set up then there should be no difference in rank between soldiers in the police or the army personnel and the officers; the society is a homogeneous one. They conclude that it is a homogeneous. And this is one of those misconceptions which are spread by those who do not want Islam to find reality and be materialized. They have inculcated these among the nations in the mind of the youth who ignorantly kowtow.

¹ The date of this lecture is mistakenly reported as 8/10/1358 in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

The misinterpretation of the classless society

A classless society, as defined by the agitators, is a chaotic society. Supposing that in the police department, the inferiors stopped obeying their superiors, what would happen? Could everybody be major-generals? Could everybody be privates in the army? Could everybody be chiefs in the police or in the army? Could such an army or police department exist at all?

If a homogeneous society is defined the way these agitators wrongfully inculcate in the minds of some, then everyone must be soldiers or majors or major-generals. Will such an army be fit for a country or will it plunge the country into anarchy. In such a community, chaos would reign. The basis of a military structure, the gendarmerie, or the world order not only here (in this country) but in the entire universe ever since armies came into existence is that hierarchy has to be maintained. The difference between an Islamic and non-Islamic government lies in the fact that in the former injustice is non-existent, from top to bottom. Everybody should obey the commands issued by the superiors. However, injustice is not allowed. At the time of the great Prophet (s) everybody obeyed him: he was the commander, but he did not practice injustice. It was also the case at the time of Imam Ali (a), too. He issued commands and everybody obeyed him. Malik Ashtar, too, issued commands in his territory and everybody obeyed him. However, he did not practice injustice against anybody.

The true meaning of a classless society

In its true meaning, a classless society means a community in which everybody is of the same view; all are united while they observe hierarchies. The police department, the municipality, the army, the gendarmerie, the government officials, the president and the common people should have the same objective, and this objective should be divine in nature. We have such a unified community in our bodies. The human body acts as a unified community. Our eyes, ears and hands are all obedient to a commander. The brain issues commands, the hands obey them. But all of them have a unified way. All cooperate to manage the "country" of our body. The commands are issued up [in the brain] but are obeyed by the lower layers. All are organs of one single entity. All have the same identity. All are working in close coordination. But there is a commander and all organs obey it. The brain issues commands; the nerves carry out these commands to the organs which obey the commands. The community of our body is classless: all work for a common end. In our body, all the organs will do their jobs: not one of them goes astray. All organs are obedient to the brain or the soul. All work for a

common objective. All work for the entity and identity of one person. In a classless society, while there are president, a consultative assembly and the common people and the major general, everybody obeys the person in the higher rank; all work in a coordinated manner; all go toward the same direction. If in a country the army, the police and the gendarmerie go their own separate ways, disorder will prevail. The common aim should be the integrity of their land and the independence of their country.

The conspiracy for creating chaos under the guise of a classless society

The classless society in the way these corrupt people have defined means a community of beasts. We do not have a classless community even among the animals. A group of animals and insects are "civilized," such as termites, the male bees and ants in that they live in hierarchical order. In the lower animals, where their intelligence is lower, the community is classless. All donkeys are the same; the cows, too, are the same; they lack commanders. Now, are you looking for such a society? Do you want a society in which there are no ranks, no hierarchies, and no order? Everybody should be grocers, they say! If all are not grocers, then the society is not classless! If this is so, the classless society has never been with man except in those days when he was savage. But when man became civilized, he had to live in specific hierarchies. Among the pre-requisites of a civilization is that one should be a doctor, the other should be an engineer; another should be a major in the army and so on. If the hierarchies are removed, man reverts to his previous savage life.

Those who inculcate such notions into the brains of our youth want to introduce us as a bestial society to the world. They want to create the concept that the authorities in Iran are not capable of managing themselves. When we do not recognize the government, then chaos will prevail; it is a beastly community; it needs a guardian!

The agitators plan to force our youth to bring about chaos in the army, in the gendarmerie, in the garrisons of the Islamic guards and in the police departments. Chaos and disorder in the police and military forces, which are the backbone of the society, would mean a disaster. A society will decay when there is no order and no obedience to the commanders. In Islam, we have had hierarchies and orders. No society in the world can live under chaotic conditions. You have noticed our nation united and could defeat the enemy quite successfully. A society would never get hurt if all the police and military forces, all the social layers including the university students, businessmen, workers and farmers, stay harmoniously united, while

observing the hierarchies; in this case all would resemble a human body in which every organ carries out its specific duties. This is the genuine and correct meaning of a classless society. However, they have made our youth listen to the distorted sense of the classless society. Our simple-hearted youth are easily deceived into believing such misconceptions. These satanic elements are now active in the army, in the gendarmerie, in the police departments, in the market and in the alleys and are planning to prepare the grounds for another government of arrogance.

Creating discord in our society to pave the way for American domination in Iran

Now I am telling you—by the way I am an elderly man and may go to the other world even before I bring this lecture to an end—that the spiteful, self-interested groups are implementing the plan of deceiving our youth so that they could set the stage for the revival of American domination here in Iran. The American and European mass media then spread the propaganda that chaos prevails in Iran and that nobody obeys anybody else and that they are fighting with one another like animals and that, therefore, such a community needs a guardian. Then the world will decide that Iran needs such a guardian. They set the stage for the appointment of another guardian like Muhammad-Rida or a despot like his father. Our adversary is not a usual rival. Our enemy has at its disposal the most sophisticated political experts. They are planning to demolish a revolution which had badly hurt them. They believe the army should be destroyed by the army itself and that the police should get destroyed through the police itself. The same thing, they contend, should happen to the gendarmerie. The *mullas* should be destroyed by the *mullas*, they say. The religion should vanish in the hands of the religious people themselves. These are their diabolical plans. The agitators deceive our young army officers and personnel by making them think that ranks and hierarchies should be put aside in the army. They might spread this wrong concept among the police personnel or the gendarmerie personnel and among the garrisons of the Revolutionary guards as well. They do the same thing by taking to the fields and by bothering our farmers and plundering their produce. They go on cutting trees and harassing our farmers. They do the same damage to our supermarkets. They disrupt our university students. They are making us decay from within. It is strange since we were supposed to be regarded successful by the world's nations after what we had done to the previous regime.

The invulnerability of a unified society

If the people of the world saw that we were engulfed in anarchy and ignorant of what we have to do instead of forming a unified community in which everyone was in solidarity and following one direction to maintain the harmonious relationship of all members of the community like the coordination of various body parts and preserve the ruling hierarchy in the society, it would, sooner or later, deteriorate and crumble into pieces. The world would judge of us as a nation which, after its revolution, would be plunged into chaos and disorder if our activities were not coordinated, if our military and police forces were not in harmony, if our revolutionary guards did not harmonize their plans with other disciplinary forces and if our government did not work closely with our nation. They would think such a community is on the verge of collapse. If our departments worked properly together, our society would be invulnerable. If the different organs of any country worked together, it would be vulnerable. Let our youth understand from where the blows are inflicted on us. Our youth think they are doing a service to our nation. They are not serving anybody. They are assaulting your Islamic republic while they are under the assumption that they are serving their country.

Order in Islam

Those who hear slogans like “we do not need discipline in the army; ranks are not necessary,” should pay attention where these statements come from. When they say no ranks are necessary in the army, they are, in fact, trying to get rid of such an institution altogether. If these slogans are heard, likewise, in the police departments or in the gendarmerie, it means they do not want any kind of policing whatsoever. Then, chaos would reign in such a society: it would be a country with no discipline. Then, they would say there is no need for the president because it is a classless society. Then they would add later that the government is of no use, and neither are the ministries. This they do to let the world know that we are incompetent to be free. When I was in Paris and Muhammad-Rida was still in Iran, I heard Carter saying, “The Iranian people are given too much freedom.” With this pernicious remark, Carter wanted to convey the idea that this country lacks the capacity to be free; it should be denied freedom. Carter, through his statement, wanted to conclude that the Iranian people deserved what Muhammad-Rida did to them, and that Iranian people should be kept with no freedom so that they could be controlled. In his understanding, we are like animals which should be bridled. Now that Carter sees our advances, he is spreading the

misconception that we do not deserve freedom. We witness their instigations at the army when the officers took off their badges, claiming that they want a classless society. Where in the Islamic texts can we find statements which approve of such lawlessness? According to Islam, order should prevail. And discipline in the army implies giving out ranks. If you are for yourself and I am for myself, then we will have the opposite of a classless society. Lack of discipline contradicts the idea of a classless society. Our body would collapse if it lacked this delicate order. If our brain ordered by our hands refused to obey, the conditions of life would change. Through these wrong notions, the agitators would like to convey the message to the world that this nation, who rose up against superpowers, is unable to manage its own affairs. They want to relay the idea to the west that this country lacks any stability, that its markets are not functioning properly, that its agriculture is disturbed and that it needs a guardian. They conclude that they need somebody to tame these savages.

My dear youth. Do not listen to these agitators since they are working in accordance with pre-meditated plots. Be yourselves. Work for your own country. Let not your minds be disturbed by expressions such as "classless societies." They are means and instruments to demolish us. Everybody should be vigilant. Let us look at the roots of the problem. Our enemies have done a lot of researches on our lives. They exactly know when and how to act against us. Now they are planning to disturb the order in the country and to cause the corruption of our system from within. They want to break the unity and cohesion which exist among us. They want to put us in an awkward situation so that we will fight one another. They want each one of us to betray all others. They want us to defame one another. They would like to convey to the world that we lack proper courts to try an army man, for instance, if he has done anything wrong. They tell the world that Iranians have access to ammunitions and rifles and they do whatever they want to do. This is the way they are introducing us to the world. They propagate that such a society is mentally backward. Therefore, they conclude, we need some guardian to lead us. May God make you successful.

Speech

Date: December 28, 1979 [Dey 7, 1358 AHS / Safar 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: National vigilance against conspiracies; the economic dependency and its perils

Audience: The Revolution guards from Saveh, the art students of Amol; Azarbayjani men and women. Shiraz high school students; local people from Damavand and Langarud

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Vigilance vis-à-vis conspiracy and treason

Although I am in lack of sufficient time and despite my poor health, I would like to make one or two statements for my brothers who have come from Saveh and Amol. Firstly, I would like to thank you for the sentiments that have been revived in you. I wish these religious sentiments were high and strong up to the day when we have implemented our Islamic objectives, and have established a government based on the Islamic justice so far as we are capable of. All this depends on our brother's awareness, whether they are in Saveh, in Amol or elsewhere, of the conspiracies at work now to stop you, the youth, from achieving your goals and for our country to be independent.

Those who have plundered this country for a long time and have spent your money on the debauchery and pleasure are now plotting against this country and trying to disturb our peace and quiet. And while this country is in a state of confusion and disorder no reform could be carried out. And if our country is not reformed, it might go back to its previous state. Therefore, all our youth should be vigilant and alert not to care for those agitators who pretend to be your religious brothers and sympathetic towards you, and who harass the farmers and factory workers in carrying out their daily tasks. These are the ones who do not like your country to progress and remain independent.

There are more sources of corruption in the north where you are living. You should show great concern in uprooting these agitators who make a lot of commotion and who interrupt you in performing proper tasks. The youth living in the north should stop these rascals. I do not advise my engagement in any conflict. At least you can ignore them. This is what you can do.

Economic dependency, Iran's greatest weakness

Those whose interests have been endangered would not easily leave us alone. They are struggling not to let an independent country formed. This has been their objective from the outset; however, thank God, they have repeatedly been defeated. From now on, I am sure; you will tread the right path aided by your faith. Everybody should be engaged in doing something. Lack of interest in working is against the interests of our nation. Our country today needs hard work. We need the diligence of our farmers so that we will not need others for provisions.

It is strange for an Islamic country to be in need of foreign foods and to be constantly threatened with economic sanctions.¹ Why should we be in need of others when we have sufficient lands, water and the God-given assets? You should try hard by all means. You should try to be independent in your economy. If you decide to remain independent, you will stop buying your provisions from abroad and start manufacturing them yourselves.

I ask God for your success and I hope you will keep up this religious-power and economic strength. May you live in complete health and prosperity.

¹ It refers to the American economic sanction against Iran.

Speech

Date: December 28, 1979 [Dey 7, 1358 AHS / Safar 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The unity and coherence of the forces vis-à-vis the conspiracies

Audience: The students of the Teachers Training College in Ahwaz

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

Hope lies with the young generation

I would like to express my thanks for your having come. You have told me about your difficulties and problems. I hope to be able to serve you during the remaining days of my life, which is short. I hope to be able to benefit from your warm presence even if you are sitting on wet ground. This you will do for God. I have confidence in you. With the high morale that you have I assure you of success. My brothers, today we are confronted with a great satanic power. You have to stay firm and strong. You come from a territory with ample underground reserves which have been plundered by the foreigners and you have been left hungry. Those who are greedy to exploit your underground treasures would not easily leave you free. We have to be vigilant; we have to put aside our differences; we should do away with criticisms. Today is not the time get involved in disputes. Rather, we should ponder on what the enemy's next move might be. Contemplate on how to confront this enemy of yours.

Not feeling abject and concentration on the success

We are destined to live for a limited time on this planet, either in object misery, or, God willing, in success and leave this world in dignity. We want to have a dignified life here; we will reject abjectness. We will refuse to accept indignity in the same way that our great predecessors, our Imams (a) refused to accept an ignoble life. We are not frightened by the American economic sanctions or its military intervention. Our nation refuses to accept disgrace and exploitation once again and let others plunder their wealth and assets, and change them into slaves. With the enthusiasm that I see in you, I am sure we will succeed. May God keep you prosperous.

Speech

Date: December 29, 1979 [Dey 8, 1358 AHS / Safar 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The nation's need for unity

Audience: People from Miyaneh, Karaj and Mahallat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Blessings and success, the end product of treading the divine path

In this cold weather, you, gentlemen, have come from Karaj, Miyaneh and elsewhere to see me. I am sorry to say that I am not in good health; therefore, I will not bother you long. Besides, you are sitting on a damp and cold floor. I would not like to keep you long for that matter. I simply declare that I am your servant and will pray for you. I hope this prayer and service of mine could last as far as I am living. I hope, you, friends of mine, you, gentlemen, and you, brethren, will traverse this route to success and prosperity. You have been endeavoring hard to tread an honorable path, and you have been successful so far. You and I are willing to defeat our common enemy, who is unwilling to see an Islamic government established here. Since you are working for God, you will succeed. Whatever is for God has a prosperous and dignified ending.

Unity, the origin of the nation's invulnerability

I hope those who create obstacles in the way of Islam will awaken soon. They should know that their activities are against the interests of their country. Today, our nation needs unity. Our country expects each one of us to put forth our energy. The wise and prudent people in every community are expected to advise these agitators to stop community vicious acts and to make them realize that what they are doing is in the interest of the foreigners. I hope everyone will become aware of the gravity of the problems with which we are faced now. If we remained united vis-à-vis a superpower today, we would be invulnerable. I ask God for the unity among you and for good health for those of you who have come from Miyaneh, including the religious scholars and those who have come from Karaj and other districts. May God make you prosper.

May God's peace be upon you.

Message

Date: December 30, 1979 [Dey 9, 1358 AHS / Safar 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing appreciation for the work of those handicaps in the war and the self-sacrificing devotees

Occasion: The week for the wounded and the invalid of the war

Addressees: The Iranian nation and the society of the war invalid

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My greetings to you, warriors, who rose up for the dignity and grandeur of your Islamic country and became disabled and wounded for your homeland. You gained honor for yourselves and made your countrymen feel both sorrow and pride and exultation. Praise be upon you; the war invalid, and wounded who lost your limbs and health to uphold the Holy Quran. The honorable nation of Iran and great Islam would never forget you, dearest ones. Shame on the treacherous Pahlavi regime and the international criminals who made our nation mourn for the loss of their beloved ones, and who, in this way, earned God's eternal course. I wish the members of the United Nations and the Security Council were here now to watch you war invalid and to see the evidence of the crimes of the United States and its allies here in this country and then to issue decree against them [U.S.]. I wish the castle dwellers could observe how the miserable live, and stop inciting the United States to commit further crimes and cause the disgrace of the international bodies and the Security Council. Praise be upon the wounded and invalid brothers and sisters who bravely stood up to the tyrants for the truth and victory and made our nation proud in the world. I hereby offer you my appreciation, thanks and sincere invocations, and ask I God for health, prosperity and welfare for you sons of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 30, 1979 [Dey 9, 1358 AHS / Safar 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The characteristics of a president

Audience: The students of Tehran Tecnicum, and the families of the martyrs of Sardasht

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The presidential elections and the president's characteristics

My greetings to you, young men and women who at this juncture of time, came here for a significant cause and for a solution. The steps you have taken have been successful and despite the hardships which you and our nation have gone through, you have come out victorious. And I hope, through your reliance on Allah and your unity, you will resolve the obstacles on the next stages which are more crucial. The satanic forces are prepared not to let you proceed your way. From the very outset, they created obstacles on your way. They were determined to create hardships on your way. They still have not stopped their vicious plans against you. Neither will they stop later. You, young men and women and all layers of our nation, should proceed vigilantly. You have decided to be the captain of your own ship and have been, thank God, successful so far. Nobody may impose anything over you, and you are free to determine your destiny. I hope you will go through these electoral stages with more thought, prudence and enlightenment.

And you are to elect from among the candidates the one who has these characteristics: he should be more devoted to Islam than others; he should have a good record; he should not be inclined towards the East or West; he should observe the Islamic rules and decrees; he should be nationalistic; he should be sympathetic towards the nation; he should be a servant to his nation; he should not have had any position in the last regime; he should be affiliated with the foreigners; and he should be one of you. You are free to elect such a person as president. I am not supposed to select anybody for this position. What I will do is to tell you the characteristics of the president and those of the future representatives of the consultative assembly. You have to carry out the election yourselves. However, you should avoid discord and dispersion. You should be careful about the record of the candidates both prior to the revolution and after it. You should observe their activities after the revolution. After you have observed the required features in a person and

have become content that he can fill this position and can manage the country in accordance with God's law, elect him for the presidency. Such a candidate should believe in Islam and in the Islamic rules. He should be obedient to the constitution as well. He should be loyal to Article 110 which deals with *wilayat-e faqih*. You should persuade others, as well, to elect such a candidate; avoid dispersion. If you are indifferent to such a great issue or if you are divided in your group concerning your votes, then an incompetent man would be elected as the president. You should try hard to avoid voting for a person who is not qualified. Otherwise, you would risk your fate and that of the Muslims. I hope, relying on God, you will carry out this important plan. I ask God for the health, success and welfare of our nation. They have told me some of the relatives of the martyrs of Sardasht are here among you. I give them my condolences. I sympathize with the Iranian nation. May God bless your martyrs and provide you with sobriety, and our nation and Islam with grandeur.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: December 30, 1979 [Dey 9, 1358 AHS / Safar 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The conditions for serving Islam at the present time

Audience: The personnel of the air force of the Hurr military base; the personnel of the gendarmerie air force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The nations' tasks vis-à-vis the conspiracies

I ask the Blessed and Exalted God for the prosperity and welfare of the honorable nation of Iran and I hope all of us can be true guards of Islam. You, brothers, should realize that if we are under the protection of Islam and Holy Quran and under the banner of monotheism, we can easily defeat the satanic forces. But the point at issue is how we can be under the banner of Islam and what the conditions are for us to be accepted by Islam. What could we do so that we would be accepted by Islam? How could we serve Islam? What should our military forces, gendarmerie, police force, the Islamic guards do now that we are confronted with universal Satanic forces? How could our nation be invulnerable vis-à-vis these stream of foreign conspiracies against us? Any community, if divided, is vulnerable; they would suffer from within. Now there are thirty-five million of us here in this country. If there were different parties among us and if we were divided and if there were no cohesion among us whatsoever, we would easily get hurt. Suppose the number of our military forces and gendarmerie and police forces and the revolutionary guards were more than five million, we could go nowhere if these forces were divided. It is like the individual drops of rains: each drop can do nothing, but the collection of them could bring about an immense force; they could even be devastating at times. The rivers could ruin a whole city. The drops, divided, could do nothing, however.

The danger of disintegration from within

If there were disunity among the members of a society, the result would be devastating. If there were division and dispersion among our military and disciplinary forces, the corruption and disintegration would start from within. Instead of defending the country, these forces would quarrel with one another. In such cases there would not be any need for a foreign force to interfere. The forces would be demolished from inside. It will decay like a

rotten melon. This rule applies to the nation as well. If our 35 million people were divided into the groups of one million each, we would have 35 different groupings. These would be vulnerable. There is no need for the foreign forces to defeat us. We would get ruined from within.

Creating turmoils to make the unity vanish

Our population of thirty-five million was united and could break the backbone of a superpower and expelled their agent from this country forever. We did not suffer any blow due to the fact that we stayed united. Our adversaries observed that our unity was the secret behind our success. Now they want to upset this unity and integration. They have agents everywhere: in the army, in gendarmerie, in the police forces, in the revolutionary guard garrisons, in the universities and in the bazaar. They plan to make us decay from within: no assault is needed from outside. "Let these forces tear each other up from inside", they contend. They have created turmoil everywhere to make this unity vanish.

A tug of war and discord which cause servility

Our youth have developed some complexes during the last regime. Now, the agitators stimulate these complexes. In this way, they create turmoils. A group of them are active in the army now. How could they do it? It is simple: let the inferiors not obey the superiors. When they did not obey, there would not be any place for order; there would be no cohesion. Then the decay starts. There is no need for foreign intervention. We would decay from inside. They have done the same in the gendarmerie. Suddenly, you would notice that there is disorder and chaos in a force which is supposed to be cohesive. Then the army would disintegrate from within. The same rule applies to the gendarmerie and other forces. These activities are done through plots. In the past, it was not common for a soldier to disobey his officer. Now, it has become prevalent. Now that you have expelled a plunderous force out of your country, bring about an order. Your nation would benefit from this order. But they have started harming one another. The division among our armed forces will lead them to destruction. Your adversaries are smoking their cigars and watching you engage in tug of war with one another. When the inferiors do not obey the superiors, disorder is created.

The newly-founded political parties

As they say, there are two-hundred political parties now established in Iran after the revolution. The number two hundred is significant in that it

conveys disunity among our population. This division among these groups entails a division in our population of thirty-five million. Your unity brought about your success. But your disunity would bring failure and this fact is known to those agitators who try to destroy us. They agitate the different political parties to be antagonistic towards one another. One accuses the other of something and a third party tries to weaken the others. I assume the establishment of different political parties has been a plot carried out by the foreigners. However, the political parties abroad are different from ours. They would do nothing against their national interests. But these parties, when formed in Iran, are hazardous to the national interest. These political parties do nothing in Iran except for the fact that they hurt one another.

Cohesion and unity under the aegis of brotherhood

This country would have benefited a lot more if these differing political parties had stayed united. In our country, however, education and training should be based on divine rules. We should obey what we are told religiously. Now they are creating different political parties in defiance of our Islamic teachings. The Holy Quran states: *The believers are but brethren.*¹ There is nothing more than brotherhood among the believers. This is because if we considered nothing except for our brotherhood, then unity naturally would follow. The Holy Quran insists that the believers be all brethren. The Muslims all over the world would be invulnerable if they carried out this principle of brotherhood. There are one billion Muslims scattered all over the world who are under the domination of say, two hundred and fifty million non-Muslims. If these Muslims had considered this Quranic principle and had stayed united, they would have suffered no calamity. Of course, by brotherhood it is not meant that I carry out a forbidden act and you do the same thing. Imam Ali (a), too, was a brother to all. He was a genuine Muslim. Aqil was Imam Ali's brother. Could Aqil have said: "Since we are brothers, I won't obey you?" This was against the principle of brotherhood. Brotherhood is the close cooperation among Muslims to carry out plans of common interest. This principle was originally created to bring about unity and Muslims to advance with their voices in unison.

Brotherhood based on discipline and order

Suppose in our gendarmerie a group of lower ranks stood firm against the upper ranks, defying them and telling them they would not listen to their

¹ Quran 49: 10.

orders. Such an institution would collapse very easily. It cannot work and carry out God's commands. These groups cannot be brothers to each other. They are considered brothers only if they supported one another for a common objective. They support one another if they honored the ranks that the army has given them. In the same way, people should be brothers to one another. They are brothers if they cooperated to save their country. A younger brother then should obey the older one for the same objective. The chief should be their brother in that they should work for the same aim. The orders issued by the elder brother to the younger one are a blessing by itself. In the army, the lower ranks should obey the higher ones under all circumstances.

Unity in objective

If the objective of all is the same, such a community is united. In a united, classless community every one is in his position, working for the general good. Those who are in the army should keep up their discipline; every low ranking member should obey the orders of the upper ones. We, too, who are religious scholars, should keep the discipline within ourselves. The officials in our offices should obey the orders issued by the elders. All should work for a common objective. They should work for common goals. By cohesion is not meant that two persons physically stick together. Rather, it means cooperation among individuals. If it is so, then that society is unified. And if the order is not taken seriously, then unity vanishes. If you stop obeying the above and of the higher rank discriminates against you, this cohesion is lost. In a united and unified society each person carries out his or her tasks properly.

Disorder is in contrast with a unified society

Those agitators who enter the army, the gendarmerie, the police department, the societies and the universities and claim that they are satanic forces and are planning to disturb our unity. They want to make us decay from within. We should be alert and our youth should be given the right information.

Your supervisors should teach you the real meaning of a unified community and let you know that by such a community is not meant chaos and disorder. Rather by a unified community is meant a society in which all members work together closely so that the community would not be vulnerable. In such a community, there are certain ranks: some are juniors and some are seniors. If the lower ranks would defy the upper ones, then

chaos would prevail. It is lawlessness to ignore ranks. It would be obstinacy. And obstinacy is in contrast with a unified community. Disobedience is inconsistent with unity. If you teach our young soldiers not to obey the superiors, you would never have a unified, classless society. When there is no order and where everybody is obstinate, then there will be no cohesion. Could you force each one of a hundred million unruly mules to do one particular task, i.e. one hundred million different tasks? If no order prevails in the populace, the people will create a mayhem.

The necessity of order to keep the system

In giving orders, Imam Ali (a) advised everybody to have discipline. Order is not for gendarmerie, army or the like only. Order should be considered in all phases of our society. If this order is removed, the society is destroyed. Keeping the system in good order is a religious obligation. Those who propagate the wrong notion that order and discipline and hierarchy should be put aside are working against the Holy Quran. They are acting against Islam. They are damaging the interests of their country. The agitators are ridiculing of us, saying they have cheated us. They say they are rejoicing because they could make us fight and quarrel among ourselves.

The eradication freedom using the slogan of offering freedom

In our newspapers, nowadays, these are eye-catching news items of one person hurling insults at another and vice-versa. Now that there is freedom of speech, should everyone be allowed to say or do what he/she wants and spread words that this country is in chaos and that no system exists in it? Is this freedom? Does this type of freedom prevail in those countries which have always exploited us? If freedom were interpreted in this way, cohesion would have never appeared in those societies. They would never have this civilization. Our adversaries are using the name "freedom" in order to deceive you and deprive you of freedom. They know what they are doing. They tell you that since you have brought about this revolution then you are free to attack one another in your newspapers. They want to inculcate in you the wrong concepts of freedom and take away from you the right one.

Tidings of victory

The scientist, thinkers, clerics, orators, army chiefs and gendarmerie chiefs should inform people. They should warn our youth that they are being deceived, and that they are treading the path of their enemies. I hope God would awaken us to perform our religious tasks. I give you the tidings of

victory since we are working for God. Anybody who works for God would experience no failure. We are victorious even if we are killed. Imam Husayn was killed, but was he defeated? Now his banner is up and there is no Yazid any more. No "Yazid" can ever exist [in Iran], God willing.

Speech

Date: December 31, 1979 [Dey 10, 1358 AHS / Safar 11, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The task of the ulama in their combat against unbelief

Audience: The clerics from Urmiyeh

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

The danger of the failure and ill-repute of our religious school

If we look at the history of Islam, we will find out that the Great Prophet (s) of Islam suffered some defeat in some holy wars. In Mecca, he, at times, lived isolation unable to carry out any of his obligations. And sometimes he was confined to that cave for a long time. When he came to Medina he could advance the movement, of course, but he faced defeat at some wars.

Imam Ali (a), too, was defeated in his war against Muawiyah. In fact, his ignorant army chiefs caused his failure. Imam Husayn (a), too, was defeated and martyred. But they had the final victory. Their religious school did not suffer even if they had casualties. They made their enemies retreat. They defeated Muawiyah, who had in mind to turn Islam into a great empire of the type during the era of the pre-Islamic ignorance. Yazid and his like were buried in history forever, earning the curses of people eternally. God's curses are on them forever. However, our great leaders of Islam kept their holy would like to meet with defeat insuch the same way that the holy combatants at the outset of Islam suffered. In this way, this Islamic movement will progress and our dignity will be preserved. Now our situation is different. Presently we claim that we have established an Islamic order. If we fail and if our enemies spread the rumor that the Islamic Republic is another despotic order like the previous regime, then our religious school will suffer a lot. If one of our revolutionary courts does something wrong, then our adversaries of clerics and then to Islam as such. Since they are against Islam, they will say Islam has been like this from the start. They will conclude that Islam is like other despotic regimes.

An unforgivable sin and eternal disgrace

It is not the case that my failure will be attributed to me alone. You, too, share that defeat. Then they (the enemies) will spread the word that so and so has been defeated. Or, if I have committed a misdeed, they will asseverate that so and so has erred. They attribute my failure or yours to the whole of Islam. They oppose the principles of Islam and they employ pens to oppose Islam. They have decided to make us deteriorate from inside and eventually destroy us. If we were destroyed but our school remained safe, we would not worry. However, their goal is to damage our school. And this has created a great responsibility and an onerous task for all of us. If, God forbid, anyone of us commits offense, it will be unamendable. If a Friday prayer Imam misuses his position and goes after his vested interests, and if in the revolutionary courts somebody does something wrong, or somebody deliberately carries out a misdeed in the committees then the our enemies would find pretext to use their pernicious pens to attack the very base of the movement, which is Islam itself. If this happens then we will have committed an eternally unforgivable sin. If a sin is done by somebody against himself, or somebody pollutes himself that is pardonable to God. But God would not pardon anybody if he does anything wrong against Islam. Then it is a disgrace for the whole society of the clerics abroad, which can never be atoned for.

The combat of Islam against blasphemy and the *ulama's* heavy responsibilities

The tasks of the religious scholars are heavier than those at any time in the past. Since the inception of Islam, the clerics have not found themselves in similar conditions. When Imam Ali (*a*) was engaged in the war of Khandaq, an incident occurred which needed a lot of energy to correct. If, God forbid, Imam had shown weakness on that day, his infirmity would have been unpardonable. However, since he was not a weak man of, he succeeded. His stroke on that day was superior to the prayers of all mankind and jinn. Today, too, our Islam is facing the entire world of unbelief. Now you and I are not the issue; neither is the whole Iranian nation.

Rather, it is Islam which is at stake. It is the battle between Islam and unbelief. In this combat all of us are responsible. However, the *ulama* are more responsible. It is because they are the first guardians of Islam.

Do not try to shun your tasks. This great responsibility is not over the shoulders of you gentlemen from Urmiyeh, Azarbayjan, and Qum and

Tehran only; rather, it lies on the shoulders of all the class of clerics and the whole nation. Its weight is more on the shoulders of the clerics, however.

The clerics' deviation is the major danger for Islam

The clerics should think. They should evaluate themselves. When a man is alone at home, he should assess the series of deeds he has done during that day; he should contemplate in private between himself and God. Everybody should weigh their daily activities, especially the clerics. This class of society bears more burden than other classes of society. If, God forbid, they deviated from the right course, the face of Islam would be blemished. Let us perform our duties in the best way possible.

Ask God to keep us away from digression. Let our nation pray for the *ulama* not to commit any faux pas since their blunders and errors are interpreted as those of Islam. All of us are responsible. However, your responsibilities are heavier than those of others. You should observe the rules more prudently with reference to the Islamic position you are in. Care more for the people. Train our society in the best way possible. Anyone whose range of influence is wider has a greater responsibility.

Heavy responsibilities at the most crucial juncture history

Implore God to grant you, the nation and us the ability to fulfill great responsibility so that we can at least face God and the people with dignity. However, they may not be able to keep this dignity before God. We are all facing death it is inevitably evident that all of us will pass away. All of us will meet our end and we are on our way towards it. My departure from this world is nigh; because you are younger yours will come later. It is not clear when. However, death will not discriminate against anybody, either young or old. All of us will depart from this world. Try to perform your tasks in such a way that the angel of death would be amicable when he comes to see you. Endeavor so that God will not shut the gate of His blessings. Try to do good to others and close down the door of rage. Now we are living at a critical era of our history. We should avoid dispersion and division. God is watching over us. All of us are being watched: *And Allah encompasses them on every side.*¹ God is watchful. When your hearts meet with failures, God knows. Your eye sight is being watched by God. God is watching your tongue. Note that this is a great transient world and you are accountable to God. Now, the issue is not your performing sinful acts. The issue is not merely your accountability toward God. The issue is that today is different from the past.

¹ Quran 85: 20.

At the time of the arrogance (the previous regime) if a person, either a clergy or non-clergy, performed something wrong, he was accused of being arrogant. He might even be said to be inclined towards SAVAK (Shah's horrendous secret police); but now such blunders would blemish the face of Islam.

Yesterday's and today's image of the clerics

At those times the clergy were meek. And a meek countenance is a beloved countenance. In that regime the meeker you were the more beloved you looked. However, today's countenance is not the countenance of meekness and by meekness you would not be beloved. The fact is that if these agitators got the power, they would be like their predecessors. Therefore, we have a responsibility towards Islam. We are responsible for Muslims as well. We are responsible for the clerics. The more influential you are the more responsible you are. You should try to hand down Islam to your offsprings in a good way. Do not blemish it. Islam is full of light. Do not darken it.

The danger of ill-fame for Islam

If we are defeated today, we will stay defeated forever. At one time, we used to say that arrogance was dominant and were looking for an Islamic government. This was what we wished for. The nation, too, shouted for an Islamic government. But now, God forbid, if we failed due to the wrong doings of some of us, or of those of the political parties, and if we were pitted against with one another, we would destroy Islam. And the foreign powers are waiting for such a moment. They have all the media propagation against us. We, as a poor nation, had one weapon, and that was our faith. And this sole weapon might be taken from us.

In some, so-called Muslim, countries, the principles of Islam have not been put in to use. An Islamic government is unique in that justice is employed by it. So we claim, and we are right in our claiming, that these so-called Muslim countries are not Muslim states at all. Now if we do something wrong in our government, the people of the world would claim that Iran is not a Muslim country because they pretend to be Muslims, but their behavior shows something else. And this is the behavior of the hypocrites. At the outset of Islam, there were a group of hypocrites whose actions were different from their beliefs. They pretended to be Muslims when they were not.

Islam is a divine trust in the hands of the *ulama*'

We claim we are Muslim clerics. Therefore, we should endeavor to deserve such a title. We should not call vainglorious ourselves good and consider other as bad. When we claim that it is our task to spread the principles of Islam, that we want to strengthen the principles of Islam, that we love Islam and that we are familiar with the Islamic principles, we have to disseminate the Islamic laws. Is it not hypocrisy on our part to behave, God forbid, constitution to what we claim that we have an absolute faith in Islam, that we believe in all its principle and that we are faithful and righteous? pretend to be pious when we are not? Will we not be like Abu Sufyan, the hypocrite? He used to preach the faith, which he never had. You and I are saying you are Muslims, but if we act otherwise, then we are hypocrites. You claim that you are Muslims and declare your absolute faith but you are hypocrites. What is important is that Islam is in our hands. It is God's trust in our hands. We have to pass it on to our offsprings as it truly is. We must present Islam to the world as it truly is. We should not depict Islam abroad any other way; we should present it the way it truly is. It makes no difference whether one is young seminarian or novice who has just entered the [theological] school. We ourselves should not blemish Islam through our wrong actions student and you, mature Islamic scholars, who are working at the mosques. Of course, your tasks as mature clerics are more than those of that of a simple seminary student like me. All are responsible but responsibilities vary between light and heavy according to variations among people and the differences in the extent of their understanding. Act in a way that Islam or the Holy Quran will be pleased with us. Do not do anything which is contrary to the Holy Quran. In that case the Holy Quran would ask you why you did or are doing something that you put Islam in a bad light before the people.

Everybody is extremely prudent

Be extremely prudent; this is perilous position you are in. This turban puts you in danger. Likewise, these beards jeopardize your position. Save yourselves away from dangers; protect yourselves. Everybody should also be aware. Islam is not just for the clerics; it belongs to all. God has endowed all of us with this trust. Those of you who work as the Islamic guards are guarding Islam, not the arrogance. If you act in a way similar to that in the previous regime then people of weak faith will wish the revolution had not taken place so they would not have to put up with the [ill behavior of some] [Islamic] guard. Their statements might be false; nevertheless, such

comments will be made. And under these conditions you have equipped the agitators to make false propaganda against you.

And this issue does not pertain to you and me alone. This applies to the nation. A nation who has voted for an Islamic order should behave accordingly. An Islamic guard, then, is not allowed to behave differently; neither is the businessman. Islam implies order and order is compulsory in all of our activities. We have claimed that we have established an Islamic order and that we have changed an arrogant government into an Islamic one; from the evil regime, we have been transferred into the realm of light, into God; we have emerged out of the satanic rule and stepped into rule of compassion. It is for these reasons that the entire nation voted for [the Islamic republic]. Now, we have to behave in accordance with Islamic rules. If we behave in the manner of the arrogant, then we are hypocrites for sure.

The necessity for the internal transformation

We have to change. The whole nation should undergo a transformation. We should not be merely content with the notion that we moved from arrogance into Islam. We have to transform internally. We have to change and improve our soul. If our soul has been under the satanic domination, now we should liberate ourselves from the evil shackles. We should head from a devilish state into a divine one. And that happens only if we carried out the Islamic standards and criteria. Usury is against Islamic rules. It is a war enjoined by God; as the Quran says, "Take notice of war from God..." Join God in this war. These people [early Muslims] waged a war [against the usurers.]

If the Muslims' bazaars are still in the form that they were at the previous arrogant regime, the traders and businessmen could not claim that they have accepted an Islamic regime. The opposite is true. You are still under the satanic influence.

The internal conflicts are more dangerous than foreign military assaults

This is an issue that applies to all; first, we have to face it and then all of you should follow suit. First, we are responsible; we clerics, and then you are responsible. Think of Islam and do not let it get hurt by us. Islam will get hurt in the hands of enemies, but if we stayed united it would be invulnerable. However, if we quarreled with one another or if we trespassed the Islamic codes and violated God's commands, we will get harmed. These conflicts and feuds would disintegrate us from within. All those agitators who plundered the assets of this nation now are plotting and are aware of our

internal conditions. Never be frightened of a military intervention. It would be to our benefit if they carried out military assaults or economic sanctions against us. If they do so, we will work harder. We should not bother our external enemies; rather, we should fear our internal foes, i.e. our feuds, disagreements and conflicts. If I curse you and, God forbid you curse me, the order will be hampered. If different political parties stood face to face, and the number of these parties is increasing each day, they would render our cooperation null and void. However, if they stood united and worked for God, and if they carried out their daily functions as grocers, or as clergies, they would succeed. But the political parties which are established in Iran are antagonistic towards one another, each one curses his friend. This is exactly what our enemies are after. They like us to increase the number of these parties so that unity would be hurt in this country. When we have differences in our parties, we would also have other problems of greater magnitude: the diversity of languages could be the next issue. All of these are plots. These are the turmoils which are being created for us. They force us to carry out these plans for them. They would benefit from our internal conflicts. May God protect us against these internal conflicts.

May God confirm your actions. May you be successful. I thank you, gentlemem, for having come to this humble house of mine.

Speech

Date: December 31, 1979 [Dey 10, 1358 AHS / Safar 11, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The American attempt to distract the nation's thoughts from the internal difficulties

Audience: The women from the twelfth of Farvardin Women Institute, no.2 of Kan and a suburbs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The distraction of the nation's thoughts from the conspiracies carried out by internal satans

Whenever I see the resolute and determined women for the victory of this revolution and even ready for martyrdom, I will become assured of a victory.

A nation whose respectable women and resolute men have decided to cooperate together and tread the same path will remain invulnerable. Do not worry about the external losses and injuries. While you are united, nobody would hurt you from outside. Neither military intervention, nor the economic sanctions might hurt you. What they say is only to distract our attention: and they do not seem to be serious. But what would injure us are the internal disturbances. At times, they conspire to attract our attention towards the external threats, two of which are economic sanctions and the military intervention. Then we would be unaware of the internal satanic plots. If we were not threatened from outside and if we concentrated on our internal affairs, we could easily offset the internal turmoils. Examples of such external plots are the threats of the damage that certain groups from England or France might level against us. The same things happen everyday when the United States carries out the threats of economic sanctions and the military intervention one day and then changes their decision by saying that they would take the issue to the United Nations or to the Security Council. Such words are meant to bring forth certain reactions in Iran. They are not able either to carry out economic sanctions against us, nor military interventions. They plan to distract away our thoughts from our internal problems and make us negligent.

Vigilance against internal conspiracies

While carrying about the issues that are going on against our country, our nation should be vigilant against the internal conspiracies. There are many of that going on in the country. One sort is the turmoils that take place daily. They create problems in Azarbayjan, Zahedan and the like. Another kind is those which they create in the villages. One wants the Islamic Republic; the other one asks for something else. There are all sorts of obstacles put on the way of Islam. While they are aware that they cannot possibly win, they bring about these hurdles. The foreigners, too, are planning for military intervention and economic sanctions. They know these are useless, but they might be doing them for other objectives; one of these objectives might be to distract our attention away from our internal turmoils. We should not be negligent and deceived into believing that our internal problems are over.

The selfish desires as the origin for the differences

Since our nation got a relative victory over the expulsion of the foreigners from this country, our enemies have been creating conspiracies. One way for them was to bring about differences. Concerning the essence of the Islamic republic, articles got on the way and speeches were delivered. Then the Assembly of Council Experts was discussed. Then the constitution was being debated. And now they are talking about the president. As I am told, one hundred and twenty candidates have nominated themselves for this position. While they are aware that they are not qualified, their aim is to bring about differences. They want to keep our country busy with these turmoils and forget about the remedies until it collapses forever. Concerning the elections for the Consultative Assembly, hardships are even more. All these tumults are created in order for the Islamic Republic not to materialize. If it is established, the foreigners will be the losers since their interests are curtailed. Thus, our nation should concern itself with these internal commotions. This is because these internal conflicts are the most hazardous. The selfish desires are the origins of these turbulences. People's inclination for grouping and party-making hinders them to work for God.

Solidarity and unity of expression

If our nation desires to free itself from the historic hurdles put on its way and if it wants to be independent, it should not disintegrate into different groupings and divisions. All should stick together. If they are united, our nation shall not perish. If they are united, they will be invulnerable. They would disintegrate only in those situations when they are influenced by their

selfish desires. However, I can observe great changes brought about in our women more than in our men. Women have served Islam more than men at this juncture of time. Men's services are the result of women's cooperation. Men's vigor for doing service increases drastically when they see women are ready to serve their country. In our country, women have tolerated more hardships than men. They have lost their husbands, their sons and their brothers. They have protected Islam with all their might. Most men have sacrificed themselves following the women's example. I hope our nation will continue having this solidarity and I will ask God to guide those people who are staying outside this solidarity. May God grant you longevity and health.

Speech

Date: December 31, 1979 [Dey 10, 1358 AHS / Safar 11, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The nation's way separate from the claimers of nation's partisan—accusing the God's men as being reactionaries

Audience: The enshrouded zealous men from Shahr-e Kurd and Babol

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Taking the religious leaders as paradigms of tolerating hardships

It is a burden on my shoulders when I see people start coming here from the Bakhtiari province and from the north, in this cold weather, to show their sentiments here. I do not know how to compensate for these love and sentiments of yours. Today, I was sent a picture of a young man who has been martyred near the university. He has willed to have his picture sent to me if he gets martyred. I feel greatly indebted to the owner of this picture and the pictures of others who have been martyred. I am burdened by these. But what alleviates these heavy feeling is the fact that we are from God and are heading towards Him: *Surely we are Allah's and to Him we shall surely return.*¹ The route leads to Allah. When you left Bakhtiari to come here, you came for God, not for me: I am irrelevant. And those gentlemen who came here from the north have come on Allah's way; it has been for God. What makes every burden easy is the fact that we are working for God. We are following the examples of our Lord, our leaders and the Infallible ones (a). We are following the examples of the Great Prophet of God. Those great ones, too, suffered a great deal. The hardships they went through might be intolerable for us. We are not strong enough to bear the hardships that the Great Prophet (s) suffered for God. We are but a drop in this limitless ocean. We should do our best to serve Islam. This is Islam; this is the Holy Quran; and this is God on our way.

Who is the reactionary?

Whatever we give on the path of Islam, God and the Holy Quran is an honor. It is the path of truth.. Let the infidels say what they may. Let them call you reactionaries. Let those who turned back on their nation and worked as mercenaries for the foreigners, both east and west, call you, who are

¹ Quran 2: 156.

working for your independence, reactionaries. The world should judge whether we are allowed to call reactionary a nation which has expelled the enemies from its country and desires to secure its own independence or to call reactionary those who are cooperating with traitors and are delivering lectures in their schools and making propaganda against the Iranian nation. Which ones are reactionary: those who want to deprive the nation of their freedom and of their independence, or those who try to free themselves from tyrannies? Is the one, who tries to separate oneself from both east and west and to free one's nation, reactionary or the one who, from the outset, has worked for the foreigner, both east and west?

Under the people's name but at the service of the foreigners

Let our enemies say what they may. You have selected God's path. Your way is clear. Your way is God's path. It is the way of the prophets. These agitators consider the prophets as reactionary. They even consider the Holy Quran as reactionary. The main issue is that they are working for the foreigners. Our bright youth should ask these people what their ideas are. If you are working for the people why are you hindering the farmers from cultivating lands? Why are you making trouble for their factories? Why do you set fire on the harvest of a family who has worked one whole year to reap? It is better to account for your work now that you say you are working for the people. These are "working" for people. But, in fact, you are serving the enemies.

Once again I thank you, young men and elderly people, and you, children, who, despite the severe weather conditions, came here to meet me. I also thank those disabled ones who tolerated a lot of hardships to come here. And I am obliged towards those who sent me their messages through you. I thank you, all and I pray for you. I am always at your service. I ask God for your prosperity. May you prosper both here and in the hereafter.

May God's peace and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: January 1, 1980 [Dey 11, 1358 AHS / Safar 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Long way to final victory; miscellaneous tricks and conspiracies

Audience: The families of the martyrs Shiraz, Tehran and social workers and the personnel of Hepco Company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The continuity of the movement and struggles against the roots of colonialism

Every day we face mothers have lost their sons father who have lost their ones the disabled and wounded and all sorts of hardships which the previous regime has created for us. Every day we feel terribly sorry concerning these incidents, but condole ourselves thinking that the nation resembles the crusaders at the outset of Islam. Next to the Great Prophet (s) and Imam Ali (a) a lot of young men were martyred but they saved Islam. Today, too, when Islam is facing infidelity, our great men are defending Islam bravely. Not only men, but women and children are sacrificing their lives for Islam. Today we are threatened by the great satans who have not stopped conspiring against us. They are planning to sow internal turmoils. Those external threats such as military intervention or economic sanctions are not worth paying attention to. However, the internal conspiracies which are created by the agents of superpowers, especially of the United States, are still fresh and have not been defeated yet. Our nation defeated one of the internal agents, headed by Muhammad-Rida. He and his colleagues were expelled from Iran, their hands curtailed were driven out of Iran. The hands of foreign criminals who were apparent were served. But there are still extensive conspiracies being hatched against us by the underground agents of those powers. Therefore, our nation should not think yet that they have got the final victory. Now, we still have a long way to go. We should not rest till all these conspiracies are rooted out. You have to continue with this movement which you have bravely started. And I hope that we the radiance and light shining in the hearts of the children of Islam and the right way they have found, and now that they have understood who their enemies and friends are and who the conspirators are. You will embrace victory.

The Revolution of the pure and self-sacrificing people

The important issue here is for our young men, who are working in different places of this country, either at the committees or at the police departments, to realize the fact that we owe our victory to Islam. Your chanting of "God is Great" and people's asking for martyrdom have brought about this victory. Those fathers who have lost their sons are proud of their sons' being martyred. Some mothers have lost their sons, but are willing for their other sons to get martyred. This is because your movement has been of Islamic nature. If it were a non-Islamic movement, nobody would volunteer to sacrifice his life. Our men and women are ready to sacrifice their children because the movement has been Islamic. And when you were trying to advance the movement, nobody cared for his or her own safety. You were victorious because you worked for Allah. You gained a victory which has been unique in the history of mankind.

Nearly all revolutions in the world have been initiated by either a military group, or by a political party affiliated with the military or by a person assisted by foreign countries. A good example is the coup d'etat recently carried out in Afghanistan by a man who calls himself a communist and who has been one of the communist leaders. This military coup took place with the aid of Russian troops. However, it is not yet certain if they could succeed. The Afghan nation has risen up but all the coups which have occurred there have been military and have been staged by the foreigners. The same generalizations apply to other coups. In other revolutions, too, the impetus came from the military and not from people. You will never find a revolution in the world which has been brought about through the people themselves and with no reliance on military forces or a foreign power, and which had had no military equipment or training. In our revolution, these common people, and the university and seminary students, the businessmen, the farmers and the factory workers, all of whom lacked both military training and equipment all cooperated with one another and metamorphosed a materialistic, worldly man into a spiritual, divine one. Those revolutions were equipped with all sorts of military equipment and were assisted by the superpowers of the day; however, you brought about your revolution through your reliance on God. You should, therefore, keep the secret of your progress alive.

The necessity for keeping the secret of your victory

You should keep the secret behind your victory if you desire that this victory could continue, and that an Islamic country could be established.

Your faith and your indifference towards worldly affairs made you succeed. In those days when you were chanting slogans in favor of an Islamic state, you were not thinking of your dresses, your homes or your conditions in life. If you had cared about these things, you would have never succeeded. You forgot about your personal life and were focusing on Islam. You had suffered a lot from the injustices and tyrannies in the past. You were looking for divine justice. Then you worked hard on your common objective. If we had been totally successful, we would have sat deliberating on our future reconstructions. However, our struggles are not over yet. Today resembles those early days of our revolution when you chanted slogans on the streets. Now that feature of the revolution has lost its color, but you are face to face with a huge superpower and its allies.

The victory of our revolution and the perilous bottlenecks

If we now stopped thinking of our revolution and each one of us went doing our own private businesses, the revolution would be stuck. It would regress. Your enemies would conspire together. Then, you too would scatter, thinking of the revolution no more. In those days you were united and nobody could harm you. Now, the satanic forces are plotting against you. If you discontinued taking the necessary precautions, they would attack you. You are half of the way now. If you had already reached the final stage of your revolution, you would have been safe. But now you are only halfway through. A caravan which has passed one bottleneck successfully should not think that everything is safe. They might encounter some highwaymen at succeeding bottlenecks and lose what they have. They would remain safe, however, if they stayed highly alert in passing the other bottlenecks. Now you have passed one bottleneck which was the monarchy; but there still other bottlenecks and obstacles along your way. If you steadfastly maintain the same zeal and enthusiasm you will be successful in traversing all the bottlenecks, you would be successful. Today, what is of utmost importance is to totally eliminate discord.

The step-by-step diplomacy against Islam

Those who do not wish that this Islamic Republic be established in Iran and who received blows from our nation know well that the source of these blows was Islam. Now they are using a step-by-step diplomacy to hinder our movement. At first, they opposed the use of the adjective "Islamic" with the word "republic." Then, they were reluctant to vote for such a state. Then they made troubles for the Assembly of Experts. Now that you want to elect your

president, they are still making troubles. Later, they would create other problems for us when we want to hold elections for our representatives of the Consultative Assembly. They refuse to let an Islamic republic get established in this country, because they have suffered several blows from Islam. They have planned step-by-step strategies to oppose Islam. They plan to stop the election of a devoted, Muslim and sympathetic president who has no affiliation with either east or west. You progressed in your movement because you put aside your personal affairs and worked wholeheartedly for your Islam. Now we should continue moving this way until it is established, God willing.

The danger of grouping and sowing discord

The other issue our adversaries are following very serious is their attempt to divide us and bring about different groupings. They want to deprive us of the unity we had in which everybody was working for God. Any nation who suffers from lack of unity will, sooner or later, disintegrate. They are then vulnerable. If the population of a city or a province were not united and struggled against each other, they would vanish. The more united they are, the less vulnerable they will be. In our movement, this unity was superb. Nobody thought of the possible feud they might have had with others. All were united and asking for a unified objective. If you had in Tehran you would have heard the same slogans that your fellow country men were hearing in other parts of this country. The Tehranis were after the same thing as Abadanis. The same was true with people from Bandar Abbas and Mashhad. All our people were united. You had created a unified community. Two things hurt your enemies: one was Islam; the other was your unity. Now, they are using their pens and their propaganda to deprive us of our Islam. They want to hinder Islam from taking roots in this country. Then they are planning to deprive you of your unity and cohesion. They want to divide us. They have specific plans against this unity. They plan to take away your solidarity.

The division stratagems of the armies of Satan

The battalion of Satan and the army of Iblis have gone to and exist in Iran are still. They have created a lot of hubbub to sow discord. These evil forces are affiliated to the Great Satan. We ascribe any disturbances inside this land to these satanic elements. They plan to antagonize the Islamic Republic. They spread destructive rumors among our citizens and villages alike. They use different techniques to deceive these simple-hearted

Muslims. Those are satans and these are decent human beings. They deceive these simple-hearted, naïve Muslims under the pretext of Islam. They scatter propaganda leaflets among these Muslims. Their main objective is to divide the layers of our community. They disseminate unfounded rumors among the university students, farmers, businessmen, and factory workers. They carry out different types of pernicious acts to achieve their vicious ends. In the cities all over the country, they like to bring about divisions of all sorts. The people from the bazaar have befriended with university students who had cooperated a lot for this revolution. Now these devils are trying to divide them. We should wait and see to what degree is our nation vigilant. Has our nation deciphered the tricks of these evil doers? Has our nation found out about their plots? We are obliged to inform everybody of these conspiracies. This should be done more by our religious experts, orators, intellectuals, and the writers. Others, too, have got to inform the youth. Everybody should know that these evil-doers are liars. They use Islam to deceive others. Thus, we should always consider two issues: preserving our unity and Islamic direction heading towards Islam.

Rebellion and aggression or the breach of pledge against Islam

Another issue which is of main concern to these Satanic forces is how our government officials, the nation the revolutionary guards, the committee members, the judges, the army men play their roles. They are curious to know if we are act upon the Islamic standards or not. Our revolution is a transformation of the regime of arrogance into a regime of Islam and justice. We should not carry out improper acts in the name of Islam. It is an Islamic revolution. The revolutions elsewhere were non-Islamic in nature. Therefore, they were followed by all sorts of corruptions. But our revolution is an Islamic one. All of you have voted for an Islamic state. Of course, a few did not vote for it. But our Islamic republic won the vote. Therefore, they are obliged to accept it. This republic is accepted by our nation. Therefore, they should be loyal to it; they should not betray their obligation. Now you have entered into a contract with Islam. All of us are involved for Islam. All of us have sworn allegiance to Islam. Our allegiance means we want the Islamic republic because we have voted for it and we have sworn allegiance to it. If you have accepted it but do not act upon its regulations and laws you have broken your allegiance; it is a breach of contract. Every act of yours should be based on Islam. If you want to confiscate anybody's wealth and possessions, you should act in accordance with the Islamic laws. If you illegally confiscate anybody's wealth you have broken your allegiance. If a

judge cannot prove that one has become wealthy through aggression and then illegally confiscates his possession, he has broken his allegiance to Islam. If one meter of anybody's land is confiscated irrespective of the Islamic laws, the allegiance to Islam is broken. If anybody carries out an act of injustice against somebody else, he has broken his allegiance to Islam. Every act of ours should be based on Islam. You cannot camouflage an arrogant act with an Islamic one. We are Muslims, not the arrogant ones. We should not be aggressive towards people. The revolutionary guards are not allowed to hurt people. Neither is a policeman allowed to hurt others. The courts should not issue un-Islamic verdicts. Every act of ours should be based on the Islamic regulations.

The incorruptibility of the Islamic community

If everything becomes Islamic in a community, it will never degenerate; neither will it decay. On the contrary, a chaotic society will disintegrate very easily. The standards should be Islamic and everything should be carried out systematically. It is an Islamic community; therefore, our rules should be Islamic. In an Islamic community, only the rule of law dominates everything. At the time of the Great Prophet (s), too, law was the dominant factor. The Prophet (s) was the administrator of law. At the time of Imam Ali (a), too, the community was law-governed. Now everywhere, the laws should govern. That is to say, God should govern; God is the law. There is but one ruler and that is God. The law is divine law, and God execute it. We will act only upon these rules.

The Great Prophet (s) was at the top of all affairs in this world but God addressed him, saying "If you carry out anything against what I have said, I would serve the artery the heart."¹ The Prophet (s) had to carry out what he was told by God. He was just an administrator. It is clear that the Prophet (s) could not have done anything wrong. This statement is only a warning to people so that they would not trespass the Islamic laws. God warns the first person in the world so that others would get the message. If the Prophet (s) is under scrutiny, so are people. If we break the Islamic laws, God will be tolerant only for a limited amount of time. But if it is prolonged, we do not know what will happen. Now, we are protesting against the aggressions of the United States. They have broken the Universal laws. We do not want to be like those aggressors in breaking the divine laws, however. If we did so we would be deprived of God's blessings. God then would make for us degenerate and decay one by one. Let us pray God to let us be the genuine

¹ Referring to Verses 44-47 of *surah al-Haqq*.

followers of Islam. May God protect you all. Good luck. I once again thank you for your coming here in this cold weather. I hope that all of you, sisters and brothers, will be prosperous and healthy.

Speech

Date: January 1, 1980 [Dey 11, 1358 AHS / Safar 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Riot and disturbance in Azarbayjan; the coalition of the anti-revolutionary groups in Tabriz

Audience: Azarbayjani women

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Riot and disturbances in Azarbayjan

The foreigners are not familiar with the nature of the chivalrous people of Tabriz and the condition of Azarbayjan and do not know that these people have always been the supporters of Islam and Iran. However, these, riots and disturbances create a wrong impression on the minds of the foreigners. But the fact is that there are a bunch of rioters who once in a while come together on a spot and start disturbances. They bring disgrace on our Azarbayjani population in this way. These agitators would go to Azarbayjan villages and deceptively goad the villagers into rioting. However, these simple-hearted people are not aware of the plans behind the scene. The agitators do things which are against Islam so that the ill fame then will fall on the Azarbayjanis.

From the very start of our revolution we have recognized these agitators and rioters. They hate Islam, and from the outset they have been trying hard to stop the establishment of an Islamic Republic in Iran. You clearly saw that they stopped people from voting for such a republic. Even some of the vote-boxes were set afire and people were threatened with weapons not to vote. Thus, they have systematically opposed the Islamic Revolution. They are still our harsh opponents. The reason for their opposition is crystal-clear: They are the remnants of the deposed Shah and those who were expelled from Iran. They have been badly hurt by Islam. Therefore, they are unwilling to let Islam flourish in Iran. Now it is up to our Azarbayjani youth and gentlemen to remove this kind of enmity towards Islam.

Azarbayjanis have always been with the movements

Azarbayjanis have always been the protectors of Islam, and have been pioneers in the issues raised in this country. They have always stood from against injustices. In their attempts to establish a constitutional regime in

Iran, Sattar Khan and Baqir Khan carried out a lot of courageous acts.¹ Khiyabani,² another Azarbayjani, performed heroic feats, too. During our time, the movement against Rida Khan started with the Azarbayjanis. Mirza Sadiq Aqa,³ and Angajee,⁴ together with other religious leaders, opposed despotism. They were sent on exile for a long time. They were either sent to Sonqor or Saqqez. Azarbayjan has always been the forerunner in its opposition against the agitators, and in the advancement of Islam. Then a bunch of rioters, rascals and agitators come together and established a political party called Furqan,⁵ who assassinate Mr. Mutahhari and Mr. Qazi, and another such a belligerent group called "the communist people's guerrillas." These groups are repelled by Islam and by the Islamic Republic. These groups set fire on the places where Muslims gather to worship God. They have set the place for congregational prayers afire, they have assaulted and injured the worshippers. The mental status of these agitators is clear. One's actions always depict his spiritual conditions. Their assaults against people's place of worship show their state of mind and their ideas. Azarbayjanis now should once again stand strong against plots to blemish their reputation. They should exonerate their names from libelous slander which are irrelevant to Islam. These agitators are doing their best to bring calamity and ill-fame for the Azarbayjanis. This is a great issue for Azarbayjanis. These brave people have always stood firm against tyrannies during our history. Previously in our history, when the communist inspired Pishevary wanted to separate Azarbayjan from Iran, the Azarbayjanis once again stood up to offset their plan. Now, a nation which has always protected Islam is being threatened with disgrace due to the caprices of a few.

¹ Sattar Khan (the national Sardar) and Baqir Khan, (the national Salar) were two of the famous warriors for the constitutional movement in Iran.

² Shaykh Muhammad Khiyabani was one of the cleric fighters at the time of the constitutional movement. He, together with other combatant clergy, was killed by the despots.

³ Mirza Sadiq Aqa, the great jurisprudent of the Azarbayjani people used to live in Tabriz. He was exiled to Qum by Rida Khan and lived there to the end of his life. He, together with a great number of Tabriz clerics, stood up to Rida Khan's despotism.

⁴ Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Angaji (1282-1357 AH), was one of the great jurisprudents. Due to his opposition to Rida Khan's despotism, he was arrested in 1353 AH and was sent as an exile first to Sanandaj and later to Qum. He died in Tabriz.

⁵ The terrorist group, Furqan, assassinated a number of political and religious personalities such as Martyrs Mutahhari, Mufattih. Qarani, Qadi Tabatabai, Mahdi Araqi; and his son, Ihsan.

A stain on Azarbayjan's reputation

Azarbayjan should now emerge out of this disgrace. The Azarbayjani young men should remove this stain. We hope our fellow Azarbayjani countrymen would recognize the roots of these disturbances which are being concocted from outside. May God confirm you and the Muslims. I would like to thank you, honorable ladies, who came here to meet me at this humble house of mine in this cold weather. May God protect you and provide you with prosperity. May God make our adversaries vanish. May Peace be upon you.

Speech

Date: January 1, 1980 [Dey 11, 1358 AHS / Safar 12, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Azarbayjan as the stronghold for resistance

Audience: The representatives of the different layers of the people of the Eastern Azarbayjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Azarbayjan as a steady stronghold vis-à-vis the enemy

I extend my greetings to you dear young men who have come from the mighty borders of Iran and who have gathered here at this small place which could not house your friends. My greetings to the Iranian nation. My greetings to the brave people of Azarbayjan and to the heroic people of Tabriz and my greetings to all believers and pious men and women.

We need your support at this juncture of time when we are confronted with our enemies and when Islam is faced with infidelity. Might and power will be created if we relied on God and if we believed in unity. Azarbayjan has always stood firm against our enemies and has never been vulnerable; it shall never be. Azarbayjan has been a staunch protector of Islam. Azarbayjan is Iran; they are not two separate entities. We owe to Islam a great deal. We are responsible towards Islam. This will be done by our staying united. Expel those who want to bring forth division among you. Stop the growth of the plots which are being planned against you. Azarbayjanis should not let division take place among them. Islam has called take place among them. Islam has called all the Muslims as brethren. The believers are brothers in Islam.² You brothers protect one another.

Vigilance vis-à-vis the division creators

Let the enemies of Islam be incompetent in bringing about division among you. Let those who are inspired by the agents from outside the country not succeed in influencing you in destroying your unity. Today any criticism raised against our Islamic movement. Or against our Islamic revolution is to the benefit of the foreigners and against Islam. The Islamic

¹ The date is recorded as 12/10/58 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*. But in accordance with journals the date is 11/10/1358 AHS.

² Reference is made to Quran 49:10: "The believers are but brethren."

Republic is a state in which the Islamic commands and standards should be carried out and any opposition to the Islamic republic equals enmity towards Islam. Those who oppose against the Islamic republic are the ones who dislike Islam to be established in Iran. You brothers should always be alert. Be aware that the enemies of Islam do not stand idle and are busy planning conspiracies. Do not let them deceive the Azarbayjani youth. Do not let these young men and women be deceived.

My dear Azarbayjanis: you have always been protecting Islam and you have been a stronghold for Iran. Keep this up. We owe a lot to Islam. Today, Islam is caught in a unique situation and your country is in a sensitive position vis-à-vis the superpowers and the internal and external plots. Those who bring about division are the foreigners' puppets. Those who try to divide us are the foreign agents. Our nation stays alert and vigilant.

Perseverance and firmness vis-à-vis conspiracies

They have opposed your voting for the Islamic Republic. When you decided to select your council of experts, they showed their disagreement. They did not agree with you in your voting for the constitution, either. Neither would they be content with your selection of the president. Tomorrow, when you decide to vote for the representative of the consultative assembly they would be satisfied. What they hurt by Islam and would never make friends with Islam. You are the protectors of Islam and should stand firm against them.

We shall stand firm against the enemies' conspiracies and will not permit the enemies through their agents to influence our nation. We shall, God willing, establish order in our country and shall spread the Islamic commands and shall spread the Islamic commands and everywhere. May God keep our nation against our foes. May God keep the brave Azarbayjanis against the foreigners. May God provide you with prosperity. May God's peace be upon you.

Speech

Date: January 1, 1980 [Dey 11, 1358 AHS / Safar 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The mental transformations of our people in the process of our Islamic Revolution; Azarbayjan and the wide spread plots of the agitators

Audience: The personnel of the mobilization fro reconstruction of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The significance of the internal transformation of the Iranian nation

The transformation that has taken place in our youth is far more significant than the change that has occurred in our country. The change in your country took place through your determination to expel the satans from this country. The result was the establishment of an Islamic Republic in place of the regime of the tyrants and despots. But what is of more significance and is paid more attention to by the foreigners is the human being itself. During the past years these foreigners have tried to deprive our people of their Islamic nature. They, in this way have attempted to stop the progress of human being in Iran, in particular, and in the east as a whole. They have used different techniques and procedures to divert our youth from the right path towards indifference and lethargy. The establishment of so many centers for prostitution and the propaganda delivered by mass media for such centers was part of a plot. Through these centers they tried to entice our youth towards such centers so that they would become sluggish and feeble. As you know the young persons, with vigor and lusts which they have, could easily be distracted towards the centers of corruption. And it is a proven fact that those who become addicted to heroin, opium, narcotics and alcohols will be lethargic people.

The importance of the youth who have fallen prey to corruption

Now, you are engaged in the mobilization for construction. May God protect you for your hard work. But you have noticed that in your department a heroin addict could not perform his job properly. Actually, those who have become addicts to the narcotics would never be fond of doing the work that you are presently engaged in. Those who are cooperation with you are of different layers of our society: doctors, engineers, university students and business men. Even workers have joined this venture. These active people do not belong to that class of indifferent people. Of course, what our revolution

did was to distract our youth from the corruption-centers towards the mobilization programs. Somebody was telling me the other day that a center for corruption which existed on a certain location does not exist anymore. God has helped our movement because it was Islamic in nature.

Regarding your victory over your enemies, God helped you since you did not have the equipments and weaponry and the expertise to use them. This was because we lacked the military training. What made us victorious was the power of our faith and our Islam.

The unknown and hidden power behind the Iranian revolution

The change which took place in our nation and which changed intimidation into might and power was a divine change. Man could never have been able to bring forth such a drastic change. A person who tries to attribute this movement to himself is either ignorant or selfish. This was God's power manifested in the uprising of small children, grown up people, men and women, who took to the streets and expelled the fully-equipped enemies. God intimidated them to such a degree that they could not employ their weapons against us. It was another divine sign that when you had taken to the streets, the soldiers joined you group by group. This was a mental and spiritual change within our nation. This change was exultant in nature. Each person overcame his or her timidity. Then suddenly this oppressed person changed into a vibrant and dynamic character, demanding the expulsion of the center of corruption. Another great change was the sense of cooperation among our nation.

A hidden power has been forcing you to engage yourselves in doing acts which are of benefit to your nation. A hidden power, an angel-propelled power, is driving you towards such programs. A divine power is forcing you, and those who have come from abroad, to engage yourselves in activities useful to your nation. The strange sensation of cooperation is in you to carry out plans of common interest. Everybody is putting forth his love and care in what he or she does. Sometimes I see on television some children, men and women working hard on the fields, using a lot of enthusiasm. This they will do voluntarily; nobody is imposing anything on them. They are eager to do what they are doing.

The divine sparks in the hearts of the people

The change, which has been brought forth, through which our youth express their desires to get martyred, is not done by human; rather its source lies beyond man's power: it is divine. It is brought about by God. Yesterday I

convened the contract of matrimony between a young girl and a young man. When the girl was leaving, she gave me a letter in which she had written she was fond of getting martyred. A newly-wed girl says such things. There are many cases like this. These are changed brought out in you by God. These changes have been bestowed upon you by God.

Now your sense of cooperation is admirable because you feel your country needs your help. The previous regime devastated our reserves and human work forces. They destroyed every asset of this country, but spent millions on propaganda. They spread the rumors that we have got to the Great civilization and that we are equal to the advanced nations. They claimed they would become another Japan by the following year. In this way, they deceived our younger generations. There have been complex issues between the despots and the super powers. We are ignorant of these issues, however. The previous corrupt regime has convened several contracts with the foreigners through which they have plundered our nation. They have made our nation dependent on the super powers. They have plundered our reserves completely. They have deprived our people of our human rights. Now it was God who decided to assist this nation. If these crimes had continued for several more years in this country it would have been impossible to rescue this nation. The spark of God fell on the people. It was a divine gift to people. God awakened people from a lethargic state into a dynamic one. As a result, suddenly we saw a nation who was previously intimidated by a policeman, now did not care for tanks. Those who were frightened by the batons did not fear the machineguns. These are issues pertaining to the hidden, unknown world; they are divine in nature. Now connect your hearts with that source of eternal power. Let us not be carried away by the illusion that we made the revolution possible. We ourselves are nothing. Let us disconnect with the worldly affairs and connect ourselves with that source of divine power. Let us join our drops of ourselves to the infinite ocean. We are even less than drops. But if we join that divine ocean, we can perform miraculous acts. God is with congregations. The Iranians should cooperate to salvage Iran.

Azarbayjan, the stronghold of the brave men

I regret to see some agents trying to bring shame over Azarbayjan, which has always been a staunch defender of Islam and our integrity. You have been honored and revered both in Iran and abroad. You used to offset any plot against this country. You were the forerunners and pioneers in our constitutional battles against the despots both prior to and after the

constitution. You have a lot of holy warriors. You have had Khiyabani,¹ Sattar Khan,² and Baqir Khan,³ and the distinguished clerics. The deceased Mirza Sadiq Aqa⁴ was among the holy warriors. The deceased Angaji⁵ was a contemporary warrior with whom most of you are familiar. All of these were arrested, jailed and finally exiled. Later, the deceased Aqa Mirza Sadiq Aqa came to Qum and did not return to Tabriz. He died here and his tomb is here. You have had great men from all walks of life. Do not let the agitators bring shame upon you. Do not let them remove your badges of honor.

Now these corrupt agitators are ready to disturb everybody. In Azarbayjan, they leveled assaults over the Muslims when they were praying. They staged attacks against your mosques. They hit the Muslim worshippers. Are these atrocious acts compatible with Islam? Are the foreigners not assuming that these acts are done by the Azarbayjanis? This is not the case, however. There is a bunch of agitators who have deceived our people. Our young men have been deceived. Illuminate these people. Make true Muslims out of them. Keep up the prestige and honor of the Azarbayjanis. May God protect you all. May your plans in the mobilization for construction be fruitful. May your plans make Iran self-sufficient. Let us salvage our country out of the foreigners' claws with our hands. Let us manage our own affairs. May God bless you all.

¹ Shaykh Muhammad Khiyabani was one of the cleric warriors at the time of the constitutional movement. He, together with other cleric warrior, was killed by the despots.

² Sattar Khan (the national Sardar) was a well-known warrior at the time of the constitution. He was wounded by the so-called free-masonry intellectuals and got bed-ridden.

³ Baqir Khan (the national Salar), was the famous warrior at the time of the constitution. He was martyred by those intellectuals who wanted to divert the constitution movement from its natural path.

⁴ Ayatullah Mirza Sadiq Aqa, was the great jurisprudent and Imam of the Azarbayjani people who used to live in Tabriz. He was exiled to Qum by Rida Khan and lived there to the end of his life. He, together with a great number of Tabriz clerics, stood up to Rida Khan's despotism

⁵ Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji (1282-1357 AH), was one of the great jurisprudents. Due to his opposition to Rida Khan's despotism, he was arrested in 1353 AH and was sent as an exile first to Sanandaj and later to Qum. He died in Tabriz.