



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

SAHIFEH-YE ***IMAM***

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

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Transliteration Symbols

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

Persian Letters

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

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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



Figure 1. Map of Iran

Note:

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

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

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Bravery towards the enemy by adhering to God

Speech

Date: January 2, 1980 [Dey 12, 1358 AHS / Safar 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: falling down on the job and inefficiency in offices and factories

Audience: Workers of the steel plant of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Falling down on the job and laxity is anti-revolutionary

First, I would like to thank you for taking the trouble to come over here in this cold weather. We had already announced and asked you not to undergo the trouble for the time being until the weather becomes good. If God had given us another opportunity, you could have come then. I am thankful to all of you—youths; and pray for you. You know those who do not want this campaign to yield fruit cause division among the various classes of the masses by their different devices and forms. The thing that I want to bring forward is the issue of falling down on the job and lack of hard work in the offices and plants, particularly those having immediate bearing upon the life of a country like the steel plant run by you or the oil industry. The enemies mostly desire to gain influence in such places. They want to paralyze the organizations, whatever and whichever that happens to yield wider services to the nation so that calm and quiet attitude may not come into being. As such, the government could not attain stability. Today, anti-revolutionaries are those who in their respective jobs do not perform their duties and remain idle or persuade others to be idle. This is a blow to their country. This is what the enemy wants too. The stoppage of work instead of its progress is their aspiration. They even go amidst the farmers and under various reasons prevent them from farming. However, they try to bring idleness among you so as to create shortage of work or strikes or roaming about in the streets and such similar issues. Therefore, you should be advertent and be at your guard because all this is a plot designed by those to whom your unity has had been hazardous and Islam itself an unfavorable element.

Work if for the sake of God is a kind of worship

If a nation wants to remain safe from any evil or injury, it should get united first. Secondly, whatever job it is engaged in—should be carried out

well. Today the country needs hard work. A country, which is poor, everything in it is plundered, and you too do not want to be in need of the foreigners, in need of your enemies; so you should work. You, engaged in the steel plant, may be blessed by God to perform work. Let it be for the sake of God, and do work. It is a kind of worship. Those who are occupied in farming, they too should work so that we become self-sufficient in our food. It is shameful to reach out our hand towards America to give us food. We should be serious. God has granted us land and also water. Heavenly blessings too we are not short of. We should work so as to be self-sufficient. God willing, we may even export the excess. You, brother! Now the work is your worship. You have come over here to Qum¹ for the pilgrimage of Masumah, peace of God be upon her, because it is worth no less than worship. Likewise, to perform a job too is no less than worship. Perhaps it might be even more than many of the good things and the preferred ones.

To create division and disappointment—A tactic of the enemies

You should be careful that through these methods such as division, disappointment, and goofing off enemies want to attain a result. These are the things they have well calculated there. They want to implement them in our country. So you hear the echo of the clamor from here and there. This clamor is the same that comes out from the stranger's throats. Some inside the country are their agents. You must drive them away whoever comes to you with a whisper or a wicked idea regarding these matters. Their intention is to stop you from performing your work. If there are people who do not want the work to progress, you should introduce them to the responsible people concerned so that they may be suspended from their jobs. You should help yourselves. Now the nation itself should help in all affairs. At a revolutionary time, the nation should rise up in order to accomplish the duties. If the nation pulls aside itself into a margin anticipating the government will do the things, it is wrong. The government has no such

¹ Since the third century AH, Qum—the burial place of Fatimah Masumah (peace be upon her), the sister of Imam Rida, the eighth Imam from the Prophet's Progeny—has been a center of learning and pilgrimage. In the mid-14th century, the great scholar and *faqih*, Ayatullah Hairi settled in Qum and reorganized the religious teaching institution. Following Ayatullah Hairi, scholars from other cities came to Qum and it was not long before Qum was elevated to the status of the center of religious learning in Iran. At present thousands of students from Islamic and non-Islamic countries are studying in Qum. The students, having completed introductory courses, embark, depending on their interests, on a wide range of Islamic sciences, including jurisprudence and its principles, exegesis, *kalam* [scholasticism] philosophy, mysticism, history, and *hadith*.

power to perform the things all by itself. On the revolutionary occasions all the enemies, even those who once were thieves and now their means are cut off, engage in a plot. It will not be possible for a group or a class to do the work. Therefore, it depends upon the nation to be serious about its own affairs. It should trust in God and go ahead with its responsibilities. May God bestow upon you victory and prosperity. I thank you all who have come over here from all directions. I pray for all of you and I am a servant to you all.

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

Speech

Date: January 2, 1980 [Dey 12, 1358 AHS / Safar 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Audience: Students of Islamic Association, Law College, Learning Center, Ardebil

Subject: The consequences of being intellectually dependent on the west—a sense of loss of direction in the East

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Self-knowing and Return to self

Time has already run out. The weather too is cold. You, friends, are sitting pressed to one another in a house that is rather wet. All this causes inconvenience. In spite of this, I would like to say a few words with you.

No nation can attain independence unless it should understand itself. Nations are unable to attain independence because they have missed and lost themselves, and surrendered to others instead. It is to a great extent regrettable that our country, which is rich in Islamic culture—has ignored these rights. It follows the West. The West in sight of a class among this nation has posed an appearance as if there were nothing anywhere except the West. In its conjecture there exists no value beyond the West. Such an attachment and dependence—mental, intellectual, and ideal—upon foreign is the real source of misfortunes of the nations, and our nation too.

In every matter that used to happen, the intellect of those at the helm of affairs used to rely on the West. The West was their Jerusalem and they were ignorant of themselves. One of the intellectuals¹ among them (at that time) is said to have told that unless we do not make everything English we will not be able to ascend the ladder of progress and perfection. Such were the intellects that were at the head of affairs. And on the other hand the propaganda too was actively run by the West and its followers. Perhaps now too it might be the same. This resulted in turning our intellects into Westerns and the West itself became a Jerusalem to us. Indeed, it takes long time till we get rid of this Westernization implanted in our hearts and minds.

¹ Sayyid Hasan Taqi-Zadeh, pro-west in Iran whose last post was the presidency of senate assembly.

Signs of western colonialism in all the country's affairs

Although this existed fifty years ago but these recent fifty years particularly when this profane person, Muhammad-Rida, ascended the throne, it reached to its perfection. Affiliation with West came into being in every aspect. Though our judiciary, our legal rights, the issues of our rights, the issues of our culture—all are advanced ones and more progressive than those in other places, yet in every thing they reached their hands and borrowed from other places. Even in the early times of Constitutionalism,¹ these matters were less in existence. Yet Westernization was in influence. The constitution of that time was borrowed from the West. This nation should discover itself and discover its culture, which is a rich one. Otherwise, this nation can not be reformed. Now the schools, the colleges, the institutes that we have are all similar in system with the Western ones. The courts of law too are likewise. They have grasped everything from the West. Culture—such a rich one—they have repelled only to adhere to that of the West and that too a culture which is not pristine, not original. They have adhered to the culture of Western imperialism. West has for every thing its own imperialism, that is medical imperialism, cultural imperialism and everything else. It even exports the same to the countries lagging behind, undeveloped ones. They export what is compatible to them, what is befitting to them. This is only a pretext. They mean a complete dependence upon them. They want us to be affiliated with them. The things that they give to us are such so as to bring affiliation with them and dependence upon them. They do not want us to be independent. Agents trained by them and exported for us have also lent them a helping hand. The thought, your society they have molded such that a thing if not in a Western fashion, the society would reject it. Such a thing perhaps might have become less because of this present campaign. You well

¹ What has become known as the Constitutionalism or Constitutional Revolution took place due to the chaotic situation in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular protest over the tyranny of the governors and agents of the dictatorial regime and the unruly officials of the government, the weakness and ineptitude of the then king Muzaffar ad-Din Shah, and finally the rising awareness among the people and revolt of the clerics and *ulama*. Years of struggle by the people culminated in the victory of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906.

Although the Constitutional Movement was derailed from its proper path, it was able to transform the social organization in Iran, to destroy class privileges, to obliterate the power of the courtiers, and great landowners, and to establish justice and the rule of law. However, with the influence of the Westernized elements, and eliminating the clergies from the political scene and governance, the Constitutional Movement did not achieve its desired objectives and finally with the coup staged by Rida Khan, the father of Iran's ex-Shah, a monarchical rule once again emerged in Iran.

know before it was to such extent that people did not accept a medicine or cloth or anything else if it did not bear or carry a Western name. Our streets should carry a Western name. Those who plundered us, rendered us weak and feeble, victimized us by their atrocities—now, strange enough that our streets are named after them. For instance, Roosevelt Street.¹ Anything if did not carry a Western name, the people did not accept it. A medicine if not told that it has come from West, people would not purchase. The things made locally would not attain a market unless it carried a Western name. This is the Westernization that governs all the aspects of our life—our bazaar too is hit by this Westernization. Even today our relation is westernized. The real and actual growth cannot be achieved unless the nation gets rid of this mental and intellectual dependence on the West. As such you too cannot be independent.

Cultural independence is the only way for the rescue of East

If you want to free yourself from all the affiliations, you should put aside the affiliation, that of mind and of heart. Do not think that whatever they, the Westerners, have is good. For instance, suppose one has achieved progress in industry. This does not mean that it is a progress in their culture. This is wrong conception and erroneous calculation is ours. Suppose a nation or a country manufactures aircraft. But they reflect the same to us in such a way that we presume that every thing of that nation or that country is as advanced of an aircraft. But in reality, it is not so. Their culture is not like that of ours. The science of laws is not like that of ours. Similarly, their other sciences do not stand to the level of our sciences. Their science of philosophy is not like ours. In the field of medicine, they have taken it from East. In the Western colleges till recently the Eastern books were taught. Perhaps even now the same may be the case. It we want to come out of this helplessness we much repudiates our mental affiliation with the West. Our colleges should take pains for a long time to come for the sake of our youths. They should transform from their previous condition imposed upon them by the Shah's regime. Of course, it is tedious to turn them, the youths, to a healthy surrounding under Islamic regime. Our youths too should be serious. I mean in the sense to find out them their true selves. Now they are missing themselves. They have lost their own selves. At the name of West they should not lose themselves. You yourself have seen that you stood against the West, and that too in a field in which they are far advanced that is weaponry and military side. So what I say is this: Confrontation with them is

¹ Franklin Roosevelt, American President during the World War II.

a thing quite possible as you yourself have undergone it. You stood against them with empty hands. Of course, you won. Before if we were told that we want to say nothing, which might make Americans angry, this was enough to create fear for us. We would have been terrified with junk and fear. In the past too it was such and the same. If a thing used to occur then the ambassadors who were here in Iran either that of British or of Soviet Union or of America used to come and give a warning. This was enough. At their warning all used to withdraw and retreat from their stands. But today, you stood against them. The big powers, but you confronted them. All were serious. You made your adversary to retreat. This shows and proves that it is possible to stand against the big powers of West. In this campaign you have discovered yourself. This dawned upon you that with empty hands you can overrun the Western powers. Likewise, in the cultural field too you should discover yourself.

The lost of Eastern nations

Now they are planning to divert your attention to themselves in whatever direction possible. Their effort is to make you affiliated and attached with them. This attachment or affiliation they will not let go or vanish. You, my dear students! You make yourselves ready and well prepared to come out of this Westernization. Something of you is lost. You should find out that lost one of you. It is you. East has missed itself. East should discover itself. They want to impose themselves upon us in whatever way possible. So, you should fight. It is you who want to be free, independent. It is you who want to stand on the legs that are your own. All classes of the people in this country should determine to be themselves. The peasants should determine to bring out their food themselves from their lands. They should make their country self-sufficient. The factories should be self-sufficient. The people of this country should run the factories. The universities should be at their own without the need to depend upon the West. This should be the basis of every thing that it should depend upon the intention of man. A man should be able to have the intention to perform a thing. Fear should not be brought about that deters the determination or intention of man. Before too, fear was created and imposed on us. For instance, the royal organizations, the king's courts were the elements of fear to us. This resulted that we were deprived of intention. We were not able to intent to contradict the existing things. So, we never gave expression to our contradiction. We even could not presume the possibility of contradicting the things. But God the Almighty desired. You had the intention. And all happened and took place. Now too it runs the same. Do not

fear the West. Have the will and it will happen. Our scholars, our professors, nobody should fear West. Our youths too should not fear the West. The East should have the will and movement against the West will take place. May God preserve you, the youths, for the service to Islam. May God protect all who are serving in the Foundation of the oppressed ones. May God protect the students and all the classes of the people. May you advance with every strength and be prosperous.

Speech

Date: January 2, 1980 [Dey 12, 1358 AHS Safar 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: To have calm is necessary for reformations

Audience: Workers of Jihad-e Sazandegi and Radio/Television of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reformatory activities are possible without mayhem

My condition does not allow me a long discourse. For this reason I will speak only a few words. We, Iranians, have a duty and the same also binds all the Muslims and those who have sympathy with Islam and the Muslim countries that we should not give room to chaos under various pretexts or because of our own personal inconveniences. The present days are such that if Iran happens to be short of calm no reformatory work could be done. Reformation needs an environment wherein work could be possible. Suppose the environment of a college if happens to be chaotic one then the students would not be able to carry out their work. In factories too if mayhem happens to exist there, no work would progress. Those who do not want Islamic democracy to come into being in this country, and the country to be a free and independent one, create chaos—in every place in a different way. They commit things anti-Islamic but in the name of Islam. Under the pretext of service and the oppressed ones they do things quite in contrast, which results in turmoil or mayhem. This further causes strikes which prevail the good doers to refrain from doing so.

Such things should be avoided. No strikes should take place every day. Demonstrations should not occur. Things such and similar should be waived off and then the country will enjoy calm and peace. The government too would be able to perform a service. In a country struck by every havoc and devastation, neither the government nor the people could render any service in spite of their intention to do so.

Falling down on the job, lack of hard work is the root of economical affiliation

My recommendation to all of you is to refrain from turmoil, chaos, and division. Also strikes and street gatherings should be avoided. On the other hand, whoever at whatever a job, he should perform it to his best ability.

Inefficient work and lack of hard work is the root of all economical attachments and affiliations. If we do work for ourselves, then we are obliged to be affiliated to some in other countries. If we do not cultivate ourselves we must be dependent in this regard. If we do not become self-sufficient in industry then there too we have to be dependent. Therefore, each and every one engaged and occupied in his work, whatever it may be, let him do his job fair and well. Doing less work or passing time in idleness or inciting one to idleness, these are like a fatal poison to our country. It will drag the country towards devastation. Therefore, what I demand from all clerks, workers, farmers and every one wherever and in whatever work he is busy at, to be fair to perform that job well and good. Let him invest all his working power in this task. The energy God has blessed him with, let not be blocked or go without use. By the grace of God and the grace of the unity of the people and their courage, this country may become Islamic, and all the inhabitants may live in ease and comfort.

I am hopeful that the same will happen. I also hope that we all will preserve our unity and the divine aspect of the Revolution. The aspect, which turned you all towards the direction of God. This is a great backing for the nation. You should protect it. You should protect your unity. As a result these trifle tumults that are existing will be vanished by the grace of this very unity and its Islamic feature. Our country will become an Islamic one, free and independent by the will of God.

May God always assist you.

Message

Date: January 4, 1980 [Dey 14, 1358 AHS / Safar 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The first elections for the presidency of the Republic

Audience: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On this occasion, wherein one of the stages of the stability of the regime of Islamic Republic is taking shape, and the upraised vigilant nation of Iran is at the threshold of electing a president of the Republic, I deem necessary to make a few remarks:

1. At this juncture according to the basic law passed by the nation, I am vested with the authority to confirm the competency of the candidate to the office of the presidency of the Republic and his being qualified to it. In view of the interests and the aspects worthy to be considered besides the exceptional circumstances the country is in, it is a pressing need to avoid delay in the matter. On the other hand, to check the admissibility of 120 candidates is a matter that consumes a long time. As such, delay in this affair is not in the interest of the nation and the country. For this reason and several other reasons, I charge the nation to decide the competency and elect a president and determine its own faith.

2. In the coming turns, when a full and complete stability will be achieved by the will of God, this thing depends upon the Guardians Council to act according to the basic law. They shall be responsible to examine the competency of the president of the Republic as per the terms of law.

3. I request the noble nation of Iran not to show any idleness or indifference in this most important matter. I expect them to participate in this matter with seriousness and enthusiasm and love to Islam as they did on the occasion of confirming the Islamic Republic. God is with them. Victory is to the lot of Muslim nation of Iran.

4. The noble nation should be alert and vigilant towards the plots in cooking. They do not desire the nation to come out victoriously from this stage of most importance. They are busy in creating insecurity. The nation should pay its care and attention to the conditions mentioned in the constitution.

5. I do request the candidates and their friends to pay due attention to Islamic conduct and human attitude while canvassing for their candidates. No such criticism should be made against each other that could cause insults or differences. Although from Islamic aspect it might be quite in order but to against the conduct and culture is a thing in itself repudiated. It is against Islamic motives.

6. I have no intention to support this one or reject that one. Therefore, I request all the parties and groups to do not attribute their candidates to me in order to attain success in elections or defeat. I have a great desire to see the groups who have committed themselves to Islam and believe in the Islamic Republic and serve the cause of Islam to maintain calm and quite attitude in the campaign of the candidates, and entertain sincerity and the Islamic brotherhood towards each other. They should strictly avoid grudge, and differences with one another which will please the enemy while cause worry and anxiety among the friends besides forming a ground for anti-propaganda.

I pray to God for the glory of Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 15, 1400 AH
Dey 14, 1358 AHS

Speech

Date: January 4, 1980 [Dey 14, 1358 AHS / Safar 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Peculiarities of the Islamic Revolution and its distinctions with other revolutions

Audience: Tehran University professors

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Revolution of Iran and conditions in Afghanistan

I am thankful to you, scholars, for your attention to the matters needing attention. I am hopeful that by high courage of all the classes, particularly the colleges, scholars, and thinkers, the difficulties will subside little by little. Of course, there are a great many difficulties. It is possible in every revolution to refrain from difficulties. But to you, I give good tidings. This Islamic Revolution is better than all the revolutions happened in the world. Its casualties are far less. The thing that is availed and there is hope that it will be availed more and more soon. It is important. All the revolutions, some how or other, hail from a tyrant power and get shifted to another tyrant power. A coup d'état occurs. Some party gets more powerful, and the regime is declined giving way to some other regime. Both the regimes are always similar because the thing in-between is the thirst of power.

Now you are witnessing in Afghanistan coup d'états are frequently taking place. But this coup d'états happen by a stronger one in favor of one and again in favor of another. Likewise, its cycle rotates. The nation has no say in this affair. This chaos, which is existing there, and the revolution, which actually belongs to the Soviet Union, is not the revolution of that man.¹ Before this man's coming to power the Soviet forces had entered Afghanistan. They abolished the existing government. What they did was not based upon the will of the people. They invaded the country and occupied it. The government was a corrupt one. They abolished the government.² They replaced it by another more corrupted government. Even now, Afghanistan is in their hands against the will of the nation and the thinkers. All the governments not affiliated to the Soviet Union have condemned this act.

¹ The Communist president of Afghanistan.

² The government of Dawud Khan overrun by the Soviet forces.

The message of the Soviet Union's ambassador at the beginning of the occupation of Afghanistan

The ambassador of the Soviet Union had come over here and had stayed after a few hours of their occupation. He met me. He told me that he has brought a message. He mentioned the message to me. It contained the same thing that a foreigner force has entered Afghanistan and were engaged in creating disturbances. They were against the nation. The Afghan government asked the Soviet Union to come to their aid. So the Soviet too wants to enter Afghanistan. They had already done this thing. I asked him as to who was the foreigner he was referring to. Then hesitatingly he replied: for instance, Pakistan. Then I narrated to him the whole case telling that the ground of our case too is the same. I also told him that if he wants to bring calm at the point of a bonnet or a lance and make a nation to yield to him, it is a mistake. It is possible to suffocate or even kill one at the point of a lance. But it is impossible to remain there or get established. A nation if determined at a thing it is not possible to stop the nation or to go against its determination. If the government belongs to two regimes and the nation is insistent to have a communist government, then it will not work out. You do not be hopeful of victory from a nation desiring to have Islamic rule and you trying to impose a communist one. Yes, you can kill as you are already doing it. But you cannot stay there any longer.

Oppression of nations at the hands of puppet governments

The main thing is that the governments cannot understand their obligations towards the nations. Whatever government has come to power, it seems as though it has come to suppress the nation. The fact is that a government particularly in the sense of democracy should be a servant of the nation not a tyrant to it. But, we see such is not the case with the governments. These governments that we have seen and confronted, all well know how their position was. Besides, the governments in our neighborhood too are the same like them. A group in minority by the support of a foreign comes to power and suppresses a nation as much as it can. It continues till the nations come out of their somnolence. Iran too is in this category. Iran too was suffering under a government, which at first came to power at the point of British lance, and then the allied forces of the three.¹ It continued

¹ The three powers, America, Britain and the Soviet Union. After the Tehran Conference, Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin acknowledged the rule of Mohammad-Rida Pahlavi.

and submitted to the Americans. The kings went on worse and worse as all saw and know.

Distinctions of Islamic Revolution from other revolutions

The appraisal of Iran was a powerful one against another powerful that was to be repelled and this one should come in its place at the point of a lance. No, this was not the case. The appraisal of Iran had emanated from the depths of the population. It was a national campaign. In other words, young and elders, men and women—all had joined in the appraisal. They all collectively wiped out the tyrant government. This is a distinction that distinguishes the Iranian Islamic revolution from all the other appraisals. This was cent percent a national one. A man with a lance in hand marching ahead killing all the people or with a tank and gun shooting other. This was not the case. It was not like that. All that it had was a cry, demonstrations and trust in God. From this aspect the distinction is that it was a national movement. This appraisal was not a coup d'état either or a power against a power to overrun it. A nation has wiped out a power while it was neither an army or did it have any military training not was it a student folk of any university or of a religious school. They, women and men, and traders in bazaar having had neither military training nor any weapons, were all together and all were after one thing—the Islamic justice, and Islamic government. This was the hope of all. Even the children who had just learnt to utter words were saying “Islamic Republic” which they had heard from their mothers. Men and women and those informed ones were all saying: “We want an Islamic government.” So as such this appraisal of Iran had two dimensions: One, it was originated from the people. Second, its power or motor was the belief in Islam. When the campaign went forward it did not start suppressing the people. Now you see the situation in Afghanistan. The government of America is brought down. And, now they are busy in massacre. The planes of Soviet Union are hanging over the heads of the people. A force of forty-five thousand is now stationed there. It is said that the forces well equipped are patrolling in towns and cities. Of course, the people are campaigning against them. Ultimately the victory is to the people God willingly. Here it was not like that. This is a thing we all have witnessed it. After the decline of the power the Shah went first. Afterwards went his followers. Houses were not invaded. People were not killed. No planes flied over the heads of the people. The reason is that it was the nation, which had upraised. All were together. No power had come to rule against the nation. It was the nation itself. All were friends and brothers. So, this was a striking distinction and peculiarity in our appraisal.

Therefore, it was not entailed by massacres. A group of several thousands as one told more than three thousand at one spot in Afghanistan were killed. In a mosque wherein 250 persons were worshipping and others were busy in their jobs. All were killed by weapons. Such a thing never happened here. Here no power confronted a power. A nation it was that confronted power. When the nation succeeded then for what it should commit such things? Nearly for five months there was a freedom in this country. Such a freedom never came into being after any revolution in the world. It is said that France is the oldest, for instance, in civilization. After the revolution that happened there, it is said that a great number of people were killed there. Even at this stage it is not known as to whether it has gained the stability in its correct sense. Whether there exists freedom such as one here. But here when the barrier was broken there appeared a flow of true freedom. All the airports too were open.

Perfect freedom in the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Generally when a revolution happens all the airports are closed and the telecommunications controlled. But here such a thing never happened. The airports remained open. The newspapers too are subject to censorship. This is the characteristic of revolutions. But here all have seen the absolute freedom that ensued our revolution. All the newspapers were coming out. For five months there existed complete freedom. The corrupt people took advantage of this freedom. Essays and articles used to appear in the newspapers. Announcers kept their jobs. Everything was in its place. All roads and highways were open. Now after a few months it is discovered that a group wants to publish its own beliefs, which they entertain. Now it is known that plots are in cooking. They are being paid by Israel—the enemy of mankind. After all this few newspapers are held up in order to find out the source of their mischief and the ground for it. But the things such as massacres and so on never happened. A few of them who had been committing murders and inciting others for such actions for fifty years were brought to justice. When their actions were proved in the court and their identity established, they were either executed or put into prison. This was their lot given to them.

A model, a paragon of revolutions

There is an example of a revolution in the world such as one like ours. Revolution happens and the antagonists are treated humanely. Freedom is given in full measures. We do not have any example of such a thing. The reason into this is, it had originated from the people, and it was for the sake

of Islam. The nation saw a binding upon itself to refrain from the wrong. Of course, in a population of thirty and odd millions there do exist a few wrong doers. Always it has had been such. In the past too, such a thing existed and now too it does exist. But a vast massacre never took place. The victorious group carries out collective murders and suffocates all liberties, such a thing here does not happen. The main thing was that the revolution belonged to the people and it was for Islam. This is an issue that differentiates our revolution from all the revolutions. Its direction and dimension was the people and Islam.

Common rising in the way of reconstruction

As you see, all the classes of the people, with the exception of a very small group, which is corrupt and gets instructions from abroad, have become busy with their jobs. They are sensible to their obligations that they should do something for their country. University is busy. Institutions are busy. Farmers are busy with their farming. Two days ago, farmers from around Qum had come with their sickles. It was interesting to see them carrying the bunches of wheat. They were showing the wheat and shouting: "We want to do our own farming." You know a country wherein the responsible ones had no trucks with the people except to drag them to corruption, and this lasted for fifty years. Their endeavor was to harm the country from every aspect. In the colleges by some other way, they tried their mission. They had made the university an imperialist. Our youths when came out they were acting for the interests of foreigners. They talked in their interests more than their own. They used to train in this way. Wherever they laid hands upon, they spoiled it. In each place, they used a particular way for this purpose. Among the masses of the people they created differences, lack work. They did not want the people to work. They wanted them to depend upon the foreigners and dependent upon them. More important than this—they even made our culture affiliated with foreigners. Our belief had reached to this extend that except the West nothing is worth and there exists no place to its level. There is nowhere to rely upon. We must depend either on West or on East. The good ones among us used to say to depend on West. They were so short of comprehension to think that we can exist by ourselves. We can stand upon our own feet. We can do work. We prefer to give up the culture, which has corrupted us. We prefer to live a simple human life.

The havoc of Westernization

If we attain independence of thought and turn our face from this corrupt culture, we could gradually become self-sufficient. The thing that blocks the way to becoming self-sufficient in every stratum of our society is the dependence we have upon them. If the best happens to be the Jerusalem of a nation the people will stand facing towards it, and speak in its favor. Ataturk¹ whose photo I have seen when I was there. His status was, as I have seen it in Turkey, with his hand extended. The people there told one that he was pointing to the West. To this effect that every thing should be from there. One of our so-called scholars in Iran ²had said that unless everything of us becomes English we will avail nothing and go nowhere. Such intellectuals who believe every thing of the West is best have given wind to the propaganda of this like. All these years this propaganda has gone a great length to bring home this belief to us that West is better—as though we ourselves are not human beings. If one got a headache he sued to go to Europe. If one wants to learn a few words, he saw himself obliged to go to Europe. You can judge by comparing one learned in Europe (in his own conjecture he thinks he has learned) with one studied here itself. The studies here too they had kept too low. Yet, you will see him far better than that one who has learned in Europe. He went there for enjoyment. He returned with a paper of permission to impose himself upon others. In the West, they bestow diploma easily and quickly. But to themselves they don't give such easy and quick diplomas. They want to become scholars. So they labor hardly to get a diploma. When our turn comes, they do not want us to become scholars. They keep us at a level to think that we are nothing. Everything is the West.

Medical science and Eastern culture in Europe

This reality that we are human beings and that we too exist in this world, we must establish it. East too is one of the quarts in the globe. West is not everything. We should prove it. East is a place where its treasures are plenty and its thinkers have had been more than anywhere else. This superiority continued till they overpowered us and we yielded to them. The median went to West from East. Likewise the culture, it was Eastern culture that civilized them. Regrettably, see how the things developed. See how the propaganda

¹ Mustafa Kamal Pasha (1299-1357 Hijra) Ata Turk means father of Turk. He was the commander of the defense forces in the First World War (Dardenelles). At the request of British he disobeyed the Ottoman Authority and changed the government into a republic naming the crown try Turkey. He remained president till the end of his life since 1302. He separated the religion from politics and abolished the veil for women.

² Sayyid Hasan Taqi-Zadeh

worked. How the things were categorized. As a result, we lagged behind. We are kept behind in a way that we think ourselves very little. I have told this time and again. The wool is woven in Isfahan. The mark or brand is stamped at its back in English. The reason is that no one buys it if it is not English. Even you and I too do not purchase it unless it should be English. Our roads. If they should be decorated they are named after the foreigners. For example, Roosevelt¹ Avenue. Roosevelt who ruined us and brought havoc to us. This man², according to himself as he had said: They deemed it befitting I should be here.’ God may curse them for such deeming. In spite of this, the road should be in his name Roosevelt. And so with Churchill Avenue.³ You go and search all the streets in the West. Though I do not know but I do not think that one single name of our kings adopted by them. Yes, it is likely to be if they want to please us for their some or other end. They have made us such as to close our own information—we go after the information of others, that too not real information but the information which they expect. If that information was useful, we would have not been in this situation today. The exported information means which should not be of any use to us or by its help we cannot attain higher grades. It was all—only in name and a vast propaganda. You see where we have reached. This man⁴ who claimed to have arrived at the door of civilization, now he has gone and you see what is our position and where we are. Now we belong to nothing. We have nothing. Our treasures are empty. Whatever oil we had is taken away. This man too had told that for twenty years we will have the petrol. We will here take advantage of the sun. Had this man been in power, we perhaps would not have the petrol after twenty years. Thanks god we have petrol. It will be there if there not is any theft.

The peculiarities of the Islamic Revolution

Anyway and however, the peculiarity of this revolution that it is Islamic and a national one and has established a ground for you all, gentlemen, to be bound to work collectively. Whatever possible for you to do the work you will not refrain from. You know that the work and its advantages are for yourselves. It is for your own house. Now you consider Iran as your own house. Before this you used to say: “Why and for what for should I work? I work and the advantage should go to America?” For instance, look at the

¹ Now it is named after Martyr Mufattih.

² Muhammad-Riḍa Pahlavi.

³ Now it is named Neople-le-Chateau.

⁴ Muhammad-Riḍa Pahlavi.

petroleum industry. We work and it is being taken away by the USA. So what for should we work? Now you see it is for yourselves. But now everywhere some threads from the past are existing. Their aim is that we should work and the Americans take away the benefits. These persons want us to work for the advantage of the foreigners. They pretend that they work for the people, for the nation. This is the mask they are wearing, but the fact is something else. We decided how the nation is to be.

Confrontation with the nation under the slogan of democracy

A nation, as a whole, has stood together. They have given their consent for one law. They all say: "This is not a democracy. Democracy is other than this. People should determine the affairs and their fate." Where in the world exists such a type of democracy? The people have voted twice for the constitution. Once they voted that the reporters may witness for themselves. For the second time they voted to confirm the constitution, the fundamental law. Yet, they claim that the process is still doubtful to them. You want to impose upon the nation. You are dictator. This is not the case. They want to have a puppet parliament and a puppet regime. They fear this regime because it has originated from the people.

The studies of the imperialists' experts and the evolution of the nations

These foreigners have studied every thing of us. They are very strange animals that are strange creatures. Their experts came here and all the plains and plateaus and the vast lands of our country they have searched and researched at a time when there were no vehicles. Camel and the camel man was the means of conveyance. Only caravans were plying that time. They used to take maps of the places other than the common ones. By means of the tools, which they had, they were discovering the hidden treasures. So they knew what existed under the ground. I was in Hamedan. A friend of mine brought a huge paper. He told that it was the map of Hamedan. I saw it. It was a big sheet showing Hamedan and its outskirts. I noted therein several dots over a spot. My friend told me that the map belonged to the foreigners. The dots therein indicate that there exists something beneath the earth. As such they know what is hidden in our lands. Besides checking and controlling our lands they also check the classes of our society. They went to the tribe of Bakhtiyar. One of them stayed there for several years. They studied their manners and customs to find out as to how they can be made humble and how to incite them to revolt. They studied even their spirits. Likewise, they went into Baluchistan and Kurdistan with similar mission. It

is likely that one of them still might be living there whom the Kurds still might be living there whom the Kurds have no knowledge of. They might mistake him for one among themselves. Sometimes it has occurred that a man from among them had become a clergy. He kept “*ammamah*” (turban) over his head. So, they have penetrated everywhere and every quarter. They have studied the psychology of the people—what provokes them what incites them. The motives of a nation that could be the source for an action or a venture, they have studied. In the past they had their research. But they had availed nothing. You, the great nation, you provided a proof to their studies and research. They had reached to a result by their long research that Islam is harmful to them, a dreadful element to them. Another thing that frightened them was the unity of the nation. If the nation becomes united at a word and all the Islamic interests at heart than the life will be hard for these foreigners. So, in the era of Rida Shah they assaulted Islam and the clergymen. They did what should not be done.

A dichotomy between the religious institution and the university

There are those who might remember or might have seen. Those who have not seen will read it in history at a later stage because history too was suppressed to record it. The errand was to abolish or weaken Islam. The history of Islam they wanted to destroy. But their endeavor went in vain. They wanted to separate the people from those who need to work for Islam or were Islamic experts. Under the pretext that they had stick-in-the-mud attitudes. They used to approach the university intellectuals and tell them that these clergies are attached to English people. And they used to tell the clergies that these university people have no faith at all. They shave their beards. I myself have heard them saying that English have brought into being these religious institutions of Najaf¹ and Qum. They have made these schools or centers so that we could not progress and remain ignorant and backward.

Parties for the sake of creating differences

It was God’s will that in a span of time these two classes should be together. Both have one end and one errand. Now they want to repeat the same old thing—to separate the university students from the clergy schools. They bring forward the parties and several groups so that all differ with one another. Regrettably, we too are not aware of the purpose. We cannot penetrate into the depth of the issues so as to conceive the matters. Two

¹ Najaf: a city in Iraq where Imam Ali (a) is buried and prominent center of Shiah religious learning.

hundred groups and two hundred parties to have come into being within less than a year; what does this mean? Why should it be such? Two hundred groups have taken shape. As many groups so that differences too will be much and wider.

In my view, the very system of parties they created in the beginning of “Mashrotiat” was in order to keep the people apart from each other that are not, to get together and united. At that time, they kept the parties—here “*Idalat*” (justice) party, there Democrat party and so forth. These parties became opponents to each other. This against that and that against this. But abroad, parties are not like this. If at all they demonstrate that they are not united, it is only to fool us. In fact, they do not have any basic difference. It is a way for us to have differences among ourselves. They treat us like a child. They throw a ball and the child goes after it.

The need for a change in thought

If you, gentlemen, desire and our nation desires—of course, desire, your independence and want freedom—of course, you want, then you should free your thoughts. Our thought is now into fetters. God willingly may it happen that is an appraisal of thought. The appraisal of thought has not taken place. But this appraisal should be pushed ahead to make progress. You are the university elite and you are scholars and thinkers. These youths—they should be brought up in such a way that they should see themselves as somebody.

They should not say that we should rely on West. We should be westernized. No. Be Eastern. If any craft worthy can be availed from the West, try to learn it and obtain it. But do not become Western. To learn is something. But to make the mind and submit it to the West is something else.

We are not against culture and civilization. But we are against the imported civilization. The imported one has rendered us to this day.

The debauchery centers for making the thought of our youths addicted and spoiled

The imported freedom is one, which has dragged our children to corruption and debauch. Therefore, the centers for this trade multiplied in plenty. All in the name of freedom. All our newspapers were at their service. All this in order to keep our youths away from the university and drag them to corruption. Although our university was not up to the mark or a standard one, but that much too they did not want to render any good to the students. They drew our youths from the places of work to the corrupted places so as to become lazy. One addicted to a corrupted place becomes lazy.

When it becomes a habit with one to go to cinema houses in the night, he becomes addicted to it. The cinema, which teaches nothing good, except the sinful actions. Of course, you know how many cinema houses were in Tehran. As to its number who knows that existed between Tehran and Shemiran. When our youths who are the manpower of our country become habituated to these centers of corruption, they become idle and lazy. Such an active power of our country becomes a waste. Besides the heroine who they made so common that all the classes of our nation were involved in it. All these things did not occur by themselves. It was a studied and calculated program. When they want to turn a youth, the capital of a nation, into an addicted one, sick of drugs, there is nothing to stop it or check it. It does happen. As a result, our youths are rendered waste. They wanted to make us a lazy lot, a waste that we should not understand what they do and whatever they steal from us. We should be deprived of thinking. We should not be sensible of this as to how or why one is addicted to opium or heroin. So, our thought would not consume the matters concerning our own wealth of petroleum. His thought goes only to his addiction. Now it is time for smoking opium or any other drug. They wanted the very same. They wanted to hold our youths from thinking what harms them. Our youth or the whole youthful class should give up their thinking power. They should become all idle and lazy. So, in such a situation, at such a juncture, should we not utter a word? God did not want to be happened such. God rescued you. While still on half the way, God saved you. So, you preserve it.

The mission of the university

You train your youths in a way so as to be active. This should not happen that they occupy a table. This is havoc. All the university students who labor so hard only to go one after another to sit behind a table, that is to become clerks. Why? Because there is no work. They become servants to get a monthly pay. In the past too it was so. Nowadays, the offices are not good. Suppose a department, which could be managed by a staff of hundred persons, used to have five hundred or even a thousand persons. The work was done by the hundred clerks while the rest of the staff was sitting idle and getting their salaries. It was pastime for them. Once this was shown in TV. So now they want to create the same situation. A university should create a scholar and not a clerk for an office. This is a simple issue. Now the need is that scholars should come out of the university. It should prepare persons who can run a country, preserving the aspects of culture and knowledge. It should not be this way to get a paper in hand and tomorrow go to an office

and sit there. Had there been a work, it was justifiable. But in the offices there is no work. So such a multitude of staff is absorbed there for what? To consume the government budget and nothing else. Ultimately they too become lazy. An active power is congealed into idleness in addition to the government budget having gone in vain. This should be mended and addressed.

Responsibility of becoming self-sufficient and redressing the environment

I am in the sundown of my life. You are young, you can amend the things. Do amend them. If you want to be independent you should mend these things. The whole country should engage in mending the things. More important is to correct the people. Reform them. Make the universities the center for training. Training is necessary besides the learning. A scholar without a good training is harmful. He will betray. One with learning and knowledge if betrayed, the danger will be far and wide involving all the people. The students are able to be trained. If they are brought up will and calculated, they will be able to administer the things. Later on you have to give this country to these youths to run it. Do long to be independent. God willing you long so. It is you the men of universities, and the men of teaching. So teach the youths along with training. May God save you all. may you Be prosperous. As long as I am in existence, I will serve you and as much as I can. Of course, I cannot serve, as it is due. I will do to the extent of my ability.

Statements

Date: January 4, 1980 [Dey 14, 1358 AHS / Safar 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The worth of wrestling

Audience: Babak Takhti and wife of Jahan Pahlavan Takhti

Be a wrestler, not a hero

[On Friday Babak and Mrs. Shahla Tawakkuli, wife of late Takhti, visited the Imam. It was noon and lunchtime. They had their lunch with the Imam. The lunch was bread and potatoes. After the lunch, Babak says to the Imam:

“I so far have attained three great honors (1) I am in the audience of the Imam of the nation (2) I am the son of Jahan Pahlavan (wrestler) Takhti (3) This revolution had been successful under the leadership of Imam.”

After hearing the words of Babak, the Imam drew his hand over Babak's head and kissed him. The Imam answered him in only two to three words, which contain an ocean of meaning. This can be a lesson to all the wrestlers. Imam told Babak:]

“My son! Try to be always a wrestler but not a hero.”¹

¹ Taken from the newspaper “*Jumhuri-ye Islami*” Dey 17, 1358 AHS, P. 7.

Speech

Date: January 4, 1980 [Dey 14, 1358 AHS / Safar 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Service to Islam

Addressees: A group from the people of Khalkhal

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You, brothers and youths, have undergone extra-ordinary trouble to come over here for which I thank you. May God save you the youths! May God preserve you, the youths, for the sake of Islam! Be careful and pay attention that at this very time that difficulties are ahead. Be at the service of Islam. God willing, may He preserve you and make you prosperous. I apologize to you that you are in a narrow house sitting pressed by one another. Since my time is short, I cannot be of more inconvenience to you. God prosper you, help you.

Message

Date: January 1980 [1358 AHS / 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida (Pakistani ambassador)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency General Muhammad-Rida, The ambassador of Pakistan,

After offering my special greetings, your esteemed letter is received. The contents are noted. I hope that God the Almighty grant you success in your aim and your government. May He keep all the Islamic countries under His care and protection. And may He guard their glory and the independence. I pray to God for your prosperity and health. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

Message

Date: January 5, 1980 [Dey 15, 1358 AHS Safar 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appraisal for liberty and independence

Addressees: The world organizations for freedom

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On this occasion when some of the organizations, freedom seeking and a group that campaigns for freedom have come to Iran to understand our nation closely and to be in touch with their difficulties. I am suggested to send a Message to them.

I don't know from where to start. Whether from the havocs hailed upon our nation along with the length of the history and particularly in the recent century? Or the havocs which are brought upon the oppressed ones of the world by the big powers and the arrogant? Indeed, this too I know not whom I should complain about? Whether at the hands of powerful ones or tyrants or looters or criminal ones? Whether of those who witness the tyranny of the tyrants and yet do not upraise and have made themselves by their own hands captives of the foreigners. They do not follow the brave people of Iran who campaign against the powers and big powers in order to defeat them. The people of Iran, the campaigners have made the government of America, the criminal one, to kneel down before them. Of course, they did this with hands empty but by the force of Faith. They have driven out the deposed Shah. By the hope of God they will continue their campaign till they cut all the attachments and dependencies. The governments of the Islamic countries who in spite of having a cutting sharp weapon—petroleum—can make the West and the East humble at one single determination. But they themselves have become humble. They do not take the advantage from this weapon to free themselves from the yoke of Eastern and Western imperialism. You, the movements of freedom!

You, the groups in the track of obtaining liberty and independence! Get up! Rise up! Bring home your nations and the Islamic nations to not to yield to tyranny itself.

And warn your governments to rescue themselves from the vilification and lowliness.

You admonished all to return to Islam and enjoy the Islamic brotherhood.

O, the oppressed ones! Get up and rescue yourselves from the jaws of the enemies of human beings. Do not undergo tyranny more than this. God is with victims. Peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 15, 1358 AH

Interview

Date: January 5, 1980 [Dey 15, 1358 AHS / Safar 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Complaint of the Iranian nation to the government of America

Interviewer: Reporter of the magazine TIME

Question: Anti-American feelings are vast and wide in Iran. Likewise, Americans too in their turn are nervous against Iran. What do you see in the offing about the two sided relations after the resolution of the Security Council?

Answer: The feelings of Iranians are not against the American nation. But they are against the American government. For several years we have been shouting to express our dissatisfaction about the injustice. We had been complaining concerning the suffocation and restrictions. But the U.S.A. brought the Shah to the throne. In 1941, the Allied forces brought him in the place of Rida Khan who was a servant of British. The United States always supported him in spite of the nation's disagreement. The Shah devastated all the sources of our income. The honor and the national prestige, our capitals, the abilities and capacities of our youths—all he destroyed. Therefore, the Iranian people cannot have a favorable opinion about American government. Ultimately our nation concluded that the government of Carter, so to say—has turned their embassy into a base for spying and designing plots against Iran. The spies were active here under the guise of the staff of the embassy. Now our nation has detected the fact. Therefore, it considers the United States as its enemy number one. But in our belief the American nation is not liable to any censure at the score of the behavior of its government with Iranian people. If the U.S. wants to deprive us of the justice by any means of terror or economical blackout or military interference, the things will not be settled. The groups will last and remain the people's minds. The American people should not let Carter to use these methods. Otherwise, our people too ultimately conclude that the people of America are also in agreement with their government's actions. The other way open before the U.S. government is this that they should admit and confess their wrong doings done by them here in Iran. From my point of view, the solution to this crisis is that they should surrender the deposed Shah to us. Besides, steps should be taken to compensate the losses brought on us under his dictatorship. Of course, there are losses, which cannot be compensated. One of them is: hundred persons

martyred during the campaign against the Shah. The manpower and the abilities cannot be returned back to us who were engaged in the campaign to bring the downfall of the Shah. But, it is our right to expect the return of the wealth back to us that was taken away from this nation. This too depends upon the conviction of our nation, the president of America in the place of Carter, is reasonable enough and humane not incline to have any impolite conduct and behavior towards us. In that case, our people can have normal relations with America like the relations we have towards others.

Question: Most of the countries in the world have condemned the hostage taking. We would like to know whether this has caused any change in your stand?

Answer: Most of the countries that have condemned are under the American pressure. We want to show to the world that it is quite possible to defeat a super power by the strength of faith. We campaign with all our strength against the government of America in spite of its strength and power. We do never fear any power.

Question: Do you realize that you have isolated Iran? The Islamic nations too have condemned the hostage taking. You have driven America out of Iran; but who can relieve you from the pressure of the Soviet Union?

Answer: Yes, we did drive America out of Iran in order to establish an Islamic government. We did not expel America to bring in the Soviet Union and be its successor. This fact is will reflected in the slogans of our people. We have regularly announced: "Not the west. We have regularly announced: "Not the West. Not the East." In one day the Soviet Union exercised pressure upon us, we will confront them with the same power which enabled us to expel America out.

Question: You must accept the fact that America will never surrender the Shah to you. If you doubt, it seems you have not understood America. Will you make the hostages free in case the UN agrees to look into your complaint? Is it necessary that all the dictators of the world should be the objects of investigation by the UN?

Answer: We know America very well. We know that we can stand against it. We can defend our honor—we have even shown that we can confront and campaign against the great injustice which is the refuge accorded to Shah by America

We must overcome America that is we should gain the upper hand over America. We must defeat America in every front. The Shah's exit from America does not solve the enigma. There should be an international organization to exert endeavors seriously so that the United States of America should surrender the Shah, the betrayer to Iran. Besides, this organization should also take back the wealth pillaged by the Shah to return it to its real owners—that is the nation of Iran. Such an organization there, should put all the dictators on trial. We shall never go parallel with the tyrants.

Question: If the crisis of hostages is solved, would it pave way for becoming the relations normal, such as in the past, to buy the weapons and other commercial ties with America?

Answer: Any kind of transaction that could be harmful to Muslims, we are against it. The commercial ties or any other transaction that could be beneficial to the nation is acceptable to us. Of course, for such matters government is responsible, not me.

Question: The economic conditions in Iran have not yet taken a life full turn. The poor ones still exist in the south of Tehran as they were in the past. The armed forces do not appear to be able to defend Iran in the event of any assault. The political activities too do not appear normal. So viewing all these factors, can't we say that the Revolution has had been a failure?

Answer: It is likely that all these observations might be true. But the Revolution itself has had been a success. The pillars of the Revolution have become stronger. Our nation is acquainted to the Revolution. It is a fact. Today all are revolutionists. They are ready for martyrdom. I seriously announce this that we can easily confront any aggression of America. It is possible America could defeat us but cannot defeat the Revolution. For this very reason I am sure of victory on our part. The American government cannot conceive the gist, the sense of martyrdom. So, we with such a spirit can solve all the difficulties of Iran. You see the slogans of the people. They say: "Carter doesn't know what the logic of martyrdom is." I should tell you that the loss and the casualties that we are facing is the heap accumulated for us the fifty years of betrayal and dishonesty of the house of Pahlavi. At the least twenty years shall be consumed only to amend them. Freedom is achieved. Islamic Republic has taken a form. But the complete independence is yet to be attained which depends upon severing reliance on East and West. This is a goal which we are after and we shall gain it.

Question: At times you make a statement telling people what they should do, and when you want to avoid responsibility you say that you can not do anything and that the whole issue rests with the people or the students.

Answer: The fact of the matter is that I am similar to others in that I express my view with respect to what should be done. However you should not doubt that the hostages are in the hands of the students.

Question: Have you ever made a mistake regarding any given issue?

Answer: every one makes mistakes except the Prophet Muhammad (s), the rest of the prophets and the Imams.

Speech

Date: January 5, 1980 [Dey 15, 1358 AHS / Safar 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The hurdles of the arrogant in attaining the divine monotheistic schools.

Audience: Armenian representatives of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The hurdles of the arrogant in establishing the Divine schools

The divine schools—the oneness of God—since the beginning were not established among the people in its true sense because of the setbacks and obstacles created by the arrogant. With regard to the religion of Jesus, peace be upon him, is blocked in the hands of a group. There has had been a number of turns and twists in the religion. Things which are proper or suitable to Prophet Jesus are attributed to him. The more worst is that the kings who were not Christians but bad attached themselves to Christianity hampered the progress of the teachings of Prophet Jesus. The teachings of the Prophets, those of Christ among Christians, those of Prophet Moses among Jews, and those of the last Prophet among Muslims had they taken root and were they established as the Prophets had desired, these entanglements and havocs that have gripped the human beings everywhere would have never happened. Now you see for yourselves that the governments of the big power in the name of Christianity and affiliating themselves to the Christian school and committing crimes so many and so great. Likewise, the heads of the Muslim countries, though we are Muslims, yet in the name of Islam there is no crime that they do not commit. You already witnessed that Muhammad-Rida used to demonstrate his attachment to Islam. He got the Holy Quran printed. He even claimed his commitment to Islam. But irrespective to that, he behaved with Islam in a way all of you did witness. For example, Carter. Likewise, his peers who used to go to church and supplicate to God and used to incite others to read the psalms. But, in fact, against the teachings of the Prophet Jesus, he commits all these atrocities, tyrannies, crimes in the world. Religions since the beginning have been captives of this tyrant arrogant.

Since the religions came into being in the world, there along with it came into being an arrogant or arrogants too. The men of religion tried to bring home the mankind to the people and turn them into human beings. The man, that you see, if left to himself without check, then he becomes worse than a

wild animal and more dangerous. God sent the Prophets to bring man out of arrogance and stubbornness and make him humble. But, the Prophets too did not succeed in their missions as was desired. Yet the extent they succeeded and prospered is too much for man. This is the ground for the present running safety of the world. In fact, it is due to the blessings of faith or religion. Now too the masses wherever they are, the masses of Jews—not their chiefs; the masses of Christians—not their heads; the masses of Muslims—not their heads; it is due their acquaintance, although a little, with the teachings of the Prophets which they are committed to, we see this safety that all are living in.

Had this too not been there, the people like wild animals would have torn one another apart. It this very extends of safety now existing in the world was sufficient enough to make the chiefs bumble them, all the human beings would have lived in peace. This too is the blessing of the efforts of the Prophets. The endeavors of Prophets is the reason and ground for those who have accepted the religion to regain from committing the things which every man is inclined to—if he is left without any faith. This is the fruit of the efforts of the Prophets. Had there not been known what this world would have been. Regrettably, we have not seen the people to be acquainted with Islam to the required extent.

You, gentlemen! Do not think that we have a country—Islamic one—in its real sense. Islam, if took its own shape or adopted in its actual reality, then you will see how it would treat with Christianity and all other nationalities. It depends to be seen the love, the peace, the affection that Islam would treat the other sister religions such as Christianity and etc. The head of our faith, Amir al-Muminin (Commander of the Faithful)¹ peace be upon him, when

¹ Commander of the Faithful: Imam Ali (a), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophet's uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophet's house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (s). In the early days of his mission when, at God's command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: "He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me." He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only Ali (a) declared his faithfulness. On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophet's life, Ali (a) slept in the Prophet's bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadir, introduced Ali (a) as the master and guardian [*wali*] of the Muslims, after himself. Ali was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophet's spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, Ali (a) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was the observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, Ali's disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to Ali (a) and elected him as the caliph. The Imam's period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (s) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the 3rd Caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (a). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar at Kufah, Iraq. For further information on the Imamate of Ali ibn Abi Talib, see Yousuf N. Lalljee, *Ali the Magnificent* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1987); Muhammad Jawad Chirri, *The Brother of the Prophet Mohammad (Imam Ali)*, (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); George Jordaq, *The Voice of Human Justice*, trans. M. Fazal Haq (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1990), and visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/faq>.

hears that a woman—under the care of Islam, who perhaps was a Jew, her foot bangles are taken out by some one in the army, he becomes so much uneasy that he says death is better in such a case. Such is the government of Islam. So a government of Islam—one designed by God—if established in Iran, then the oppression and tyranny will totally be wiped out. There can't be any aggression. The governments will not practice any pressure upon people. The army and the police all will be at the disposal of people. So pray to God, that we may be prosperous in our mission—to establish the things as they should be. We can be able to introduce Islam in its true form. Also pray that those around us who believe in nothing and are occupied in chaos to become good and reformed. Or, they should go and an Islamic government may come instead. This will be good for you, good the humanity. May God prosper you and help you.

Speech

Date: January 5, 1980 [Dey 15, 1358 AHS / Safar 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: economic dependency is the source of dependencies;
The mercenary elements for creating chaos and disturbances

Audience: Islamic Activities Association, staff of the Industries and Mines Ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The economical attachment is the source of political and military attachment

Iran today is in need of work. These gatherings that take place here and outside the house, I do not deem them befitting or necessary because this hampers the work. It should be for the sake of demonstration. Demonstration motivates the spirit which goes a great deal towards the progress of the country's affairs. But it should not be for always or in a continuation. People must work. A farmer must be occupied in farming. Those who have plants should be engaged in production. The industries, whether big or small, should be working. Persons should see themselves committed to the fact that the country today stands in need. A country with ruined economics, indeed, is needy. So, do not let this need to prolong or stay as it is. This would push us to remain attached or depend upon others for our every necessity which the past regime has entangled us in. There is a dependency existing today in Iran which is created by the past regime in the side of agriculture under a name of "Land Reformation". This caused a chaos and an upset in agriculture. So, we had to, and we are depending on others as far as the nourishment of the people is concerned. The livestock in all its dimensions has been spoiled and wasted. Meat should be imported, brought from abroad. This is the need that today we stand at.

Where we are attached or dependent on from the economical aspect, this causes us to be attached politically too. This would entail a military dependency either. As such our country reverts back to the same position as was before. Now we want the country to be ours. So, the country is now of the people themselves. When such a thing is achieved—the country belongs to the people—some elements have penetrated into the masses. They are provoking people. A great many provocations there are. For instance, agriculture. They have brought it to a standstill so that to hold it, yielding the due and desired results. Similarly the factories. They do not want them to run

smoothly. They do not want a peaceful run in this country. When it is so the factories will not run. The industries will be at a halt. Its agriculture too will not work. So, there will be no progress at all in its industry and etc.

Provocations of the paid elements in creating strikes

The main thing is that a few are there who do not want this country to enjoy stability. They do not like an Islamic Republic, a humane one, to exist in Iran. They are after chaos, destruction, and spoil. Wherever they go, they cause such destruction. Wherever one looks at , a few people are on strike. Why are they on strike? They want to create disturbances. One group incites another group. The youths too soon believe. A man, an individual comes, says something, and the youths accept from him what he says. The result: strike. They give up their work.

The strike—its aftermath is harmful, a blow to this country, to the economics, to the very prestige of our country. They do not understand this thing. Everywhere is strike. Everyone everywhere is on strike. In army—one goes and there is strike. Go into factories, there is strike. Schools too are on strike. Students too strike. All and every class. Now it has become a custom that every class should go on strike. These people do not conceive the very gist that the strikes spoil the prestige of a country. It reflects this thing abroad. They too give wind to these things. Likewise, the big powers. They translate this such as to say that there is no stability in a country. It stands in a need to be administered. A person should be brought in to run the country. So these people—they do not understand. They have no attention to this matters that those who come and deliver a speech to them and incite them to go on strike, and a group too follows them shouting and clamoring. All this they reflect to demonstrate the very country itself to the effect that there is no stability and no calm. It is a shaky one, evasive one as there is no central government.

Seducing for creating chaos and disorder

What a hand is this amidst the people that shout for Islam? What hand is amidst the people that provoke the youths to abuse the clergies? Wherever we go, we see a group of youths, already fooled ones, disputing with a group of clergymen. What does this backwardness perform? These words, unknown one, that have appeared are being utilized amidst you and in each town to create differences among you. But these people do not know what hand is at work behind them. They do not know the effects of its reflection abroad. When its reflection established that Iran cannot run all by itself, they bring

one stubborn who performs a coup d'état and reaches to the account of all of you. They don't understand as to why things happen like this. Why some of our youths are in such a sleep? Why are they so poor at understanding? Why don't they understand the depth of the issues?

One individual in the name of Islam and in the name of the Holy Quran and what not, without having any least information about Islam and any knowledge of Quran goes to the people and incites them to strike and provokes them to scold the scholars, clergymen, the oracles, and to all. These people don't know that these things establish a ground aboard for their claim to the effect that there exists no stability in the country. Stability should be brought back. They do not know that the enemies have surrounded the country. The profits which they used to gain before now they cannot utilize. Hence, they want this country to be bereft of calm and stability. Afterwards, they stage a coup and establish a ground to their own gains. Why are our youths so much in sleep? Why do they lend their ears to men who have no knowledge of Islam? They are crushing Islam in the name of Islam. They should wake up—at least a little. For a while they should think as to whether this is the time for strikes. A country entangled at its each side and its neighbors all adversaries to it, at such a time is it befitting that every youth and each group go everywhere and bring about a strike?

Today strike is forbidden

Today strike is forbidden religiously. Those who go on strike are betrayers to Islam. Stop these crimes. Stop this game. Don't be cheated. From these people they want to be benefited. There is only one individual who wants to take advantage from you, the pure-hearted youths. These youths are joyful. So they want to take benefit for themselves from you. Whether you go on strike or go clamoring in the street or do what no, they want to draw benefit from you. And you too are negligent of the matters, and ignorant of things. You go on strike. You quarrel. You do rowdism. You utter things. You scold. You abuse. You introduce the country as unstable one. An unstable country needs a guardian. And the guardian too should be from this side or that. They will beat you and expel you. They don't conceive the havoc that has hailed on this country. This is a program they have charted out for you. Such programs are designed for you from every side. Everywhere there is a chaos. Everywhere a strike. Everywhere there is a movement. Everywhere there are meetings and speeches, scolding this and that. Abuses to clergymen. What all these mean to that what we are entangled in? In this

country, why the inhabitants of a country should be adversaries to one another?

Admonishment about doing things against religion and law

Today when all should be together, all should be hand in hand with one another, all should be united. All should be committed to the laws of Islam. But contrarily you scold and abuse the Islamic standards. You confiscate the property of people contrary to Islamic regulations. You throw others' things in the deserts. Fields and gardens of people you take away. All these things are against the Islamic standards. They incite you and incite the youths to do so. There is a hand concealed behind the curtain to create action in you. These actions are to prove that Iran is not able to be independent. There exists chaos. Now there is a chaos from one end to the other in Iran. One does not see the chaos. But why it should be such? Why you should not awake from your sleep? Why our youths should not come to their senses? Today when we are confronting a big power, why should you fight each other in every town and city? In the name of backwardness' you should insult your clergies? Under what name, I don't know, you should take from the people their gardens? You occupy the peoples' houses driving out children and women? So, what is this? What situation it is you have created? Why you should not be bound to the laws of Islam that has brought you so far in your struggle. It was Islam that expelled Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi from your houses and from your country. Now you have turned your backs to Islam against its standards. If you do so, God will slap you in a way that you never get up any more. Revert to yourself a little. Come back a while to the laws of Islam. Have we done the revolution to do what ever we want? Because we revolutionized we listen to no one, not even to the government nor to a clergy, to nobody at all. The revolution has emanated from Islam, not from Islam to something else. Have you done the Revolution so as to go from Islam to something other? That is why you are doing whatever you like? You have migrated to Islam from some other thing. You have brought the Islamic regime into being. So, do yield, do submit, and do resign to Islam.

The real sense of a regime of monotheism

You go into the army you will see they have formed councils or advisory boards. An army of monotheism—which doesn't know at all what death, is. Someone, a communist, has come close to them and has dissipated the idea that an army should have no faith all, no system and no discipline. He has canvassed that there is no up and down in life. This is tantamount to saying

that we do not want an army. The system or the faith of monotheism means that all should follow divine commands. All should have attention to God. Everyone whatever job he performs should be for God and the sake of God only. In the system of monotheism all are one and the same. All are glued to one another. A system wherein each works for him, and one abuses the other is not monotheism. It is not monotheism in which the inferior does not obey the superior and those in higher station oppress the lower ones. This is a satanic regime or system and not a divine one. In a divine system all aspects should be safe and preserved. All should be alive to the existence of God. Army should be in the service. They should obey the higher ranking officers. Love and affection should flow from above to low. They should not oppress. All should be for the sake of God. A farmer should work for God. A worker, a trader—all should work for God. In academic circle, the work should go for God. This and such a system is that of monotheism. Otherwise, it is not correct that everything to be wasted and ruined. There should be disturbances, chaos. A soldier should not obey his officer and officer not obeys his superior. In police department too, everything should be upset. No one obeys the commissioner or the head of the police. Likewise, all the departments should be similar situation. The government—no one obeys. So such a country wills a wild one. Now too they say that we are wild one, uncivilized. O, you youths, please do attend to this country. O, you, who want to serve faith and honesty, be aware that they are trying to create deviation among you. Anyway, I recommend you to preserve the unity among you. I give you good tidings that you are victors at the end of the day. These analectic and mischievous ones are bound to hell. You, my dear youths, your way is that of God. So, you will be victorious. God willing, you will prosper. I thank my sisters, my brothers, and I recommend you all that whatever work you perform do have God in view. Every work should be for God's sake. Your attention should be to the source of good. God will back you.

Speech

Date: January 5, 1980 [Dey 15, 1358 AHS Safar 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Elections of the presidency of the Republic and the Parliament, importance of cultural affairs

Audience: cultured women of Gilan Province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The significance of culture

The issues and difficulties you mentioned, I know. It is not that the difficulties are to you alone. In all sides and aspects the difficulties are abound. These difficulties entail every revolution. A country we have witnessed for fifty odd years in a chaos, everything is upset and kept backward, its economics ruined, every thing of it is destroyed, its culture too corrupted and an imperialist one—such a country it is that you have attained. So, do not expect that by avoiding a breaking that Big Satanic obstacle you will reach to the promised paradise. For fifty and odd years they have tried to keep this country backward and in a chaos. We have, in fact, reached a ruin. It is ruin in need of years long toil to change its culture. The minds, the intellects which are trained and have undergone a peculiar training during these fifty and more years of the past regime need a span of a generation to get dressed or mended or changed. Culture too is one of the important things and on the top of all things. It is not such that anything is missed or omitted from the evaluations. It is also not such that difficulties are only for the province of Gilan. Wherever you go, you find the same problems. Of course, there will be little or more. You know your own difficulties. The difficulties of others you do not know because they are not in your sight. Each group that comes here mentions its own troubles. They have little knowledge of the difficulties in other spots. They presume that in other regions of the country there are no problems. This is the result of the propaganda they have done for these long years—particularly the second one. They brought home this belief to people to think that they have reached a great civilization. When they in their own district did not witness any improvement they thought that their turn would come later and that other districts should have already been developed. However, the people, wherever they come from, complain. They are even bereft of primitive things necessary in life. Now you in Gilan have the trouble of water. You should go four to five kilometers to fetch water. In

the outskirts of Tehran too, there is the same trouble. I was in Najaf. They wrote to me that around thirty localities are around and in the outskirts of Tehran where the women go long distances to get water. They have neither water nor their roads are asphalted nor do they have a culture. They have nothing. These poor women, they should climb the steps, several and many, and fill their vessels with water. Around fifty steps they should ascend and again descend the same number of steps to get the water to their children who are in the helmets.

Difficulties and deprivations pervading the country

These difficulties exist everywhere. In some places in Iran conditions are such that these places should have water reservoirs so that rain water would be blocked therein to use in summer. These places are even deprived of such reservoirs. When I was in Najaf, some benevolent people used to come here and told me that they needed the reservoirs. We also rendered some help and did these things. You should not think that you are the only one suffering from these problems. This problem pervades the entire country and should be removed. This problem should be removed through the efforts of the entire nation. If a problem is found somewhere, the government had the power to correct the problem in that particular place quickly, but when this problem exists all over the country including the capital, so vast a country with 30 or so million population suffering from shortage in almost everything, this should be removed. Such a problem should be removed by the nation in the same way that victory was achieved by the nation. You respected women, men, children, young and old, city dwellers and those living in country side came together and achieved the victory. However, when you gained victory, you saw that all the propaganda in the former regime was empty words and we have nothing. The great civilization was totally empty word aimed to give hope to people, take advantage of their credulity and carry away all they had and they did it, robbed everything and misappropriated everything. Now that this primary victory that is the first step has been achieved and there are so many confusions, they still do not give any chance.

Diffusing the plots

The decayed roots prevailing the country subjected to all these plots give us no chance to think out a fundamental solution. We are barred from implementing even the fundamental ideas underway. Well, you came to Qum yesterday and visited the city. Qum that is the center of learning and the hub of Islam. Once you see that there is such a plot that is not restricted to Qum

alone. While Qum has been subject to such a plot, Tabriz has also been victim of conspiracy of corresponding nature. It has been a plot not exclusive to here. There is also link with foreign powers. Now we are preoccupied with the fact that we should be able to preserve the country that we have wrested from others. All the forces should pursue this concept. All the thoughts should seek to thwart these plots and provide stability of the country. You saw that any step that was to be taken for this country and for its progress—progress in the establishment of government that is of prime significance—objections were raised. Everywhere conspiracies and sabotages were worked out. Now that these new disturbances brought about in Qum and Tabriz aim to stonewall the step people want to take to elect the president. This is a calculated scheme to stonewall whatever people want to do something step by step. Thank God, however, they fail. Nevertheless, they do not give up their sabotage in the next step. Again the same problems are created. Now that people want to elect the president with open thought and free vote, again those plots come about. Similarly, when constitutional law was to be drawn up, those problems occurred. When the Experts Assembly was set up, again they worked out sabotage. When the constitutional law was approved, again they made sabotage. They pursue their machinations. They are the ones who have links with foreign powers and raise voice against the Islamic Republic step by step. Now the objection and complication you observed recently are murmurs about presidential election. They will again fail. However, they will not give up their sabotages. Later you should wait for greater troubles when the people want to send their representatives to Majlis. Confusion will be greater there. However, you should stand powerfully and not be disheartened. These disturbances should not disappoint you the least until the day when we should treat those fundamental issues and then, God willing, embark on the second issues.

Endeavor to set up organs of the government

If we want to consume all our forces for these reconstruction work for culture that stands foremost and for all things, these fundamental issues might sustain a loss. Now it is time for taking resolute action to elect a president as stipulated in the constitution. Then, in its due time, we should set up the National Consultative Assembly to fix the pillars of the government. Now, we have a shaky government. The government is not yet stable. Although the nation has confirmed the constitution, we need president and consultative assembly. If you want to engage thoughts to secondary issues and ignore those matters, it is possible that they fob off a devious president who

might have represented himself as nationalist as you saw in the case of Bakhtiyar, who worked for the National Front and who was supporter of Dr. Musaddiq. They had preserved him wearing a national mask for ten or twenty years. You saw how he turned out to be a criminal and he is still engaged in his criminal acts. He was a man who might have proposed the US to carry out military intervention or impose economic sanction on Iran. A man who claims to be a nationalist stresses that the US should do these. They have such people in reserve. If we are negligent, they might help their men infiltrate and occupy a post. They might interlope into the Consultative Assembly that is a highly significant venue, destroying the foundations. Now, all of you, all the sisters, all the brothers and all the forces should unify their ranks so that we get through these two stages: election of president and then, God willing, the National Consultative Assembly so that a stable government could be established and the skeleton of the government finds reality. Afterwards, we should seek what the content of the government should be. The content can be said is now almost Westernized, not a westernized western, but an import western, a western that export the goods they do not want; they export for us the culture they do not approve of. Such is the state of affairs now. We should lay the foundation of our government and then go after the content in the second place. It does not mean that we should not interfere in these works or should not be active. We should do, but we should not be negligent of the basic things. Sometimes one lags behind the original matter for the sake of attention to secondary things. We should do something that would not lag behind the original thing. The main aim is establishment of a stable government, a sound Islamic government to find reality. After the main thing found expression, we would go for the secondary aims. Similar was the case with Islam in its early stages. When other prophets brought their religion, they primarily sought to draw the attention of polytheists to principles. They first proposed the fundamentals and after they established the principles, they went after the subsidiaries and the branches. We are now entangled in the problem that the principle is subjected to stonewalling. This very conspiracy in Qom yesterday that has its corollary seems to be for the fact that the fundamental things cannot proceed. We look forward to greater plots in the case of National Consultative Assembly. What I argue does not mean that we should not touch culture. We should strive as is the case. People are engaged in planning and preoccupied with such issues. Do not imagine they are not concerned over these issues, but this calls for opportunity ...

Speech

Date: January 5, 1980 [Dey 16, 1358 AHS / Safar 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Fulfillment of duties—propaganda against the revolution in Iran

Audience: Senior army commanders

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Serious responsibility of incumbents in Islamic system

You are today from military forces of Islamic Republic, being different from your past. Wittingly or unwittingly, you were yesterday part of the taqot regime and now affiliated to Islamic regime. Between these two, there is a wide difference—one is a satanic regime and the other God's. There should also be a difference between those affiliated to this establishment and those of the past. The difference is that all the groups affiliated to the Islamic Republic, be they the government, administrative organizations, military, gendarmerie, police, pasdars (Islamic Revolution Guards Corps) and law enforcement, they are originally affiliated to the Islamic Republic. Therefore, their deeds, actions, beliefs and ethics should conform to Islamic Republic. If the ethics for example some people had developed commensurate with taqot, God forbids, still prevails, one should struggle to obliterate them. Now you gentlemen have great responsibility and your deeds are noble, as the skeleton of Islamic Republic depends on you. Your responsibility is therefore great because if formerly you did a wrong act, it would be argued that the regime was taqot and such things are common. If, however, we do something countering Islam, it would be argued that Islamic army is also the same as taqot. You know that treacherous pens and tongues with evil eyes are on the look out to find an excuse from any one of the Islamic groups to aggrandize it and arguing that the Islamic regime is also like the *taghut* regime. Today morning, I saw a magazine related to Bakhtiyar and read therein that Bakhtiyar has said that the Islamic regime is also a taqot regime engaged in plundering and so and so. In one of the writings, I read that some places in Iran is under martial law because people have turned their back to the regime and the government is subduing the people by force and arm. Well, these are things they are reflecting outside of Iran. Now that they have found no pretext, they are presenting such impressions. If once they find an excuse that we have not acted the way we should, this excuse would serve the pens

attempting to break this revolution and cannot see an Islamic regime established would embark on tarnishing the image of this revolution. We should preserve our school. I mean to say that the school of Islam is now in our hands and in your hands. This school should be protected. We should not act in a way that they can find fault with our school. Those who want to raise objection target the school, because they are at loggerheads with the school. They see a school being stable, they criticize the school. Therefore, we are obliged to protect this school or else it would sustain damage. We should act in a way that the school is not hurt. That which we should do to protect the school from any damage is to fulfill our duties wherever we are. If people in a country are duteous and well perform the duties devolved upon them, that country would be improved soon. If army personnel are dutiful, particularly now that they work for Islam, Islamic duty calls for fulfillment of duty. If gendarmerie thinks in this light and so do pasdars (Islamic Revolution Guards Corps) and the police, things would be reformed soon. If, God forbid, people fail to fulfill their duty and imagine that now that they are free they can do whatever they wish and fail to act according to duty, this state of affairs would result in chaos and the system would be hurt.

False propaganda of foreigners against the revolution

They are now planning to demonstrate to foreign countries that Iran is not stable and embroiled in chaos. They want to prepare the world public opinion if once they want to interfere. They are now engaged in such plan. All their propaganda aim to reflect to the world that Iran is running into lawlessness. There is no order anywhere; there is no feeling of duty anywhere; anyone does whatever one wishes. This brings up great responsibility and costs us dearly to introduce us in the world in a way as to give them right to bring in their military forces to train us as if we are a population that is not educated, a community that seek chaos with no order and incorrigible. Therefore, a guardian should come to train us. This is painful for a country launching an Islamic Revolution. As such, our duty is Islamic and heavy, yet it should be fulfilled. I hope God will sanction you. I wish you success and hope that you would proceed with health, happiness and power. God willing, you are victorious.

Speech

Date: Noon, January 6, 1980 [Dey 16, 1358 AHS / Safar 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sympathy with the disabled of the revolution—opposition and sabotages of the enemies of the revolution.

The occasion: Week of disabled of the war

Audience: Disabled of the revolution in provinces and their nurses

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expressing sorrow for physical infirmity of disabled of the revolution

O, God! You know in what spirit I am when I observe this sight. How can I bear the sight of our brothers, sisters and children losing their members and health for the cause of Islam? How can we endure watching this child standing here maimed in his early childhood? O, God! Punish those who have brought about these predicament for us. O, God! Punish these super powers who commit these crimes in the world to gain power for a few more years. Castigate them with your powerful hand. My brothers! My sisters! My dear children! I know you are in suffering. I also sympathize with you in your pain. I sympathize with your pain like a brother whose brother and sister is suffering and like a father whose children are in anguish. However, that which eases afflictions, that which alleviate pains and that which facilitates these agonies is that these sufferings were for the cause of God. You revolved for God and wounded for God and many of your brothers and sisters were killed for God. What you lost in the cause of God is not wasted and will be safe with God. The world is a means for other worlds. God will grant you stations that if others see would wish to be like you.

Step by step policy of the enemy in their oppositions

Our nation is in the process of movement and has not yet reached the destination. Our revolution is making revolutionary growth, yet it has not reached the destination. Our nation is grappling with difficulties which should remove with power, solidarity, preserving faith and will and resolution. Previous difficulties were many and were settled with the power of you dear nation. God willing, the other problems would also be resolved. These problems brought about from beginning to present time are caused by persons who do not want to see our revolution coming to fruition nor do they want to let it bear fruit. These are persons who objected to this revolution and

worked sabotage step by step and now that the subject of electing president is in the offing, they are engaged in brewing plots and do not want the president to be determined. Now after suffering defeat here and the president was elected, they would carry on with their conspiratorial acts in the case of appointing the parliamentarians. You should prepare yourselves. The nation should be prepared to depart, be equipped to confront the layers sapping the progress of our revolution. Beware that in each and every step you take for improvement and advancement of Islam and the Islamic Revolution the devils that do not want Islam to be fructified and the Islamic Republic established persist in their objections. Be ready to endure the plights and plots in revolutionary way and go forward as God Almighty is with you. Victory rests in the Iranian nation, God willing.

Our demand—creation of just Islamic government

We want nothing. We have nothing to say but crying for an end to the torture and suffocation our nation has undergone in the course of history. In these recent years optimal degree of torture, suffocation, crime and looting by foreign and domestic ones have loomed over this nation. We want our people to be free and not being under pressure and domination of others, be they foreign or domestic. We want our country to be independent and not be under the leadership of others. We want reservoirs of our country to be theirs. We want to work in our own country and reap the fruit of our labor. We want a just Islamic government, one modeled after governments in early age of Islam. We want our nation to live in comfort and peace. What do those who object step by step say? They object to these demands in the name of being supporter of the nation. These are the interests of our nation. You should wake up as the enemy is lying in wait. We are amid the way. We should cross these defiles. We will hopefully drive back the enemy for good. Your country is yours. May God cure these disabled and wounded ones and grant reward and patience to you.

Speech

Date: January 6, 1980 [Dey 16, 1358 AHS / Safar 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Most superior migration, migration from carnal desires

Audience: Women from the Maktab-e Hijrat (school of migration)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Most superior migration

I am not in good disposition and will not give your trouble. Nevertheless, I will have a few words with you. As I have been told, you are members of the “migration group.” Migration carries a great meaning. Of all migrations, the migration from self-conceit and ridding of selfishness/egoism and migration from one’s self towards God is the greatest of migrations. The migration of Prophet from Mecca to Medina aimed to show man the way of migration from one’s self towards God. Teachings of prophets are for this migration so that we migrate from darkness, gloom, selfishness, carnal passions towards God and defecting from our selves and our satanic desires and turn towards God Almighty. *“Whoso migrateth for the cause of Allah will find much refuge and abundance in the earth, and whoso forsaketh his home, a fugitive unto Allah and His messenger, and death overtaketh him, his reward is then incumbent on Allah. Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.”*¹

The migration from the abode of nature is likely to be from the self. The abode’ might be the abode’ of man’s self; that is, the nature that is the abode of the self that is imprisoned in it. The noble Quranic verse might mean that one who departs from this abode of self might turn to God and His messenger. It might be departure from things that urge man to have regard for the world and worldly ideals, inhibiting man from reaching God and the truth of the attachments man have to the world. Every human being is attached to the world and one’s self is attached to the world. Everyone heeds one’s self and aspirations. If one migrates from this abode’, this dark abode, this abode that blocks us from attainment to human perfection and turns to God Almighty and the messenger of God that is also migration towards God so far as to be overtaken by death, the voluntary death that is exclusive to the saints of God who relinquish all their aspirations and are annihilated in God Almighty or in the migration one conducts one appreciates death, the same

¹ Surah Nisa 34: 100.

omised death, one's reward is then incumbent on Allah and according to the first possibility one no longer desires any reward but the one given by God. Basically, one seeks no other aspiration. One wants only God.

Deeds become divinely in light of migration from carnal desires

You who have chosen this name and (migration) that is a noble name should note that you should depart from the burden of responsibility of this name as well and embark on migration. Note that this world is transitory and the greater the interest, the harder the transit. While the saints of God have conducted this migration, they did those activities for God's gratification and for being profitable for brothers and sisters. If this migration finds reality, man's deeds would become divinely oriented. Now, whatever deed we perform is involved by self and egoism. Such an act is sensual and satanic. If that migration is done and the migrant acts for God and His messenger, then whatever one does is spiritual and divinely. One performs all practices. If one fights, one's battle is divinely. If one does business, one's earning is divinely sanctioned. The prophets did all the works done by others, works dealing with livelihood, life and administration of a country.

Differentiation of deeds in terms of their divinity or else

The Prophet used to go to war, socialized with people, led normal life, yet their life was divinely oriented. Several people who sat together and let us suppose all performed one practice and among them were the holy prophet, persons who absolutely followed him, the hypocrites and those who had refused to migrate, all doing the same work superficially. All participated in war and let us suppose did other works, but the implication differed. The work done by the messenger of God and that which was done by a hypocrite was similar formally, but the implication was different; the former was divinely and the latter satanic. One who is entangled in darkness is devoid of luminosity no matter what he does including even acts of worship which are still bereft of effulgence. It is only fulfillment of an obligation. One performs prayer, but one's prayer is simply fulfillment of an obligation without serving one to move. The acts of worship we do should help us move and migrate.

Endeavor to make your performances divinely, not for ostentation and winning admiration of others; they should be done for God. When a work is for God, it shines out. Whatever portion of prayer one performs for God will be shining and ascends to heaven and whatever portion is neglected lacks luminosity and will not go up to the celestial world. All works are like this. The difference between us and the saints of God does not lie in form. At

times others were more well built than prophets. The difference lies in meaning; the difference is spiritual. Their deeds are different. In spiritual term, one stroke of the sword of Ali on the day of the battle of Khandaq (moat or trench) is superior to the worship of man and jinn.¹ Obviously, that was for confrontation of disbelief with Islam. However, if this had been done by someone else, it would not have been described as being superior to worship of the Thaqaalayn. If one is entangled in one's self, even if one does what Ali did and obtained victory by one's stroke and one overcame blasphemy, one's practice was simply called act of worship let alone being superior to the worship of Thaqaalian. There is spirit in Ali's act, a sense of divinity and attention to God granting it excellence and making it superior to worship of Thaqaalayn. We are short of comprehending these concepts. However, we can have a similitude, a remote one. Our deeds should be remote from satanic whispers. You should struggle so hard that you can perform that practice, serving as prelude to migration that you have chosen. I hope that you are successful in this migration and attain to the optimal perfection. I wish you prosperity and health. May God protects you all.

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, pp. 1-2, H. 1.

Speech

Date: January 7, 1980 [Dey 17, 1358 AHS / Safar 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Enemies' plot in suggesting people's need for guardian

Audience: Representatives elected by non-commissioned officers of the Air Force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Being vigilant not to give excuse to the enemies of the revolution

The matters you mentioned and all the issues concerning the things being upset and disorderly exist everywhere in the country. You and we should note the sensitive situation of the country and whether raising such issues at this span of time is in the interests of the country or triggers sedition. Presently, our country is shaky. We do not have a stable government. We do not have a president.. We do not have a parliament. In such situation if all classes of the people engage their mind to the problems in their regions and want an immediate solution to them or else they would mount sit-in or demonstration, seem to run counter to the interests of the country. Presently, there are pens outside and inside of the country writing against the Islamic Republic. They want to show to the world that chaos prevail in the country and the army, gendarmerie and government are at loggerheads with one another. By depicting such an image of the country, they aim to have the excuse to justify a military intervention. If they prove in the international circles that Iran is chaotic and not yet ripe to have freedom, thus standing in need of a guardian, they might carry out a coup and install one like Reza Khan the like of whom they have everywhere in which case neither you nor we would remain.

Attention to enemy's internal plots

The situation in which we are now involved and that which I see everywhere certain people are engaged in hatching plot and urge good people who are not much informed of the depth of issues to create problems. For example, they go to Azarbayjan and create commotion. In Kurdistan, Baluchestan, Tehran, Qom etc., they incite disturbance. They trigger tumult among the army, gendarmerie and police. This state of affairs depicts a picture of the country in which no standard prevails and no discipline applied. Its court is not orderly and so are the IRGC, comite, law

enforcement, with enmities being on the rise. America, as I understand, is speaking about military intervention and economic using this state of affairs as excuse to preoccupy the minds of people and deceive them to implement its internal plots. That which disturbs your and our revolution and harms it is from within, not outside. The groups that are inspired from beyond the borders work to confuse the situation, with our overseas enemies reflecting the situation outside of Iran. Now, wherever one goes there is difference; strike prevails across the country; demonstrations are order of the day, They are busy brewing such stories that could, God forbid, help them justify their intervention in the sense that they might argue that the country is chaotic and the people are savage and thus stand in need of guardian. As such, they might introduce a guardian for us. We should heed such issues and beware of presenting an unstable picture of the country and Islam.

Preservation of calm, most essential need

We have personal problems as well as entanglements pertaining to our union. If the foundation of a country is suffering from instability, it is not the time to deal with personal concerns. This situation can be likened to a time when an earthquake happens. In such a case do you sit and talk about the nature of our system? You will immediately rush to save the quake victims. Now your country is like one exposed to earthquake and explosion. All the difficulties you have so far sustained is about to go phut. We should not worsen the situation. We should help restore calm so that president would be elected and Majlis set up. Majlis is the venue for such matters and handling the country. Now if one wants to pull the bread to the buttered side and everyone finds an excuse and every day, let me say, give rise to disorder where is in need of discipline or where stability is required is stripped of stability, the revolution will suffer a setback. The problems you cited are there, but it is not the right time to raise them. The situation is like when one wants to treat a question or, let us suppose, discuss a scientific matter at a time when flood has hit the country and is about to carry away Iran. The question, however correct, is not right to be treated at such critical time. You are in the right to raise the problem, but the timing is not appropriate. These questions are noteworthy but now you are entangled in a bigger problem that is not domestic. It is both an external and internal problem. You should first restore peace until two or three more months so that hopefully things are established and MPs sit in the Majlis. Then no one can argue that nothing in the country is in its place and that everything has been disrupted. We can tell our people and the world that we have passed our constitution, elected the president and

set up the Majlis so that they would recognize us and the regime. We should work until we are established and then we come to treat these questions.

Motive behind oppositions and disturbances

Do you think that only you are worried? Hardships prevail across the country. Everywhere in its own way. Everyone coming from abroad or any group coming from different places in the country argue that their problems are big. It is because they are unaware of the problems in other places. The point is that everywhere is damaged. They left a ruined country and escaped. The main problem in this wrecked country is the skeleton of the government that is not yet in good shape. Unless this skeleton is not made, we should not go after other problems, complaining that I have no house or my living condition is so and so and the like of these words. These problems should be raised when things are established and we are not embroiled in such agonies. Then we pursue these personal problems that should be set right. These things should be treated by Majlis and government. Every one of these problems should be addressed and they will be settled God willing. However, our youths should note these things. While they have good will and want to serve, yet they are inattentive that this service is now detrimental to the country, triggering distraction and difference. Now if any disturbance is made in any place, it is done with ulterior motive designed to cripple us. They do not want an Islamic Republic to be established in Iran. They want to paralyze the country in whatever way possible. They have drawn up schemes and presented plans as to what to do. What is to be done in gendarmerie, in sepah (Islamic Revolution guards Corps), in military, in, I don't know, the cabinet and in universities? They have plans to disrupt everywhere so as to portray Iran as a country not worthy of freedom. When a nation becomes free, but cannot protect itself and preserve its order, such a nation needs a caretaker. This is an important issue that if one believes in God and religion, one should now work. If one believes in one's country, one should work. If one believes in one's people, one should render service to them. Now is time for calm and not raising such issues. We have also numerous difficulties; the entire country has difficulties. However, if we chase personal difficulties, we would lag behind the basic things, which are now shaky. This is the gist of what I point out to you and other gentlemen who occasionally come here.

Speech

Date: January 7, 1980 [Dey 17, 1358 AHS / Safar 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Construction of the country in coordination with the nation and the government

Audience: Construction *Jihad* of Ardestan and Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Public efforts for reconstruction

After this revolution that emerged victorious, thank God, and our great nation took the first step, among the works performed by the nation, I greatly like the Reconstruction Jihad. Whenever TV showed the brothers and sisters from all classes being engaged in some effort for their country, I felt a sense of delight. Note that you should not constantly see if the government or organizations would do so and so. They are busy doing things, but they cannot do to the extent Iran needs. Iran is yours and you should build it. If the entire nation does not endeavor in reconstruction efforts, the works would left behind. To expect that first a group takes action so that we would follow suit or expect no sabotage is naive. You know that in very nook and cranny certain people are prepared to work sabotage. It is the nation to perform the works. For example, notice that formerly in the previous regime all they did was empty words, among them campaign against illiteracy. Only when they left was it clear that they made no campaign. Yes, what they did was sapping the progress of literacy. They did not learn the illiterates how to read and write. If the nation waits for the government to do it, the government cannot. Now, we have around, I have no precise information, 80% or perhaps 60% or 65% or so illiterates. I am not in the know, but I know that there are many illiterates. In Afghanistan there are less illiterates than Iran that should be in command of these matters. By literacy I mean the very ability to read and write. We want the entire Iran to be literate; we don't expect all to become doctors, because this seems unreasonable. Likewise, we don't expect all to become engineers. We want all the people to be able to write what they mean and sign. When I was in Najaf, I occasionally made a pilgrimage to the holy shrine. Once I saw Afghan pilgrims coming to say written prayers; all Opened the prayers book and began reading from the book. Perhaps among the 30 or 40 Afghans who were there only one could not read from the book. Perhaps he had finished saying his prayers. All were reading from the book.

They were from low classes. Anyhow, we wish this problem would be settled through the efforts of all. If you wait for the government to enable people to read and write, it cannot. Again, we would follow the previous regime in its rhetoric. The government has taken action, so has the education ministry; they have taken good measures. Nevertheless, the problem is not one that they can settle it alone. So is the Reconstruction Jihad. Reconstruction of a country that has lost everything and is ruined, it is not possible for the government to do the job. Nor is it possible for a certain layer to do it. People should regard the government to be theirs and all work to build a flourished country,

Sabotage of dissidents and their influence in organizations

However, what is now important is that there are hands at work to take away our resources. Since I am worried about it, I have repeatedly highlighted this for persons coming here. Again I would like to reiterate the subject. There are hands mostly from America, the Soviet Union and other places gazing their covetous eyes on our country. They want us to work and they take away our treasures. Now their hands have been virtually curtailed and will hopefully remain so for good. They are now contemplating to withhold Iran from being stabilized and setting up a well framed system. Everywhere, for instance, in the Reconstruction Jihad, people are found infiltrating. They are found in university as well; they are everywhere. In factories there are many of them. It appears to me that it is a scheme and plot to vitiate Iran's stability and order. They go into the army and disturb proper exercise of discipline. They go into the gendarmerie obstructing measures to practice discipline. So is the situation with regard to the police, IRGC, university and everywhere. They are present everywhere and have schemes for this purpose. It appears to me that their scheme is to deal a blow to us from within, inciting us to mount commotion, disregard order, give rise to differences and generate chaos. They want us to break into the houses of people and loot the houses, appropriate the people's lands and gardens and take away everyone's property. In the absence of law or stability, they would be able to do whatever they like. The enemies of Islam in abroad would magnify and exaggerate the events in their media. They will enlarge an incident so great as to focus the chaos in Iran. They want to show Iran like an infant who needs one to take care of till he attains maturity. Such it seems to me. This is a probable design. To reflect in abroad that Iran cannot administer by itself. All groups are adversaries to one another. Everywhere is chaos. So someone should administer the affairs in Iran. They want a ground

to be coup d'état if they so decide. To make a military invasion if they like. They will give a reason to it that they did so to save a nation. A nation which was unable to protect itself, we did a favor to them. We have to find a guardian, a caretaker for this infant.

Comparison of the Iranian revolution with other revolutions

None of the revolutions that have taken place in the world is better than the Iranian revolution. After each revolution, one million or half a million people were killed. A list is given to me. I see after every revolution, the casualties were one million and one million and a half. Two million were imprisoned. You see whenever a revolution or a coup d'état or anything else has happened, all the outlets are closed. Airports are closed. Newspapers are held up so that nothing should be written or known. A complete suffocation is created for the people. An extraordinary suffocation like one that was previously. Sometimes if one won the coup he used to carry out the massacres. Everyone if supposed or doubted that he could be something, he was immediately killed. Even a whole town they used to massacre. Now look at our revolution. It is an Islamic one. It is from the people. It is not for the sake of power that one power vanquishes the other power. In other words: a military force against another military force. None of such things were in our revolution. The text, the contents of the campaign was the people themselves.

It sprung from the people embracing men and women. It was Islam that prevailed and persuaded them to do the revolution. When a revolution emanates from people, its aftermath is not devastating. Such killings do not follow. If at all follow, they are few. So you saw after the revolution that all the outlets were open. All the newspapers and parties were set at liberty—an absolute liberty. There was no killing. There was nothing to endanger the people. Yes, we did arrest these who had committed killings and murders. Some were put on trial, and were punished for their crimes. But we did not harvest the people. We did not kill one million. It should be admitted that the revolution of Iran was the calmest one among the revolutions in the world. Other revolutions even after elapse of one or two or three years, did not settle unless was followed. A power should overrun a power. Here is the place where a revolution has happened. The late Qarani¹ told me that the battle lasted only three hours and a half. The nation won over the government and regime within three hours and a half. They wanted to do coup d'état in ehran. They had fixed the day too. They announced a day-time curfew. So

¹ Martyr Waliyullah Qarani, the first chief of the joint staff of the armed forces of the Islamic republic of Iran.

that the streets should be empty of people. By the will of God, the curfew was broken. Later they told me that the government wanted to take over the streets first and then perform the coup d'état. But the people crowded into the streets which countered their design. So, the battle between the people and the government lasted only three hours and a half. In the other places you see the wars still going on. In Afghanistan, you see still there is fighting and unrest. It is not yet known as to how long it would continue. The reason is that a coup d'état is in force. One man fighting against a nation. But here the nation itself has come in the field to expel the enemy. So the nation will not go against itself.

Avoid the slogan that provokes differences

Presently also there are persons amidst this nation who receive inspirations from abroad. They are, indeed, in minority. They know the tones of the people. They can speak in every tone with the people. They are also well versed with the satanic deeds. The nation should be attentive of these things. A plot is quite likely—a plot appears to design that we should fight among ourselves. It is likely that in *Jihad* also they may do something. They might create differences there. They will not allow the work to progress. They may infiltrate in high schools and in colleges. Wherever they go they will always create for us strikes, less work, tumult, tantulum that to reflect abroad a mal picture of the affairs here. They want to prove abroad that some one should be over our heads to administer the country. We ourselves cannot manage our own affairs. Therefore, the nation should not be blind to these designs. The nation should avoid differences among themselves. Why at all should we differ from one another? For what? Why should we destroy ourselves and that too by our own hands? Those who want to create differences, you please advice them, admonish them. If they do not listen to you then expel them from your company. You don't give a reason to believe that this nation is not worthy of liberty. Now that it is set at liberty, see how they are behaving among themselves. A nation not worthy of freedom needs a Rida Khan. So they may not go after finding a Rida Khan for you. They do have Rida Khans in reserve. They will bring our Rida Khan under a name of nationalist. They keep such ones under a mask of nationalist for twenty to thirty years. Whatever they want, they will get it done by the man whom they will bring. These matters the nation should pay attention to. Today is very sensitive time for the nation. We want to appoint a president of republic. You see they have become busy in designing plots, in carrying sabotages. You saw in Qum. In Azarbayjan also the tumult and turbulence is going on. They

will create still more disturbances tomorrow when you send your representatives to parliament. So the nation should be careful not give them any excuse to reflect to the outside world that these Iranians cannot tolerate one another. So you should stop these things. The slogans or writings or conversations which might cause differences should be stopped. It is not in our good or in our interest to shout or give slogans against this or that. You should act towards stability. Let the government first get settled. There are only two steps. Let us take these two steps—one is to appoint a president and the other is to send the representatives to the parliament. I do not desire to meddle in the affairs. I do not want to intervene. So it is the nation to be careful and attentive. Elect your representatives among the good ones, virtuous ones, religious ones, nationalists but neither leftists nor rightists. Among such ones you should choose your representatives. Likewise, the president too. The main pressing thing is to avoid whatever becomes a ground for differences. You should rebuild Iran. Iran today is in need of work and rebuilding.

Thanks to the youths of Reconstruction Jihad

May God protect you, the youths. You are courageous and have high will. This is reflected in the Reconstruction Jihad. You take pain. But this is for God. You don't think it goes waste. Each step you take ahead, it is safe with God. Don't think that you are wasting your energy. Yes, energy goes in vain when it is not for God's sake. This rebuilding, God willing, will build you too as God has commanded. God sent Prophets for this errand. This holy war (*jihad*) of building envelops a holy war with self. May God give you all prosperity and support you. I pray for you. I am a well-wisher of you as well as a servant to you. Be healthy, God willing.

Speech

Date: January 7, 1980 [Dey 17, 1358 AHS / Safar 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American policy, augmenting domestic conspiracy

Audience: Coffin-wearing demonstrators or Aligudarz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Plot to stop the pillars of the regime and system from getting a firm hold

I have heard today that gentlemen have come on foot from Aligudarz. They have expressed their willingness to guard here for my safety. I thank the gentlemen for showing affection. I admire and appreciate the troubles you have undergone. But I do not agree to your staying over here. You may please go back and get busy with your work. America will not intervene militarily in Iran nor will it impose upon us economic sanctions. The American plot is to create something from inside that we cannot go ahead the way we have started. They have agents inside the country, their servants. The plot is to demonstrate outside (in the foreign) that in Iran, the government is not able to administer not is the nation able to be free. Everywhere in Iran, there is tumult and chaos. These Satans want to upset everywhere—in colleges, courts, police centers, centers of authorities, in districts—in all the country as a whole. They would not let the government to get settled. Now is the time for the nation to be together and united. These two stages that basically we have ahead, let they be achieved with dignity. One is to appoint a president and other is to elect the parliament members. Again the plots have reached the climax. These plots are to not allow the president to be appointed and the parliament to the parliament to take shape. If these two stages are covered then skeleton of the Islamic government will be shaped. They are afraid of an Islamic government. America has received a blow at the hands of Islam. The blow that has hit America is from these youths who have rendered sacrifice to Islam and have even foregone their lives. So for this reason America fears Islam. Therefore, it is creating segregation among the nation. They do not want unity because by unity we have had been able to prosper so far. They want to paralyze us while we still on way. They are speaking about military intervention and economical block out. It is quite likely to be such in order to divert the attention from the fundamental things. Our nation should be advertent of this satanic plot which is above all the

plots. They want the trouble from inside, and the Islamic regime to remain unstable.

Maintaining a unified voice and preventing dissension

I thank you, the youths, for your undergoing the trouble to come over here from a long distance in spite of this cool weather and particularly the cold that surrounds your area. I admonish you to eschew and avoid the segregation at any rate. Anything, any slogan, and any person that might become the cause for separation and differences amidst you please avoid. Today you need the oneness of the word. Tomorrow you are in need to preserve today's unity. Obey God the Almighty. He has commanded: "Hold firm the rope of God and do not go separated."¹ Separation would result in enabling you to uplift your country to the desired level of growth and progress. Also you would be rendered unable to demonstrate to the world in its due guise which is suitable to an Islamic government. And the enemies too are after this very same thing. They do not want that Islam takes shape here. These people who do not want the Islamic Republic, in fact, have fear about Islam. The countries that fear Islam anticipate that Islam would infiltrate into the other countries. So they are afraid of its getting spread. Therefore, they are willing to stop you here itself. So you should be careful and vigilant to be far from differences.

The honor and power of a country lies in its self-sufficiency

Another thing is that your country needs work. This is a wrecked and ruined country. So it is in need of reconstruction, which lies in your hand. Any one in any place should be engaged in some work or other. Whatever work he might have, he should do it fair and well. We should not depend on foreign countries for our food stuff. This should not happen. This is a vast country—quite enough for 150 million population. This is in accordance with what is told to me. Now 35 million are living here. As such, the country has more possibilities. You have vast lands. You have water. You have the heavenly blessings. You have strength. You have force, power and energy. You are young and have young ones. So, it is a matter of shame for an Islamic country to be needy for its own food, and that too from its own enemies. America is our enemy. It is a great shame and bashful to us that casts our heads down to be needy to America. So do such as to be self-sufficient. You yourselves should bring your food stuff out of this land of

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran* 3: 103.

God, by the flow of this water of God. I hope God willingly you will have exports either.

May God save you. I again thank you for the pain you have taken. I pray for you. I am your servant.

Speech

Date: January 8, 1980 [Dey 18, 1358 AHS / Safar 19, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Plots, step by step slackness is conducive to corruption

Audience: Coffin-wearing demonstrators for Lahijan and Abgarm, Hamedan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The sensitive position of the country

Greetings to you—youths! You have come on foot in spite of this cold weather from far and remote that we can meet from close. I am thankful to you, my brothers, for the trouble you have taken. I pray that God may protect you for (the service of) Islam and Islam may progress on your backing, at your prowess.

Brothers! Today is sensitive for our country. Difficulties are arisen and still there to come. Again the corrupted and malefic elements are designing plots to hold us from taking a step ahead to appoint a president for the republic. They did the same before too as you wanted to pace forward. They impeded the work.

Today too they are the same elements who are hindering the job. Afterwards too, when you want to send your representatives to parliament so as to consummate the establishment of the Islamic Republic, these filthy ones, rudiments of the previous regime who take commands from America and other than America will not resume their activities.

You brothers! Be vigilant, be awakening. As you did before with full force, and trust in God you broke the wall with closed fist, and reached so much extent of victory. From here after too by the same firm fist, the same determined will you have, pace this path. God willing, you will establish the Islamic Republic with its true contents gentian with Islamic commandments in Iran and also outside Iran in all the quarters. You will hoist the banner of monotheism in your country and all the countries.

A needy approach to enemy is vilification and dishonorable

Be advertent to plots, hierocracy, the elements that cause disagreements and differences. Moreover, you should be particularly careful especially in this last decade of the month of Safar. They might not take undue advantage of these gatherings and congregations. They may not create entanglements amidst you or divisions. Any division among you or any voice against your

interests is, in fact, against the interests of Islam. You yourselves should be guards of Islam. As you undertook the trouble of coming all the way to here on foot and in this shivering cold weather, you should bear this trouble also till you achieve the final victory. And that is, you all should be close to one another, should be together. You should consult one another among yourselves. You should think jointly. God will grant you all victory. You may march forward. You take the (affairs of) the country in your own hands. You save for yourselves. I hope that as said, this gentleman you should uplift the level and the scale of cultivation so that we may not stand in need to our own adversaries. to be needy of the enemy is painful. Should we be in need of our wheat, our rice and all our other food stuffs to our own enemies like America? This is a painful thing. Our nation should do as such to be self-sufficient, God willing. We shall even have our exports too.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

peech

Date: January 8, 1980 [Dey 18, 1358 AHS / Safar 19, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: To preserve the revolutionary spirit

Audience: The inhabitants of Urmieh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaping the pedestals of a system needs calm

Brothers and sisters from Azarbayjan! Greetings to you. Men of prestige and privilege of Western Azarbayjan! To you my salutations. Inhabitants of Urmieh! My wishes to you.

You have undergone the trouble to come over here to Qum all the way far and remote in this shivering cold weather to be face to face with me in this humble house. You can tell your point. I too will have a few words with you.

My brothers! Today is the day Islam is in the fetters of big powers. They have designed plots—evil and bad—for Islam and your country. Today is the day Islam needs all the classes of the nation—the affectionate and honorable people. The dear Islam has a right upon all the nations, on us, and on all the classes. Gratitude binds all of us towards it. We should square the obligation of Islam and that of an Islamic country. We have taken little steps. Bigger steps await our courage. We are still in short places but the controversies confronted us. They take the root from the elements left behind by the previous regime. They take the orders from the outsiders, foreigners. Likewise, we will have to face the same in our next paces too. We are already fettered in the trouble right now. This can be repelled by the courage of the great nation of Iran you the dear people of Azarbayjan. Now our country requires the calm—a calm that could spread its umbrella all over the country—so that a president and a parliament can be appointed. Then we shall go after the subsidiary things that are the branches. We will build a new Iran. The very skeleton of Islam even in this regime has not yet established. This skeleton must be established. Later on we can go after the tumult and tantrum. These disturbances you see they are around Iran. These are the designs to impede the country reaching to stability.

In the continuity of campaign a revolutionary spirit to be preserved

My brothers! Be mindful of Islam. Islam is now in our hands a deposit. Islam has witnessed blood. Blood has been shed for Islam. And the skeleton of Islam has been hit by crimes. It has reached our hands after all these ups and downs. So we must protect Islam. We must save Islam from falling in the hands of prejudiced ones abroad who want to present an ambiguous picture of Islam to the world. They want to reflect Islam in quite a different way. We should all collectively work such as to diffuse their designs and plots. We must abstain from these divisions and differences that they create everywhere in every corner and every place. The nation itself should not allow their plot to fructify and fecundate. You, brothers, wherever you are and in whatever occupation, you should preserve what you had before—the same enthusiasm, the same effervescence and ebullience of early revolution which was in high spirits with you. Today need more than yesterday this revolutionary ebullition.

We have not yet reached the destination. We are between the destination and the turns and twists of the way—a way long and tortuous. The thieves, the bandits are in ambush to hold us from arriving at the destination. The plots should be foiled at the hands of you youths and all the classes of the nation. After crossing these twists, God willing, after appointing a president at the republic and establishing the parliament, then we all jointly, collectively, together shall rebuild this country. All the classes of the people living in this country—a laborer, a clerk, a merchant, a vendor, an intellect, and all the ministries put their courage together and build themselves the country of their own.

Don't depend upon the government to switch the start first. You all switch the start. It is not like the past. The country is yours and to you. So your destiny you should take in your hands. Presently, shun from the differences. Then all collectively with high spirits of courage united in the brotherhood build this ruined country hand in hand all. This country is given to your. You will attain God's pleasure and the satisfaction of the present living Imam (peace be upon him).¹

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

I again thank you brothers and sisters of Azarbayjan. I wish you achieve in prosperity and happiness the highest human and the Islamic aim.
May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: January 9, 1980 [Dey 19, 1358 AHS / Safar 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of the receipt of religious fund

Addressee: Abbas-Ali Amid Zanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abbas Ali, Amid Zanjani, may his graces last,

By the will of God, you be healthy and busy in discharging the Divine duties. Your letter with its enclosure an amount of 500,000 tumans is received. The continued blessings for you I wish God to bestow on you. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 20, 1400 AH

Speech

Date: January 9, 1980 [Dey 19, 1358 AHS / Safar 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Occasion: The Arbain of Imam Husayn¹ the anniversary of the uprising of the people of Qum

Audience: The workers of refinery in Tehran. Reconstruction Jihad, Babul

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honor of the appraisal against the arrogant

I do not know from where to start. Should I present condolences to the nation for the agonies they have experienced throughout this period? Or should I present condolences for the agonies of the 15th of Khordad² or the agonies of 17th and 19th Dey? These last two years all the days have had been for our nation's days of pain and havoc. But they have had been entwined with the honor of martyrdom. To sacrifice blood for Islam and for independence is an honor. We have gained a prestige in the world because we have campaigned against the arrogant. Our nation, all its classes—ladies

¹ Imam Husayn: grandson of the Prophet, and also known as the Doyen of the Martyrs [*Sayyid ash-Shuhada*]. In 60 AH [680 CE], Imam Husayn refused to swear allegiance to Yazid, son of Muawiyah and second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, since Yazid did not possess legitimate authority and had succeeded to the caliphate by hereditary succession. The ensuing death of the Imam in battle at Karbala has always been commemorated by Shia Muslims as the supreme example of martyrdom in the face of tyranny. It served as an important point of both ideological and emotive reference throughout the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, is the day on which he was martyred in Karbala. See Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams ad-Din, *The Revolution of al-Husayn*, <http://www.al-islam.org/revolution>; Ibrahim Ayati, *A Probe into the History of Ashura* (Karachi: Islamic Seminary Publications, 1984); Zakir, *Tears and Tributes* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); Yasin T. al-Jibouri, *Karbala and Beyond* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); Sayyid Wahid Akhtar, "Karbala: An Enduring Paradigm of Islamic Revivalism," *Al-Tawhid Journal*, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/paradigm-akhtar.htm>.

² On June 3, 1963, Imam Khomeini delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating former denunciations of the Shah's regime and warning the Shah not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran. His arrest prompted a major uprising in many Iranian cities, which resulted in the deaths of not less than 15,000 people in the span of a few days when the Shah's troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators. The date on which this uprising began was 5th June or 15th Khordad according to the solar calendar used in Iran and became known as the uprising or movement of 15th Khordad.

and men has campaigned and came out victorious over the forces of Satan. So congratulations to you for these martyrdoms, these sacrifices and these agonies too. Again congratulations to you for the change and diversion that has taken place in you. It started from the petroleum industry and cut the veins of the foreigners. Be blessed this victory to you. Be blessed this change that has occurred in all the classes. One of its links is this Reconstruction Jihad. It runs in every place as this gentleman has said now.

The spirit of cooperation among the nation is appreciated

I should thank this nation for having attained a sense of cooperation. They campaigned themselves without awaiting other to come to their aid. They progressed in all fronts with prowess. My brothers, today Iran belongs to you, and now stands beyond the reach of the hands of foreigners. The reason for their cooking some or plot for you. As you stood manly and made them to retreat, and erased that satanic wall to the ground, now too be firm and stand manly and carry ahead the campaign. The ruins are yours. And it is also yours to get the ruins flourish with rehabilitation and reconstruction. The ruins have no extent. It is such that a class among the society cannot do alone. It needs that the whole nation should come forward to get it addressed. This appraisal too is counted for God. It is for Islam and for the country. So we should go ahead and cut short the hands of the betrayers. I thank you all. I thank the nation. I thank you for your coming over here from the Tehran refinery. And some have come from the North. May God always assist you.

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

Speech

Date: January 9, 1980 [Dey 19, 1358 AHS / Safar 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expounding the obligations of a nation; targets of the enemies in confronting the Islamic system

Occasion: The Arbain of Imam Husayn. The anniversary of the public appraisal at Qum

Audience: The people of Urmiyeh and other groups from other districts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expounding the nation's obligation at the sensitive situation of the country

You asked what our liability is now. This is a question all the classes of the people interrogate that now we have reached this stage what is the mandatory next? You know that our country is passing through the most sensitive stage of its life from several aspects. From one side it confronts with the big power—America. The Soviet Union too is in our juxtaposition—in Afghanistan. So almost all the big powers are in confrontation with our country.

On the other hand, a situation has enwrapped you and that is you are going to elect a president for your republic. Then afterwards, God willing, you want to elect your representatives for the parliament. Exactly is such a circumstance and situation some crowds, against establishment of Islam, and who do not like the Islamic Republic to take form, and this country to return back to its normal condition, and the fate of this country to be steered by its own inhabitants, have come out with their designs and plots. So in a situation such as this—sensitive one—the obligation to our lot is that we must for the time being overlook the confusions and irregularities existing in our own surroundings till we set these two stages behind and overcome them—that is the appointment of a president and then the deputies of the parliament. Now some hands are at work to create obstacles. But at the next stage you will face even more troubles. They will increase their activities to keep the calm distance from the country. We, on the other hand, are obliged to try to bring the calm into the country so as to be able to cover the two stages ahead of us. Our country could attain the pedestals for its skeleton.

Plots should be held from growth

Thanks to God that the constitution is passed and approved by the nation. You saw how much they tried to not to let it happen. Thanks to God that the people voted for the very Islamic Republic. That time too a few persons tried against it. Now as much as we get closer to victory, they too become more determined to spoil it. They are giving up their own life step by step. Of course, they are struggling to prolong their criminal life.

We, indeed, are under a mandate to not let these plots attain a growth. We must not let these people to gain domination. For example, they might go to the villages or any such places where they can propagate, and invite people to made disturbances. They will do whatever necessary to not allow this Islamic Republic to take shape. Look, the disturbances that happened in Qum, the same chaos happened in Tabriz too—simultaneously. It is not that it was just an occurrence. There is and should be a link between the two places. It is a plot designed calculatedly. It was on Friday that the trouble started in Qum. In Tabriz too the same thing happens with the same specifications—as far as the way, the method, the time is concerned. It seems they were one group with lances and other thins did the job together here and there. If the president is appointed, it will be a victory to the nation. A step further, if achieved—again it will be a victory to the nation. So they want to stop these steps however possible to them.

Enemies plot in deviating the facts

Now if we get ourselves occupied in other issues, this issue will lag behind. Therefore, I point out to you, gentlemen, and request as well: At your return to your places please admonish the people of the resistance of the plot. This is the plot: to entangle us in some affairs so than the main issues may slip our attention. For instance, suppose we could not get a president appointed. The voting of the nation was a failure. Do you know what will be its impact? They will reflect this thing abroad in a prejudiced representation. Iran is a country which is not able to choose a president for its own republic. If had we failed in getting the constitution voted by the nation, they would have beaten the same drums that we are unable to establish a system for ourselves. In other words, they would have conveyed to say that we have not yet attained a maturity to handle our issues. So be aware that we should not be accused outside Iran—in foreign country to the effect that we are not mature enough. Be mindful that it is the most important point. The rudiments of the previous regime are the filthy persons affiliated with foreign sources.

They are trying to set the things here up and down. Besides, the persons living abroad want to reflect the events in a fusion which is their vogue.

They represent the things abroad that things are not in order in Iran. A thing happens here and gets mutilated in tens abroad. Little by little it gets established and acknowledged in foreign that Iran is a disorderly country. There is no stability there. They are not yet matured politically. They are not competent to be free. Thus they will justify their intervention militarily. The world may not accuse them. Why? They could say that it was a nation deprived of a system. It was a shaky one, unstable, and living in a truculence and tumult. It was at the verge of collapse. So we saved them. We brought ahead a regime to raise them under its own supervision and guardianship. This is one of the very important issues we have. The other thing being told is of second grade importance such as who is their president of the republic. What is their government? Who is the chief of their army?

The other thing such as the cultivation, the agriculture, our own houses—we can mend or put them in order only after you having had brought stability to the country.

I say that it is time you bring your forces together for their response. In any case, these things too should be addressed. But be vigilant that they may not avail your negligence or unintentional inadvertency so as to deviate you from the main errand and the prime adherence to the cardinal issue. The path you wish to pace, they may not make you to stray from. This is a matter of utmost importance that we stray from that desired path to a tortuous and sinuous subway. If so happened it could be nothing but own negligence of a while. The base of the theme will be open to a peril that is the foundation of the country will be lost. Sometimes the fundamental is not exposed to danger. Where the government has erred? This interrogation can be met or answered after getting settled down the main issue that is stability.

Being unmindful of the basic issues—the enemies' aim

These are trifle things such as change of the head of a battalion or a brigade, or change of the government, or transfer of a clergy from one place to another. Be mindful that around this country wherever you go you find groups, several and various, all aiming one errand that is to block the way for you from going where you should. They have created everywhere some or other tumult that people could not pace the straight path and lag behind from persuading the destiny. Now in country everything is at collapse. Had we not voted for Islamic Republic everything would have remained upset in its setup. It was a mistake if had we confined ourselves to these matters like

police department. Now you want to mend the base. You want to appoint a president of the republic. So all the plots have started to hold you back from attaining the aim. You be aware and advertent that much is in store for you. Do not allow them to impede the right way for you and make you to return backward. All should pay attention to the plots running presently. The season of excuses has gone. It is no time for pretext such as "let it go. Today I am not feeling well". No one should justify himself under an excuse or behind a pretext. I have repeatedly said that, God forbid, suppose somewhere an earthquake happens. What will you do? Will you think what your own condition is, or how's your house? No, you will rush to bring out the victims from beneath the ruins and wreckage. You will not be mindful of your own situation. In this appraisal too, in its early stage when you wanted to check out this corrupt man. How occupied you were! You were roaming in the streets. You were climbing over the roofs of your houses. You were going up and down shouting and clamoring. You were never thinking as to who was the chief of police. If you were in those or such thoughts you would have never reached this victory. In other words, you left everything behind to face the enemy. And you expelled the enemy. Now too you should forego all your purposes—prodigal or petty—and go after these two stages (one: appointing the president; two: sending your deputies to the parliament). You can go after building the foundation of the country when you attained the two stages at hand now.

Don't think that in Urmiyeh conditions are such. Everywhere these are the conditions running. Everywhere a few of the previous filth is left. To purge the country that was a ruin and particularly the past fifty years, more worse and especially the recent thirty years it was still worst, takes a long span of time.

To spoil the youths through the regime of Shah

They have spoiled our youths. An age is needed to reform a youth. They have, in the regime of Shah, dragged our youths to lucidity, licentiousness, to every profligacy, corruption and looseness. They made our youths addicted to heroine, opium, alcoholic drinks, unrestrained enjoyment of loose and corrupted films. They did all this so as to make our youths of no use to any use. So, reformation of such a spoiled young generation takes time so long as to have no stint.

A miraculous change

This change, this transformation that has taken place seems to be like a miracle. Gentlemen! A country where its youths were occupied in a loose character, others too in their occupations; never occurred to them in their thoughts that such a thing could possibly be done. It was the will of God, and God willed, and all of a sudden a nation changed to quite a different thing. They all stood up and confronted the enemy. All carried ahead the job. The youths left those centers of their pleasures and poured into the streets. People too left their earning places and bazaar and came into the streets. Even the old men came out of their reach and rancid receptacles to the streets with their offspring. They clamored. They won the day over those who were equipped with tanks and other weapons. This was an act of God. It was not a human design. God did this thing for you. Again you should be thoughtful of the fact that an Islamic country is now a deposit in your hands. You were not under any obligation so far. An arrogant was ruling over you. You were right if you said that time "What should I do?" Now there is no more to be said, "What do I do?"

A collective and combined courage for rebuilding Iran

Presently the country of Iran is in the hands of the nation. The nation is obliged to give a form and shape to this Islamic country. Every difference, every division wherever seems to appear suffocates it. This is the essential step needed to give the country a form, a shape. Wherever whoever tries to bring in corruption, it is upon you to recognize him and surrender him to law. This is a common issue. It should be practiced. Do not sit idle that the government will do the things, or the police will do it. Since the country belongs to you, you should do it yourselves. You should guard it. Try to see these two things ahead of us could be performed which would later secure stability. Then by the will of God the other things should be addressed. The government consists of persons like you. It has no extra ordinary power to perform things. Therefore, we all should go hand in hand. Then alone the things can be done and the aim achieved. It is a task not for men alone. Women too should share in it. All the classes should be combined. In that case the ruin can be inhabited.

May God keep you well and grant you success.

Speech

Date: January 10, 1980 [Dey 20, 1358 AHS / Safar 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: American plot: To hurt the revolution from within; expounding the nation's duty

Audience: Students following the line of Imam, stationed in the Nest of the Spies (the former American embassy)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Any harm to the revolution is to the advantage of the enemy

You youths committed to Islam and are at the disposal of Islam, may God preserve you. May He enhance upon your prosperity to attain more and more Islamic aims. What I understand and what seems to me more probable is that America will neither make military intervention nor imposes on us economic sanctions. If at all it does, it will go a failure. It is aware of this fact. But it has adopted the means which stand a base for its plot, and that is to strike the blow to us from within. A blow from within could prove more efficacious with far reaching repercussions. Perhaps in all the revolutions it is so. Those who want to attain gain for themselves, it seems that they should have lost something which they seek to be compensated. So their designs should be such as to make the revolution detrimental from within its structure.

Imperialists' experts in the past and their observations

Presently, the hands at work are to this effect that is to divert our minds from the happenings and the events our country is passing through. The whispers that are in the wind aboard about the military intervention and economical sanctions and etc., are also to this very effect toward making us to be negligent. Therefore, you should not be inadvertent about these Satans. They are well girded by their studies and observations, and hence will prepare while we have newly entered this valley. You are quite new in this field. Besides you have a sense of humanity also. This forbids you to conceive their diabolic and devilish tendencies while they in their satanic inducements are will verse. They have studied the things—not for ten years, not for a hundred years. Their knowledge stretches ever since they found the access to the East that is as longer the history goes. They have not learnt about the countries but their studies embrace the treasures and moneys

hidden beneath the lands of the countries. They have exerted a long research over these matters. Motor vehicles, air planes, and other such things were still unknown and unseen. But they used to send experts to our country to investigate the land patch by patch. ¹They used to ride camels to travel these vast lands. They used to travel in caravans. Wherever whatever if they found they took notes as they kept dairies and drew maps. This constituted an angle of their job which furnished them the necessary information as to know the things your country has, and the hoards hidden therein. This is not a recent activity. This goes back as far as the construction of roads. They are after this errand since then. ²There is another dimension in their activities and which much importance could be attached. Along with their investigations they also studied the conditions of the people of Iran and the people of Iran. Iran has many tribes such as that of Khuzestan, Bakhtiyari, and etc... They used to delegate their men who infiltrated in the tribes, mingled them, and lived with them. They grasped the way of their life—their habits, their customs and so forth. This provided them a sufficient ground of knowledge as to how to provoke them or induce and incite them or how to make them idle or somnolent. They have invested a considerable length of time, labor and patience in this respect. As such their investigation is complete and consummate. Beyond and beside the tribes they have also investigations about common people. So they know how to create parties among them. They know how to create divisions among the people and upset their unity. Their investigations are wide and large. We should divert all our attention towards this point which is their plot presently. Their design is to create division among the people. The groups could be turned into enemies. Later they could reflect abroad to the effect that the Iranian people have no features that could distinguish them as a nation. There is no system, no law, no regulation to frame them into a disciplined society. You might have noticed these foreign new papers. The long and the short of it come to me. Even the writers of these papers also come to me. Among them are those still linked to the previous regime? They say and say and reiterate that it is not known as to where lay the gravity, or who directs the things in Iran, or who pilots the caravan. They so represent that one think or suppose that this country is breathing its last. It is at the verge of collapse. Bakhtiyar says in one his writings which perhaps I read yester night or today in the morning that homeini is taking his last breaths. What will be the fate of this country?

¹ In Keyhan newspaper and Jumhuri Islami dated 23,10, 58 the date of Irad speech has been mentioned 21, 10, 58.

² Victory, prosperity.

Such thoughts whether upon tongues or through pens represent their aim and intention. They want us to destroy ourselves by our hands the stability. This will give the country a feature of desertion that is no system, no organization, no government and nothing at all. Iran lacks a discipline everywhere—in army, police, gendarme, etc. This will serve them a ground if in case they want to intervene militarily, it could be justified. They want to sketch us in the eyes of the world incapable of being free and independent. In other words: freedom was too early for us. We are still immature to be at our own. They are writing by their venomous pens almost all the same thing. Freedom was accorded to them. But their country is in chaos. Everything is in a tumult. They will say that a nation there was which should have to be saved. We saved them. The topsy-turvy, the jugger-mugger would have succumbed the country. So we have taken upon us to be their guardians. It is still in need of a caretaker.

Slap of Islam to enemies

Our nation should have attention to this matter: Do not fear the foreign. Do not fear from the outside of the country that is from beyond the frontiers borders of Iran. Do fear the inside of the country, that is fear native elements rather than the foreign ones.

As you see each step we took forward towards the stability of the government they started the controversies and contradictions. People wanted to vote for the Islamic Republic but a group took the sides—this and that—in order to block the way for the Islamic Republic taking shape. They broke the ballot boxes. They set fire in some places. They impeded the way for the nation by their weapons and their own force. But, however, the nation went ahead. Their identity was exposed which was bashful to them. But they are not disheartened because they have not given up their purpose.

Later on at the occasion of the new constitution, those who are conversant with pen started writing objections. Some said: “Why now?” Some suggested the old one to be in its place. Some proposed a few codes to be changed of the old one. They created hindrances and obstacles when the council of experts was to be appointed. The nation again succeeded in appointing the parliament. And the parliament appointed the Council of Experts. As they were busy in sifting and winnowing the constitution, they too were busy in finding excuses and pretexts so as to claim that it is not national. Very odd, indeed! A thing the nation itself has voted and they say it is not national. Shouldn't necessarily be in line with the taste or inclination of a minority to become national or termed as rational? When it was decided

that the nation should vote to determine the constitution they started blocking the way and creating hurdles in the run of the work. Now the nation wants to give its opinion through votes about the constitution and the appointment of a president of the Republic. You will see this stage if succeeded and the next one too; stability of the government will be enhanced. But, as usual they have again broken the ice. A hum-drum in Tabriz! Hugger-mugger in Qum, in Tehran, everywhere. Evidently they do not like the Islamic Republic to take a form, a shape. Each step the nation takes; they take the next step contrary to it. So they move step by step along with the nation. They are not disappointed or disheartened.

Elections of the presidency of the republic—indiscipancy in the process

They are not disappointed even now. They do not want the choice of the people to win the elections. They do not want the man of the people to become the president. The number of candidates itself indicates their intention. 124 persons have nominated themselves for the candidacy to this office. What does it purport to mean? People do not know most of these candidates. Perhaps ten of them people might know. Among them it is quite likely men with insanity. I don't know but it is said that are. Among them it is told that there are deviated ones also. Anyway, such a gage number 124 why? What for? Do they really believe? Do they really think to win the greatest number of votes? No. It is a sort of interference and intervention. One hundred and odd—is the number 7 persons who want to become president of the republic. Some of them appear to be the vendors of vegetables. I don't know. But there appears to be such things among such a number of persons. I don't know them. It is in itself unfair that in a country one hundred and something more want to become president of the republic. You will see later that among them what groups will come out in canvassing and in their propaganda. Their anxiety is to become president and do not let a competent one to come forward. The least they can do is to create disturbances which would be reflected abroad to the disadvantage of Iran.

One hundred and odd persons want to become president of the republic. Right now they have fallen upon one another in hatred and revenge. You will see later what they have in store for each other. All this is in itself a chaos, a tantrum, truculence. On the other hand we are ignorant of these matters. Our youths too are negligent in this respect. Later God alone knows what will happen in the event of parliament taking a form. Worst of all is suppose as a matter of fact two hundred persons will have to be deputies in the parliament. But several thousands will choose themselves to be candidates. They want to

become president so as to avoid real things take place. Once we too used to confront persons who in their belief did not consider our path a right one. In their thought their own was a correct one. But, to deal with them was within reason. They had much reasons that they used to discuss among themselves as to know whose way is correct. But, here the case is not that. They fear one thing and that is Islam. They fear a group, and that is those who believe in Islam and are active in the service of Islam. These big powers have received a slap from Iran. A slap which they had never tasted throughout their lives.

The victory of the revolution and the fear of enemies

The world war: It was a war between two big powers. One power was at this side and with it some of the governments while similarly another power was on that side with a few governments. They were equipped with guns and cannons the things that were at that time. The both sides fought each other—one telling upon the others like. The same thing was with the First World War also. That time you were not in existence. But I well remember both the wars. That time it was like this: two powers confronted each other. One fought the other till it told upon one of them. In world war two also the same two powers fought against each other that are the two groups differed with each other with their power and strength. They hit and fought each other till one overran the other. But the case of Iran differs. It is not between two powers standing against each other. It was one group, one camp. Governments were together having all the power and strength in their hands. There was the Shah (the deposed one). America was behind him. The Soviet Union was at his backing. All the countries were with him and regrettably even the Islamic countries.

During my stay in Paris, I was confronting these matters. America was in search of an aim. ¹They were insisting on a thing while the Shah was here. When a successor ²still more badly was appointed they were still insistent. Later they used to tell me “don’t go to Iran. It is yet early. It is not in your interest to go to Iran now.” Strange, it is that our enemies were deciding what is good for us. Nation that has no weapons nor does it knows its art. A group from bazaar, a group of ladies, a vast group of youths, a group from university and so forth—none of them had undergone any military training nor did they have any weapons with them. At the most perhaps you were having four or five rifles which too came to your possession by way of spoil. he only weapon under your use was the tires which burnt. This was the

¹ The Shah.

² Shapur Bakhtiyar.

response from your side to the tanks and machine guns at that side. But the victory gained by you was bestowed by God. It was the will of God. We are negligent about these divine victories. The reason is that the appraisal was for God. The nation was the victim. It was an oppressed nation. It cried and shouted that we want Islamic Republic. We do not want tyranny and oppression. So, God too helped this nation. God has blessed this nation with unique victories unprecedented in history except that of the early stages of Islam. So such is our nation. God inserted and injected a fear in their hearts. This fear became the ground for our victory. Indeed, it was in itself a victory. Sometimes the army of Islam attained victories through such fears. A dread was dissipated in the hearts of the enemy through out a squadron, a brigade, a battalion. Sometimes the fear was to this effect that these Arabs eat a man that is the human flesh. Such a fear gripped the enemy and held him from doing anything. Similar is the case that happened with our nation. This is an issue of God's help. Except God no one could have done anything in the favor of this nation. In a gathering of thirty and odd people all should demand one thing, all to go one way—is it possible? Can such a thing happen? No one can do such a thing even at the roll of propaganda. One invests twenty years in propaganda. And yet he cannot gain a hold upon the bazaar. In a very short time we saw throughout Iran that all the people united at one word.

Endeavors of the enemy to injure from within

During my stay in Paris, someone came to me from Iran. Now I don't recollect as to who he was. He said that he went around when he was in Iran the villages of Palag and Kamre¹. He named the place which I know. One of these places which he mentioned I have visited. It is a village. No, it is not a village but only a fort and that too in a hill. He said all these places he visited, the clergy there used to go around in the morning people to follow him. It was a demonstration. He told me that he went to that fort. It is named Hasan Falak². I have gone there. I have seen it. They too shout what in Tehran is being said. They echo the Tehran's voice. In Paris when I heard this, I became hopeful that we shall be victorious. When a nation campaigns like this at such a level, it is obvious that a hand from the unseen is at work. Else, it is not possible to achieve such a victory by propaganda or by lecturing or by a clergy over the pulpit. It is something related to the will of God. God willed and we gained the victory. Thanks to God. I hope that we

¹ places in the vicinity of Khomein, Khwansar and Gholpayegan.

² Ibid.

always shall remain victorious. Anyway, in any case, our nation should be advertent to this important thing and that is they want to hurt us from within. They want to weaken us to the extent that we could be vulnerable easily and quickly without the strength to campaign. This was a plot which they carried out simultaneously in Qum and Tabriz. Here too in a particular way it took place at the same hour on Friday afternoon. In Tabriz what happened was quite the same that took place here. It seems it was one group separated into two batches. One batch carried out the plan here while the same plan was carried out in Tabriz by another. I am informed that in Tabriz they are again getting ready and gathering themselves for the same malefic plot. They do not want the country to become stable and established. Its reflection in the foreign countries could be this that the people are still immature to have freedom. Therefore, we should try hard with all our strength to foil this plot. In other words, every one in his place and position should perform the job well and good. He should do the work in Islamic spirit. His trust should be in Islam. You at the spot where you are, these sisters wherever they be, and farmers in their own place—all should perform their respective jobs in an Islamic way and spirit. If we do so, calm will return everywhere. A discipline and an order will cover the things. Likewise, in military, in police, in guards, in girders—everywhere if duties done in an Islamic spirit things will go in order besides the progress. Now your country is in need of campaign in the same spirit that you had in the beginning. No one among you was thoughtful of his own needs. You remember that time when you used to go out in the streets and shout “Allahu Akbar”. This regime should go! You were never concerned as to what is the lunch today or how is the house today. It is quite obvious if you were concerned about yourselves this victory could have never been achieved. Of course, every revolution entails troubles. The thing is one step you advanced and the victory appeared to you. You saw yourselves victorious—thanks to God. Now when we have gained victory you have taken backward steps. You retreated to your past situation. You became concerned about your own condition. You see many inconveniences, many things undesirable. They too started to enhance thereupon. They created troubles. Troubles at this time! They went to the factory holders to see how much you are paid—whether much or less. How is our house? And how is theirs? Similarly they approached the farmers, the schools and everywhere else. Wherever they could, they went. Now it is the period that entails the revolution. Dissatisfaction comes into being. So, they spread and disseminated dissatisfaction to make it more and more. Now they are busy in doing it further and further.

Participation of elections is the continuity of campaign

Our nation's duty presently is to prolong and continue the campaign in the same way it was in the beginning. Nobody was concerned as to what he had and what he had not. The same campaign should go on till the government is fixed and settled. Now we are in the middle of the way—uncertain. We have not reached the zenith. We have reached a certain extent where some of the tools necessary to a government are accomplished such as the constitution which is voted, and the fundamental of Islamic Republic too is voted. But we are short of the president of the republic and the parliament. The parliament should perform all the things. But the thing is our country has no stability. the thing that we must do is to preserve the same appraisal so far we have had to enable us to do the rest in calm and safety. If we get ourselves involved in differences over the precedent, or shall I say, over those who are supposed to be elected to have the access to the parliament, then these differences will be wide and large. Of course, in every government such differences are usual and normal. But since no established government exists now, these differences would be multiplied into several hundred folds. The ground too is already known and ready. It is obvious what do they want. For the presidency, there are one hundred and twenty and odd candidates—I would like to say that it is a plot. If we happen to be negligent or so ignorant as to do not understand that these one hundred and twenty and odd persons what they want to do, we will be at loss. None of these men even was in the field before. Now they have induced and incited them to go forward and get themselves elected. By this means they want to create a tumult and truculence. Later, God alone knows, what would happen at the time of the election of deputies. So we should keep our eyes wide open. Everyone among us should make his job in Islamic spirit. We should not consider that our campaign is not yet ripe. Otherwise, we will remain on the way and on the way too are robbers in ambush.

Efforts in cutting short the greed of enemies

All our youth in all the places should admonish the people while propagating, speaking, and talking with them. They should invite them to be together, to be united. Thanks God they are. They are also on good terms with one another. But they should increase their unity. They should get is glued and cemented more closely. We should cut their greed or they themselves should not fall greedy. We should not let them swallow our country. They are themselves greedy and covetous. They don't abash either. We must do the job. We all are duty-bound to preserve the unity we had, the

oneness we had, and more important that belief we had which was the reason for our success. So, we should bake these breads too when the furnace is still hot. One is the presidency of the republic and the other the elections of the parliament. We should bring these two breads baked out of the furnace. Then the rest will be easier. God willing.

May God help you all, assist you, and bless you. May God keep you safe and healthy. I pray for all of you. I hope you will not be negligent. Do have attention towards God. Everything is from Him. Nothing is from us. All is He. So ask Him for all you want. Trust Him. Go Ahead.

peech

Date: January 10, 1980 [Dey 20, 1358 AHS / Safar 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity for common efforts till the establishment of Islam in Iran

Audience: Hospital workers of Sahamiyah, Qum, Army wrestlers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Aspiration of the oppressed ones for victory over the arrogant under the banner of Islam

I thank the sisters and brothers gathered here in so small a room with so big spirit. Thank God that all are together. I hope that Iran may be a source of pride to Islam. I hope that the sisters and brothers who are today under the banner of Islam should adhere to their Islamic duties and obligations that we may be proud of them. Sisters! Wherever you are, impart your duties with a good will for Islam and to uplift of its values. As you are busy with a job, honorable to you, get busy towards purging your souls. Such purity could influence others too who contact you. A good demeanor, a good spirit and good deeds.

Today we are at need of one way of humanity that all of us tread there on so as to be a witness for its claim of being Islamic Republic. Of course, according to the consent of the nation the regime is Islamic Republic. But it is necessary a content also to be there. The content should be Islamic from every aspect. And it should be to such an extent that you set foot as though you have set foot in a place of worship. The hospitals, the army should be in the service of God. I am hopeful, as you told, the banner of Islam will be hoisted over other countries too. And its shadow will fall far and wide. I am hopeful that all the victims and the oppressed ones under the banner of Islam will overrun the arrogant. The land which is of God and has made it an inheritance of the oppressed ones may recover and take it back from the possessors of the robbers and looters. According to the commandments of Islam may we act. I hope that our wrestlers to be respected every where with their heads lifted above. Everywhere they shall be in high spirits of humanity and in a spirit of Islam. They may work with a purged soul. Wherever they go they may override other wrestlers. Besides, they may gain an upper hand in humanity, character, conduct and behavior too. I hope that Islam may be spread in Iran at the hands of sisters and brothers. Everywhere the Islamic

rules may be acted upon. And the Islamic behavior may infiltrate in all the classes of the people. Iran will become a paragon to be presented to the world to show when the regime becomes Islamic, the conditions will be such and so. Now you know that there are some classes among the people who do not want the Islamic Republic to be established.

Inspiration from abroad to the ignorant persons

Now the nation wants to elect a president for their republic and you see how they have started to disseminate the mischief everywhere—in Azarbayjan, in Qum, in Tehran, and at the places which are sensitive and the Islamic centers. The places from where Islam should be conveyed to other places. These classes of the people who are mostly ignorant come under the influence of those who are incited and inspired from the outside of the country. They take the word of the enemies for granted. They even commit things harmful and injurious to Iran. They cause Iran to be harmful and injurious to Iran. They cause Iran to be blamed and accused abroad. They provide a ground abroad to be said that Iran is a country that cannot manage its own affairs. It cannot administer its own daily run. You all know and they too know that no revolution in the world happened that could have had been better than the one occurred in Iran. The Iranian revolution is calmer, simpler, and quieter than all the revolutions taken place in the world so far. Our revolution is Islamic. So it had contents. It had a Message. The people won because they were with Islamic spirit. They set aside and repelled these who were robbers, and betrayers. They punished them. Now the country is in the hands of the people. The others are made out. I hope by the grace of the unity that is still preserved, we can be able to take the subsequent steps. God willing, the country shall remain yours and you yourselves should have to run the country. The best performance that the nation presently can do is that each one among us should do his job with a good intention and in a good trust taking the presence of God in view. If the entire nation develops such a spirit, our country will be saved and rescued. May God bless you all and protect you. I pray for you. I am at the service of all of you.

Speech

Date: January 10, 1980 [Dey 20, 1358 AHS / Safar 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Negligence about plots and its bad effects

Audience: The people of Mashhad, Salmas, Azarbayjan, Nightingale of Hamedan, students of the Fatimiyah high school of Lahijan, Students from Borujerd, and Yazd; the family of Martyr Bajurinian

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In the desire of the pilgrimage of Imam Rida¹ (a)

I thank you, gentlemen, for your coming over here from a long distance, from the capital of a divine domain and the angelic celestial part of the globe. What a happiness it is for you that the holy shrine of Imam Rida is before your eyes. The access to the holy shrine is open to you while we just aspire here. I have an aspiration that God may bestow on me the bounty of God over there to kneel and kiss the foot of Imam Rida. But, what to do? The hired hands of the persons here who are inspired from the outside are busy here. They have blocked the way for me to leave here. They do not allow our country to have calm and peace relatively and I could be able to depart here.

You pray there in that shrine of blessings and the place where the angels of God descend. You pray that God may bestow calm and stability to this country. The people of this country could be able to perform their obligations imposed upon them by God.

Irretrievable loss of negligence from the divine and humane duty

My brothers! We are now in a sensitive position. My dear ones! Be vigilant about the conditions of your country. You should foil the foreign plots they are preparing for you. You should not be careless because the

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

interests of Islam are in question. Islam is a deposit in your hands. If you be unmindful towards the divine and humane obligations, God forbid, things may occur that could be sorrowful for us and irreparable. These corrupt persons around your country are busy in designing plots. It is the duty of people, a public duty, to foil the plots. You can counter their designs through the determination you have and our youths have. Those who weave the plots will be buried. The plots could create delay in the things. But we have to be watchful to avoid them.

Gentlemen! You have come from Mashhad, Brojerd, Salmas and other places. When you return to your towns acquaint your friends with their duties and religious ones. They should shun from differences. All should be in one row for the sake of Islam and the Islamic Republic, to appoint the president and the parliament. You should all be united. Do not let the row die to create tumult in the affairs. May God grant you success and wellbeing.

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

Speech

Date: Afternoon, January 10, 1980 [Dey 20, 1358 AHS / Safar 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reformation and the Oneness of the word of Iranian nation a paragon to the other nations

Audience: Representatives of the Freedom-seeking organizations of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Crimes and betrayals of the Pahlavi regime

I thank you gentlemen for your coming here to observe the things closely. Although you will not be able to see but it is not bad to have the knowledge about the tyranny our nation has undergone since fifty and odd years under the two illegal and cruel rulers. One of the two was imposed upon us by the United Kingdom. The other was imposed upon us by the allies—again one of them was the UK, America and the Soviet Union. During this period of fifty years they committed crimes against this nation that they cannot be framed into a statistic within a few days.

Some of their commitments are yet to be known. They were known to themselves alone. The crimes of their near ones are also not known. Now you are visiting Iran. You cannot see as they existed. Similarly the signs of betrayal too you cannot see in the originality. You can know only to the extent you have heard. Or some disabled ones who were present in those events may have thorough knowledge.

Discovery of East by sticking to the school of Islam

I must say that unless the East should understand that it has an entity and existence and that it is a nation and that east too is a place, it cannot recover its independence. The big powers by their propaganda throughout a long period of time have so molded the things that the East lost itself and humbled itself before the West and their governments. East together with its school lost the entity—as though it is no thing.

The school of Islam is at the head of all the schools. It has sprung from East. But East has missed it. So unless it should understand what are its school and what itself is it cannot confront west. It should understand that it has an entity, it is a country. In whatever way they confront west, the West can foil the East at the strength of propaganda they have had. Now you should be mindful of this—to make your nation awake to the fact.

You make your nation to understand that they too have a school. They have existence. They have treasures and hoards in their lands and mines. They should know that they have taken away all the things from you. Above all this, they have created deviations among the nations. They have caused the deviation of the way for the youths. This is a deviation in a school. They have presented the school of Islam in a deviated and diverted way. The real Islam they did not present. They presented a low and vile school. The schools they have are vile and corrupt. All their schools are a failure. Here too they promoted such a school which attracts the youths.

Regime of Pahlavi and its efforts to spoil the entity of the youths

Another point: They opened the doors of corruption for the youths. They disseminated and spread the corruption. I witnessed these things in our country. I know the same is the case in your country too. We know that occurs in the corrupted places. Our youths are attracted to these centers. They have given up their real identity. It is sad and it is true that the centers of corruption in Tehran are more than libraries.

They have deprived us of everything. They have robbed our youths of the peculiarity that is a salient characteristic of the youths. Their endeavor was too bereft the youths of their strength so as to be a ground for their further robbery of the hoards and treasures. Our youths could not be able to do anything or show any reaction or remain indifferent. In the previous regime they had done the same. They created the proliferate centers. The youths were attracted to those centers. On the other hand the propaganda was so wide and vast that all the newspapers and magazines gave wind to it. Radio and television too came to their aid. The purpose was one—to spoil the youths, to denude them of their prowess.

There is another door, wide and large, which they opened upon the face of our youths. Drugs—opium, heroine, alcoholic spirits, etc. This door embraced the youths. The youths too responded favorably. They received the needed positive answer. The youths could not question whatever havoc hailed upon them. So they took away the Why from our youths. A youth should not ponder as to who carries away his petroleum and why? Who carries away his treasures and why? There is no liberty in the country, why? Freedom is slain, why? These are the plans they design for us. For you too they draw the same designs. For your countries too they design one type of plot and similarly for other countries.

Therefore, you should try, everyone who has a regard to his country, to his nation, and to Islam should do his best to overcome these havocs brought

upon our countries. The deviated minds should be set aright. Again it depends upon love and attachment. If we have any love towards Islam, towards university, towards our nation, we should train our youths rightly and mould them into a good, virtuous, and correct training. We should rescue them from getting Westernized. Everyone among us should be after this aim. The governments regrettably are under the line of this thought to be able to do or have a say in this matter. They should revise their stand. From now onwards they should abstain from doing what they had been doing so far. Again it depends upon love and attachment if they have towards Islam and nation and homeland.

Honor and domination in the lap of actions which are in line with Islam

The Eastern and the Islamic countries are vast, wide, and large and far stretched ones. Besides, they are rich countries also. The big powers, they are in need of you. The weapon which in your possession if you break it from them, they will become humble to you and also obedient. It is a matter of regret that some among our governments have the underground treasures and also obedience to them. So, a total change should take place to make the ups and downs and change them like those in the early days of Islam. A semi reformation took place in our country. People underwent the change to the extent of resemblance with the people of the early stages of Islam. The victory that we attained was due to the fact that the youths here became desirous of martyrdom like the youths of early Islam who loved martyrdom. The youths every day used to visit us asking to pray for their martyrdom. This change this unity of the word, this attention towards Islam that came into being in Iran should stand a paragon for all the nations.

If such a change happens and all turn their faces towards Islam concentrating to a point and that point to be Islam, in view of this prodigious population and these weapons, these equipments this petroleum and other resources—you should be the lords and masters and you should be obeyed, not you should obey. But regrettably they do not let this happen.

Change is necessary. All should try to avail this change. A nation careful, vigilant, attentive, and advertent—your nation should turn to. The time is out to be under the care of other countries or in the shadow of another power or to be the tail of big powers. Now nations are rising from their slumber. Our nation has awakened. But the persons affiliated and attached to the previous ones are still on the way. They are sitting handicapped that we could not continue our appraisal. This vague thought they are after. Our campaign is victorious.

I hope that God may cause all the Muslims to wake from their somnolence. All Muslims may get united into a brotherhood abstaining from differences. Governments and nations all should avoid differences. May God solve the troubles so as to be all the Muslims one hand. God is with those who are united.

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

Message

Date: January 13, 1980 [Dey 23, 1358 AHS / Safar 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The hearsay about the request for military help from the Soviet Union

Addressees: The Islamic Revolutionary Council

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

A few days ago a paper was put into circulation to the effect that Khomeini has asked military help from Soviet Union. I thought it is an open lie, one with prejudicial mind her written and disseminates among the people; and does not worth attention¹. But tonight it is announced over radio-television by Pars New Agency quoting from French news agency thus: The change d'affaires of the Soviet Union in Mexico has expressed readiness of the Soviet Union to help Iran. He has further added that the military assistance to Iran will be within the scope of its other helps extended to Iran. He has further assessed that this aid and other aids shall be at the disposal of Iran in the event of its being requested by the government of Iran and Khomeini. In addition to this he has also uttered some other matters unconcerned and not related. The revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Foreign Ministry should link into the matter and persuade the Soviet Union to impeach its charge d'affaires in Mexico and to avoid the repeating of such insulting Statements in future. Neither have I the government of Iran allowed the Soviet government and any other government to lay hands upon such baseless things insulting our sanctity and that of our noble nation. The wicked America with its criminal mentality together with Soviet Union should know that we shall confront the aggression of both the countries and any other government. We shall defend our dear homeland and the glorious Islam even to the extent of our life. If such a thing repeated it will cause our honorable nation to perform its obligation that will result in contrition and regret to them. It will become likely the necessity to revise into the relations with both the countries.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The official Iranian news agency which was later named "Islamic republic news agency" and "Irana" for short

Note: Imam Khomeini issues a statement on 20-10-58 upon getting the news of the hearsay to the effect that Iran has asked the military help from the Soviet Union. But for the reasons referred to in the message he refrains from making it public. The contents of the statement are as follows :]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the notice of the noble nation of Iran:

A writing which is full of lies from beginning to its end has been disseminated on the 12th Safar 1400 in Tehran under the name "From Khomeini's Office". It is addressed to the Embassy of the Soviet Union of the Socialist Republics in Tehran. The theme of this writing is a request for military aid from the Soviet Union. The Khomeini's office repudiates this statement. This office also condemns the intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. And it condemns again the barefaced malevolent venture to tell such an open lie in the name of Khomeini's office. The government of Iran will arm with the Islamic strength and the high courage of the nation has firmly stood against all powers. They shall defend their prestige and honor. They never allow any government to interfere in an Islamic country. They are the enemies of the country and Islam to fabricate such an absolute lie. The action of Iran should cut these putrial and corrupt roots that spread the false data from its very foundation and base by their high spirits and courage. Peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 20, 1358 AHS
Safar 21, 1400 AH

Letter

Date: January, 1980 [Dey 1358 AHS / Safar 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Abstention of Mr. Jalaluddin Farsi from the candidacy to the office of the presidency of the Republic

Addressees: The teachers of the Theology School, Qum

In the Name of God

Mr. Jalaluddin Farsi although is a man of suavity but he is not original Irani. The teachers of the theology school of Qum should make this thing public that the above named gentleman cannot become president of the republic. He himself is supposed to announce his abstainment from the candidacy.¹

By the way, gentlemen should know that Ahmad² shall not betray me. He is an absolute trustee of mine. If he conveys any matter he does not commit a wrong. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ According to the documents presented, Jalaluddin Farsi is of an Afghan origin. For this reason as per the rule of the constitution, he cannot be qualified to hold the office of the president of the republic. This relates to the first elections of the presidency.

² Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini is meant here.

Decree

Date: January 14, 1980 [Dey 24, 1358 AHS / Safar 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the head of the Friday prayers in Tehran

Addressees: Sayyid Ali Khamenei

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His eminence, the highest of the scholars Haj Sayyid Ali Khamenei, may his graces last long,

Since the presence of his Eminence Mr. Muntaziri in the holy Theological School of Qum was necessary, and he too has announced his abstinence from leading the Friday prayers in Tehran, you are being appointed to the said office. By the grace of God, you have a good record in the past and in learning and in acting there upon is also know your competence. I pray to God for success to you in preaching and guiding the people.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Safar 25, 1400 AH

Dey 24, 1358 AHS

Decree

Date: January 14, 1980 [Dey 24, 1358 AHS / Safar 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the head of the prayers at Imam Khomeini Mosque, Bazaar, Tehran

Addressees: Sayyid Baqir Khwansari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence, Haj Baqir Khwansari, may his graces last,

By the grace of God you are well renowned in knowledge, trust, and honesty. Hence, I appoint you to lead the prayers at the Mosque of Shah (previously). The endowments of the mosque too I surrender to your trust. God willing, be prosperous in propagating the holy and purified religion and in the administration of the affairs of the trust at the best capacity.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Safar 25, 1400 AH

Dey 24, 1358 AHS

Message

Date: January 16, 1980 [Dey 26, 1358 AHS / Safar 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: election campaign for the presidency of the Republic

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Do bring to the notice of dear compatriots that the photo of this person is not a print of approval nor is it a point of disapproval of any of the candidates.

Reply to a query

Date: January 19, 1980 [Dey 29, 1358 AHS / Safar 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Competency of the president of the Republic

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His holiness Imam Khomeini, may his blessings last long,

After submitting salutations and wishes, those who have not voted for the constitution and are against it, can they become president of the Republic?

A group of faithful ones

In His Most Exalted Name

He, who has not given a positive vote to the constitution, has no competency to become president of the Republic.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ At the strength of this answer to the inquiry, Masud Rajawi, the leader of the terrorist Mujahidin was deleted from the list.

Will

Date: January 19, 1980 [Dey 29, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of an absolute successor

Addressees: The heirs of Imam Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 1, 1400 AH

I stand witness that there is no god except God and Muhammad the Messenger of God, and the Imams, peace be upon them, are infallible, impeccable. Whatever the Prophet has brought is true.

Earlier when I was in the holy city of Najaf, I had appointed four clergies as my deputies for the affairs of Iran. Now I am in Qum, I cancel my previous will.¹ I appoint His eminence Pasandideh my respected brother and His Eminence Muntaziri, may the blessings of the both prolong, as my deputies in all the matters particularly with regards the religious finances which with me and with Mr. Pasandideh or at any other place. Nobody has a right to annoy them. Those two persons are my absolute deputies.

I hope God willing they be prosperous. A little amount which is mine is also in the funds at the upper position where these funds are placed. At the right side of the place, whatever is there should be given to the reverend mother of Ahmad.²

I want my sons to act in peace, calm, and purity.

I want Ahmad³ to deal with his mother and sisters in the highest degree of goodness. All should obey their mother. And I want all to behave kindly with Husayn⁴ and Maryam.⁵

I hope all to be safe and in obedience to God. I pray to God for success of all.

¹ Imam Khomeini in accordance with Islamic tradition has written several Wills. The later Wills overrule the previous ones. His last Will was read out in the parliament by the leader.

² Wife of Imam Khomeini.

³ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, the Imam's son.

⁴ Sayyid Husayn Khomeini, son of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

⁵ Maryam Khomeini, daughter of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

Letter

Date: January 19, 1980 [Dey 29, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Validity of the previous Will

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In the Name of God

His Eminence Pasandideh, may his blessings last,

My previous Will, therein whatever recommended with regards the mother¹ of Ahmad and else concerning my personal matters is valid and at its own strength. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 1, 1400 AH

¹ The respected wife of the Imam.

Letter

Date: January 21, 1980 [Bahman 1, 1358 AHS / Rabii al-Awwal 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Amendment of article 12 of the constitution

Addressees: Representatives of the Parliament

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Amendment of the article¹ and some of other articles in the subsequent manuscript of the constitution to be written and its approval being in the competency of the nation which is to be put to a referendum is of no objection from my point of view.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The 12th article in the constitution with regard to the Sunni population was suggested. The persons in charge brought this to the notice of Imam Khomeini. The Imam wrote his opinion in this regard.

Letter

Date: January 23, 1980 [Bahman 3, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Religious funds in the banks

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh,

All the funds that are in banks, either in the Cooperative Bank under account No. 1000 or other banks are not my personal property. They are public funds. Whatever is in the above mentioned bank, concerns to "Two holy shares". Whatever is under account No. 1000 and No 200, concerns to the matters known to Mr. Sanai¹ and Mr. Rasuli². I leave you to the care of God the Almighty.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1400 AH

¹ Mr. Hasan Sanai, head of 15 Khordad institute.

² Mr. Sayyid Hashimi Rasuli Mahallati.

Letter

Date: January, 1980 [Bahman 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Announcement of the news about his health

Addressee: Sayyidah Khadijah Gharibaneh Lavasani (one of the attached ones to Imam Khomeini and anxious about his health)

In the Name of God

O, Imam! My life! I am very much anxious because of the dream I saw last night. The dream ran in this way: Around 4 o'clock in the morning, I saw you in the dream. Three people came to see you. They brought water and a glass of beverage. I was with them, too came to visit you. They with their enchanting and attractive faces said: "We cannot see you swallowing medicine." At that moment I got up around 5 o'clock and came out of my house situated in Shuhada Avenue. I reached here. I could not avail permission to see you although I approached every one. Please write down your condition by your own hand for me. I am here in the corridor awaiting your reply.

Sayyidah Khadijah Gharibaneh
Lavasani]¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Thanks to God I am in good condition. Your dream consists and contains good. May God bestow you prosperity and happiness.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This letter was written over the memo-paper of the Martyr Rajai Hospital. The answer of Imam Khomeini too was written at its bottom.

Radio-Television Message

Time: January 24, 1980 [Bahman 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: The first presidential election of Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: The Iranian people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Government services should be in equal advantage to all

I have a couple of words to say. One about my own condition. Thanks to God I am not bad. Perhaps a great many formalities they prepared for me. Doctors and the minister of health made formalities which we clergies are not accustomed to. I will be glad only if I know that the people in charge also care the poor ones—the dwellers of huts and tents. In the days of the arrogance, no attention was ever paid to them. So, in this era let them enjoy some care and attention. The health which is a prime necessity to all should be available for them. Formalities to one and nothing to others; it should not be so. I hope the doctors wherever they are, and the government and the health minister and the nation itself should be mindful of this fact that the poor and dwellers of huts are children of God. They should not be in troubles and difficulties.

The necessity for the active participation in the elections of presidency of the Republic

The other word I would like to say is: Tomorrow is Friday—a blessed day in a blessed month of Ramadan. The commemorated birthday of the great Prophet took place in that. Again it is blessed because our nation has achieved their desire which they had been cherishing for long. That is the appointment of a president of the Republic. In this regard I have a few points. If those points take shape, I will be too glad. My sickness is not so important.

Tomorrow all the people should go to the ballots—without exception. Don't be unmindful to what the country is in need of. The fate of the nation and Islam is related to it. It should not be such that a person wanted to become president of the Republic and now he becomes indifferent because of no prospect of his winning the office. Similarly those who are his friends withdraw from voting. Such shouldn't happen. It would be better if those who know they will not win persuade those who will possibly win so that the

votes attain the needed sufficiency. Our heads shall not be downcast on the core that the nation has no head to these matters or to its own fate and that of Islam's. So, all together go to the ballots. Another thing: This is for the whole nation. So do not develop any differences at the ballots. Any of these, candidates who win the votes, shall be in the interest of the nation because who has won will do a service to the country. Therefore, do not behave with animosity with each other. Be brothers with one another. If one becomes president, you help him. This should not be the case that you beat him, destroy him before he could become president. Do not let happen such a thing at ballots tomorrow. Or some classes among the people may not participate. I request all classes among the nation, the Fars, the Turk, the Kurd, the Baluch, the Bakhtiyari, and the Turkmen—are all classes and groups or tribes that exist in Iran I humbly request them not to behave in a way that could have a bad impact abroad. It should not reflect that you are a nation with no Islamic training. You are not a nation to quarrel with one another on worldly matters. The presidency of the Republic is nothing, not too important that you pay heed to. The presidency of the Republic is good only in the case of rendering services to the people. Otherwise, it should pace the path towards hell. Do not be much after the votes to quarrel among you for the sake of one vote—either more or less. Refrain from this thing because it entails discomfort to others. Even me here in hospital shall be anxious and uneasy. Another point: When the president of the Republic whoever by the blessings of God be appointed, let not this happen that others get cross and angry and anguished. This country is yours, to all. This country shall ever be yours, whether you are a president, a guard or a clergyman like me. The country shall be there. After a president's appointment, help him. Don't retreat or withdraw or get angry. But all be together and assist him in the job. You must demonstrate your maturity, your growth to the world, to show that you all are combined and unanimously can handle the country's affairs. When one becomes the president, the other should take up another job and so forth. The affairs should be jointly managed. I am not allowed to speak more than this. May God help you all and be prosperous.

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

Telegraph

Time: January 25, 1980 [Bahman 5, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 7, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram sent inquiring into the health of Imam Khomeini

Addressees: Sayyid Abul-Qasim Khui (one of the great religious authority)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Najaf Ashraf, Iraq

Hadrat Ayatullah Sayyid Abul-Qasim Khui, may his blessings always be with us,

Your esteemed telegram received. I am thankful for the affection you have expressed. I request your prayers.

Khomeini

Telegram

Date: January 27, 1980 [Bahman 7, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram sent inquiring the health of Imam Khomeini

Adresse: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mashhad

Hadrat Ayatullah Shirazi, may his blessings last,

Your esteemed telegram¹ was received. Thanks for the affection expressed. I request your supplication.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 5, 1358, AHS

¹ This is the content of Mr. Shirazi's telegram:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Khomeini. May His blessings always be with us,

Greetings and salutations. The news of your sickness has had been the cause of my anxiety. I pray to God to bestow you immediate health that you can return to your quarters and shoulder this heavy burden of responsibility in this sensitive circumstances.

May you be granted good health.

Mashhad. Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1400 AH
Bahman 6, 1358 AHS
Shirazi

Radio-Television Message

Date: January 29, 1980 [Bahman 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Admiration of nation's participation in the elections

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Before everything I thank you, the nation of Iran, for your warm affections. I pray for all of you. This little time that I am allowed I would like to say a few words. One: I appreciate your care about the voting which was of rare precedence; such a participation of more than fourteen million while a great number left behind on the account of their inability to join as they were inhabitants of remote villages and some in mountainous regions. However, the nation joined in the voting ballots and said its word.

Another thing more than this which is unprecedented: I should rather say in the world it is unprecedented. The calm that surrounded the voting ballots is indeed worthy of admiration. Our nation has established a proof of its mental growth. By this proof they have pushed back those who are still covetous about Iran. I hope the nation will prove its liveliness hereafter. This is not the dread that a person has that who will come and who goes. Thanks to God, the nation is now awakening. To a vigilant nation nothing happens no matter who goes or who comes. Although in some radio stations some things are told. But these matters cannot influence our people.

Our nation today does not depend on anyone except God the Almighty. Another point I want to refer to is my request from all groups and all the various associations, and that is not to retreat because one person¹ is elected to the presidency. The nation has voted for him. But they should assist and help him.

This is your country. You yourself should help it and give aid. O, open minded ones! O, doctors! O, great and big ones! All must extend their hand of brotherhood to each other. All of you are brothers. I pray for you all. May God grant you all success.

¹ Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr.

Message

Date: January 30, 1980 [Bahman 10, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram sent to inquire the condition of Imam Khomeini

Addressee: Shadli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency Shadhli Bin Jadid—The Algerian President,

I thank you for your affectionate telegram. I pray to God the Almighty that he endows prosperity and happiness on Muslim nations particularly the brotherly nation of Algeria.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1400 AH

Message

Date: January 31, 1980 [Bahman 11, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message inquiring into the health of Imam Khomeini

Addressee: Yasir Arafat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Yasir Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestinian liberation organization,

I received your affectionate message in the hospital. I thank you for the anxiety and attention about my illness. I hope by the mercy of God, your illness to be cured and with a renewed energy would be able to carry out the heavy duty impressed upon me. The difficulties which the enemies of Islam and, Israel the usurper, and the agents of Zionists have created for us blocking the way, we shall repel them one by one. We shall pave the way for the Muslims of the world, especially the Palestinian brothers. We shall witness their greater victories. Prosperity for all I seek in this way from God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1400 AH

Letter

Date: February 3, 1980 [Bahman 14, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message inquiring into the health of Imam Khomeini

Addressees: The teachers of Qum seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Their Excellencies the teachers of Qum seminary,

I received your telegram. I hope the endeavor for the unity and the solidarity of the combatant people goes on as before. May God preserve the seminary under His refuge. I thank you for your kindness. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 4, 1980 [Bahman 15, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: uprising of Muslims and the oppressed ones all over the world against the arrogant

Occasion: The birthday of the noble messenger

Addressees: The Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the holy birthday and the blessed migration of the last Prophet, the best of the Messengers, I congratulate all the oppressed and deprived ones, and the nations of the world in general and Muslims specially. It is the origin of the divine and Islamic appraisal. It is the source that spreads justice, and the culture that moulds one into a human. It is the start, a beginning of the movement towards wiping out the base of tyranny and injustice, and at the same time is uplifting to the highest station of man. It is a migration from all tyrannies and satanic and bestial attributes towards the absolute light and foundation of perfection. He is the founder of a nation and Imamate (the divine leadership). The Muslims should rise up. They are at the threshold of fifteenth century (Hijri). They should come under the Islamic and Divine banner to defend their rightful rights. They should cut the hands of the tyrants particularly the superpowers of the East and West. They must repudiate the dictatorship claiming democracy and communism.

The pristine and prodigious divine—Islamic Revolution of our Iran anniversary is today. It mirrors the great and glorious campaign of Muhammad, the Messenger of God. His holy birthday and migration that gave a move happened in an age that the darkness of ignorance had shadowed all over the world. The powerful and mighty ones like beasts that live upon human flesh had darkened the day of the oppressed ones. The Islamic appraisal of the people of Iran happened in an age which is the example of the same age of ignorance. An environment which is the same where justice is succeeded by lances, prison, torture, and suffocation instead of freedom, poverty and plaint instead of relief and comfort. In such a circumstance our nation campaigned. Why? Because the jaws of the wild in the guise of man were drowned up to the elbows in the blood of our dear youths. The breath in the bosoms was not at a continued pulse. It was about to vanish the symptoms of Islam and mankind. The mansion of justice was

about to be pulled down to the dust. Dread, fear and terror was such a dominating power that husbands in front of their wives, brothers in front of their sisters had no courage to complain. Pens and the media were in the service of tyrant. In such a time the powerful hand of God came out from the sleeve of justice. It stretched under the shadow of *Allahu Akbar*. It transformed the nation of Iran from weakness to power, from cowardice to courage, from somnolence to movement. It brought a flood of human beings in which men of God saw happiness in martyrdom and worship in the sacrifice of blood came in its current and pulled down the wall of devil like men. Besides, they crushed the 2500-year era of governing the throne and crown in the hands of tyrants—idle ones who lived on the toil of others. No symptom, no sign of it remained.

Now the Muslims at the opening of the fifteenth century (Hijri) and Iran on the anniversary of its revolution is celebrating. On the birth of the Prophet and his migration and the Islamic Revolution, we celebrate and wish blessings to each other. But the greater celebrations shall be when the oppressed ones become victorious over the arrogants, and isolate them totally. Muslims with the unity of their word under the banner of monotheism should cut the hands of tyrants from their countries. The Iranian nation by the grace of God within a year after the revolution has achieved the Islamic Republic, constitution, and the president of the Republic. God willing, they will attain to parliament in peace with the maturity of mind, too. They will repair the ruins that were under a estimated design of big powers particularly the nation of Iran, towards total collapse. All the losses now are irreparable and irretrievable. The youths who were martyred as they defended Islam and their homeland. And a great number during this very period became badly disabled. How could this loss be repaired? Alas, our nation could have had been able to invite the thinkers of the world so that they could see the blood of our youths in the streets and lanes and the sky of Iran as it had turned red by the red of the horizon. Alas, the free people of the world could have heard the wailings of mothers and sisters and the agony of them. All this could have served them an example of that mountain of crimes committed by America and the deposed Shah.

The free nation of Iran supports the oppressed nations of the world against those whose logic is gun and tank, and whose slogan is at the head of lance. We support all the campaigns for freedom across the world that fight in the way of God, truth, reality and liberty. The brotherly Arab nations, and brothers of Lebanon and Palestine should know whatever agony and misfortune they are suffering is at the hands of Israel and America. Their

agony originates from the differences among the heads of the Islamic countries. Therefore, they should be united. They should uproot Israel, the head of the corruption by the strength of faith.

We once more declare our unconditional support to our Muslim brothers, the victims of Afghanistan. We strongly condemn the aggression of the aggressors. We are Muslims. Whether East or West, it does not concern to us. We defend a victim. We assault a tyrant. This is an Islamic obligation.

O, the nations of the world! You are oppressed ones. You should get up from your places and take your right. Do not fear the clamor of the powerful ones. God is with you. The earth is your inheritance, too. The promise of God is never reneged. I pray for the victory of the deprived ones. I hope the unity of the word of the people of truth. I hope the respected gentlemen, who have gathered in the cemetery of Behesht-e Zahra' following the martyrs drowned in blood for the sake of Islam, to witness an example of the crimes of the deposed Shah. They have seen from a close, small scene to the big of crimes of America and the Shah. I hope they will be able to hear their victimized cries and which they convey to the world. They foil the vast propaganda being done by America and Zionists against our nation. If it is so, they may prosper in the court of mankind. May God's peace mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 4, 1980 [Bahman 15, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Application of the order of the appointment of Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr as the president of the Republic

The occasion: The birthday of the noble messenger

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the basis of the absolute majority of the noble nation that has voted for Dr. Sayyid Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr to the office of the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and on the basis its legitimacy to it should be accorded by a jurisprudent, qualified with all the needed conditions. Hence, I accordingly put the voted opinion of the nation into force by this ordinance. I appoint the above named gentleman to this office. His appointment by me and by the opinion of the Muslim nation of Iran depends upon his obedience to the sacred commandments of Islam and the Islamic constitution of Iran.

I want this person to guard the responsibility vested to him by the will of the people of Iran and its constitution, likewise to guard the divine deposit which is now in his trust. He should be honest with devotion towards the pledge he has taken before God the Almighty and people. He should like a strong pivot coordinate among the responsible organizations; protect the fundamentals of the Islamic Republic within the scope of his power and responsibilities besides the confidence by the grace of God and the confidence of the nation. He should try to endeavor with all his efforts in the way towards the nation's aim and that is to keep the Islamic Revolution on continuity and establish the just system of Islam, being mindful of God who is a seer and always present. This heavy duty which at his shoulders should be performed well.

I want the various classes among the people of Iran particularly the thinkers, scholars, Islamic and political parties, police at this sensitive time when our country is passing through to support it and the Islamic government. They should shun from differences, divisions, and blocking the run of work so that he can precede acting upon Islamic justice and carry on supporting the needy and oppressed ones. He shall avoid acting that might resemble to an arrogant. All should join to and assist and cooperate with him.

I pray God for his success at the service of the servants of God and the Islamic country. Peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1400 AH

The blessed festival of the
auspicious birthday of seal of the
Prophethood

Speech

Time: Afternoon, February 4, 1980 [Bahman 15, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: material and spiritual states

The occasion: Putting into force the appointment order of Sayyid Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr

Audience: Members of the Revolutionary Council, the cabinet and a group of reporters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

World is bound to perdition and likewise the worldly positions

A word of remark I would like to put to Mr. Bani-Sadr and which is a remark to all also. "Love to the world is the head of every wrong."¹² Any position a moral one or a material one attained by a man or vested to a man, a day it will be taken from him away. That day is unknown.

All those who serve human beings should be mindful that the position whatever they may be having shall depart them. Therefore, the position should not make them arrogant or proud. Position shall go, but man shall stay in the presence of God.

I want Mr. Bani-Sadr before and after being assigned to the president of the Republic not to change in his moral conduct. In the case of a change it serves a proof of the weakness of self.

I want all those who are having upper status, whether civil ones or military ones, not to be proud of them. They should be mindful of one end and that is to endeavor towards uplifting the Muslim nation, Islam, and Iran. Because a person or persons have gone ahead or kept behind for the time they retreat or God forbids, turn against or create handicaps in the work.

I pray to God to guide all of us to His path and save us from inclining towards East or West, and save us from the fear of big powers.

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

¹ Sayyid Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr, the first president of the Islamic republic of Iran

² Imam Sadiq Said "love of the world is the root of all mistakes" *Usul al-Kafi*, vol 2, pp. 131, 135.

Speech

Date: February 8, 1980 [Bahman 19, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Appraisal of the oppressed ones

Occasion: Festivities of 1400 years of migration of the Prophet. And the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Foreign guests, literary and religious personalities, writers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gentlemen! You are welcome to your own brotherly country, To an Islamic country. I am grateful to your affections. You have entered this country at a time when the most signs of the crimes of the previous regime are vanished. Today you saw only graves of our martyrs and a few disabled ones. You were not present to see what befallen on the Muslims, the faithful, and the other responsible ones in the prisons which existed in this country. You don't know that they fried our youths on hot pans. You don't know that they amputated the hands of our youths. You have come at a time that, thanks God, the criminals have fled from here and some others received their due punishment.

The beginning of the fifteenth century (Hijri) that is blessed to all, the Muslims should take it as their victory. Now the world is in a different mould that doesn't allow the superpowers to do as they like. The oppressors should rise up. The oppressed ones of the country and of all the countries should regain their rights by their strong fist. They should not wait for them to return to their rights. The arrogant shall not be given to any of his rights. As the Holy Quran says, you all are brothers; you should be brothers among yourselves joining in each others' sorrows and happiness as well.¹ May God help you all. May the banner of Islam be hoisted over all countries. Muslims may get their errand under the flag of "No god but God."

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Surah al-Hujurat 49: 10.

Message

Date: Afternoon, February 8, 1980 [Bahman 19, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1400 AHS]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: The world peace; annihilation of Arrogant

Occasion: Gathering of the families of the martyrs across the country

Addressees: Families of martyrs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The flourishing mercy of God the Almighty be upon the martyrs. Glory to you, martyrs! You sacrificed your blood and irrigated the blessed tree of Islam! Many and plenty of salutations to the disabled ones, and those crushed in the way of Islamic Revolution. You uplifted Iran in the world.

As each day passes, we come to know more about the crimes of the deposed Shah and his accessories in tyranny. We doubt as to whether the history can reach his crimes. The crimes of the mighty ones go beyond the nature of man. The lust of power has made them deaf and blind. These people of might consider to crush the life of others and to prolong their shameful life. The death of others to them is the continuity of life. All the oppressed people should get united and cut the very root of corruption from their countries. The health and happiness of the world depends on the annihilation and elimination of the arrogant. As long as these hungry-of-power people exist, the oppressed ones will not attain their inheritance promised to them by God.

O, the victims of the world! From wherever and from whichever country you happen to come to yourselves don't fear the roars and clamor of America and other mighty ones with no brains. You should corner them that the world should become tight and narrow for them. You should pull out your right from them by your tied fists. O, Muslims! Whatever religion you may have and from whatever origin, forget your homely differences and obey God and the commands of the Holy Quran. *"Hold the rope of God you all and do not get divided."*¹

God has specified honor for Himself, His Great Messenger and the believers. You should raise up against the tyrannical governments who have

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3: 104.

placed your very existence under the dominance of the enemies of Islam. You should save your countries from their control and dominance.

God is with you. I submit my congratulations and condolences to all the families of the martyrs in the way of Islam. I wish all of you success and happiness. I pray to God for the health of the disabled ones and happiness to all.

May God's Peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1400 AH
Bahman 19, 1358 AHS

Message

Date: February 11, 1980 [Bahman 22, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Explaining the greatness of the Revolution, continuation of the campaign against the arrogant, of cutting the attachments and dependencies

Occasion: The anniversary of the Revolution

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I congratulate the victory of the great Revolution of Iran to the oppressed people of the world and the Muslims generally and to the noble brave nation of Iran specially. On such a happy day, truth against the falsehood, the divine soldiers against the friends of Satan, the party of God against arrogant won the victory. The government of the justice of Islam over pagan hood was achieved. On such a happy day unity among the classes of the courageous nation, army and all the security forces, showed devotion towards Islam and Iran. They rescued their homeland from the mischief of the arrogant of the age, at their head being America.

Salutations to such a lively and vigilant nation!

Salutations to the security forces and the guards of Islam and the Islamic Revolution. Long live under the banner of "God is Great" is a code, an Arcanum, a secret of the miraculous victory of the great nation. It was a great victory which within a year wiped out the office of C.I.A., the tyrants. It established the foundation of Islamic Republic what the revolutions other than the Islamic revolution could not give in spite of long innumerable years. This revolution was bestowed under the blessings of Islam to our dear nation in less than a year. Our revolution was concluded by the least casualties and the greatest outcome which no revolution among the revolutions got although they took the casualty of millions and even more imprisonments. It is true we gave martyrs of highest worth and lost our brave youths. Many of our brothers and sisters became bodily disabled. They are the light that gives glitter to our Revolution and the bodily disabled ones are the heart of the Revolution. They have a special place among our nation conjugated by a particular reverence and respect. Our nation knows its worth. On the other hand, by these sufferings and sacrifices we rescued the nation. Their wolf-like claws in human guise were cut from their very origin.

Our dear nation by its firm determination and the will of God purged its homeland from the firth of the existence of these criminals and cultureless, the betrayers and the looters as well. We secured freedom and independence for our compatriots.

I have told several times which I reiterate here that Iran should continue its campaign, final and fatal, till all its affiliations and attachments such as political, military, economical and cultural ones are completely cut and broken from America, the ruthless, with hunger of world. Later and afterwards if our noble and vigilant nation permits, we might establish ties with America at an ordinary level as it is with other countries. I have repeatedly said, now on this blessed day again say that we should not stop our uncompromising campaign, unless and until all the ties with superpowers, are completely cut, either those of East or those of West. We all know that the Islamic world is in wait to see the maturity of our revolution till its fructification. We support all the countries which are still under the yoke to regain their complete freedom and independence.

We openly declare to them the right is a thing which can be only regained through a struggle. Therefore, they should rise up and campaign. They should expel the superpowers out of the annals of history. I have said this too many times which I again say that the East which has had been victimized as well as Africa shall remain suffering for ever unless they gather themselves and come to mind. Why do not you stand up on your own feet? Rise! Assault over the West. Raise, and push them away from the arena. From here—the hospital¹—I admonish Africa and East under the yoke, and all the countries fettered into tyranny as well. I warn them to get united. Then you can be able to do what you like, and what you should do is to cut short the hand of America, the aggressor, from your lands.

Likewise the hands of all superpowers that are dipped upon the elbows on the blood of our youths and all other victims and the campaigners across the world. We shall fight with them till the last moment and the last drop of our blood, because we are men of war. We shall export our Revolution to the entire world, because our Revolution is Islamic.

It echoes the call of “No god but God” and “Muhammad is the Messenger of God” in all over the world. There is campaign and appraisal.

¹ It is at the time when Imam Khomeini was in the Heart Hospital in Tehran on account of his heart trouble.

And as long as an appraisal exists in any corner of the world, we are there, too. We defend the helpless people of Lebanon and Palestinian against Israel.

Israel is like venom, a virus. It has had always been a base for America. It is for twenty years that I have been reminding the danger of Israel. We all should rise up and eliminate Israel. We must replace it by the heroic nation of Palestine. We totally support the Afghan nation. Any nation that has upraised to campaign against the aggressor should know that God is with them. They should make their own rows narrower and closer. They should fight with an ardent belief and a staunch faith till the victory will come. And indeed, victory is near.

Dear nation of Iran! You have terrified East—the aggressor, and the West—the wicked. Never compromise with any power at any time. Indeed, I am sure that you will not. If anyone in any position preaches a thought of compromise with West or East, you push him out of the day without any consideration and hesitation. Compromise with East and West is a self loss. It is a crime to Islam and the Muslims. Today is the day of blood and martyrdom. Each day we do expect some plots all over Iran. But the school of Islam instructs us not to give up the search and seek freedom and independence. And so, we too shall not. I unfortunately can not participate in the festivity of the nation and the parade of the army due to the prohibition physicians have imposed on me. But my heart is with the nation and the army of Islam and nation. My humble prayers are to them. I shall for ever be at your disposal as a devoted servant till the last beat of my heart.

I pray to God for the greatness of Islam and welfare of Muslim society. Peace and blessings of God upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 12, 1980 [Bahman 23, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Parliamentary elections

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I with a consummate pride thank the honoured nation of Iran for its political growth and its commitment to Islam. They have established the world in all the previous referendums, particularly in presidential elections of the Islamic Republic, that the great Islamic Revolution first is a moral and spiritual revolution rather than a political and social one. This they have proved through the highest Islamic conduct and elevated spirit. I in the last days of my life shall depart towards the mercy of the Truth while being absolutely hopeful of the honor the exaltation of perfection that you have attained. The pride and privilege shall not be consummate when you again put the maturity of your humanity and adherence to Islam in the coming parliamentary elections to exhibition as you did in the last presidential elections. You, the dear Iranian nation! You campaigned for the sake of God to gain His delight, and attained the miraculous victory by the grace of His help and support. Now again at this juncture which is a trial you should endeavor not to sacrifice the interests of Islam and the country for the sake of personal interests or those of a group. I expect you to preserve the unity of word in electing your deputies for the parliament, and give preference to the delight of God over your own. I humbly request you to be in agreement with each other in electing the deputies. Be mindful to choose the ones who are committed to Islam and are not deviated from the right path of God. Leave the fate of the country and Islam to the trust of those who believe in Islam, Islamic Republic and the Constitution. Besides, they should respect and be committed to the commands of God. They should not regard their personal benefits above the interests of the country. I want you to support the Revolutionary Council that is at parity with the parliament till the parliament itself is formed. Also support the members of the Revolutionary Council whom I approve because they are servants of Islam and the nation. I want the Revolutionary Council to continue its services honestly and truthfully. I want the members of the government, the civilians and the army to extend their

cooperation with them. They should behave like sincere brothers. They should act as the Holy Quran instructs us: "Be one hand against stranger". I pray for you here in the hospital. I hope to hear about your close ties among yourselves and your cooperation in the governmental affairs. I want from all the groups and the whole nation to shun differences and divisions for the sake of the interests of the country, the blood that sheds in the way of liberty and independence, for the sake of whatever you considers as sacred. This is a sensitive moment. The enemy is in ambush waiting for an opportunity. You should attain the degrees of prestige and privilege before the Creator and the creatures. I pray to God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims. Peace be on the virtuous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Radio-Television Message

Time: February 12, 1980 [Bahman 23, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: The parliamentary elections

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank the great nation of Iran for its affections towards their own servant. I have said a word that caused anxiety among some friends. Therefore, I see it necessary to say that I am getting well. Thanks to God. I thank the doctors. Two things I should say. One is about the flood that has crushed the south. It is said that it has caused great losses. I want the nation, our brothers, to join in this venture to compensate the losses. We all should together help. Army should help by providing the of rescue equipment at their disposal such as helicopters, etc. All should exert their efforts. God will help you, too. The other thing I want to tell you is: As far as I have witnessed, the elections in Iran since the days of Rida Shah, a long time, there were no free elections in Iran. Elections were used to be held by the force of the chiefs. In the days of Rida Shah, people's hands were cut short. The elections came under the control of Rida Shah. Parliament was not in question. The deputies were back door selected ones. In the days of Muhammad-Rida, things had gone worse. I can challenge that the elections to be held this year are at the peoples' votes. Without any pressure from anyone and without any intervention. I want the nation and all classes of people to preserve the Islamic moral with regards to all the affairs particularly the elections. They should not think that the election campaign needs abusing and scolding others, or hampering their work. Of course, there is no objection in inviting the people towards the persons in view to vote. But pay attention to conduct these elections in the same goodness, calmness, and healthy atmosphere as you did in the previous presidential election of the Islamic Republic, which became an epitome in Iran. I hope the election to take place as that one happened before. All should be in line with the same aim. Be mindful of the presence of God and His supervision. Do not spoil the appraisal. The enemies are in watch to lay hand upon something or other to criticize, scalp and scathe. I hope God may help you all. You all may finalize

the elections with safety in the same manner as the one for the previous election.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: February 12, 1980 [Bahman 23, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressees: Leonid Brezhnev (Head of USSR)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Leonid Brezhnev, Head of the Union of Soviet socialist Republics,

With thanks for the Message of congratulations of your Excellency on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution to the noble nation of Iran, I would like to express our attention and attachment to the friendly nation of the Soviet Union. We hope that the world peace may get established on the basis of the nation's independence, non-intervention into each other's affairs, and confirmation to the principle of preservation of the third world and these of Islamic ones particularly in this region is against the acknowledged standards. There should be right fundamentals in between the nations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 16, 1980 [Bahman 27, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi, Leader of the Muslim country of Libya

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Col. Muammar Qadhdhafi, President the Muslim country of Libya,

The message of your Excellency inquiring into my illness was received. I thank you for the affections expressed to me. Following that another message too was received containing your congratulations on the first anniversary of the glorious Islamic Revolution to the noble nation. While thanking you for the Message, I wish ever-increasing prosperity for the Muslims worldwide from God the Almighty. I hope Muslim nations by cooperation and unity could be bale to overcome the enemies within and out of their lands. Furthermore they could be able to rescue themselves from the yoke of America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 29, 1400 AH

Message

Date: February 16, 1980 [Bahman 27, 1358 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Condolences to the survivors of floods in Khuzestan

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I was not aware of the casualties entailed by this flood. I had little information of the losses the flood led to. Later I got the information that the losses caused by the flood were heavy those in human life and those of material ones which, however, is the matter of anxiety and sorrow. I present my condolences to those left behind and have undergone these sufferings. I also present condolences to the nation for the great agony. I pray to God for mercy to those gone. I should thank the nation for its high spirits that has kept them busy in compensating and arranging the alternatives for the losses. I hope that these losses will be compensated in the befitting way, and those left alive will be nursed and attended. I pray to God for the health and happiness of the great nation and all the friends.

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

Message

Date: February 17, 1980 [Bahman 28, 1358 AHS / Rabial-Awwal 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Independence tops the program of the government

Addressees: Participators in the Congress of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Congress of Islamic Revolution! I pursued the Message gestalt with all the dimensions. I thank you for your inquiry into my health and holding a favorable view about me. I hope that you, the best ones of the nation committed to Islam, may be prosperous in carrying the great Islamic Revolution to the peak of its destination.

You should keep the continuity till all the affairs of the country come under the God's control. I further hope you gain in success in cementing the unity of the word and unifying the various classes of the nation. I also wish you have success in sending your representatives to the parliament chosen from scholars, thinkers, sincere ones to the nation particularly with a desire to serve the deprived and oppressed class of the people, and those who are servants of Islam. You make the nation ready for this Islamic national task. When the parliament takes shape, you have to support it and the government together ... The independence of the three organs—the legislative, the judicial, and the executive—should be at the top government's programs. The whole independence of the country should be procured and secured. The ties with the satanic powers of the arrogant age should be eschewed. The hands of the satanic kingdom should be cut. I hope the parliament and the government of the Islamic Revolution shall eliminate and wipe out the remaining elements of anti-revolutionary spirit. The last request I would like to make is the avoidance from differences and divisions because all misfortunes are emanated out of them. It is also against the delight of God. The deputies of the parliament should shun from the conduct—orally or practically—in the gatherings and meetings as it was in the past because it is against religion and not according to moral standards. Differences in political opinions should not surpass the stint of human behavior. I pray to God for your happiness and prosperity in the service of Islam and Muslims and the country.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 30, 1400 AH
Bahman 28, 1358 AHS

ecree

Date: February 19, 1980 [Bahman 30, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of commander-in-chief of the armed forces

Addressees: Bani-Sadr (the Iranian president)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Bani-Sadr, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

I appoint you on my side as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces in line with the order fixed by the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. At this sensitive stage, concentration of power is a necessity which is more important than that during the past stages. It is hoped that the affairs of the country and the military and the armed forces will obtain a smooth run by the competency you are blessed with. I wish prosperity from God for all who are serving the Islamic nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 19, 1980 [Bahman 30, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Thanks for sending the message

Addressee: General Hafiz Asad, President of the Republic of Syria

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency General Hafiz Asad, President of the Republic of Syria,

I have received your kind message in hospital. I am grateful for the inquiry you have made in my health. I hope that the Islamic countries with unity to combine together and cut short the hands of the imperialism, that of the East and that of the West, in particular America from their countries. I wish God bestow all of you prosperity and success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 2, 1400 AH

Message

Date: February 20, 1980 [Esfand 1, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: welcoming the youth as general Basij

Occasion: Basij week

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank you the noble nation of Iran and the brave youth who have welcomed the general volunteers. When dangers occur defending Islam and the Islamic country become a religious and divine and a national obligation. All the classes and groups become duty-bound to it. At this sensitive juncture, the nation is confronting hard and staunch enemies and superpowers. Particularly America because it has had been interfering with its criminal designs into the affairs throughout the length of the aggressive rule of Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi, and impeded the political, cultural, and economical growth of our nation. Besides, it also took away the treasures of this poor nation. If there happens to be any carelessness or if the nation does not get girded with power and persuasion against the enemies of humanity or by the general volunteers, the country would go by its own hands toward failure. The general volunteers cannot be confronted by any power by the will of God. It is ready for the defense of the Islamic country. I have been informed from what so far has been performed by the brave men and women of honor that I can be hopeful of the success of the volunteers in receiving a thorough all-sided training from the dimensions of military, belief, moral and culture with the help of God. I hope they will be able to soon finalize the term of practical and military instructions and training and the guerrillas in a befitting way suitable to an Islamic nation in an appraisal.

Try to become as much powerful as possible. Likewise, get yourselves equipped with learning and knowledge and practice trusting in God. Also try to obtain weapons as well as virtue. God the almighty is with you. The hand of the Power, which broke the satanic powers, is watchful of the divine society.

I hope to see the volunteers of Islam become an epitome for all the oppressed ones of the world and worldwide Muslim nations. The fifteenth century is the century of breaking the big idols which are to be substituted by Islam, and monotheism instead of polarity of deities and idolatry, and

tyranny is giving way to justice. The committed people should take place of the ruthless and cruel ones.

O, the oppressed people of the world! Raise and rescue yourselves from the criminal tyrants. You, O, Muslims of the all regions of the world! You have sense and feelings. Wake up from the slumber of negligence and thoughtlessness. Emancipate Islam and the Islamic countries from the yoke of imperialism and its elements.

O, the noble nation of Iran! Keep on your campaign and appraisal. Do not let the strangers and foreigners whoever they are, influence your destiny. Put a forever end to their robbery and looting. You do urge America or any other governments to surrender Muhammad Ridza Pahlavi and the wealth of the nation stolen by him to us

O, God! Be a support to our nation and our dear youths. They have risen up for your delight and for the sake of their faith. They have expelled the enemies of religion for your sake. Verily, thou hast power over all things.

I salute and hail the great nation, the fighters of right path, independence and freedom.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 23, 1980 [Esfand 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Decision about the American spies. Return of the Shah

Addressees: The Nation, the government and the President of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The crimes of the deposed Shah are not a thing that could be forgotten by the nation. All are aware that Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi made us dependent

on America in all respects—not only economically and politically but also culturally and militarily, even morally and in the dimension of human habits and usages.

Had he stayed a little longer, he would have struck an irreparable and irretrievable blow to Islam. All know that their hands—father's and son's—are soiled with the blood of the people—the old and the young—of this land.

Collective murders, imprisonments, torture, expulsions were usual and ordinary day-to-day occurrences of the regime established by this wicked man. Shah committed these wild crimes on the hope of having America's support. He destroyed the integrity of our nation.

The nation of Iran shall not stop its campaign against this filthy family and America and its elements.

The government of Iran and the president should exert their efforts in bringing back the Shah and the wealth he took. The nation shall not give in nor does it give up its rightful demands.

One of the signs and symptoms of this demand is the occupation of the Den of Espionage. This had met the approval of the nation. This is the reaction to the crimes of America. It cannot be something other than this. Now an investigation commission is appointed by the president and the Revolutionary Council to look into the crimes of America and its intervention into the internal affairs of the country through the tyrant regime of Shah. It is likely that all the facts surrounding this matter to come to the light.

On that day our dear disabled ones, the heroes of revolution should be present in the court to read out the record of the crimes of Shah, and America, in the trial.

As I have told several times, we demand the return of the Shah and the property and wealth of the nation from him. The Muslim students, the

campaigners, who have occupied the Den of Espionage, have brought down fatal blows on the skeleton of America the world hungry. They have uplifted the honor of the nation. Very soon the parliament will resume its first session. The case of the students rests upon the representatives of the people who will go to meet soon. They will have to settle this case concerning their freedom and advantage that could be drawn from. So now it rests upon their decision and determination.

People should have the right to have roles in the affairs of their country. In the meantime till the session of the parliament, the Revolutionary Council and the president are responsible to try and endeavor to bring back Shah and the nation's wealth along with him by preparing the necessary political ground in this respect.

I pray for the victory of Islam and the defeat of its enemies.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 23, 1980 [Esfand 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the chief of justice of the country's Supreme Court

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Haj Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti, may his graces last,

Regarding the importance of the judiciary system in securing the safety and happiness of the society and perfection of the system of the Islamic Republic, and the necessity of creating a new administration in judiciary system based on the sacred instruction of Islam, you are appointed to preside over the country's court of justice. The cooperation of the chief public prosecutor, jurists, magistrates and judges, the honest staff and the lawyers will help you in clarifying programs towards forming a new system in judiciary system by writing the legal appendixes of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I pray to God to support you in this responsibility.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 23, 1980 [Esfand 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the chief public prosecutor

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Haj Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, May his graces last,

Considering the importance of the role of judiciary system towards the social security concerning health and happiness and consummation of the of the Islamic Republic system, and the necessity of bringing new administration in the legal system into existence based on the sacred teachings of Islam, you are appointed to the office of the Public Prosecutor. The chief justice, jurists, judges and magistrates, the noble personnel of the judiciary system and the lawyers will cooperate with you in carrying out the job by framing the new legal theories. I hope God helps you in this serious responsibility.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1400 AH

Esfand 4, 1358 AHS

Reply to a query

Date: February 23, 1980 [Esfand 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Sending hot currency out of the country

Addressees: Unknown

His eminence Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran,

Greetings and salutations! I would like to seek your esteemed opinion regarding the sending of the hot currency out of the country in various forms such as pure gold. The relation of the sender's is known with the gold sellers in the provinces in addition to the transactions that support the dispatch of the money which in the present conditions are not to the interest of the country.

In His Most Exalted Name

Taking the above for granted it is prohibited either sending the money or cooperating in this regard or selling it to the people who send it out. It is obligatory for the Muslims to be under a binding towards the interests of Islam and Muslims. The Muslims should abstain from actions resulting in harm to the interests of the country.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 27, 1980 [Esfand 8, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Answering to the message congratulating him for the first anniversary of Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Henrik Jablonski (?)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Henrik Joblonski, President of the Republic of Poland,

Hereby I acknowledge your affectionate Message with thanks for the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

I pray to God for the welfare of the oppressed people of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 27, 1980 [Esfand 8, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of sympathy on the crash of the passenger plane¹

Addressee: Diya' ar-Rahman, President of Bangladesh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Diya ar-Rahman, President of Bangladesh,

I, hereby, thankfully acknowledge your affectionate Message on the occasion of the heart-pining crash,. I take the opportunity to express my best wishes for the progress of the brother nation of Bangladesh and the Muslims all over the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ An aircraft Boeing 727 was heading for Tehran from Mashad when it ran into turbulence above the height of Tehran army and crashed. In this incident 128 passengers together with the crew lost their lives.

Speech

Date: March 2, 1980 [Esfand 12, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 14, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: The parliamentary elections

Addressees: Various classes among the people and the staff of the Heart Hospital

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Thanks to doctors, nurses and staff of the hospital

During the period I have had been here in this hospital and caused trouble to all the gentlemen concerned, I thank you all as I am about to leave and say goodbye to all. I pray for you and I hope that all of us at this juncture of sensitive movements wherein plots are being designed against our nation, we among all the classes of people, should give a hand with to each other and foil their designs. I thank the staff of this hospital, its workers, clerks, and other staff. I submit my special thanks to you all. I thank the doctors who rendered their love and affection to me during stopover here as affectionate sons do towards his old father. May God preserve you all and as well as the nation.

Elections for the people committed to Islam for the Parliament

It is the elections that need attention. This is the last step our nation should take. So it should be held in a complete befitting manner. It should not be forgotten that in the past, which was an era of arrogance, there were no elections. But the things were taking place according to their taste and inclinations. Now all people should know that it is an Islamic government and the parliament is Islamic one. Therefore, the conduct of all and the behavior of all should be Islamic. You choose persons and vote for them who are committed to Islam. They should lean neither to East nor to West. They should be adherent to the straight path of mankind and Islam. I hope you in this stage perform according to what you desire and what seems suitable for us. They should elect their representatives who have good manners and are committed to Islam and devoted to their native country. God willing, this last step maybe taken in the best manner, too. I pray for all of you. In the last days of my life, I shall serve you. I am always at your service.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Permission

Date: March 3, 1980 [Esfand 13, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Heart Hospital, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the religious and financial affairs

Addressees: Sayyid Husayn Musawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“All the praise be to the Lord of the worlds. And prayers and peace be upon Muhammad and his progeny—the pure and purged—and the curse of God upon all their enemies.”

His Eminence Sayyid Husayn Musawi, may His graces last,

I allow you to hold the performance of the affairs—accountable¹ ones, and those that are liable to the permission of a competent jurispudent in the absence of the Imam of the Age. May God accelerate his blessed appearance. Likewise, you are allowed to collect the religious funds and spend them in fanning out the sacred faith and the fixed grounds providing reason for expenditure. Regarding the blessed Share of Imam (peace be on him) you are allowed to spend a one-third of it in personal expenses and send other two-thirds to me for the expenses of the sacred institutions of learning. You can spend the Prophet’s progeny share on the spot too.

I recommend what God has recommended for the virtuous predecessors and that is adherence to piety and avoiding the lust and holding the rope of prudence. Peace be on our brother believers and the mercy of Allah and His blessings.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1400 AH

¹ “Accountable” refers to the code HABIAH meaning the funds that should be accounted for; e.g. *Zakat* and *Khums*.

Letter

Date: March 5, 1980 [Esfand 15, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message on his return from hospital¹

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (one of the grand sources of imitation)

Hadrat Marashi Najafi, may his blessings last,

Your affectionate telegram related to my getting discharged from hospital and return to home was received. I wish you from God your health, happiness and prosperity. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The following Message sent by H. H. Marashi Najafi upon his return home from hospital:

In His Most Exalted Name

The Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran H. H. Imam Khomeini. The news of your recovery and return to home from hospital has gladdened all my friends. This is a great festivity for the Muslim nation God has bestowed on the threshold of the New Year. I hope the little weakness would soon be cured and you, God willing, will return to your native place.

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

Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1400 AH
Shahabuddin al-Husayni al-Marashi al-
Najafi, Qum

Decree

Date: March 5, 1980 [Esfand 15, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Surrendering the American spies to the custody of the Revolutionary Council

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khoeyniha

In His Most Exalted Name

Esfand 15, 1358 AH

His Eminence Musawi Khoeyniha,

While appreciating the trouble undertaken by the Muslim students—God help them—it seems necessary that the Revolutionary Council should take them under its custody and care till their ultimate fate is decided by the parliament. Let your service put an end to this issue.¹ May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The Muslim students (followers of the track of Imam) had captured the U.S.A's Embassy in Tehran and taken the spies stationed there as hostages. They approached Imam Khomeini by a letter asking His Holiness to release them by taking them as hostages because of the stand and attitude of Bani Sadr (the president) and other government dignitaries against them. The Imam agreed to the proposal. He wrote to Mr. Musawi Khoeyniha to the above effect. The hostages were released after 444 days held in custody as a result of the well-known Algeria Pact. The Imam called this hostage taking as a 2nd revolution.

Telegram

Date: March 6, 1980 [Esfand 16, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the Message for his leaving the hospital

Addressee: Sayyid Kadhum Shariatmadari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Qum—Hadrat Shariatmadari, may his blessings last,

Your esteemed telegram concerning my return from hospital to home was received. I thank you for your inquiry into my condition. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: March 8, 1980 [Esfand 18, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: For his leaving the hospital—a reply

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Shirazi, May his blessings last,

Your telegram inquiring into my return to home from the hospital was thankfully received. I want your health and prosperity from God. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 10, 1980 [Esfand 20, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: America and spy hostages

Occasion: Formation of commission for investigations into the crimes of the Shah and the U.S.A

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

O, the noble and campaigning nation of Iran! The crimes of Shah and of America are so apparent and obvious and no need goes to establish a proof. Both Shah and America have made us dependent in all the grounds. Murder, assassination, beating, hitting, scolding, abusing, jails, prisons, exile was the norm of the day made common by these criminals. We campaign against the government of America and shall keep it on till the end of my life. We shall not give up till we push it back to its own core and in absorption from the region. We shall give aides to all those who seek liberty from its yoke. The people of Iran shall take their destiny into their own hands. Whether it is East or West, both stand on us at parity in the pans of the balance of tyranny and atrocity. We shall fight and win because victory is with Truth. The domination of America is in fact the source of all misfortunes of the oppressed nations. The aggression of East too has blackened the history.

O, nation of Iran! Be ware! Be vigilant! You still have long years of campaigning ahead. Every day the superpowers sketch a new plot for your elimination. But the trick of Satan is fable.¹ The issue that is hot these days is America and its spies taken as hostages by the Muslim campaigning students. I would like to remark a few points in this regard.

1. Copies of all documents relating to the intervention of America and the traitor Shah should be placed at the disposal of the commission now investigating the crimes of the government of America and the Shah. In addition to this, if the Muslim students happen to be in possession of any other documents, they should surrender the same to the said commission.

¹ Surah an-Nisa 4: 76.

2. Among the hostages, those who are in the files and records of the crimes of America and the Shah should be kept available to interview for interrogation.

3. If the investigating committees make their opinion public in Tehran concerning the crimes of the deposed Shah and the interventions of the aggressor America, meeting with all the hostages would not be objected.

I once more made public my support to the Revolutionary Council and to of the president of the Republic. I want all to cooperate with them and not decline their support. Further, I want from all the classes among the people to practice the desirable Islamic behavior and preserve the brotherly rights among each other.

My dear sisters and brothers! Today is the day of unity and oneness. Today if you do not coordinate among yourselves, you will fall prey either to East or to West. Do not stick to a word. Do what is in the interest of these native people, the native land, the nation and Islam.

The campaign of the noble nation of Iran shall go on till the abruption of the foreign and stranger' hands from the country. As long as America and the superpowers go on with their atrocities and crimes, our nation shall prolong its campaign to confront them. The nation shall preserve its all-sided freedom by all its strength and vigor.

It is upon the open-minded ones among our nation to do their best towards vilification of the big powers and all other powers too. I hope that Khomeini may not deviate from the right path of Islam that is a confrontation and campaign against the tyrant superpowers. Likewise, I hope he does not be forlorn and fatigued in his endeavors in making prolific and fecundate the aims of Islam. I hope that all the Muslim nations, particularly the campaigning nation of Iran will always be endeavoring towards this Islamic purpose. They will continue their campaign against the tyrants of East and of West.

I pray to God the Almighty to bestow victory to Islam and Muslims. Peace on you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 11, 1980 [Esfand 21, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 23, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The Parliamentary elections

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The noble nation! We are at the threshold of the parliamentary elections, and there are two things causing anxiety for me:

1. I am afraid of the widespread propaganda launched by the enemies of the Islamic appraisal and the adversaries of the Islamic Republic during a one year period showing their efforts towards weakening it. Recently, their propaganda and rumors have reached a climax as the dear and vigilant nation has paced a step further that is the last step of victory. They are not to give in nor give up their grip to any hold because they and the ones they inspire see themselves close to an obvious triumph. Our dear youths have moved this Islamic appraisal forward by their limitless courage. At this final stage they may not show any indication of somnolence, lethargy, or idleness. All these rumors should not be proved efficacious on them. As a result, it is not so happy that they abstain from this Islamic issue of life and death. I hope you will fulfill my well-wishing and humble request because I have spent my unworthy life in the way of serving Islam, which I have presented to the noble nation wrapped up with affection and held on a hold of sincerity and extended at the stretch of love.

Therefore, please cut the hope of the enemies of the Islamic Republic and the accessories of the past depraved regime and its cronies particularly the tyrant America. This you can do by taking part in the elections—all of you.

My dear ones! The Islamic appraisal has banked its hope in you. You should be up in a fixed day to fix the destiny of the country. Rush towards the ballot boxes to cast your votes. I request you to perform this religious obligation in the highest calm and in a consummated demeanor, human and Islamic. And I too, in spite of my present feeble condition shall gird myself to participate.

2. I am afraid that the ones having no belief in Islam and the Islamic Republic as one year has passed, standing as witness of their deeds and words, might be sent to the parliament by propaganda and canvassing. They

will pose themselves as the lovers of Islam in order to gain access to parliament.

They will exercise influence upon plain-hearted youths in all the classes among the nation. The sacred votes will go to the benefit of the foreigners who have fundamental differences and adversity with Islam and the Islamic Republic. Their aim is to get access to the parliament so that they can impede the run of affairs, create tumult in the sacred sanctity of the parliament.

I hope that the campaigner and committed nation cast their votes to the people devoted to Islam and the constitution. They first have to look into the records of the candidates. They should see whether the candidates have any leniency towards East or West or not. They (the candidates) must have good records and be known of them and be committed to the rules of Islam and good-wish to the nation.

The nation must know that any deviation from this important Islamic issue will be considered as a betrayal to Islam and the country. It is a matter of great responsibility. I pray to God to protect you in the matters that might be slippery or perverting ones. He will hold you all.

My eyes rely on you as you are the pupils of my eyes at this sensitive juncture Iran is to be made. I am waiting for that promised day when our dear nation will bring the final victory to the pride and pleasure of all.

Finally I should note another point here which to be adhered will fortify the corruption of the corrupt people. Candidates in Tehran and some provinces are thirty ones. Before you approach to the ballot boxes you'd better write the names of the ones you want to choose after a thorough study of their record. By doing so, you can vote mindfully with ease and calm. It is also necessary for you to cast your vote directly. In this matter, no one should trust anyone because the opportunists are in ambush waiting for hunting. Those who cannot write, better ask their trustworthy friends to write the names desired on the ballot paper. They'd better show those papers to someone else to make sure of the correctness of the names. Such, no betrayal would occur. They should not accept the papers other ones (strangers) give them.

I wish God would grant you success in assisting Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Radio-Television Message

Date: March 12, 1980 [Esfand 22, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Tehran

Subject: The role of the Parliament in the era of Pahlavi. Nation's responsibility in the election of the parliament

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The soar remembrances of the parliament of Pahlavi

Elections are about to take place. Although I have already written some points, which also circulated, since the matter is very important, I would like to tell you in way of discharging a duty as I suppose a responsibility might be on my shoulders.

Our nation has a bitter remembrance about the parliament in the days of Rida Shah and Muhammad-Rida. I remember even the days earlier to Rida Khan and even I participated in some of these elections. As I remember now in those days parliament was only a word without a sense or content. A nation chooses its representatives. The representatives gather in a meeting to consult the affairs or to decide the matters to the interests of the country. This is the sense and meaning of the word parliament. Before Rida Khan came to power, in the days of Ahmad Shah, the responsibility of elections had rested on the shoulders of Khans and landlords. The rogues and mischief mongers of each quarter also enjoyed the responsibility. The government had no influence. The princes who possessed properties, khans who enjoyed power, and the rogues who were in the skirts of towns used to bring their people, their dependents, and their own peasants to the ballet boxes by force. They were obeying whatever dictated to them. In the days of Rida Khan, I mean the days when he caught power, and in the days of Muhammad-Rida, the parliament had nothing to do with the nation. The parliament was not at all a national council. We can name the first one as the parliament of Khans while the second one as the parliament of the Shah. Both houses—Senate and the lower one—people had no say therein. People had withdrawn themselves because they knew nothing was there that they could do. They saw that the men they send to take seats in parliament are their own men having no trust on people. They did not have any concerns with the interests of the country. Indeed, there was no shortage of words. Words were always abundant. Words were uttered by Muhammad-Rida and also by those appointed by

him. Even now if the parliament takes the old form, you will see that the parliament from head to toe will pass on in praises to Muhammad-Rida and to those attached to him. In those days the nation had no responsibility because it had no power. It was under the domination of Khans and those two ones, Rida and Muhammad-Rida. The nation was unable to do anything. It could not. Even to breathe was a matter of courage. Due to this reason every responsibility was liable to be accounted for before God and the posterity. It was upon the Khans and their deputies of those days, and Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida and the deputies appointed by them to answer and stand responsible.

The big responsibility of the nation in the elections of parliament

This bitterness of the things and irresponsibility towards elections, parliament and matters like these could likely provide a ground for some to presume that this time is like the past. As the saying goes, someone once bitten by a snake, is afraid of a rope', our nation is snake-bitten, too. It is bitten by imperialism. It is Khan-bitten. It is bitten by Rida and Muhammad Rida. So it is quite a normal if such a thing occurs to their minds. But all must know that there is no power today that is able to impose one single representative on the nation. From the top, the president, to the bottom, in all departments—police, gendarmes, and Khans—though there is no trace of them who can do anything. Similarly the noble ones, the landlords—they have no influence. Today in Iran no position, no status to anyone who has so much power to impose a deputy exists. Therefore, today the responsibility is with the nation. If the nation goes aside, or the men of faith and belief withdraw from the arena, or the committed people become indifferent, those who have been sketching plots will assault these from all sides. Every responsibility in parliament rests upon the nation. Any step if taken against Islam will be written down into the annals of the deeds of the nation. Anything done, the responsibility of it goes with the nation. Today the destiny of Islam and the Muslims in Iran is with the nation. So if you show the least leniency or negligence in this matter and do not go to the ballot and do not vote, its responsibility finally rests upon you. In the event of their going to the ballots and voting for those who are respectful to their country and its people, committed Muslims and choosing the ones who do not want to surrender us either to East or West, they have done an obligation which was upon them. On the contrary if those who come to power want to fetter us to East and West and reduce us to the bondage of the superpowers, and

You stay stricken and indifferent, the responsibility will rest forever upon you. So, today there is a great responsibility upon all of you.

No excuse for the nation before God

I have spoken as far as my strength goes. Though I am very much enfeebled and have no strength, the sense of duty obliges me to speak. If the nation does not heed my words, I have done my duty and have no excuse as you have none, neither. Tomorrow in the presence of God, I can claim for having had spoken to you. Tomorrow God will interrogate me. I will answer that I already told the nation—the good and bad aspect of the subject, that is if you are careful of those who want to fetter you in servitude and are against Islam and the Islamic Republic from its inception will come forward. God forbid, if they come forward our country will go back where it was before. It will be in the hands of either leftists or rightists. As such all the responsibility rests upon you. Today it is not like the past. In the past you had no ability. Now you have power. Therefore preserve and protect the entity of Islam and the interests of the country. Save your own independence and your freedom. If you remain unmindful, you will be held responsible before God the Almighty. If you refrain from voting, then they will come into the field, who desire a tumult in Iran and who want to put the parliament into a chaos. In that case you will be responsible. Today direct responsibility lies with all the classes. Clergymen are responsible. The oracles are responsible. The leaders of the prayers are responsible. The traders and merchants are responsible. The universities are responsible. The theology students are responsible. The workers are responsible. All are responsible. Today those who from the beginning up to now were against the Islamic Republic and the Islam itself, who viewed Islam as a hindrance to their gains and benefits today, are worried and anxious. They are doing propaganda. If the believers and faithful ones withdraw from the scene, they will grip the affairs and something like what happened in the days of Constitutionalism will happen. The persons against Islam came to power and dragged Islam to the niche, which we all have witnessed.

In the early days of Constitutionalism, if the clergies, the faithful ones, open-minded ones and the committed Muslims had come into the scene and gripped the parliament and had not let the others do so, we would have never reached this day and this stage. Our country would have not been spoiled nor would our honor and prestige have gone with the winds. But the Satans of those days who were close to their ears had already whispered to them not to take part in politics. Politics is none of your business. They believed what

was murmured to them. Today the same or similar things might occur in some circles. This idea “what have we to do with these things” may get wind and will be blown far and wide. So you all must know that you all are responsible. You will be pressured tomorrow in the presence of God the Almighty. No one has an excuse or a pretext if he himself does not act or practice thereon. A clergy, a merchant, a trader, a peasant, a student, a laborer, and a plant owner—all are responsible in the court of God the Almighty. Likewise, you are, before the nation and to its posterity. Do not think that it has no bearing on you, No, it is not so. Everything has a bearing on you. Today you cannot say as in the past was used to be that we have no power. Today you can. Today you have the power. All the power is in the nation’s hand. The president of the Republic, the chief of staff, is with you, with the merchants like you. Today you all are alike. He cannot force you anything nor can you do so with him. Today no one undergoes force. Today responsibility is upon all of us. Today all of us should go together to the ballot boxes. Today we all should cast votes to the committed Muslims leaning neither to East nor to West. They don’t want to sell us to either sides. So choose such persons and give your votes to them. Let the fate of Islam and your own be a correct one. O God! I have discharged my duty, which was on my part at a time when I am weak and feeble. You are witness that what I have told is by way of imparting the obligation to my lot. I have matters of greater importance. I shall tell at the New Year’s Day, God willing, if I am left alive.

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

Decree

Date: March 15, 1980 [Esfand 25, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran.

Subject: Establishment of the foundation the Martyrs of the Islamic Republic

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi, May God be with him,

The noble nation of Iran knows that the Islamic appraisal and the victory of the Islamic Revolution are due to the sacrifices rendered by the various classes among the nation. In the first row came the martyrs of the Revolution (May the mercy of God be on them) and those who have become bodily disabled. Therefore, a due care of the families of the martyrs and the bodily disabled ones should be taken. The care should be stretched prior to the Revolution and during and after it in the best manner and reverence to them.

So it is necessary to establish an organization under supervision and with committees consisting of religious trustworthy persons being aware of these matters. To reach these important purposes useful plans must be drawn and carried out. By doing so, the nation and the Revolutionary government could fulfill their debt to this group that rendered sacrifices in the way of Islam and the Revolution. The parliament is obliged to approve a suitable budget to start this important project. They should accelerate the process of carrying out this job. The government and the ones in charge are bound to execute the followings:

1. Priority in educational side: They enjoy an easy and quick access to school and colleges.
2. Priority in Service: The families of martyrs and bodily disabled ones should be accorded appointments in the government services. Those who can work should be given jobs in the government.
3. Free cards should be provided for them for their boarding buses within the cities without charge.
4. Economical priority, land, house, necessities of life and all other needed things should be provided for them.
5. Boarding cards at 50% value should be provided to them for their boarding in buses between provinces, trains and air planes.
6. Especial pocket notebooks should be prepared for them enabling them to make purchases from cooperative stores pertaining to the government.

7. Insurance health services should be given to them. Cards should be provided for buying medicine.

8. Monthly salaries according to the number of their household members should be paid to them who are unable to work. This is for the disabled ones and the martyrs' families.

9. Programs should be prepared for broadcasting in radio under control of disabled ones and the families of the martyrs.

10. The organization is bound without delay to extend medical treatment to the disabled ones and the injured ones. In the case of need for treating them abroad, due to the suggestion of physicians, the necessary facilities for their journey with whole expenses should be arranged.

In the meantime, I would like to remark here that the organization in some of the above said items if confronted with any difficulty or in case of negligence on the part of any of the officials concerned, it should be brought to my notice to rectify or attend the matter as I may deem fit.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 17, 1980 [Esfand 27, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: An advise to the youth to read the books of Prof. Martyr Mutahhari

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Although the Islamic Revolution of Iran has attained victory in spite of the ill-wishers and adventure-seeking elements, it was the will and pleasure of God. Islamic and revolutionary organizations have come to be united one by one; all this within a year, and in calm and with success. At the same time, many great irreparable or irretrievable losses hailed on our nation and on our academic and Islamic institutions in the hands of hypocrites and anti-revolutionaries. Similarly the assassination of the scholars and specialists in Islam, greatly respected His Eminence Martyr Haj Shaykh Murtada Mutahhari. Mercy of God on him.

I cannot express my feelings and sentiments at this sensitive moment with regards to this dear one. The thing that I can tell about him is that he rendered many valuable services to Islam and learning. It is a matter of sorrow that the traitors' hands have uprooted the fruit of this yielding tree from the institutes of learning and Islam. They deprived all from the valuable fruits of the late professor. Mutahhari was a dear son to me and a strong support to the religious and academic institutions. He was a useful servant to the nation and the country. May God bestow him mercy and host him along with the great servants of Islam.

Now it is being heard that the anti-Islamic and anti-revolutionary groups are canvassing propaganda (anti-Islamic) to keep our youths from reading the books of this professor. I recommend the students and the class of open-minded ones not to let the books of this scholar be neglected. I wish success for all from God. Peace be upon the virtuous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Esfand 27, 1358 AHS

Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1400 AH

¹ A copy handwritten by Imam Khomeini dating 27 Esfand, 1358. this message was published in *Kayhan*, *Ittilaat* and *Sahifah* newspapers on the edition dating 31, 1, 59

Letter

Date: March 17, 1980 [Esfand 27, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message on his departure from the hospital

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpaygani (one of the great religious authorities)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Golpaygani, may his blessings last,

Your esteemed telegram¹ was received and caused my gratefulness to you. I hope the noble nation of Iran will carry along the Islamic appraisal and get benefited by your guidance—I hope the second term elections take place in commitment and a sense of Islamic duty.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ When the Imam left the hospital, H. H. Golpaygani sent this Message:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Holiness Khomeini, May His blessings last long.

I thank God for His compliance with the prayers and demands of Muslims and affectionate ones to your noble characteristics and returning you back to the front to support the religion of Islam and the precincts of Shiism and the guardianship. By the will of God and under the umbrella of particular attention of the Imam of the present time (may the worlds go sacrificed for him) you will be able to hold the affairs of the country and preserve the interests of Islam and Muslims. You may succeed in checking the stubborn prejudiced malevolent elements and guarding from the lowliness of the low ones and interpretations and interventions of the undesired inventors.

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

Al-Golpaygani
Esfand 14, 1358 AHS
Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1400 AH

Letter

Date: March 17, 1980 [Esfand 27, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Cutting military, cultural and economic ties with America

Addressee: Muhammad-Hasan a-Haykal (the renowned Egyptian journalist)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1400AH

Esfand 27 1358 AHS

Mr. Muhammad Hasan al-Haykal,

Your letter was received in Tehran at a time when I was sick and in hospital and was not aware of that. Now I have read it. I deem necessary to point out the fact that the issues pertaining to America are not to be solved by these matters. The Muslim countries that want to stand by their own should sever all ties—military, cultural and economical or any other ties—with the world-hungry America and other imperialist countries. Then they can preserve their independence by themselves. Anyway, I thank you for expressing your affection. I hope that generally the Muslims of the world will exert their efforts in the following sacred instructions of Islam. May they be prosperous. May God's peace, mercy blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 15, 1980 [Esfand 27, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: To cut the domination of all imperialists, particularly America

Addressee: Khalid ibn Abdul-Aziz (the Saudi king)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your majesty Khalid Ibn Abdul-Aziz, the king of Arabia,

Your telegram concerning my illness and recovery was received with thanks. Our complete and consummate happiness shall be on the day when the domination of the East and West imperialists, in particular America the world-hungry is cut and no shadow of it exists on the heads of Muslims. All the followers of the sacred school of Islam will be able to gain in their independence in perfect brotherhood and love, and the lost glory will be regained again.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 17, 1980 [Esfand 27, 1358 AHS / Rabiath-Thani 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the Message on the recovery of Imam

Addressee: Fahd Ibn Abdul-Aziz (the crown prince of Saudi Arabia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Fahd Ibn Abdul-Aziz, the crown prince of Arabia,

Your telegram on my recovery and return to home from the hospital was received with thanks. I hope all Muslims of the world following the sublime teachings of Islam and by cutting every type of ties with the imperialist governments of the world particularly America the world-hungry regain their full independence. Peace on you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 18, 1980 [Esfand 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: General amnesty

Occasion: The Iranian New Year

Addressees: The president of the Republic, the chief public prosecutor of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The noble nation of Iran has a bitter remembrance of the Security Department, and a few groups of administrative forces and some feigned and shaming clergies who had smuggled themselves in the spiritual guise and posed themselves as the spokesmen of Islam. Most of the said groups received their due punishment after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. But the reports coming from around the country indicate that the seduced groups are designing plots. It seems that these groups are steered from abroad. They want to practice the same actions committed in the days of Riza Khan. They want to drag our dear country in the lap of East or West by defeating the committed clergies and hurting the police. Or, they want to treat the nation as it was treated in the arrogant regime. This is the dread. Any negligence towards it or any indifference against it will result in destruction of Islam and the country. I myself had been a witness in the days of Rida Khan from the coup d'état till the vilified downfall of the regime. And I have seen the plots framed by the agents of the foreign powers one after the other. I have witnessed how they made the clergy low in the eyes of the nation by giving shameless appellations such as the backward' and etc. They destroyed the big fortifications of Islam by the hands of our youth—ignorant of the depth of the plot. They also paved the way for the imperialists' mal-purposes. The poets of the court, the paid writers, the spokesmen dependent upon them started their mission against Islam and the true servants of Islam and the country. They separated the first grade clergies (*ulama*), the virtuous people of piety and probity from the nation and the nation from them by means of poetry, articles, pen, and language. They spread the evil shadow of tyranny and imperialism across the country in such a dread through out fifty years that there remained no right to utter a word to any. I tell you, the noble nation, I warn you as I see through out the country the footsteps of that big Satan and other Satans. They have wisely adopted

the same sketch and design of the days of Rida Khan. They are about to execute it with all their satanic nature. The plot is to enfeeble the clergy and weaken the police under the name of SAVAK still attached to the arrogant regime.

Therefore, I am trying to make you feel the danger, and by avoiding this evil design and safeguarding the dear country and the great Islam, I declare a general amnesty for all the classes of the people whose hands are not dipped into the blood of the sinless, nor did they order anyone's death or murder, nor were they torturers, nor did they cause anyone's death, nor did they misappropriate public funds. This amnesty on the first day this New Year comprises all whether being a member of security force (SAVAK) or a military figure or a disguised clergy attached to the previous regime. From today onward, no one has any right to annoy them. Even the government agents or any other group has any right to annoy them. Even the government figures any group has no right to cause any annoyance or disturbance or trouble for them. The president from now is responsible to avoid tumult or trouble for these forgiven ones by using force or power. The wrongdoers from whatever class they may be should be arrested and surrendered to the authorities of law. It is upon Mr. Quddusi, the chief public prosecutor, to chase the wrongdoers, from whatever class they are and bring them to the court. He may persuade the president to compel them to attend the court. Justice should be carried out for them.

As for the other accused persons who do not embrace the amnesty, no one has a right to annoy them except the competent courts. The police is responsible on behalf of the court to surrender the accused ones to the court. All the courts in Iran are bound to send the files with their detailed information of the accused persons, when they are completed, to Mr. Quddusi in Tehran for final check and perusal. Mr. Quddusi is too bound to form a committee or committees consisting of religious judges for investigating of such files. The Islamic justice should be executed thereupon. The president is allowed to show leniency by one grade after investigating into the crimes of those now in prisons—or the groups deserving the leniency. Those can be set free should be freed. I should remark here that the persons under amnesty when freed should not repeat their previous deeds or deeds similar to their previous ones. Otherwise, the punishment will be doubled, that is for their present crimes and their previous ones too. I ask all my faithful brothers to avoid taking revenge or finding excuses. They should follow the example of the Prophet and practice forgiveness as he used to do. I want our youths to show affection towards each other. They should adopt

doing good to others after the practice of the Prophet and much stressed by Quran. I wish health and success for all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tuesday, Esfand 28, 1358 AHS

Letter

Date: March 18, 1980 [Esfand 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message in which general amnesty is appreciated

Addressees: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (one of the greatest religious authority)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat his Marashi Najafi, may his blessings last,

Your telegram of appreciations about the order for general amnesty was received. I thank you for your affections. I hope that Muslims may benefit from your teachings and guidance. Your health and prosperity I want from God. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Radio-Television Message

Date: March 19, 1980 [Esfand 29, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The source of victory of the Revolution; remarks about the parliamentary elections

Occasion: Approach of the Iranian New Year

Addressees: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Victory of the Revolution under the blessing of Islam

First I wanted to explain the issues in a discourse way. Because of its length, I shall write it down, God willing, and on Friday will be addressed to the nation. The thing that I should tell now is: I hope in this New Year since the Revolution the nation to attain victory in one year, by the grace of God. All the revolutionary organs are established in a suitable way. The tranquility that ruled the parliamentary elections, as reported to me, has had never preceded before. Here I should point out as the year gets new similarly a renewal should also take place in persons too. A change should occur and happen both in the spirits and in the people. Differences do exist after every revolution. A population of 35 million has come out of prison and is set free. Of course, amidst them are the ones deviated and seduced.

But all should be mindful of a thing that the victory attained by revolution is the result of the blessings of Islam, and the inclination towards Islam, and the cries of *Allahu Akbar*' (God is the Greatest). No one may presume that the victory is due to the efforts of individuals or groups. No, It is not so. It was God the Almighty who supported it as He saw the people campaigning in His way. You should not ignore the withdrawal or the retreat of the enemy. There was no serious confrontation. What was that? Had the enemy desired, he could have bombarded Tehran by his planes, tanks, guns, and cannons. You had no means to defend. Who made them give up? Who made the dread penetrate their hearts? They were unable to do anything. You had no force. We had no power. Dread was created in our hearts. Our victory was in the consequence of funk that hit them. This was just done by God. When a nation becomes advertent to God, concentrate their attention towards Him and sees no way but the way of God to pace with a worth of trust, and the nation across the country raises the cry of "God is the Greatest", God supports them too. Enemies were defeated not only within but outside the

country. All went aside. No one dreaded to confront them. In the hearts were a funk and fear, dread and danger. This was the action of God. No human being was able to do such a thing. Therefore, our victory is the effusion of the blessings of Islam and inclination towards Quran.

Enemies of the Revolution—in ambush

After victory, one becomes aware of some differences and some things not in the walk of Islam nor in line with the teachings of the Prophet. We witness such things occurring occasionally. Our nation does know that the victory was achieved but the enemy is not at rest. Those who used to reap benefit from Iran and the region are not idle now. The foolish agents and elements of the enemies who receive instructions from them are not idle either. They are in ambush. So any negligence in this regard is likely to indulge us into extraordinary troubles, God forbid! Our nation should not overlook these things.

Islamic conduct to be preserved in elections

For instance, one step has been paced in the parliamentary elections. The other step should be paced, God willing. These elections were quite peaceful. According to the reports given to me these elections were performed in a calm atmosphere. Now those who did not obtain access to the parliament and failed in the elections would not scorn or criticize. Any way, all have the intention to serve the nation. If you failed or were defeated, you should not say that the entire nation has been a wrongdoer. How could a Muslim nation in a sensitive moment be a traitor while it has performed the obligation in calmness and peace? A nation as a whole cannot be a traitor. Individuals should preserve the Islamic behavior. One wants to become a deputy or suppose he is my friend or from my group but the nation did not vote for him. It is not proper to prepare a ground that all pens go on papers to write something anti-revolutionary, to attack the very revolution itself. If they have complaints, they will be attended to. Creating anarchy would only pave the way for the traitors and that's all.

If you are a servant to your homeland, you can render your services in parliament in some or other form. But outside the parliament, you can render your services in some way or other. But all the population of Iran cannot go to the parliament. If there is no grudge or any other ill motive, you can still be useful to your country. You did not get votes. You can serve outside of the parliament. A limited number can stay in the parliament. You can support the parliament. It should not be reflected abroad that the elections in Iran were

such and such. This is wrong. Do not utter this wrong word so often. Please for God's sake, have a little care, a little attention. Because you have not got a seat in the parliament, do not you start anarchy here and there accusing the elections. This parliament is an Islamic council of consultation. It wants to serve Iran. It must have power. It is the only center that all other branches should obey. On the other hand, you do not keep on telling wrong things, anti-Islam things. If you have a complaint, it will be entertained. The offices concerned will attend the complaints. But going on anarchy, and telling wrong words, creating troubles and chaos, criticizing without any reasons— are against the teachings of Islam.

The place of Islamic Council of Consultation (Parliament)

Muslims must be brothers together. All should render service. You have rescued a country from the claws of a superpower. Now you have successfully done so but again it will return back to the grip of the same claws if you don't stop uttering difference-creating words. It is proper and befitting to write in the foreign papers about the so and such of the parliament while holding the destiny of a nation and preserving its entity and existence by calm and peaceful means. It is not right. Do not insist on the wrongs.

I want the nation of Iran to preserve the same tranquility in the second stage when it is achieved. This country belongs to you. So you yourself should serve it. In these elections you do the same as you did in last elections with the same spirit; take part with all your willingness and desire and go to the ballots and give your votes. God willing, the parliament will take shape.

Parliament is the only refuge for a nation. Parliament is a collection of power of a nation. In a group all the power of a nation is combined and stored. Parliament is above all the positions and status that a country holds. Therefore don't break such a position. Although you don't, it is ill and improper to say such things. It is against the interests of the country in addition to the way of Islam.

Deprived ones of the society should be attended and paid care

In this New Year from God the Almighty I want the glory of Islam, Muslims and the noble nation of Islam. I hope this New Year to be full of happiness and ease and comfort for the nation. Every thing should become new. New conduct, new deeds, etc; all things become new. Iran should thoroughly be made anew. All should cooperate, coordinate, and go hand in hand to rebuild this country afresh and anew.

Another thing I want to tell the nation is to pay attention to the deprived and oppressed ones who are many in number, these days. They could not afford providing the things they wanted for their own or their children in this New Year. The able ones should help them. These groups that are formed by orphans, needy ones, and the poor should be attended to their needs and necessities. God will bless this New Year to us, to all Muslims, and to the Muslim nation. May God help us all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 21, 1980 [Farvardin 1, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Thirteen-point recommendations to Muslims

Occasion: The Iranian New Year Eve

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran, the Muslims and the oppressed ones worldwide

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I congratulate all the oppressed ones of the world and the noble nation of Iran this New Year, which has brought us all the organs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It was the will of God, thanks to Him, that the victim nation should be rescued from the atrocities of the cruel tyrant regime of the arrogant and the superpowers particularly that of America. Also it was His will that the flag of the Islamic justice be hoisted over our country. It is bound on us to confront the superpowers. We have strength which makes us confront them, provided that our open minded people give up their dependence on East and West and their Westernization. They should pursue the straight path of Islam and the nation.

We are in fight with the international communism as much as we are with the world-hungry West under the leadership of America. We strongly campaign against Zionism and Israel. My dear friends! Do know that the danger of the communism is not less than America. And the danger of America is to the extent that the least carelessness or negligence will result in your annihilation. Both the superpowers have girded themselves for the devastation of the oppressed people of the world. We must try to export our revolution to the other parts of the world. We should give up the thought that we shall not export our revolution. Islam between the Muslim countries does not draw a line of distinction. It is the supporter of all the oppressed ones of the world. On the other hand, all the powers and the superpowers have made themselves prepared to deracinate us. If we dwell in a close and confined environment, our defeat shall be close and certain. We must square our account quite frankly and openly with the powers and the superpowers. We should show them that in spite of the ordeals and grueling trouble we will confront the world on ideological front.

My dear youth! You are my hope. My hope is on you. In one hand hold Quran and in the other a weapon and rise in such a way so as to defend your

worth, honor and entity. Depredate them of the faculty to think or even conjecture a plot against you. Be so kind to your friends and do not fall short of sacrificing of anything you can towards them. Be aware that today the world is the world of the oppressed ones. Sooner or later victory will be theirs. They are going to inherit the earth and to be the divine rulers of it. All the appraisals, fronts, and groups that campaign for emancipation from the claw of the superpowers, either left or right, I once again declare any kind of support to them. I declare my support to Palestine and Lebanon. I once more express my condemnation for the bestial occupation of Afghanistan by the aggressive robbers of East. I hope that the Muslims of Afghanistan may attain their real and true independence, and free themselves from the grip of these so-called supporters of the labor class.¹ The noble nation must know that all the victories gained were due to the will of God the omnipotent.² Next, it is in the consequence of the change that swept across the country and the spirit of Faith besides the commitment and cooperation that came into being among the majority of people. Our concentrative attention toward God and the unity of word is the pedestal of our victory. If we forget this secret of victory and become refractory to Islam and its sacred rules and pace the way that would lead to differences and divisions, I am afraid there is a dread that the Mercy of God would be taken away from us. The way will be paved for the arrogant ones. Again the tricks, treason and treachery of the satanic sources will captivate our dear nation. And the blood that was shed in the way of independence and freedom, and the pain and agony suffered by the young and the old, would go in vain as a result. What happened in the arrogant regime might again grip the Muslim country everlastingly. Those humiliated by the Islamic Revolution might treat us as they have done and are doing with the oppressed ones, the victims of the world. Therefore, with a feeling of divine duty and with a sense of religious obligation, I would like to point out some matters. I insistently enjoin the president, the Revolutionary Council, the government and the security force to see it as a carried out matter. At the same time, I want the whole nation by all its power and the commitment they have towards Islam to exert their sincere support to them across the country. I see the satanic plots in a wide dimension to provide a ground for the hold of East and West. Standing against it and stopping it with all the strength possible is an Islamic, national and a human obligation upon the government and the nation. Here are some issues to be reminded:

Wahshiyaneh.

² Marxist regime based in Soviet Union- ruling over Afghanistan.

1. This year the security should return to the country so that the noble people could live in complete comfort and safety. Once more I declare my support to the gentle military. The military of Islamic Republic of Iran should be mindful of discipline and regulations. The president who has been delegated the power of the commander-in-chief on my behalf, is bound to punish severely those who intend to go on a strike or to cut short doing the job or to create anarchy in the rows of army or to ignore the military regulations and its discipline or to move forward to the orders without taking their rank or position into consideration. In the case of their wrongdoing being confirmed, they should immediately be dismissed from the service and handed over to the authorities. I can never tolerate any more irregularities in the military. Anyone who causes disturbances in military should be handed over to the nation as anti-revolutionary. The nation will square accounts with him along with the rudiments of the army of the traitor Shah.

My dear brothers in the army! You turned your backs to the Shah—the profligate—and came into the embrace of the nation. Today is the time to serve the nation of Iran.

2. I once more declare my support to Sepah—the volunteer force. I point out to them and to their commanders that the least irregularity is liable to account. God forbid! if you perform any act that causes anarchy in the smooth run of the system or discipline, you will be dismissed forthwith. Whatever I have told regarding the military concerns to you, too.

My sons of the Revolution! Be careful to behave sympathetically and kindly and in an Islamic conduct with all one you face.

3. The police and the gendarme of the country! They must be adherent to the regulations and disciplines. According to the information, less work is on the run in the police stations. Those who did not enjoy good experience in the past should exert more contiguity with the people and adherence with the rules throughout Iran. They should consider the people from their own steam and stock. I hope that in future a basic reorganization to be implemented in the institutes of police and gendarmes. The security forces should consider themselves belonging to Islam and Muslims. The blasts that occurred in the south have annoyed me very much. Why don't the police, the volunteer force (Sepah) and gendarmes detect the elements attached to the previous corrupt regime and dependents on America? Why do they not punish them? These are the corrupt ones upon the earth. Both are the same: those who are indulged in such activities and those who direct these actions. The judgment for the corrupted ones on the earth is quite apparent. The Revolutionary courts should act with determination so that they will be uprooted so soon.

4. The Revolutionary courts throughout Iran should stand as a paragon of the justice of God. They should try not to go astray even a step from the rules of God. They should be prudent enough in this regard. They should judge with a revolutionary patience. Courts of law have no right to have their own forces. They should act according to the constitution. Gradually the courts of law should guard the wrong doings with sincerity. God forbid! if any one happens to be refractory with divine orders, he should be introduced to the nation and receive his due punishment.

5. The government is bound to provide the means of working for the workers, villagers, and laborers. But they too should know that going on strikes and doing less work will result in strengthening the superpowers, besides the disappointment to the hopes of the Islamic country's oppressed people and those of other countries who are now on their appraisal. The people of each and every town upon hearing any strike taking place, should go there immediately and see what their demands are. The anti-revolutionaries should be recognized and introduced to the people. The noble people of Iran can no more pay salaries to a group of men ignorant of God.

The dear laborers! You should know that each day a group of men spark anarchy in some or the other corner. They are your staunch enemies. They want you to go astray from the revolutionary roots. They are dictators. If by chance, they come to power one day they will not allow you even to breathe. You should fight with them in all the grounds. You introduce them to the people as your No. 1 enemy. And disclose their affiliations and dependence on East, the aggressor, and the West. The government has the obligation to punish severely those persons involved therein.

6. I don't know why the government has held up the plans, which are useful for the nation. The government should administer and put the plans useful to the nation in effect in order to provide economical relief and betterment for the country.

7. All should obey the government. The departments should obey the government; otherwise, sever action becomes necessary. Any official at any rank in any department wants to create any disturbance should be dismissed at once and handed over to the nation. I am at a loss to understand why the authorities overlook the force and vigor of the people. The people themselves will square the account with the anti-revolutionaries. They will distinguish them and revile and derogate them.

8. Confiscation of the property by irresponsible persons or incompetent courts is absolutely prohibited. Such actions should be stopped. The confiscation should be carried out in accordance with the religious standards

supported by the summons of the chief public prosecutors or the judges. No one has the right to intervene and interfere or meddle with. The wrongdoers in this respect should be punished.

9. The lands should be distributed according to religious standards. The competent courts have the authority to take over the charge after the standards are established. Nobody has any right to transgress anyone's land, garden and house. Generally, the irresponsible persons have no right to intervene in such affairs. Those who have knowledge about the properties of the persons depending on the past arrogant regime should pass on the information to the authorities concerned.

The elements of the past regime had got the properties of people by illegal means. Any one, who acts against the religious standards, should in precinct meet the due punishment too.

10. The housing Foundation and the Foundation of the Oppressed ones should present their work sheets. The people should know and become aware of the activities of these two revolutionary organs. The Foundation of Residence should shed light to make the extent of the job done by them apparent. The Foundation of the Oppressed ones should declare and make the transferable and in-transferable properties belonging to the elements of the arrogant regime particularly the Shah and his filthy associates throughout the country open. The people must be informed. They should declare what they have done. The properties of the traitor Shah which they have given to. Is it true that the Foundation of the Oppressed ones has turned into the Foundation of the Arrogant? If it is so, its relinquishment is necessary. Any negligence about this important matter is prohibited. These two organs should submit a detailed explanation to people that why they could not accelerate their performance. In case of any one's wrongdoing under the name of the oppressed ones, it is on the courts of law to take action.

11. A fundamental revolutionary spirit should be brought into being in the colleges throughout Iran so that the professors having links with East and West to be wiped out. The college should be made as a safe environment befitting for the higher Islamic sciences to be taught. The detrimental coaching and teaching of the past regime should be strictly avoided. All this misfortune and sufferings of the society throughout the length of the rule of father and son is due to the detrimental training and teaching. Had we practiced a principled teaching in the colleges, today we would not have had any open-minded elements. In the most fatal moments of Iran, they are in disagreement among themselves. They are isolated from the people. They take sufferings of the people nothing as if they do not live in Iran. We lag

behind. The reason is that the open-minded class of the colleges did not grasp the correct knowledge nor were they truly aware of the Islamic society of Iran. Most regrettably they are still so. The fatal blow the society has suffered is the one from the side of those open-minded ones of the colleges. They have always looked themselves superior over the others. They only utter what their friends, the open-minded ones, could only understand. The people if do not understand, let them not understand, no matter what. Here people are not counted. They themselves are important. During the period of the ruling of Shah, the annual training brought up the students in such a way that the so-called open-minded ones did not take the oppressed people to account. They are the same even today.

The committed and the responsible open-minded people! Come forward and put the division and the difference aside. Think of people. For the relief of these heroic people who have given martyrs try to rescue them from every school of political stance, either of East or the West. Be at your own side. Shun from depending upon strangers.

Students of the religious sciences and the college students, you should have your reading and the study based on the fundamentals of Islam. You should refrain from giving the slogans of the seduced and deviated groups. You should replace all the devious and perverted thoughts by the pristine Islam. These two groups must know that Islam is itself a rich school. It does not need anything to be borrowed from other schools and added thereto. All must know that giving any joint of thought (from others to ours) is a great treason and treachery to Islam and the Muslims. The consequence and the fruit of such a conjecture would come to light in future and that will be too sour, too bitter. Sometimes it has been seen that due to wrong comprehension of Islamic issues, some of them are mixed and linked with those of Marxist ones. As such they have brought into being a compound, a mould, a mixture, which is on a way congruous and consistent with high-elevated laws of Islam. Dear students! Don't pace the strayed way of the irresponsible and uncommitted open-minded fellows of the university. Do not distance yourselves from the people.

12. The other issue is the press: I once more ask the newspapers throughout Iran to come and to give hand in hand with each other and write the things in openness and freedom. But do not design a plot. I have told several times that newspapers must be free and independent. But much to my regret and at the same time wonder that I have seen a number of them in a way, which is not justified to write for the vicious purposes of East and West. Still they write for that very sake. Newspapers in every country play a

fundamental role that can create a safe and sound environment as well as the reverse. I hope they adjust themselves in service to God and the people.

Similarly, radio and television should be independent and free, too. They should disseminate every type of criticism with utmost neutrality. We do not want to see the same television that was in the days of the Shah again. Radio and television should be purged from the elements of Shah or the perverted ones.

13. The assaults against the pristine clergy are widened these days. In fact, they in the era of the Shah and also in the days of his father were most influential. They campaigned against the corruption that was current in those days. They guided the popular campaign against the Shah and America that the noble people had started. They did not rest till the victory was achieved. There are hired hands of the Shah's associates in spreading the assault. The clergy started its strenuous campaign in the years 41 and 42 against the Shah, the traitor. The Shah named the clergy as a black ratretation'. The only peril to him and his kingdom was the clergy. They have roots in the depths and the multitudes. They stood against him and his atrocities.

Right now the associates of the Shah for the sake of smashing the clergy, the base of independence and freedom of the country, have inserted the word of Retretation' in the mouths of my sons who are ignorant of the depth of the events. My dear sons! Today any insult and vilification to clergy is in fact, a blow to the independence and freedom and Islam. Today it is a treachery and treason to pace the path of the Shah and call this most reverend class that neither yields to East nor to West Backward'.

My dear sisters and brothers! You do know that they entail Shah and America who call the clergy Backward'. The noble nation of Iran pays back its debt to Islam by giving their support to clergy who are the protectors and a fortification of this native land and its borders. They cut short the greed of the tyrants of history from the country. On the other hand, I remark the respected clergy wherever they are. It is quite likely that the satanic elements would disseminate a vicious propaganda against the youths particularly those of college. The clergy should know that the obligation today is that all the classes of the nation, particularly the two great ones, the thinkers of the nation, should be united, hand in hand, exert their efforts against the Satanic forces and the arrogant and push ahead in one row to safeguard the Islamic campaign as their own life, independence and freedom. It was the design of the world-hungry ones and their stooges to separate these two classes. They succeeded and it resulted in the destruction of the country. The same design is now in effect. A little carelessness will lead us to elimination. I hope that

all, particularly these two classes in this New Year be vigilant about the tricks and the treacheries and plots. They should foil the vicious designs by the unity of word.

In the end, it is necessary to pray for the martyrs of the revolution in this New Year. May be the mercy of God upon them. We should also give expression to our appreciations for their sacrifices for those left behind. Mothers and fathers! I congratulate you on your bringing up such lion-hearted women and men. The bodily disabled ones! You were ahead of all towards the advancement of the nation's appraisal and the creation of the Islamic Republic. I congratulate you. Truly our revolution is indebted to the sacrifices of these two dear classes. Neither the nation nor I shall forget your sacrifices. We value their remembrance. I pray to God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 1, 1358 AHS

Letter

Date: March 26, 1980 [Farvardin 6, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Thanksgiving for the telegram

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi, holy Mashhad,

Your esteemed telegram was received. I thank you for your affection.

May God grant you health and prosperity.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 30, 1980 [Farvardin 10, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Explanation of judges' position and its importance in Islam

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice), Musawi Ardabili, Sayyid Abdul Karim (The prosecutor), and a group of judges

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of justice in Islam

The issue of judgment in Islam, with regards to its importance, perhaps occupies the top rank. The interpretations that have come down to us through the Infallible Imams rather disclose much of its importance. The Lord of Faithful says to Sharih: "O, Sharih! You are sitting on a seat where nobody sits except the Prophet or the successor of the Prophet or a tyrant."

This means either the Prophet is the authority in judgment or his successor the one recommended by the Prophet. Except these two, whoever sits on the set is a tyrant. It is narrated a person who judges against a payment of couple of Dirham, he is a pagan (*kafar*). Judgment in Islam is to protect the peoples' rights. The peoples' rights and rights of God are two things having two characters. One is that the judge is independent in his judgment. Judge in Islam is independent and enjoys the liberty of judgment. So the conditions for him are very severe and serious. I do not know persons in Iran competent with such conditions. A just jurisprudent in the arena of judgment should be absolutely neutral. To him, a president of the Republic and an ordinary worker should be the same and equal without any distinction. This is one of the things demanded from a judge. As such I have no trace of such a person in the religious institutions.

Appointment of the judge by a jurisprudent

There is a type of judgment in religion, which is not independent. The judge is a created one. In the first type, a jurisprudent with whole competency is the judge. He does not need to be appointed. In the second type, the vacancies are many and the number of judges is limited. It is impossible to fill all the vacancies. In such a case, the jurisprudent appoints persons who are not jurisprudents but men of trust and probity. They can understand the legal issues from the books written in this field. So the jurisprudent appoints such persons as judges. When these people cognizant

of legal standards become available the previous ones are replaced by these ones. Then judgment is taught to them. I approve of this trend so that the judgment can be a religious one.

Necessity of reformation of the justice according to the Islamic standards

According to the constitution, these two posts, the chief prosecutor and the chief justice, should be appointed by the leader after consultation with the judges. There are two aspects to this case: One side is: It is doubt and suspicion that necessitate consultation. In the affairs wherein exists no doubt, the need for consultation vanishes. In every affair a subject of suspicion among a few persons happens, for example one group wants the office of the public prosecutor and it is a matter of uncertainty to whom it must be given. So, in such cases, judges should be consulted. But, here there is no such a subject. Furthermore, it was not a doubtful matter to me. I have appointed these two gentlemen to these two high posts because of my knowledge about their long and shining background and their incumbency to the due requisites. Among the persons I know, all the necessary aspects do not exist. If the required qualities exist in them, they cannot spare time to carry out the obligations of these posts because of their occupation in other jobs. Therefore, I requested these two gentlemen to accept the jobs, which are the center of Islam. I asked them to bring out these departments from their previous position and change it to the Islamic justice. You know that our republic is an Islamic one. If Islamic justice does not exist at its top, we cannot name it as an Islamic Republic. It becomes a non-Islamic one. In a republic, which is also Islamic, all the organs and the departments should be Islamic, too. The most important one among them is justice and judgment. They must be based on the standards of Islam. I hope that the gentlemen get busy with their jobs and get the support and cooperation of those who are cognizant in this field.

All of us should have come to understanding that the present time is different from that of Shah's. Now the country is not under one man's rule to impose force or to bring the nation under pressure for an action he pleases. We do not have in the country such a position. In other words, our nation does not tolerate such a position anymore. Now the situation is such that if one wants to do a thing by force, all would confront him. This is a great bounty to a nation that no one could practice force. Of course, they will confine a tyrant to his own due place. They will do this by force either. authorities will use force to confine the wrongdoers in their own places if

they want to commit things like those done by the past regime. So, this is your own country. As you like your house and want it well arranged, you should have the same attachment with your country. It is like your house and the house of your friends and relatives. So you should not be idle in this respect. Do not let the task go less or short. All should cooperate with each other.

The self-inclinations are the source of differences

Do not preach difference among yourselves. Difference is the consequence of the self motives and inclinations. If all the Prophets come and gather here, they will not have any difference. Why? Because they have no self-inclinations. When one or both sides are frittered in self-desires, it will lead to difference. Therefore, you should try to avoid the tricks that the self plays on you and from there emanate differences, which get reflected in the newspapers or become a gossip somewhere else. A country, which is entangled in sour and stramashes and exposed to peril and danger, should return to its order and stability by its courage. If the person wants to foray it within inside by division and laceration, it will essentially fall into the hands of strangers. As you witnessed the people by their unity and unanimous cry of “God is great” succeeded in passing all the barriers on the way.

Disability of the powers in confronting the awakened notions

Now the situation is such that no power can do anything. In other words, it is not possible to impose a thing upon a nation. Yes, it is likely that a tyrant may come and impart his tyranny but cannot dominate a nation that has stood up and does not want to give in. So, in that case, no one can do anything. No power—even America or Soviet Union—can impose themselves upon a nation.

On that day, the ambassador of the Soviet Union came to me and said that Afghanistan has requested our military help. I told him that this is a mistake the Soviet Union making. Of course, the Soviet Union can capture Afghanistan but it cannot stay there. If you think that you will take over Afghanistan and disseminate peace and calm there, it is a wrong idea and a mistake. The Afghan nation is Muslim and follows Islamic orders. They have stood against the government of Afghanistan. If you leave there and another power goes there, no peace will be there. At the end of the day, the aggressor will be defeated. Even now I believe that when a nation gets united and speaks in one voice, no power could overcome it. Thanks to God that Iran now has no government which is against the nation. The government and the

nation are together. In a country like this, no one can come and impose matters on the nation. Therefore, from abroad the cries are heard on what we are going to do next. If you remember when the youth went and captured that center of espionage', they returned with information that Americans wanted to drop parachutes and make the youth paralyzed and enter the nest of the spies' and rescue them. This is a nonsense and tirade. They want to intervene militarily and stramash all. All was oral and still it is oral. Do not fear the words. They do not lead to any action. We do not fear these words that they will take military action. They did the same in Afghanistan too. We are in a better position to campaign than Afghanistan was.

Sympathy of all the persons and attention to the unity of word

However, the thing that is a matter of regret is that their propagators of are among us—the Iranians. They want to start depredation from inside. Furthermore, the people and the organizations all will be dragged to a total stramash. They want to create a division between the president and the council of consultants. They also want to create parties or wings and branches in order to create differences and anarchy that is the like the thing they are doing. Therefore, we all should be vigilant to the fact that this country has had been plunged into troubles since fifty and odd years in addition to 2,500 years. All people were witness to the events. Now by the grace of God, it got rid of the difficulties. So, we should be aware not to do a thing that could return us to the same troubles. God forbid! If we differ with each other and deviate from the angle God has enjoined us, that is "Hold firm to the rope of God¹, the mercy of God will be held back from us, too. We will become what we have been. We are unable to perform a thing just by ourselves. We should try to preserve its divine dimension to the extent we can do this. We can have unity in our word and can be all-together. God also helps us and the things take shape. I have time and again requested this from all and every class among the people. You gentlemen are at the helm of justice. Be advertant to the fact that all should have one voice and help each other. Let the justice department, which is the point here, get purged. The corrupt persons, those ignorant of justice, and those who want to have every thing for themselves; a trade out of this job should be removed. Virtuous and good people should take their place.

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103: "Hold firm the rope of God and do not get divided."

I pray to God for the health and prosperity of the nation and all nations of Islam. I thank you for your coming and for making acquaintance.

Letter

Date: March 31, 1980 [Farvardin 11, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory telegram on severing of relations with America

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (one of the oracles)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi, Qum, may his blessings last,

Your esteemed telegram concerning the abruption of ties with the world-hungry America was received with thanks. I pray to God for the prosperity of all Muslims of the world in their campaign and victory over the enemies of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 1, 1980 [Farvardin 12, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: New trends in America and the enemies of Islam and Iran

Occasion: The anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The twelfth day of Farvardin is the anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This day Iran got acknowledged and recognized and was given legitimacy. The government of the oppressed ones over the arrogant in Iran was founded. It is the day that the promise of God came true. It is the bounty from God that the oppressed founded their government over the arrogant in the world whether East or West, it succeeded.

The twelfth day of Farvardin is the day of the victory of the army of God over the army of Satan. It is the day of God's victory. It is the victory of His faithful servants. The nation of Iran considers this day as an Islamic feast. The absolute victory in its true sense will be when all the oppressed ones across the world come under the divine height and the shadow of the flag of victory is from God'. That day that Muslims all over the world with the help of Heaven will cut short the hand of the criminals and tyrant plunderers from each country. The banner of Islam and the divine brand of "God is great" will be hoisted. That day by the appraisal of the courageous ones with their cry of "God is Great" would perform the same with Sadat¹ and his supporters, as did the brave nation of Iran to Muhammad Riza Pahlavi.

The great nation of Egypt was fed up with the shame of the treason of Sadat². Now they have undergone a greater one imposed upon them by the satanic plots. The big Satan sticks to every means and Satanic designs in order to stay a little longer in the seat of treason. Muhammad-Rida is imposed upon Egypt. He poses himself as though he has no knowledge. They have forgotten that the nations are awakening. They well know what is in their closed hands. The Americans were threatening us of military intervention or parachuters in the nest of espionage' and sometimes of economical sanctions or isolating us from others. They did not get any result

¹ District, plan, land.

² Muhammad Anwar Sadat, president of Egypt.

out of it. So, now they have launched a new political game and a satanic design. Now they want to cheat us by the way of politeness and humbleness to win the gamble from its competitors.

This new trick of Carter is quite similar to that of the Shah's in the last days of his shameless reign. He stooped to chicanery and flattery before the nation and the clergy. But his plot was aborted. Mr. Carter must know that he is going astray by sending the Shah to Egypt, apologizing for his past mistakes and admitting the American treason against the oppressed nations including Iran and asking me to solve the problem of the nest of espionage'. I am only a member of this nation. Nobody possesses the solution to this problem except the nation or the parliament, which has emanated from the nation. They should know that supporting the deposed Shah, does not serve any solution say an honorable one, to the problem. His treason, treachery and tyranny, and the depredation cannot be overlooked. They have surrendered Shah, an enemy of Islam and Iran, to another enemy who has agonized the Muslims of the world by his shameless actions. This has complicated the solution further. The odd point is that Sadat like Carter claims that he has hosted the Shah because of humanitarian reasons. Superpowers destroy the nations that have no crime beyond demanding their rights. A man, criminal, has destroyed a big nation in a period of around forty years. He has killed tens of thousands of innocent people. He has disabled nearly a hundred thousand people. He has pillaged the property of a poor nation. Now to such a man, he has given refuge under the pretext of humanitarian love. He has belittled and played a political sleight with our and his nation.

Now we are involved with the persons who do not avoid committing any crime for attaining power for a few years. They do not spurn telling lies. Unfortunately, they belong to satanic powers. It is upon all the oppressed ones of the world, particularly the Muslims to come to themselves, and defend their rights and their lot. They must purge their countries from the such persons.

It is upon the noble nation of Iran, regardless of their groups or their walk of life, to distance themselves from differences and quailing from duties or doing less work. They should deracinate the enemies by their unity and grasp the rope of God. The personal stramashes and scuffles originating from selfish motives, may grow stronger will lead the persons together with the country to destruction. The thinkers, orators, academic personalities, and scholars should exert their abilities to disappoint the enemy totally—particularly our enemy America. The sisters and brothers of Kurdistan I want you to be in cooperation with all Muslim brothers to defend your country.

The military and all the security forces that endure trouble for the sake of the people should be alert regarding the perverted and seduced persons who want to surrender the country to the satanic powers in the name of Kurdish nation. They want to return the past agonies. They have no knowledge about Islam and its commands. All the classes of the people should live together in peace and prosperity by the grace of God as the Islamic government is stabilized. My sisters and brothers! God forbid! If the Islamic uprising fails, there will be no Kurdish nor Khuzestan nor any other quarter. So, please, for the sake of God, forget the differences and live with your other brothers in unity and brotherhood. Defend your country by adhering the divine power. In that case, God will be with you by your side. No power would be able to overrule you. I pray to God for the victory of Islam and the Muslims, and guidance of the seduced ones. Peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 12, 1359 AHS

Statements

Date: April 1, 1980 [Farvardin 12, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Preservation of unity and peace

Occasion: The New Year

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, Hashimi Rafsanjani, and a group in charge of the Judiciary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The purpose of service

Endeavors in constructing Iran, efforts in attaining understanding between all the organs, God willing, may end this year and we reach to a complete and consummate victory. We are victorious only on the day when the hands of all the powerful ones are cut. We too might have prepared a comfortable and easy life for the needy and oppressed ones. This is the responsibility of the government and the parliament. I hope that the parliament take shape peacefully. In this term like the second term it may be accomplished in calm.

Those who did not obtain votes should know that the parliament is not the only place to serve. Service can be rendered outside the parliament too.

If the purpose be the service, it can be done from everywhere. I pray for all of you. I wish from God health for you and glory for the country and Islam.

[Mr. Musawi Ardabili:

We, hope that God bestow the great festivity to all Muslims particularly the Iranians. Today such characteristics with your features and voice appear quite normal and natural. So this is the most important festivity god has given to all of us. God willing, this revolution may yield fruit and attain its last stage. God willing, by the grace of your existence, God may not deprive the Muslims.]

[Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani:

A new thing in your today's discourse was victory by means of divine dread'. This was a very good issue which we were ignorant of.]

I had also told that this path and this matter was a reality. It was not such that they could not kill one Iranian. The Shah had promised that if he went,

he would set fire on Iran. But it was God's will that he should go and Iran stays better at its place.

Decree

Date: April 4, 1980 [Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Trustee to the holy shrine of Mashhad

Addressee: Abbas Waiz Tabasi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Haj Shaykh Abbas Waiz Tabasi—May his graces last long,

Considering the records you have in the administrative affairs of the holy shrine of Eighth Imam, Imam Rida (peace of God be upon him and his impeccable ancestors) besides the confidence in this respect that you invite, you are vested with the authority of Superintendent of the said holy shrine. It is your duty to preserve and safeguard all the belongings, particularly the library, the treasure, the contents of the grave under the tomb, and the donations under the endowments and etc with utmost care and vigilance. And it is to you to protect the belongings and possessions getting wanted and lost. The respected staff and the personnel of the servants shall extend their cooperation in this effort.

The thing that is necessarily to be remarked here is that none of the governmental organs, such as Jihad-e Sazandegi, Ministry of Guidance and any ordinary people have any right to interfere or intervene in the endowments and all other things related to the holy shrine.

I pray to God for the success of those who are in the divine service.
May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1400 AH

Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 4, 1980 [Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressees: Chein Jing (?) (Head of the Permanent Committee of the National Congress of the Peoples' Republic of China)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Ye Chein Jing, Head of the Permanent Committee of the National Congress of the Representatives of the Peoples' Republic of China,

Your telegram of congratulations on the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran was received with thanks. Respecting the right of dominance and independence of all countries, particularly the Islamic nations are what we wait for and expect and our Islamic Revolutionary nation expects all countries of the world. We hope to meet the care and attention of all the nations and governments.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 4, 1980 [Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Leonid Brezhnev (Head of the Soviet Union)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Leonid Brezhnev (Head of Moscow, the Soviet Union),

Your telegram of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran is received with thanks. It is my hope that the independence of all nations, particularly the Islamic nations, to be always in your attention in the same way as you have expressed your wishes for the right of our nation's dominance and independence. Furthermore, you are expected to refrain from any type of intervention from any forces in the affairs of others. So that, all could take back their rights from the imperialists in the refuge of freedom and independence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 4, 1980 [Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Kim Il Sung (President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Kim Il Sung—Head of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Your telegram of congratulations on the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran received many thanks. I pray to God for the prosperity of all the oppressed nations of the world till they attain full independence and freedom from the imperialists particularly the world-hungry America. I hope that the governments would accelerate in helping their nations in this sacred mission, and uproot the imperialism from their countries by unity and coordination.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Notice

Date: 1980 [In the early part of 1359 AHS / 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The necessity for neutrality to the staff of Imam's office

Addressees: Members of the staff and guard of the House of Imam Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I want to tell all those who are in the office or have access to any office and house to be at utmost neutrality and have any views lenient to any side. They should be particularly attentive enough not to reflect any leniency or side taking towards any person or group and likewise the opposite of it by their conversation and conduct. Any quail from this order is anti-religious and anti-revolutionary. Those who want to quail from this order should not come to any office or my house. I wan the members of the guard around the house not to behave anti-Islamic people or groups or clergies like governmental figures or revolutionary personalities.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 6, 1980 [Farvardin 17, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the Message of congratulations for the New Year and the anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Hafiz Asad (The Syrian president)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency General Hafiz Asad, President of Syria,

Your congratulations Message on the occasion of New Year and the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran was received with thanks. I hope that all the oppressed nations of the world particularly the Islamic nations raise up against the imperialist superpowers and their dominance, in particular, the world-hungry America and purge their countries from their existence by unity and co-existence and overlooking the in-between differences. As such they may gain their real independence. I pray to God for the prosperity of all towards reaching this sacred goal.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 15, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 1, 1980 [Farvardin 17, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations for the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi (The Libyan president)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Muammar Qadhdhafi, President of the Republic of Libya,

Your telegram to congratulating on the anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran was received. Your affections expressed therein towards me and the noble in-campaign nation of Iran is very much appreciated. I hope that the Islamic Revolution of our great nation and their glorious victory over the enemies of Islam become a beacon for all the victimized nations under dominance. Further, they may get rid of their vicious and malefic domination; in particular America, the big enemy, and cut short their influence and regain the lost glory under the sacred teachings of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 17, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 6, 1980 [Farvardin 17, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulating message on the anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (The Algerian president)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Shadhli Bin Jadid—the president of the Republic of Algeria,

Your message of congratulations on the anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran was received with thanks. The great revolution of the noble and campaigner nation of Iran is the aftermath of the freedom-seeking revolutions and the pristine appraisals of campaigning nations of the world particularly the brotherly heroic nation of Algeria. This was the cause that the greatest of the satanic powers was eliminated. I hope that it will serve a beacon for all the oppressed nations and Muslims of the world.

Further, it could be able to emancipate all nations from the dominance of all imperialists, particularly the big Satan, America, the world devourer.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini
Farvardin 17, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 7, 1980 [Farvardin 18, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations on the establishment and the anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Diya ar-Rahman—the president of Bangladesh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Diya ar-Rahman—the president of Bangladesh,

Your telegram of congratulations on the first anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran was received with thanks. I pray to God for the prosperity of the nation of Bangladesh, from our strain, for its happiness, ease and full independence. I hope that all the Muslim nations of the world may regain their lost glory through unity, coordination and ignoring the divisions among them. They may rescue themselves from the dominance of the enemies of Islam in particular the criminal America.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 8, 1980 [Farvardin 19, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Breaking of ties between America and Iran

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Farvardin 19, 1359 AHS

The nation of Iran! I got the news of the ties breakage between America and Iran. If Mr. Carter has done anything good and beneficial to a victim in his life, it is only this. He has cut the ties. As a matter of fact, the relation between a nation that has upraised to free itself from the grip of the international plunderers and the world hungry plunderer is always to the benefit of the latter and the loss of a victim nation. We take this breakage of relations for granted of a good omen. This abruption of ties disappointed America and it is that its hope is cut, too. If the upraised nation of Iran at the stigma of its final victory rejoices in a feast, it will be quite rightful and quite befitting. It has reviled a superpower, the bloodthirsty, to cut its ties, that is the end of its looting and robbery. We are hopeful of the perdition of its elements, Sadat and Saddam Husayn to happen soon.

The noble Muslim nations shall deal with treacherous parasites in a way as our nation did with the traitor Muhammad-Rida. The nations subsequently shall proceed to cut the relations with superpowers, particularly with America, so that they could live in freedom and absolute independence. I have often remarked that our ties with countries such as America are the ties between a victim nation and a world-hungry robber.

O, the dear nation! You, for the sake of the God's delight, overruled your enemy by the cry of "God is greater". You attained freedom and independence. Be in precinct to appear face to face with the enemies of Islam and the oppressed ones by trusting in God and unity of the word. It is the will of God that you are victorious. You shall overrun the difficulties.

Saddam Hussein like the deposed Shah has shown his ugly un-Islamic and inhumane face. He has been strictly determined to annihilate Islam and the religious institution of Najaf. He has dealt with Muslims in a way to please Carter as the Moguls did. He has behaved the clergies, particularly His

Holiness Muhammad-Baqir Shird as Rida Khan and his son did. He must have known that by these actions, he is only digging his own grave and that of the illegitimate regime of Baath.

The noble nation of Iraq! You are the sons of those who expelled the Britons from Iraq. Get up! Cut the hands of the criminal and expel him from your Islamic country before he could snatch away everything of yours. O, the tribes of Euphrates and Tigris.¹ Get united with the nation.

Cut the root of corruption before you may lose the opportunity. Defend the sacred Islam and your Islamic country for the sake of God. God is with you.

O, the army of Iraq! Do not obey this anti-Islam and anti-Quran guy. Be in the fold of the nation and cut the hand of America stretched out from the sleeves of Saddam. You should know that it is against God to obey this murderer. Its punishment of is shame and flame.

I pray to God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and Iran. Peace, blessings and mercy of God be upon you.

Ruhullah Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Name of two rivers in Iraq.

Message

Date: April 9, 1980 [Farvardin 20, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Expulsion of Iranians from Iraq

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The noble nation of Iran! It is the American plot carried out by the criminal and perverted Iraqi regime of Baath. Iraqis are driven out of their houses and sent to Iran in a retched and pitiable condition. They are dear guests. Do host them with due respect. They are your victimized brothers. They are driven out of their houses without any right but only to please the big Satan in a blind obedience and to be in line with the lust of self. They are our victim brothers.

The noble nation and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran should provide them all the necessities for living in a very befitting manner. Do not let them feel any inconvenience. The cursed regime of Baath who has girded itself to confront with Islam and Muslims should know that it is egregiously wrong. The Muslim nations of Iran and Iraq shall repudiate the chieftains of those elements. They shall expel them from their land and drag them into the oblivion of history.

Saddam Hussein is confronting the noble nation of Iraq. He now sees himself in destruction. So he is making pretexts and grounds in order to divert the attention of Muslim brothers from himself and the stolid Baath party in order to go on a few more days with his criminal atrocities.

With his hands are dipped up to elbows in the blood of Iraqi youths, Saddam now wants to pose himself as a supporter of Arabs. He in his fancy prefers Arabs to Islam. He has turned his back upon Islam. He presumes by doing so he could attract the Arabs. He is ignorant that the Arab nations preserve Islam as dearly as their own life and they fight and wrangle with the enemies of Islam as their ancestors did.

Our Arab brothers! You should know that your enemies, the cursed Baath party at their head, are enemies of our nation. Our nation is in enmity with your enemies and is a friend of your friends. Our nation also shares the agonies that have hailed upon you at the hands of the corrupt regime. We

hope that the Baath regime to be finally put into the dustbin of history like the regime of Shah. We hope that the victory of Muslims shall be near.

We pray to God for the victory of Muslims over the corrupt superpowers. Peace be upon all the virtuous servants of God.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini
Farvardin 20, 1359 AHS, Jamadi al-
Awwal 23, 1400 AH

Message

Date: April 14, 1980 [Farvardin 25, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 28, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: No anxiety about break up ties with America (Reply to the message of Pope)

Occasion: Breaking of American/Iranian relations

Addressee: Pope John Paul II (The Pope of Catholic church in the world)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Holiness John Paul II,

Your letter expressing your anxiety on worsening the relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America is received.

I appreciate your Holiness' goodwill. I would like to assure you that our global campaigner nation has regarded this breakage of relations as a good omen. They feasted the occasion with dances and illuminations.

I thank you for your prayers to God for the sake of our nation. However, I would like to remark your Holiness not to entertain any anxiety and worry in presuming greater dangers and malevolent motive towards our nation. The Islamic nation would welcome the troubles the breakage of the relations happens to give birth to. We are not in dread of the dangers you have pointed out. If the relations like those existed in the past treacherous regime happened to be renewed, that would be a dangerous day for our nation. We hope God the Almighty not to let it happen.

Your Holiness enjoys good influence upon the moral among the Christian nations. I respectfully request you to exert your influence and admonish the consequence of the pillage, atrocities and applying undue force against the nations by American government. Please advise Mr. Carter who is facing a total defeat to behave humanely with the nations that want to be fully independent and do not want to be affiliated to any power in the world. Let him follow the teachings of Jesus (peace of God upon him). Let him not revile and belittle himself and the American government beyond this.

I pray to God for the happiness of the oppressed people of the world. I hope that the hands of the tyrants to be cut.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini
Farvardin 25,

1359

AHS

Speech

Time: 6:30 pm, April 17, 1980 [Farvardin 28, 1359AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Necessity to be ready. Defense against the big powers. And the Baath regime of Iraq

Audience: Members of the Basij Headquarters of the districts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Difference between a holy war and defense

First I should thank you, gentlemen, for your coming over here that we could see each other from near. Now we are in confrontation with the big powers. We have the relative defense power. In other words, we defend all those things that are achieved by our appraisal and our campaign, and likewise the aims of Islam and our Islamic country and all the things concerning Islam and our country. So, in a situation of defense, the squad of volunteers should be general. The holy war is something and defenses something else. The issue of holy war has its own conditions and it relates to some particular persons and to a particular group with particular conditions.

But the issue of defense is a common one. Male, female, elder, young and old, all are under obligation. It is the same as reason to dictators in case of assault to a house; the members of the house all together come out to defend. Likewise, if a town is attacked, the inhabitants of that town will all together defend it. As such, there is no condition to rule here. If our Islamic country is attacked and aggression takes place, it becomes a binding upon the population of the country, regardless of being old or young, male or female, to defend the country. As such, the conditions of defense differ with those of a holy war. The holy war is based on certain conditions, while defense has none. All should defend, even an old man bereft of vigor for any work, should defend as much as he can.

Today, big powers and Satanic mischief is confronting us. Therefore, we must be ready and prepared for defense. It is likely that we may stand in need of military defense. But its likelihood is little. The big powers know that presently it is not proper to assault. Although the likelihood is little, but it is a matter of a country and Islam. Therefore, we must be girded with defense.

To be prepared means to be ready with force and power, whether it be that of individuals or any other one. The Holy Quran enjoins us in this regard. Our preparedness should be such that it should impart dread to those who have the intention of attack. In a country with a population of thirty and odd million, twenty million people must raise up to equip themselves with defense including all youths and those able to perform a job. The remaining ones to should join the defense if need arises.

You just imagine a day when the enemy faces you. The equipment too should be ready so as to be a dread to the enemy. We should be in all aspects ready, that is our force of military and army, terroristic and subterraneous. Above all, our power of faith should be increased.

Superiority of Islamic soldiers in faith and bravery

An individual with the power of faith confronts a group equipped with tools but bereft of faith. And he even advances. You might have observed in Islam, in some battles a very little number of Muslims confronted a great number of Roman forces. As history narrates, the Muslim forces were thirty thousand. The Roman front line consisted of sixty thousand supported by eight or seven hundred thousand in the back lines. All equipped with the weaponry of the day, which Iran too had. When the force of sixty thousand confronted the Islamic soldiers, one of the Islamic commanders said that he will faced them by thirty men only. He said that if we could create fear among them and make them retreat with this thirty men alone, they will be defeated. His associate told him that it was impossible to turn back a huge number only be thirty men.

Finally, it was decided that sixty men, instead of thirty, to go to fight. Accordingly sixty youths got ready. They made a surprise attack in the night on the army camp of sixty thousand soldiers. Each faced a thousand. The Roman army was defeated. The Islamic army in spite of its littleness got victorious. This caused a retreat of eight hundred thousand that were in back rows.

This is the force of faith. A faithful, if he gets killed, his destination is heaven. He is well off and better there than here. Likewise, if he killed, he will meet the same reward. Such is the weapon of faith. He fear nothing. Martyrdom is everything to him. He seeks happiness in martyrdom.

Those who are against you have neither faith in beyond the nature, nor in the Judgment Day, not in heaven and hell. They fight for this world only. They have the world only. He who wants the world cannot fight because he

fears the death and thereby would lose the world. He wants to keep himself saved in order to preserve the world.

A man who comes into the field for the sake of God and acts for divine goal, such a man is not for this world. Therefore, his heart is at peace. There is no fear in it. You are prepared. Your friends too are ready. Those who want to have an Islamic training and the military one too, should get acquainted with this Islamic weapon which is faith. They should equip themselves with it. If they got equipped with this weapon of Faith, their opposite side, the enemy, will fear him. You have seen that two years ago these thirty-five or six million were not thinking of any campaign. They did not have any weapon too. But this was God's will that this population should become a squad of Faith. This change that took place was for God. It was God who transformed this thirty-five million into a population of faith and belief. The young generation had no fear of tanks or guns and the death that awaited them. They desired martyrdom. You know our youths are fond of martyrdom.

On some occasions when I meet them, they swear by oath and the ladies too ask me to pray for them to attain martyrdom. I pray for them to obtain the reward of a martyr and become victorious. When you are equipped with the weapon of Faith and that Faith persuades you to arm yourself like that of your enemy, it is faith at which support you attain victory.

Attention towards God is the source of power to you and the reason of your victory. To you and all your friends who want to be prepared, I recommend the army of twenty million to create in yourself the power and the strength of Faith which will breed in your heart a full satisfaction and a rest and stable calm. The power of divine you try to create in you. It is the divine power that causes a terror in the hearts of those against you. No matter how many of them but the victory finally will rest with you.

To learn the art of military and sabotage

I hope that you learn the things that are in military or terrorism and etc. The equipment in the extent of need of a country will be provided by the government. You should have the equipment for a time when necessary. Thanks God that Iran has those things—the modern equipment. Above all this, there is a weapon of Faith. You train yourself such as to possess it and have it. You should not conjecture nor calculate that you will wrangle one by your own strength. Or, you may not think of victory that you will gain at your own power or force.

But your attention should always concentrate that it is the divine power that makes you to advance. In other words, your hands, eyes, the self that is all the things you have, turn them from satanic vigor to divine power. A man at a mere ignorance or carelessness becomes his vigor and strength a Satanic one. Everything of his—hands, eyes etc—go under the dictation and domination of the Satan. But if he trained himself, they will be divine. All strength of yours will be divine. And, what is divine will certainly overrun all. May God grant you victory over the enemies of Islam.

Neither you nor Iran should ever have a least fear about the economic sanctions. They want to strike a surrounding of military around us. We do not fear any of them. One who thinks Islam and the Islamic campaign is the source of everything and wants to be in a holy war, will never fear that he will be assaulted nor would he fear a group that wants to attack Islam, the country and the sacred things.

Same as in the early days of Islam, one man stood against a thousand, you too, God willing, will face one to a thousand. You will defend your country without giving any importance to what they have and what not you have. They are like empty drums where in the empty place surpass the substance. Suppose, they have every thing but there is one thing to your advantage, that is, the fear in their hearts. Carter's endeavor to please the American nation and Europe.

A man whose attention is to be the president, brings forward all these things which are not really in question. Mr. Carter has done the same. The issue that what happens to America is a pretext to the real intention to stay in power for another four years. His purpose is only this. He wants to continue the crimes for the next term also. Although he has already failed in a sense but still tries in his imagination to go ahead with his mission as it success and prosperity is in store for him. He thinks that by doing so he can enhance the number of votes to his favor. It is not that they want to do something for their country. They only want to collect the votes. One such person will have neither intention nor energy to perform some useful deed. All of him—the mind, the plan, the plot and the design is concentrated on how to gain the largest share of votes. Therefore, now you see that he has announced that he will put the economic sanctions into effect.

But on the other hand, he is short of approval. Most probably, they do not undergo. It is not so that all are the obedient servants of Mr. Carter or affiliated to America. They are independent one. They have brains. It is vilifying to them to go behind Carter. What for? To garner and gather votes for Mr. Carter! All the Western countries come together, become of one

mind and one opinion, put all their power and resources together that Mr. Carter could get more votes! And overrun his rivals! Strange it is! In a republic it is a matter of shame for a human being. Are not the Europeans or the heads of the European countries human beings? So, they should ponder a while that what this man wants! He has taken the bowl in his hand and starveling to beg here and there, to be with him in his actions against us. He wants the others' acceptance for his deed. He is just searching to gain the opinion. He wants the whole world to revile itself before him. His aim is also trouble to others. These follows claim that they endeavor for human rights. On the other hand, they want to confine a population of thirty-five million into economical blockade.

On another occasion, suppose they will put us into a military blockade. Why? What is all this for? Why are you doing these things? You want that Mr. Carter to get votes and be a criminal for another four years. I don't think one would like to undergo such commitment if he enjoys a little liberty of thought or an open and independent mind. How strange it is that a man in America wants to do something and in Europe all the heads of states are dissipating and squandering all their energy and power for his sake. On his account they are willing to purchase vilification for themselves among the nations and particularly the oppressed people whose number towers overall.

Too forbid, if once they commit such a foolhardy and stupidity then the defeat will be that of Europe along with America. The East and West belongs to those who are oppressed. So they are not with them because the nations are with us, by our side. Those who are against us are the governments only. For example, Iraq. Not all of them, some of them.

The regime of Iraq has returned back to era of the Arab ignorance

The government of Iraq was never a government since beginning. They have no parliament either. Do you think that they have a government? Is it a government? A few army men gathered together, sat together, sat together to do together whatever they like. They have neither links nor any communication with the people. They are addling ones. This Saddam Husayn too has no sound brains. They are putrid and rotten. They just design plots. Their only word is that they are Arabic Islam—we don't want. We are Arab; the meaning of this all Muslims must know that is we don't want Islam. He who says this means that what the Arabs will be. Arabs once stood against Islam. They say that they want to resuscitate the glory of Bani Ummayyah. Well, all saw, history too saw Bani Ummayyah what they did to Islam. They want to go back to those old days of the ignorance of Arabs. The power of

Arabs excluding Islam is their aim. Furthermore, they have no belief in Islam. The Arab nation knows that His Holiness Hakim had issued a decree of paganism. They are a handful junta of pagans. The Arab nation should act as per God has said. They should not obey them. The army is from this Sunni nation as well as Shiah. They are Muslims. Well, this army, which is from Muslims, will campaign. Whether do they prefer being Arab to Islam. Or, they want Islam? Islam has embraced Arabs as well as Ajams (non-Arabs). They are anti-Islam. So the noble nation of Iraq should emancipate itself from their grip. The Iraqi military too should do the same as did the military of Iran. When the people of Iran saw that the Shah is a war with Islam, they upraised and campaigned. The military too joined the nation. They got rid of the Shah. The Iraqi military also should do the same. This is a war against Islam. Does the military of Iraq want to go on war against Islam? Is the Iraqi army ready to raise Quran at the lances? This is an obligation upon the Iraqi nation and the Iraqi military as well as to turn their backs to this non-Islamic party and these a few persons whose number is less. In the same manner, as the Iranian military did, you too should do.

Preparedness of Iran to defend aggression

You have no excuse before God. This army that has drawn its lances and brought the guns and tanks with the people and wants to enter into war with Iran—an Islamic country—it is in fact at war with Islam. They want to assault and attack. This is a war with Islam, with Quran and with the Prophet of God. Iran today hosts an Islamic campaign. It is an Islamic country with Islamic law and Islamic government. All the members of this country have Islamic opinion. We want to create an Islamic country. We want to bring Arabs, Ajams, Turks and all other categories under the banner of Islam. They are so idle? Why the tribes of Arab are in a slumber? They are killing their youth in groups. They have transgressed their land and country. And these tribes just looking at them?! Why the Iraqi army is sitting idle? They support one who is anti-Islam, anti-Quran and anti to every principle of Islam. Don't they know that they will be killed against Islam? Don't they know the consequence of him who gets killed against Islam for the sake of pagan hood? Don't they know that if they transgress Iran; Iran will perish and crush them? Iran will advance up to Baghdad. Iran endears the nation but it will eradicate the government. On that occasion the Islamic army is prosperous, no matter whether it kills or gets killed.

As for those who have stood against Islam, they have stood against the Quran. Our country is a country of "*Allahu Akbar*" (God is Greater). It is a

country of Quran. So they have stood against Islam and Quran. The Iraqi army should be vigilant enough to eradicate them. In the Iraqi army there are very good and virtuous officers. They should perform a coup d'état. It is a religious prohibition upon them to pace behind this cursed man even one step. So it is upon them to campaign and turn their country Islamic. It should not be as before, a group of four-five persons gather together and take the destiny and fate of a nation. The nation is Muslim and the four persons at the head pagans—followers of Michael Aflaq who is not even a Christian. They shouldn't perform a deed against us and Islam. May God the Almighty help you, prosper you and bestow upon you victory over the hidden and apparent Satans.

Speech

Time/Date: 17:30 pm, April 21, 1980 [Ordibehesht 1, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Explanation about the reformation of the country's colleges

Audience: From the various classes of the people, students, and Islamic association members of the colleges and the institutes of the Muslim students across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Explaining the concept of “Islamizing universities”

Salaam! (Greetings) to you, the great nation of Iran. Salutations to you the Muslim nation of the world. Salaam to the academic ones. Salaam to the respected students—the soldiers of Islam. It is necessary for me to make a remark to you. You should know what our aim by reformation of the colleges is. Some imagined and wrongly presumed that there are two categories of knowledge or science—one Islamic and the other non-Islamic. For example: engineering—Islamic and non-Islamic. Physics—Islamic and non-Islamic. So they objected that the science or the knowledge cannot be Islamic and non-Islamic. Some wrongly concluded that the propose of making the colleges Islamic is to teach only the sciences concerning relation such as jurisprudence, science of principles and the interpretation. In other words, it will become like schools of old days. These are errors they committed in conception and comprehension. Or they indulge themselves into such mistakes. What we want to say is this: Our colleges are affiliated ones. Our colleges are those of imperialists. Our colleges produce the students fully westernized. The professors mostly are westernized. And they train our youth in the same trend. Our point here is that the colleges we have are not useful to our students. It is more than fifty years that we are having colleges and they run on the budget heavy which is the cost of the hard labor of this nation. In a span of fifty years, we could not become self-sufficient in the sciences that are the product of these colleges. After fifty years if a sick is to be cured, the doctors say he should be sent to England. It is fifty years we have colleges. But a doctor who could be able to attend a sick or a patient we have none as they themselves admit. In spite of having a college, which is a need of a nation, yet we are in need of the West. We say that the colleges should fundamentally be changed. We do not mean that the Islamic sciences to be taught there. Science is of course in two categories—Islamic and non-

Islamic. But this is not our point. What we mean is to show us the output or outcome of these colleges running since fifty years or even more. We say that our colleges are the hurdles in way of progress of our youth—the sons of this soil.

We say that our colleges have become a field of battle of propaganda. Our youth, supposing, if at all attain knowledge but they fall short of good breeding and a desired appreciable growth concerning moral and manners. They have no Islamic training at all. They go to college only to obtain a piece of paper (by name of a degree) and to go to be a parasite upon the nation.

The college is not in line with the needs of the nation nor does it respond to the necessities of the country. Generations and our youth who are most dear to us are now a waste. Their vigor and energy goes in vain. During these fifty years, our power has had been a loss or it was utilized to the benefit of the foreigners. Teachers of our schools are not Islamic teachers. There has had been no training alongside the education. Therefore, we do not have a man committed to his nation or not prefer and persuade his own selfish motives among the college fellows. Our colleges should be in the service of the nation. This is what we say. So our colleges should fundamentally undergo a change. The teachers in schools and professors in colleges mostly are at the disposal of the West. Our youth are brainwashed. A corrupt and profligate training they give to the youth we don't say that we oppugn the present new sciences. We don't say that the knowledge is of two kinds which some debate either ignorantly or deliberately. We say that our colleges have no Islamic conduct or manners. Had our colleges Islamic manners, they would have not turned into a battlefield of beliefs which is seathful to the country. Had the colleges been Islamic, these stramashes which are too heavy for us would have never happened. All this is because they have no knowledge about Islam nor do they know Islam.

Independence of colleges and students against East and West

Our colleges should undergo fundamental change. They should be rebuilt. They should train our youth in Islamic fashion. As sciences are taught to them, the Islamic couching too they should be fed with. We do not want that a group push them towards West and another group towards East. Or to push them towards persons who are at war with us, or the persons who desire us to remain in economical blockade or those who threaten us with the economical blockade. We do not want any our youth to be a succor to them. We want them (our youth) to stand up against the West if our nation does so. f our nation stood against the communists, our colleges too should do the

same. But our youth because of their plain-heartedness have concurred with some of the teachers in taking an inimical stand against us when we want them not to depend upon East or West or on Communism and Marxism. We want them and our colleges to be independent. This is the prod that shows that we do not have Islamic system in our colleges or an Islamic couching to our youth in the colleges. This is the evidence that our youth are not brought up in a correct training. On the other hand, they are not after education. They are wasting their age in slogans only. And they engage themselves in disseminating erroneous propaganda. Sometimes they are the supporters of America and sometimes of the Soviet Union. We want them to be of their own and at their own. These ones who have occupied streets and starveling or in the lanes of the colleges creating tumult and trouble for themselves, others and the government, are the supporters of either East or West. In my opinion, they are the supporters of West and America.

Today we are in confrontation with America. We are facing a big power. So we need that our youth too stand against them with us. But they stand against themselves. Those who are in the margin and criticize, presume that the members of the Revolutionary consulting board do not understand that Islamization does not mean that all sciences have two categories. One kind of Islamic engineering and the other non-Islamic. They don't know that there are jurisprudents and doctors among the members of the board. The members don't know that the Islamic sciences have their own place and station that is the old schools. Here it is the place for new sciences. In any case, the colleges must turn Islamic one so that the science taught in the colleges should benefit the nation and in line with the necessities of nation. In our opinion, the programs in the colleges intimately end to push the youth towards Communism or the West. This should not happen. In our opinion, these teachers or professors do not let the students to grasp the knowledge thoroughly and fully. They impede the way. They are in the service of the West. They want us to depend upon the West in our every need. The meaning of Islamization is that we should become independent. We should distance ourselves from the West as well as East. We want to have an independent culture, college, and country. My dear ones! We do not fear economic blockade. We do not fear the military intervention. The thing that is dreadful to us is the dependency of culture. We fear imperialists' college. The colleges that train our youth for the service of the West make us to fear. Likewise, we fear the colleges that produce servants of Communism. We want our colleges to not be like the persons traduce us. They don't conceive the meaning of independence and the Islamization of the colleges. I support

the president and the revolution consulting board what they have told me regarding the purging of colleges in order to be independent. I want all the youth to not stymie the work not to be recalcitrant. Do not let us to adopt other means by recalibrating the work. I pray to God for the nation's and the youth's prosperity. I hope that a in accordance with the proposal, the colleges be purged from the elements and the attachments. I hope that a good college be created with the Islamic characteristics.

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

Message

Date: April 22, 1980 [Ordibehesht 2, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The duty of all classes of the Iraqi nation against the Baath party

Occasion: Martyrdom of Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Sadr and his sister Bint al-Huda

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran and the world Muslims

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

It is a matter of great sorrow and regret that Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Sadr and his respected victim sister, one of the demagogues of the knowledge and conduct, a pride of sciences and culture have attained the highest degree of martyrdom at the hands of the depraved Baath regime of Iraq. This has been reported by the foreign minister obtained by the various reliable sources and the Islamic countries. Besides, other sources too have reported the same. Martyrdom is a heritage. These dear personalities have inherited from their ancestors. Likewise, tyranny and atrocity too is a heritage. These cruel tyrants inherit from their tyrant ancestors. There is nothing strange in the martyrdom of these great men who spent their life in campaigning for the aims of Islam at the hands of tyrants who too spent their life in bloodshed and cruelty. The warriors in the way of truth die in their beds. The tyrants, bloodthirsty, if their hands be clear of victims' blood, which will be an odd and strange. It is not a matter of wonder that the late Ayatullah and his honorable sister are martyred. The wonder is here that the Islamic nations particularly the noble nation of Iraq and more particularly the tribes of Tigris and Euphrates and the youth and the Iraqi university students should remain indifferent at this agony, and havoc that has hit Islam and the Prophet's House (peace be on them). It is, indeed, strange that they give the cursed Baath party of Iraq a chance to kill the sources of our pride one after the other. The army of Iraq and other forces should become tools in their hands. This is a painful fact that they help them in destruction of Islam and Quran.

I am disappointed from the up grade army officers. But I am not from the soldiers and all the inferior officers. I do not expect them that they will raise and uproot the tyrants there. They will do the same as happened herein Iran. Or they should run out of the camps and their squadrons. They should not incur shame of the deeds of the Baath party. On the other hand, I am not

disappointed from the workers and the governmental staff of the illegitimate regime. I hope they will extend their hands into the hands of Iraqi nation and eradicate this element of shame from Iraq. I pray God to wipe out this tyranny from Iraq.

In the honor of this literary personality and the holy warrior, the pride of the theological institutes and the religious oracle, I declare three days mourning commencing from Wednesday the 3rd Ordibehesht a public holiday. I pray to God to compensate this irretrievable loss and desire from Him the glory of Islam and Muslims.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 2, 1359 AH

Message

Date: April 25, 1980 [Ordibehesht 5, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The mistake of Carter and its consequences

Occasion: The American military assault on Iran (the Tabas incident)

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

O the combatant nation of Iran! You heard about the American military intervention. You also heard about the excuses of Carter. I have repeatedly told that Carter will do every wrong and commit every crime, even the world he will set to fire only to reach the presidency of America. Now the evidences of that are appearing one after another. Carter's mistake is in his conjecture. He thinks that he can make the Iranian nation to go astray from the way of God and humanity. By this foolish display he presumes that the Iranian nation will retreat while the nation of Iran is ready to sacrifice everything for Islam, independence and freedom. Carter has not realized as to what nation he is in confrontation with and what school? Our nation is a nation of blood. Our school is Jihad. This man, a human friend, put a group to death in order to stay a few years in power. It is quite probable that he might have admitted a gigue of eight persons to minimize the gravity of his crime. But the very sketch of the incident reflects that there should have been tens of persons who gave their lives for the sake of his lust and personal proclivity. Besides, there are tens of them lost in the wilderness of that vast desert exposed to death. He claims that the plane has transported all the passengers. This contradicts the report given to us. Carter must know that had not they attacked their spying center in Tehran, now none of them, nor one of those fifty spies would have been left alive. All would have been dispatched to hell. Carter must know that an attack on Iran is an attack to all Islamic countries. The Muslims around the world are not indifferent in this matter. Carter must know that an attack on Iran shall cause the stoppage of the flow of petroleum from all over the world to America. The world will unite itself against America. Carter should know that this foolish act that he has committed will turn his own friends into enemies. It has left so deep an effect in America. Carter should know that he has nullified his political prestige by this childish act of his. He should give up the hope of becoming president. Carter by this act has proved that he is short of thinking power.

Furthermore, he is unable for administration of a big country like America. Carter must know that a nation of 35 million has grown up in a school wherein martyrdom is prosperity and a pride. It does not hesitate to sacrifice its own life for the sake of its school. Carter must know that all the up to date and modern weapons he had given to the Shah are now in the possession of our great army which will be a havoc to himself.

Now, our noble nation, a warrior nation, should come to itself to trust in God the Almighty and pretend in His design with all the ability and get prepared for a war against its own enemies because the big Satan has taken up his foolish mischief. The military, the army, the security forces, the volunteers, and the ganders—all should be alert and ready. The military of twenty million volunteers who have equipped themselves for sacrifice for Islam should be at standstill to defend their country when necessary. They should not give into the terror of this failed attempt of America. God the omnipotent has defeated them. We are at the right. God is with us. I admonish Carter if he repeats again such a foolish act it will be difficult for us and the government to control the Muslim fighters and youths¹ who are guarding the spies. He himself personally shall be responsible for their safety. Finally, I would like to remark that the perverse and deviated groups in Kurdistan, which are anti-Islam, committed the troubles. In the colleges, the leftist groups, pro-America, did all that turbulence and tumult in the sacred places. The disturbances and clashes that the illegitimate government of Iraq is doing at the borders; it appears that all these are linked with tangible proof to the assault of Carter and his military intervention. At this sensitive time, if these perverted and devious groups go on with their mischievous, the nation will conclude that the mischief-mongers have a close contact and connection directly with America—the world-hungry. As such it will decide its obligation towards them. To ignore or to forget or to forego or to pardon will not be our polity then. I request all the youth to join the nation in defending the country. The unity is now in the interest of the country. Therefore, keep aside the perverted schools. I pray to God for the greatness of Islam and Muslims and the break of the links of tyrants.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Muslim students following in the footsteps of the Imam.

Decree

Date: April 27, 1980 [Ordibehesht 7, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: American crimes against Iran in its military attack

Occasion: The Tabas incident

Addressee: Bani-Sadr (the president)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Bani-Sadr, the president of Iran,

It is necessarily befitting to invite various groups from the countries world over to launch an investigation into the American crime in attacking Iran. It will help the coming groups to witness on the spot what America has committed toward an independent nation. On the other hand, it claims to support human rights besides the human brotherhood and peace. Let them see for themselves the stigmas of the crimes of this man-hungry regime. But much to regret, the Western governments, the associations of human rights, the United Nations, and the Security Council—all support America. Let them see with their own eyes, which I have time and again reiterated that all these world organizations and institutions are created only to be the tools for America. Likewise, the various associations are the handicraft of the powerful ones to suck the blood of the oppressed ones and to yoke them. Let them see that plot they have designed at the excuse of rescuing their spies. When they see they will believe that the associations turn a blind eye to the rights of the oppressed people when the interests or benefits of the capitalists are in question. So they do nothing beyond preserving the domination of the capitalists.

The illegitimate government of Iraq is transgressing Iran at the behest of America. We did not witness these associations or organizations, even for once, that they should have put a word by way of animadversion or an objection. But for the fifty spies who are being treated with utmost politeness and generous hospitality, the cries and clamors come out from their throats and echoes worldwide under the pretext of human rights every day. We never heard their voice in defense of our poor government and victim nation under the same name of human rights. Very odd, that these organizations not only

¹ It appears in *Sahifah Nur* dating 6, 2, 1359, but the date of his handwritten copy is 7, 2, 59.

turn blind to see the obvious and apparent aggression against an independent country but even accuse us for quailing the international contracts. While we did not detain any except the spies who had come to Iran for treason. They want us to remain in the economical blockade because their aim is to support America who is the aggressor, regardless of the fact that Carter has not informed them of his terrible and horrible treason. In spite of his overrunning the rights of a free independent country they still support him and shall keep doing so. On the other hand, it is we who should be pushed into the economical blockade. Beyond this they raise a din of clamor by way of support to a tyrant. To the supporters of America who regrettably are in plenty among our own open minded ones and to the youth who are cheated and tricked by them, you please do remind them and warn them change themselves and join their own nation. Let them not spoil their life for the sake of foreigners. Lend them lend their ears to our advice because in it rests their own good. Also please warn the other classes such as those who started trouble in Kurdistan and colleges to stop doing these malefic and mischievous deeds a sensitive period. These doings of them could possibly be pernicious and scatheful to the country as they are anti-Islamic and anti-humanity. Today, each voice or deep against the Iranian Revolution is a service to the world-hungry ones and an evidence of the dependency of these ones and an evidence of the dependency of these ones upon those ones.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 28, 1980 [Ordibehesht 8, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of administrator to the Kayhan Organization

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, may God assist him,

The press media plays an important part in building a society. More than a year has elapsed since the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. But it is noted that many of the papers are not in the service of the Islamic Revolution. Fundamental reformation should take place in that sphere. The deviated persons who cause these things should be dismissed from this complex of public media. Therefore, you are appointed as the head of Kayhan Organization, which is one of the oppressed peoples. You have the ability and administrative efficiency for this sensitive job and reformation. You may manage things with the cooperation of the respected staff as you deem necessary and fit congruous with Islam as the Islamic Republic. I wish prosperity to you from God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 8, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 28, 1980 [Ordibehesht 8, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12 AH, 1400]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: American aggression to the Iranian soil

Addressee to: Fidel Castro (The Cuban President)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Fidel Castro, President of the Democratic Republic of Cuba,

Your telegram in support of the great revolution of the noble nation of Iran is received. I thank you for your support and sympathy at this sensitive occasion with our victim and agonized nation. Mr. Carter has shown his real face to the people of the world by his open aggression against Iran. This bestial action of his has proved the falsehood of his claim of human rights and human brotherhood.

We by the help of God shall stand against the enemies of Islam and the oppressed nations particularly the world hungry America till we totally eradicate them. Our faith in God shall guarantee our victory over all the enemies.

I wish God would be on your side and grant you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Ordibehesht 8, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 29, 1980 [Ordibehesht 9, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: American military attack

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence head of scholars and Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Saduqi, May his blessings last,

Your esteemed letter conveying your safety and inquiring into mine is received with thanks. The things you have written, God willing, shall be paid attention to.

This thing is necessary today and which should be attended to with utmost endeavor. There are matter recently happened at the hands of America and its inside and outside elements concerning the country and the Islamic nation of Iran. It is the assault of America that goes against the international standards and commitments. Had it not been defeated, it would have pulled the whole region into flames.

The elements, inside the country, and the pro-Americans disguised as leftists, and the fellows of the shah's court would have followed and benefited. There were several blasts in Tehran in public places done by these malefic elements. As a result some workers and victim laborers were martyred. These events should carefully be investigated.

The vigilant nation should pay its care and attention to it. You have a long record of service to Islam and the religious institutes and can spot the things with your experience should necessarily warn the people of that district and guide them. All should get prepared with their Islamic vigor and strength. They should not fear of these terror-striking actions which are hundred percent pernicious to the people and advantageous to the world hungry ones especially the defeated America. God is with us.

I want the people of Yazd, particularly the dear Muslim youth, to be vigilant about the plots against the clergies which is, in fact, a ground for anti-Islamic activities which are in making. They should come to the support of the clergies especially Saduqi who is really sympathetic to Islam and the nation. They should pay attention to his guidance.

I wish health and happiness to all particularly to you from God.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 9, 1359 AHS

Message

Date: April 30, 1980 [Ordibehesht 10, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating Muslim workers and their diligence

Occasion: Labor Day

Addressee to: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I congratulate the Labor Day to the laborious nation, particularly the laborers. Laborers form the most worthiest and useful class of the society. The great wheel of human societies is rotated by the powerful hand of laborers. The subsistence of a nation is indebted to the work and labor of a worker. Work cannot be briefed in a particular movement.

Likewise, a worker cannot be confined to a particular group. As such, the Worker's Day is a day for the entire nation—not to a particular part of it.

The terrorists acts and the terrorist workers are an exception. They create hurdles and impediments for them under the pretext of support to the workers. Behind the curtain of support to villagers, they set fire to the heap of corn which is the result of one year's toil of them. In the plants, they perform the acts of terrorists under the mask of service to workers. They attack by weapons the people under a pretext of service. They unmanly perform explosions in the public gatherings where mostly laborers and workers assemble. The noble nation saw in these explosions that took place in Tehran mostly the workers they were that got martyred. The wounded ones too were from the same class.

In this armed appraisal around the country and in colleges, in Ahwaz, the hand of treacherous America was behind. These groups who are antagonists to the oppressed people, their identity will soon appear to the sight.

The Worker's Day is the day of burial of the domination of big powers. By the means of work and labor, the oppressed class will regain its independence in its all dimensions. The big powers—man hungry and world hungry—will be denuded of their arms and weapons. It seems that these explosions one after the other cannot be without a link to this day of workers. If our noble nation wants our revolution to prosper, it should raise the sleeves to stick to work. All should do the same—the colleges, bazaar, plants, farms

and gardens till self-sufficiency is attained. It should stand on its own feet. Our Muslim nation should trust in Divine power.

They should not get terrified of these explosions done by the treacherous groups affiliated to foreigners. They are digging their own and their master's graves by their mischievous, malevolent and malefic acts.

The writers and the orators of our nation should make the people aware of the facts by their tongue and pen. They should make things clear for our youths so that they may not have any more fear of such misdeeds. Our youths are the men of martyrdom and courage and bravery. The hired pens cannot injure them. Mr. Carter has experienced from fighting with highway robbery and from military intervention to secrecy and explosion. These things have paralyzed him and weakened him. His shrewd and astute associates have deserted him. They doubt in his military power. He, being such a creature himself, wants to terrify a brave nation.

O, nation! Be mindful and vigilant! You should recognize and spot out the addle roots of the past regime and introduce them to the police and guards of Sepah and Committees. Have trust in God. Refrain from differences and divisions. God is with you. God's hand is above all hands.

I request all the classes of the nation that are committed should give up traducing and taunting, scalping and scathing the Islamic organization particularly the security forces.

On the other hand, try to be strong than them morally. I wish the unity of word among the Muslim nations and among the classes of the warrior nation of Iran from God.

Peace be on the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 10, 1359 AHS

Telegram

Date: May 1, 1980 [Ordibehesht 11, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 15 1400, AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Thanks giving reply to a condolence telegram

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (oracle)

In His Most Exalted Name

Qum. Hadrat Haj Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (May his blessings last),

I received your telegram of condolence. Your inquiry into my health is appreciated.

I wish to God you would be granted success.

Message

Date: Before noon, May 2, 1980 [Ordibehesht 12, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The humiliated defeat of America in Tabas. Comparison of Iran's Revolution with all other revolutions

Addressee: Commanders of Guards of Sepah from all over the country

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

The martyrdom seeking spirit of the country's youths

I feel pride when I see you, the youths, so truthful and so healthy of spirit—working for Islam—exposing yourselves to the dangers of death. It is a matter of a prestige to me that among the Muslims there are youths like you well matured and committed. So this is the aspect that furnishes us with intrepidity from these whose trust is in weapons instead of God. Dread is for those who are not girded for martyrdom.

It is narrated that Ali, son of Imam Husayn, asked his father in Karbala—something in this sense—“Are we not at right?” They were told that they will be killed. His father replied: “Yes.” The son said: then no fear, no reluctance we have of death. One who is right and has a belief in God who has regulated the world, and that this is the lowest of the worlds, what fear he could have of death? Quran names the world Dunya' that is beneath, low and below.

Further, the station of which is among those exalted and high. Therefore, dread is for Carter and his like ones who have no belief in these matters.

These fellows whose aim and aspiration is the power of a few days or a criminal achievement—should fear death. But our youths who believe in beyond nature and martyrdom to them is a victory they have no fear all all. Suppose they (the tyrants) have a power to deracinate every thing and kill everyone and destroy all. Yet, we should not fear because we are on the right.

The transgression of international laws in Tabas by America

Suppose the things are not such as they stand. Mr. Carter from the very beginning started crying and raising his voice in order to impose on us. If you remember, first our youths went and occupied the nest of espionage'. They started disseminating the matters. In other words, they (Americans) were sending instructions and those who were in Iran were spreading the propaganda that the Americans would come here and parachuters would be

sent down who will make them unconscious. No attention and no heed was paid to these sayings. When their words went in vain without gaining its due errand, it was discovered that the matter is something else. Now they have tried and tested. They did come. It is said that with a great many equipment they came and descended in Iran itself. Well, they were defeated and this defeat was a political failure to them. It was scatheful to their very spirit. The youths of the people they brought here to be killed. It seems to me it is more than what they say. Those who visited the spot say that some of them were so burnt that there was no image, neither a sign nor an impression of them exists. He is such a criminal. He sends sons of his soil, of his own country, to do a crime here. This man who claims that we have breached the international and social contracts, while he himself has breached the international law. He has sent troops into an independent country. This is one among great many things that breach the worldwide international regulations. He himself has committed an erroneous act and the international institutes too are silent. Of course, there has echoed a criticism because he (Carter) is defeated and failed here. Otherwise, all these animadversions would have turned into praises and ecumenism had he succeeded in his mission.

Preparedness of the Iranian nation against aggressions

Anyway, we do not funk and fear of these horrors and terrors. Of course, I don't say that we have weapons excessive that we can stand all the powers. We don't say such a thing. They might be having forces to the extent of all the population of Iran. Just a supposition. We say that we depend upon an origin, a provenance. Because of our trust therein, we don't fear dying. Suppose, at the most you kill us all. This is exactly what our youths want. They come to me time and again, too often, with a request to pray for them to get martyred. One who requests to pray for his attaining martyrdom, he will not fear that Mr. Carter has sent his men to martyr him.

Therefore, these issues are trite. There is no any annoyance of them to us. Be strong. Be powerful. Depend upon God. Even one person amidst you if trusts in God, he can face a group of them. If a time they commit a foolish act and entered Iran, these youths will defeat them by their grip and teeth. None of them would escape from our youths.

Had they reached Tehran and even the spies' nest, then they would have understood that with whom they are confronting. However, I thank you. No one other than God has made you alert. This is a thing that takes its origin from divine fountain. You yourselves have entered this field. No body came to entice you. Across Iran, everywhere Sepah has sprung up. It was supposed

to register names one by one. It was not a divine matter. But when they saw it is the issue of defense of an Islamic country, and which is an obedience to God, we see an ebullition all over Iran from top to bottom. From the inmost depths of the nation, it took to effuse. They themselves arranged the rest of the things. They themselves managed the things.

Yes. The thing I must tell you is: You are the heads of the groups. You should not do nay such a thing that could speck and soil the Islamic appraisal. Now you are divine soldiers. Soldiers of God you are. You are the army of God. When it is so, God forbid, you do a thing wherein there is no pleasure of God, then let not be said about you that you too are like those of the past. You too speak force to the people. These too torture the people. These youths too, God forbid, take away the belongings of the people.

Please convey any greetings to all the youths. Please do remind them that they are God's soldiers and that they are the hands of God. Their performance should be such that Iran could take pride of. Upon your actions alone, we can raise our heads with honor and glory. We can stand satisfied in the presence of God. You yourselves can be pleased and happy before God.

Let not happen any such occurrence or incident that could provide ground for other nations to backbite us or animadvert us that now when everything is in your hands, you too are like your predecessors. Make the world understand that we did not appraise for the sake of the world. Otherwise, it is not reasonable that we sacrifice our life for the world. If the world be the aim one preserves his life because the enjoyments are for a man living not for a dead one. It is you who exposed life to danger and peril. You yourselves should hold him back from advancing in a job which is below the standards if anyone among you want to do. You should advice him. Let not be reflected in the world that others could say: "Look, in Iran what they are doing when they have attained power." I hope God to support you. May you go ahead with power and strength. Your dependency should be upon one source of power—God—before Whom all powers are nothing. You are, thanks to God, victorious.

Comparison of Islamic Revolution with all other revolutions

I hope that you stay victorious and prosperous throughout till the last. You know that the things which took place in Iran did never happen in history. All these revolutions such as that of October and that of France that happened and those of small countries—none of them was like that which happened in Iran. It took place with ease and speed. The late Qarani ¹(may

¹ Fault-finding.

God bless his soul) told me—after the victory of the revolution—¹ that it took three hours and a half. In other words, the campaign with the government lasted only three hours and a half. We gained victory within three hours and a half. Such a thing is quite rare. It seems unrealistic.

Furthermore, the events that usually entail revolutions, never took place here. When a revolution happens, it is followed by a stramash. People were killed. Properties were pillaged and plundered. A great number of people, one million, were killed. They gave me a list of revolutions with the casualties. Now I don't remember. But it was mentioned that one million were killed in so and so revolution. One million and a half were imprisoned. Radio, newspapers and all other things came under control. All the parties were banned. The first thing done in the revolutions was to suffocate the voice—whatever and from wherever it happened to be.

In Iran, when the revolution happened, every thing was at its place. The parties and the press were left free to write or say whatever they want. All the roads were open—either to go or to come. Such a thing has no precedence in the world. The reason into it was because it was an Islamic revolution. It was a revolution of a Muslim nation. It was not like this as happens in coup d'états. One powerful goes and another comes in his place. For example: a military captain comes and takes over the power and a president is rooted out. In our revolution, there was not such a thing. The nation was in question. Everything was in their hands. Our nation is Muslim and well-versed with Islamic decorum.

Our government too similarly was decorous with Islamic conduct. Therefore, the atrocities that are the norm of a revolution, that is murders and plunders, did not take place. Some fled. Some were caught and put to trial. During their imprisonment, their place was good and they were well treated. I myself inquired and I was told that their condition was well. All know their record. Yet, they were tried in a court and given sentences, which was their due.

Such a treatment is never preceded in the world. Now it is one year and two or three months since the revolution happened. In this period, there are many things improved and mended. On the other hand, there are some satanic groups or impertinent amidst us. They are the rudiments of those who either fled or executed. They are still among the pro-shah. They are busy in their endeavors that are anti-revolution because their power is taken away from them besides the benefits they have lost.

¹ Martyr Waliyullah Qarani who was the first commander-in chief of the army following the victory of the Islamic revolution.

All, including the nation, should introduce these elements to the authorities or the people wherever they are spotted. The troubles would end at that. In other countries, they were unable to perform work or finish the work or achieve any work even after the lapse of thirty or forty years since the revolution. They could not prepare a constitution for themselves. But in Iran, our progress was extra-ordinary. We completed our constitution. We elected a president of the republic. We also appointed a parliament. We also created the Council of Experts. The law was charted out. So you see all the work is done. What little remains, will be done too.

In other places, you see these or such works even after ten or twenty years are not achieved or left incomplete. They do not have a constitution either.

We should not fear what they do by way of mischief in Kurdistan. Or the Iraqi government helps them. Iraq launches assaults and attacks. These things are trifle and trivial. We should not have any terror of them. They are not even worth mentioning. These are playing mischief. It is you that is counted. You are the one who expelled a power out of Iran. All the big worldly powers were behind that power. So, you did not care. You expelled them out. Now these few persons, four or five, perform some childish acts—some sort of mischief, some sort of error or aberrance in colleges or somewhere else, they are no dread.

Of course, our manners and conduct should be Islamic. We should view with Islamic angle all the aspects. All of you should view the thing with Islamic aspect. God willing, He will bestow prosperity and victory on you. All the things will take their order. Our country will be an Islamic one. All the classes will live therein at ease and comfort.

May God's peace be upon you.

Telegram

Date: May 3, 1980 [Ordibehesht 13, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The telegram of condolences

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Hasan Shirazi in Beirut

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Shirazi

The sorrowful and havoc striking news has saddened me. I present my condolences to you. These unmanly assassinations perpetrated by the hired agents of Iraqi Baath reflect quite obviously and show the sinful hand of America, the world hungry.¹

I hope that it be cut by the vigilance and the unity of Muslims.

I pray to God for the health and happiness of your person.

Peace, blessings and mercy of God be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This is a portion of the contents of the Imam's telegram transmitted to Sayyid Muhammad Shirazi on the occasion of the martyrdom of Sayyid Hasan Shirazi in Beirut at the hands of the agents¹ of Baath regime. The daily "*Inqilab-e Islami*" too published the same portion.

Message

Date: May 5, 1980 [Ordibehesht 15, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Glorification of the position of Zahra and the place of a woman

Occasion: The birthday of Zahra—The Woman's Day

Addressee: The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If there be a day for woman, why should it not be the birthday of Fatima, peace of God upon her, a day of pride and the day itself proud.

She was the pride of Revelation's Family. She shines like the Sun over the Sky of Islam. She is a woman with a galore and distinguished tributes in the same measure as that of the Prophet. Her house was of purity and sanctity. Every one has a word to say about her according to his outlook. Such a woman she is.

No one has prospered in presenting praise—her due. The traditions which have reached us from the House of Revelation are up to the standard and level of human comprehension. A sea cannot be siphoned into jugs or goblets. Others too, whatever have they said, it is to the extent of their conception and understanding and never to the extent of her entity or personality.

So, it is better to pass through this valley of wonder. Let us have a look at the tributes of woman. The poisonous pens and the erroneous words of uncultured speakers in this black half century of enthralling era of Pahlavi have tried to bring down the status and station of woman to a commodity. Women who could easily be hurt were pulled to the centers of corporal pleasures.

Tongues are at a loss to narrate beyond this. Those who want to know something of these crimes may revert to the newspapers and magazines and the poems of the days of compulsory unveiling of women and onwards in the era of Rida Khan. They can trace the centers of corruption. Those who claim to be open-minded—their faces be blackened and broken their pens. It should not be doubted that these crimes were sketched by world hungry international criminals under the name "Free Women and Free Men".

One of their plans was to push the youths to the places of lust and licentiousness and lewdity. They succeeded in their errand. They nullified

our youths who are a vigor of the country. They brain-washed them. They divested them of thinking power. The effect of this is that the youths will be in different to every plunder and pillage of their country. Whatever is spoiled and taken away, they will show no reaction nor wouldn't pain them.

But today, by the blessings of Islamic appraisal, woman has become an active member of the society. She has regained her station to a certain extent. There are a few at a higher station. They have inherited the heritage of the black days of that depraved past regime. In their view, the place of woman is to attend the gatherings of licentiousness and pleasure. They embellish themselves like a commodity. They follow the same fashion of the past regime. They carry out the same plans of the foreigners. They help the SAVAK. Well, but our women are lion-hearted. They go spell to spell with men in rebuilding Iran. They make themselves—but that is in knowledge and learning. You have ignored women of the villages. The women have created there associations of culture and learning among women. They are the ladies of Islam, committed to the country and the revolution.

This change among men and women is due to the Islamic appraisal and the blessing of Islam. They have paced the way of hundred years length in the one night.

You, the noble nation of Iran, have seen for yourselves that these respected ladies of Iran are ahead of men in the field. They have broken the barriers of the Shah. We and all are indebted to their appraisal. After breaking the big powers and annihilation of the roots of corruption, we can rightfully name the day as the Woman's Day. We can proudly narrate to the world and the human societies the achievements of women in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Today in the Islamic Republic, women are shoulder to shoulder with men. They too endeavor in building their country. So this is the real sense of "Free Women and Free Men". What they used to say in the days of the Shah was not the real meaning. It was in the prisons, tortures and atrocities.

I recommend to women to forget the behavior of the women in the days of the Shah. They should build Iran what is befitting. Iran is theirs and their sons. We may rescue ourselves from all sorts of dependencies by the grace of their courage of all the classes.

I congratulate women on the 20th Jamadi ath-Thani, which is a sacred day for women. I wish health and happiness to them and glory to Islam and Muslims from God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: May 7, 1980 [Ordibehesht 17, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Delegating powers to the president

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr

In His Most Exalted Name

To the blessed presence of His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, the leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran—May his benign existence prolong:

I deem it necessary to request the three following items considering the present country's conditions and the need for a determined confrontation against the plots. The detailed conversations with Haj Ahmad Aqa will be conveyed to you by him:

1. Choosing a prime minister at the approval of the Imam.
2. The security forces to be under my command.
3. The Organization of Propaganda should not act against the interests of the country and the policies of the Islamic Republic. Their liberty should not exceed the legal limits of Islam. I assure you that no danger will threaten the Islamic Revolution and the country in spite of the present difficulties provided that the means should be available and in my authority.

Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: May 7, 1980 [Ordibehesht 17, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Particularities and the conditions of the Members of Parliament

Occasion: Anniversary of the 2nd round of Parliamentary elections

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On 19th Ordibehesht, Friday, the Muslim noble nation of Iran voted positively for the Islamic Republic. They will go to the ballots to choose their representatives, committed to Islam and the Islamic Republic. Friday is a day in which Islam and the Muslim nation will attain their divine hope or confront the mischief-mongers and anti-Islam and the Muslim nation in parliament. They will expose Quran and Islam to danger. The noble nation of Iran must know that Islam is dearer than one cannot turn his back to it for the sake of selfish motives or to attract the attention of groups or some particular persons or to prefer their won purpose to the higher and everlasting purpose of divine.

This is the first term of the parliament. The subsequent terms, too, must be fixed today. The brick if laid wrongly or incorrectly by those who do not want Islam or who treat the issues ignorantly will become a tradition for ever. He who lays a foundation erroneously, every sin that will be committed will rest on his responsibility. The nation should pay attention to the affairs in this divine day.

1. Elect those who are hundred percent Muslims, believers in the Islamic commandments and committed to execute the Islamic obligations. They should not belong to any of the deviated seduced schools. They should believe in the Islamic Republic.

2. The candidates should be scrutinized by their conduct and behavior in the past regime till now. In the provinces, the candidates should be attested of their competency by clergy as to their virtue and not being towards left or right or any political groups.

3. The candidates who expectedly or most likely could be deviated should not be elected. The deviation of moral, or of belief, or of political one if likely could be anticipated—such persons should not be elected because they are not trustworthy. It would constitute an obligation or responsibility if such ones are voted for.

4. The voters should give their votes to the correct persons at the Islamic standards without undergoing the influence of propaganda.

5. It is possible that some satans might disseminate some matters among the ignorant persons causing hesitation among them or an overlook to give their votes to the correct candidates. It is said that those who have voted in the previous stage need not vote in this stage. It is not such. This stage does not differ with the first stage. So, all the people should join in voting. This too is said that all the groups, whether rightists or leftists, should be voted so that the parliament could house all the categories among the nation. This is wrong, a seducing thing concocted by the deviated people. They want to gain access to parliament by trick or a cheat. The nation must not heed to such propaganda. They should vote the persons with the above conditions.

6. I hope that the Muslim nation of Iran will participate in this affair that has a bearing on the fate of the society. On Friday, all the classes of the people, men and women, should go to the ballets and cast their votes.

7. On the voting day, some persons stand around the ballet boxes and propose their own desired persons to be voted. You don't listen to them, and give your votes to the correct persons.

8. As for the illiterate persons, they must consult the trustworthy men in choosing their candidates. There are twelve candidates for Tehran and the necessary number for the provinces. A trustworthy man should write for the illiterate one his candidates. He should show the paper to another one to read for him so that to ascertain the names are written correctly and there is no cheating. Then the person himself by his own hands should insert the paper into the box. He should not allow anyone to insert the paper into the box except himself.

I wish help to all from God. I hope glory, health, happiness to all the Muslims.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statement

Time: 10:15 am May 9, 1980 [Ordibehesht 19, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The second stage of elections of the parliament

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God willing, be blessed all. Blessed is that day when Iran is free from the bonds of foreigners. The parliament may perform its job and Iran enjoy the independence.

May all the enemies of Iran be vilified and nullified. The Muslims may come together all. May God give help and success to Muslims and friends.¹

¹ P.S. Imam Khomeini in the company of his son Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini and the staff of his office went to the ballot box and put his vote therein. He spoke a few words there, which is the above text.

Message

Date: May 10, 1980 [Ordibehesht 20, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of adviser to the national High Council of Defense

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ali Khamenei (May his blessings last),

According to the article 110 of the constitution, I hereby appoint you as adviser to the National High Council of Defense in representation to me.

Since we are in a sensitive, and an exceptional situation, it is necessary that you with vigilance and care should brief me with weekly reports about the run of the affairs inside the various departments of the military.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 20, 1359 AHS

Decree

Date: May 10, 1980 [Ordibehesht 20, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of an advisor to the National High Council of Defense

Addressee: Mustafa Chamran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dr. Mustafa Chamran (May God be with him),

On the basis of article 110 of the Constitution, a National High Council of Defense is to be formed. I hereby appoint you, in my representation, as the adviser to the High Council. Since we are in exceptional circumstances, it is necessary that every week you brief me with the report of the run of affairs in the military departments towards which you must be vigilant and careful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 20, 1359 AHS

Decree

Date: May 10, 1980 [Ordibehesht 20, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of head of the Ittilaat organization

Addressee: Sayyid Mahmud Duayi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahmud Duayi, may his blessings last,

Press media of a country plays an efficacious part in building a society. Because of your efficiency and competency in handling such affairs, you are appointed as head of the organization of *Ittilaat* that are the oppressed peoples' property.

Of course, you are aware that the newspapers should be in the service of Islam, the people, and the country. Liberties should be within the stints of Islamic sacred laws and the constitution besides preserving them to the best possible extent.

I hope you will manage the run of this newspaper towards giving shape to the aspirations of the Islamic Revolution by the support of god and cooperation of the staff committed to Islam.

I wish to God that you would be granted success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Ordibehesht 20, 1359 AHS

Statements

Time: 10:40 am. May 11, 1980 [Ordibehesht 21, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Expressing hope towards the betterment of conditions in Kurdistan

Audience: Representatives of the Muslim Kurdish Pishmergas

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A reporter from the Pars News Agency reported from the residence of Imam: One of the Kurdish Pishmergas representative told Imam during his meeting with him. We have campaigned till now. We are ready to campaign till last to the last drop of our blood in your path and Islam. We want that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to strengthen us in confrontation of the anti-revolutionary groups. Imam Khomeini addressed the Pishmergas and said in reply:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Kurdistan is your own. People have seen what that the political groups did to the Kurds. Please ask the people to expel them from your land and region. You should help among yourselves. God willing, the situation will become better. Be happy and prosperous.

Best luck.

Speech

Date: May 13, 1980 [Ordibehesht 23, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The sanctity of the job of physicians and nurses

Audience: Doctors and nurses of the Islamic Foundation of Medical Services of Imam Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Medicine and nursing are sacred professions

Man is free in choosing a job or any of the kinds. He is a free creature from the very creation. Islam too has extended him liberty. But, it is men themselves who differ with one another in their choice. This difference is emanated from the difference, which the self is at. The decorum which inside the bosoms of men varies with one another giving a cause to the taste to differentiate. One chooses theft as his profession. The other makes pillage his job. Some select drugs selling as their business. The choice or selection here is because of the freedom in it or for it. There is neither restriction nor prohibition in the choice. When freedom is in question, the propensity of self lists there to and there on. So here freedom is dirigible by self as per its own desire and dictation. The self of men varies with one another in the world as per the creation they have had. As a man grows up in an environment—the type of his growth and the type of the environment contributes in the variation or difference. You see in some environment, the man is brought up in an atmosphere not humane. In some other environment, one is brought up in the moral of humanity. Among all the professions, the most sacred one is that of a doctor. If the doctors be particular of their human obligations and work for mankind, it becomes too noble a job. It becomes a worship.

Likewise, the nursing. It is more noble. If one acts for mankind, it is a worship of the first grade. Of course, it enfolds responsibilities too which creep into the job of doctors and that of nurses. All the classes that work in hospitals have responsibilities. Doctors should not work to garner wealth or worldly profits. Such should not be the case. They should perform duty taking in view human beings who are the creatures of God. If so, their job will attain the status of worship. The profit that their job would yield will be the profit attained by worship. God forbid, if they happen to be devious or perverted, another deviation could become the cause of the danger to life of a patient. Then the doctor is a criminal. His crime will not differ with the

crimes that the SAVAK used to do. Or even worse than that. The same case is with the nurses. Nursing a patient is a very difficult task. But at the same time, it is too worthy too. If one treats a patient with love, in a brotherly or sisterly care and affection, this human duty will become divine and a worship of utmost value. You be aware that your job is a noble one. On the other hand, it carries a heavy responsibility too. The responsibility is such that you yourself alone can fact it. To express kindness and love to a patient is very necessary because a patient is in need of love more than the need of medicine. A patient who leaves his house for a hospital, he sees himself a stranger. If the nurses treat him gently, politely in a brotherly or sisterly tenderness, the patient will be relieved of the painful feeling of a stranger. He will enjoy a relief and comfort. This comfort in his spirit will help his early recovery.

Furthermore, it is a help to the doctor and to a nurse. You should be mindful to not pollute this job. From the aspect of profit and the worldly gain, you deprive yourself from a divine reward while you have labored too. Why should your toil go in vain? You make your job a divine one, a Godly one. In that case, you too will earn a reward. You be mindful of this thing that the patients are in a gloom. They are in a melancholy and atrabilious. You should show sympathy to them. You should be kind towards them that they may feel themselves at home. You job would gain a sense, a meaning, and a worth.

Exposing the corrupt groups in Kurdistan

We witnessed people in this world who choose very bad jobs. For instance, you see in Kurdistan, there are some groups obedient to the foreigners. They betray their own country. They also betray people in their own homeland who are from themselves, acquainted to them and known to them. To make people uneasy, they classify them. You already saw during this period the crimes they committed, the plunders they made, the pillage they perpetrated. They claim that they are fiends of the people. They say they support the people. But on the other hand, they burn their corn fields. They set fire to their one year long toil. They destroy the peoples' houses. Now as they defeated in their errand, according to reports, they have taken up trouncing, torturing and troubling people besides the fetid and flucient things.

One selects to a guard. One chooses to be a gendarme. One prefers to join the military. If they attend their respective jobs, if they act humanly within their jobs, they will see themselves as servants to the people, to Islam, o their country. In that case their jobs will equal to worship. If, God forbid,

get killed, it will be martyrdom to them. People who are killed in Kurdistan among the guards, military gendarmerie, and regrettably, they are many. It is a cause for my sorrow, that a group should be so away from humanity. Military personnel, guards, have gone there to protect them, their properties, and the country. And they kill them. They claim that they will go to the frontiers to protect the borders. But not only they do not go but also they even do not let the military to go there. The frontiers are in danger. What type of men are they? How far one should be sorry for them? What a growth they have attained. They are turned bestial and wild. Advice has no effect on them. The very first day I advised them when I saw these things. I also recommended the heads of army, the gendarme to treat them tenderly and deal with them humanely. I laid stress upon not using force against them. I was mindful of the existence of innocent persons in those regions. But the forces when restrained a little towards them, they attacked the forces. They are always after a trick or a cheat. They are always very much concerned to betray their covenants. They are always desirous to pave way to foreigners—either America or the Soviet Union. There is no difference between these two to them. What type of people are they? I am sorry as to why a man should be depraved to such an extent. Why should they be of so bad an intention and bad will? They should put into trouble the people of their own stock, or their own land, or their own country. Why should they create so much damage? They want to destroy their own country and surrender it to the enemies of Islam and Iran. I am sorry as to why they are not men in reality? Another sorrow that has gripped me is about those who are killed. They are martyrs in the way of Islam. Their number is great either. Those who are killed in Kurdistan and its surroundings are many in number. Daily I am reported that such and such place, so and so is killed. This is a cause of sorrow and regret. On the other hand, a cause for pride too because the Islamic campaign has brought such a change in some people who were never in the affairs of fighting now they are so suddenly changed. They have become fighters. They fought in the way of Islam. They have sacrificed their life. They have presented martyrs. They themselves are after martyrdom. Although I am very much regretted and sorry for the dear ones who were killed, and we miss them, but I am proud of this change that has happened in them.

Thanks God, they have performed their religious duties. They gave up their life in the way of God. God will grant them in the next world whatever they like because they too have given what they had. So, God gives them their desires.

Divine standards to be preserved in the environment of work

I again return to you, sisters and brothers. You should be advertent to preserve the laws of Islam in the environment you work there. This is an Islamic country. This is a Republic of Islam. A change should happen in all the aspects. As I see in you a spiritual change has occurred. Similarly, in your deeds also, a change should take place. There should not be any retreat from divine standards. All those who are in your hands and under your care, should be treated with tenderness and love. I mean the doctors, the nurses and all the categories that work here. All should be sympathetic towards a patient. Your service will attain the highest worth and esteem. Yes, it is a difficult service—nursing and being a doctor—but very much noble, indeed, if the obligations of the job are acted upon. I wish good for all of you. Whatever comes of me, I will do and that is I pray for your patients, and for the doctors and for the nurses. I pray for all the inhabitants of the country. May God preserve you in health, happiness and comfort.

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

Speech

Date: May 13, 1980 [Ordibehesht 23, 1359 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Importance of Radio & Television. It's obligations:

Addressee: Taqi Farahi (The managing director of the IRIB)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of Radio / TV

The day radio and TV came under the control of the Islamic Republic, I became much anxious. The reason is that if this organization happens to be a good one, the country too is good. If it is corrupt and bad, it would drive the country towards crime and corruption. Therefore, I must point out some things for you: 1. This equipment—radio and TV—is everywhere. Even in the houses of the villagers. If it does not become Islamic cent-percent, it means that Islam is not yet present in Iran. If Radio/TV happens to be at the disposal of certain persons or groups that are perverted and seduced and who have in their behavior seduction, it is likely that the country from its length to breadth would be dragged to profligate and licentiousness. Therefore, it is binding on you, religiously and legally to purge this institution from the elements and groups who previously had been in the service of the past regime, or who themselves are still in contact with the past personalities. Besides, you should expel the corrupt persons out of this organization in order to save the others. You should drive them out of the Radio/TV with all determination and power without taking any distinctions into consideration. Most important of all these is the news. You should be careful to see that the deviated persons should not gain access there. Islamic Republic is not word only. It should take to itself a reality. Now wherever we turn, we see corruption there. Islam is not practiced correctly. My insistence upon Radio/TV is more and with more stress than the other places because it is in the same proportion sensitive and important. 2. Its corruption or licentiousness causes the nation to embrace it. It transports and transfers its own corruption into the society and the nation on the whole. It is the easiest and quickest media. Whatever is spoken there, every quarter and every house in the country hears and even sees it. As such preservation shall cast its shadow all over the country and even could be reflected abroad too.

Purge—a necessity in Radio / TV

The organization should be in line with the appraisal and the Islamic Revolution. We say Radio/TV is Islamic. But there words are uttered which pernicious and detrimental to Islam. It should strictly and strenuously be observed that we should not learn to East not should list to West. We should not follow West or East. It does not correspond with Radio / TV of Islam. So we should completely be vigilant. You, the youth! Don't fear at all, nor do our take any notice of what these open-minded people say or write. The Westernized open-minded person wants to make the country after their own taste—a lux one. They do not care whatever the wrong there be or to what extent it goes. They desire to make it a Western country. It should not be a guise of Islam. Therefore, the campaign should be directed towards these Westernized ones. So, it is your duty to purge this organization with the cooperation of its Muslim staff, committed to Islam, from the deviated and seduced elements. In this way, you should not fear any person or any group.

You should be very much careful to see that not even a person should be dismissed from this organization if he happened to be among the committed Muslims. If he committed any errors that will be a different case. Try to shun from the things that could provide a ground for others to say that they too are backwards. The same words Shah too used to the campaigners' second committed Muslims. The Muslims should be present there and take the place of those dismissed ones. Thanks God, we have good announcers and writers. In my view, the films made by Iranians are better than the films of others. For example, the film "Cow"¹ was having a lesson and an instructive theme. But now the films should be imported either from Europe or from America. Those are lewd films that please only to the open-minded Westernized people. The films imported from abroad are commonly imperialists. So avoid them unless they are cent-percent good. However this depends upon the people in charge of such matters. I once again remind you to clear this organization from the persons attached to the previous regime. Interview does not matter. Even a communist—let him come and speak his mind. Let him take his answer at the spot from someone else. What is wrong in that? However, this department—Radio/TV—should not be in the hands of a group of mischief-mongers. Very much regrettably still there are roots of the past regime.

Since their interests are in peril, they create hurdles in the job. They want the same pleasure to prolong for them. They want the Radio/TV for their

¹ The movie "The Cow" produced by Daryiush Mehrjui prior to the victory of the Islamic revolution.

own interests and to serve them as a shop. I frankly say: We do not want to be praised either by the West or by the East. Also we don't like that the open-minded Westernized writers to praise us. We want to act as per the directions of Islam. We want to serve our country. We don't like to have an organization—all of it fetid and filthy and corrupt and lewd. We don't want to have such an institute, which could drag our children towards insurgency and incontinency. It could render the persons indifferent that if everything of them is plundered they remain impassible and inept. We want to reform all the offices as the people have reformed themselves. These matters should be paid attention to. I pray for your success.

Independence of Radio/TV

I have told several times that Radio/TV should be completely independent. Its freedom should be preserved. No one must interfere in it. You try as much as possible to make Islamic so that it be as per the demand of the people. People have sacrificed their blood. Should it be so that people give blood and a perverted group comes and takes over? Should they take advantage? The matter is here that neither religion nor reason allows such a thing. The Muslims poured into the streets. They raised the slogan of "*Allahu Akbar*". They sacrificed their lives. They claimed that they want Islamic Republic. It means that every thing should be Islamic. One of the important organs is this Radio/TV. Its importance is above all organizations. These two organs should become Islamic. Preserve its freedom. If one tries to impose certain thing, don't pay attention to him. You run the organ with freedom and independence. Be successful.

Speech

Time: Before noon, May 16, 1980 [Ordibehesht 26, 1359 AHS / Rajab 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The secret of the victory of the soldiers of the period of early Islam. The necessity to purge the region of Kurdistan from the anti-revolutionaries.

Addressee: Sadri (Commander of the Battalion of 28, Kurdistan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The mischief-mongers should be wiped out in Kurdistan

I hope by the grace of god and the bravery of the army and the guards, Kurdistan will soon be set up right and purged. I thank you for your sacrifices for your country and Islam. Now you have driven out the mischievous elements, they will chase you in return. So you should be careful.¹ I warn you, the army and the guards, and the commander-in-chief² that Kurdistan must be purged from these malefic and mischievous elements. They have dragged Kurdistan to licentiousness. They have trounced and tortured the people there in a most wild way. They have looted the people. They have massacred them. So, they should not be allowed any margin or moments of leisure. The region should be thoroughly cleansed that they should lose their hope.

Discipline and integrity should be preserved in the armed forces

This is an important factor that our guards, gendarmerie and the army should be united and be in correspondence with each other in a congruity and consistency and coherence. Most important is that in practice, they should be in a dispatch and discipline with each other. In coherence and consistency is won a victory. So, the commanders should be in understanding with one another. Thanks God, they have. Secondly, the grades and ranks too must be respected. And the obedience too should be without why' and what for'. Exactly like in the early days of Islam, the obedience should be without any overlook or renitence. Side by side to it, brotherhood and friendship too should exist. Hadrat Amir (a) was commander-in-chief of the forces. But with regards to all the persons in the army of Islam, he was sympathetic. In

¹ *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, was dated 25, 2, 59.

² At the time the commander-in-chief of the armed forces-on behalf of Imam Khomeini-became president on account of Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr.

the army of Islam, there is neither imposition nor any coercion. In other words, they are exactly like brothers, close to one another, fighting in the way of God. One of them is the commander and the others are subordinates. Any negligence in obeying the orders is not allowed. Discipline must strictly be adhered to. The commanders to the soldiers must bring home that all are brothers. The army must obey its commander-in-chief, Bani-Sadr. Today, we are in peril from the powers, which I do not anticipate so much, yet coordination should be created. If so, no power can enforce its word upon you. Victory is yours. Today, the army is strong. Its strength is the nation. Nation is with the army. I hope the government and the nation and the army to be together that will make a great force and nobody could stand against it.

I think the army, the guards, the gendarmerie and all other forces who worked hard in Kurdistan to defeat the pagans. I present my condolences to the families of the great martyrs. I pray to God to grant you strength and power. Now you are the soldiers of Islam—exactly like the soldiers of the Prophet. Your station too is high. Your worth is great near God. this country is yours. You should preserve it. The pleasure of God is more important. Your deed is the pleasure of God. May God support you.

The secret of the victories in the early days of Islam

May God help you all. In the early days of Islam, soldiers were very few. In spite of their little number, they stood and confronted the enemy's army which was in a greater number—the armies of Iran and Rome with their full equipment. The Islamic soldiers fought the greater number of the enemy's army and won the battles. The secret in their victory was their moral weapon. Their belief was that if they were killed, still they would be happy and prosperous. On the other hand, if they killed, still they would be prosperous. As for the enemy, he was after the world. So, to fight was not in his interest. They fought under the pressure and coercion. You see the battle with fetters. The enemy used to reeve the rivet his soldiers into fetters so that they could not flee. So, it is obvious that in such a state, the soldiers will fight unwillingly. This was the reason of the victory of Islamic army and the defeat of its enemy. The enemy had totally lost their moral because they had neither faith nor belief in God. So, the enemy had no motive. For whom he should fight? For what aim and purpose he should fight? They should expose themselves to an open peril so that, suppose, Shah or his son to gain the result and attain so much power. So for what should the soldiers sacrifice to such an extent? On the other side, the case differs. There the sacrifice is for Islam, for God. God has every right upon us. Whatever we have is from God.

So we should spend it in His name. Therefore the secret of the victory rests in these two words: having faith in God and having no faith in God. Those who had no faith were weak and feeble, and those who had faith were strong and powerful. We must have a moral like that of those who used to say that they went to be martyrs. Since the beginning of this campaign, a group of men and women used to come to me asking me to pray for them to attain martyrdom. I pray for your prosperity and the reward of martyrdom. I pray that you be able to serve Islam. Such a moral is the cause of progress. Be serious to preserve this moral. The youths who serve in military and the army of guards, they should be strengthened morally. Thanks God, they are strong from the aspect of their spirit. Their faith should be strengthened. One faithful soldier can defeat one squadron. God willing, these martyrs of the path of God may have higher station with God. I hope so. Same as the army of Islam had in the Battle of Uhud and other battles. May God keep their families safe. I too say my condolences to them. They are among ourselves. The big powers will not dominate you, neither you should present to them whatever you have. May God help you.

(Here col. Sadri addressed the Imam requesting him to address the soldiers of Battalion 28 as they are anxious to hear the dear the Imam if the Imam deigns to the request.)

[The Imam addressed:]

These words that I said better to be relayed. I really, rather always, have had been thinking about Kurdistan. A group, vulgar and rowdy, has come and disturbed a part of our country. Their pretext is that they want to work for the people. We saw and you too saw that these people were corrupt and they wanted to spoil Kurdistan. They wanted bad of the people. Thanks God, you defeat4d them with the spirit you have.

I pray for all soldiers who have served Islam in Kurdistan and the guards who have guarded Islam. I am grateful to all of you and all of them. I am sorry as to not be able to go with them and fight along with them. The reason is I am an old man. I hope they will be successful. They will raise their heads before God. Indeed, they are so. In Islam, they will be acknowledged as the soldiers of Islam. You manage your country with glory, greatness, honor, respect and happiness. You go ahead forward and forward, God willing.

Statements

Time: Before noon, May 16, 1980 [Ordibehesht 26, 1359 AHS / Rajab 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: The limits of freedom in the Islamic Republic

Addressee: Shams Al-e Ahmad (Chief Editor of *Ittilaat* daily)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I have an acquaintance with your family. Aqa Sayyid Ahmad, your late father, and Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi, may God bless them. They died serving Islam. So, I have a record of knowing them. But, as far as Jalal Aqa Ahmad, I saw him only for a quarter of an hour. It was in the beginning of the campaign I saw a gentleman sitting in a room. His book “The Westernization” was before me. He told me: “How is it that this nonsense has reached you?” He said something to that effect. I concluded that he was Jalal Al-e Ahmad. Regrettably I did not see him again. May God bless him. You too I see you sometimes in TV.

[Mr. Shams Al-e Ahmad said: “I was happy once I attended you when you had set a congregation meeting in remembrance of my late father in Qum in the year 1341. Another time also I attended you.]

[Imam Khomeini continued:]

You know better as to the position of *Ittilaat* and Kayhan in the past and now how it is. Regrettably, as you know, we are in a difficulty of having a few people so called open-minded westernized. They do not allow any reformation or take place in the country. In the past, Shah was a hurdle, and now these people are. These persons might not be those ones, but they do their job. If we say a newspaper to be in line with the nation. You are from the nation. What the nation wants, you should write in the newspapers. A newspaper which is anti-Islamic and against the nation's desires and comes out without permission, it should be held up. These open-minded westernized groups clamor in the newspapers that pen is free. Whether every pen? Speech is free—but every speech? For instance, there is a type of speech that gives up the country to the big powers. Whether can that type of speech be free? Shall we call it freedom that drags the country to corruption and impudicity. There is a pen in the service of Zionism. There is a newspaper run at their expense. It has no such a circulation to manage itself. Should we say to them that they are free? In which part of the world you can find so many

newspapers after a revolution taken place? All the newspapers you see, even the organ of the party, so much freedom is given to the people. Where in the world such a thing has happened? After the revolution, people pour into the streets and say whatever they want. Nobody stopped them for five to six months. Later they deducted that they constitute a group inside the country and are related to foreign. Their activity is anti to the country and its interests. In spite of this, should we say that you are free? It is only for the sake of the word freedom. The freedom should have its frontiers and boundaries. It should be that, which the nation wants. Not that one is free against his own nation. Well, I am free. I have a gun too in my hand. I can kill one. What type of freedom is this? Freedom has a standard. Thanks God, so far I have heard you speak with reason. Now you are given access to *Ittilaat*'. The standard of freedom that you have and the same standard should be in the journals, you go ahead with all the strength and power. The journals should be in the service of the nation, not against. No one can tell you backward'. To others the writers might say such a thing. But to you, they cannot say. You act strongly. These elements against the revolutionary course and the campaign should be purged from the newspaper.

Decree

Date: May 17, 1980 [Ordibehesht 27, 1359 AHS / Rajab 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the leader of the Friday prayers, Ahwaz

Addressed to: Sayyid Salih Tahiri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Salih Tahiri may his blessings last,

You are hereby appointed to lead the Friday prayers in Ahwaz in the place of his Eminence Haj Ahmad Jannati who is promoted to the membership in the Council of Experts. During performance of this duty, you are requested to acquaint the people with their obligations towards Islam and revolution. You invite them to unity and warn them from plunging into differences and divisions.

I hope that the respected inhabitants there will conceive the sensitiveness of the circumstances and extend their utmost cooperation with you. I pray to God for the prosperity of all.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 2, 1400 AH

Statements

Date: (Probably) May 18, 1980 [Ordibehesht 28 1359 AHS / Rajab 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Investigation in the work of the Foundation of the Oppressed ones

Addressee: Members of the Investigation Committee for the Foundation of the Oppressed ones

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

Gentlemen, your duty is to check the output of the performance of the officials since the establishment of the foundation till now. You see what these persons in charge there have done so far. God forbid, if any embezzlement found there, you should immediately take legal action.

The properties—transferable and stagnant—which were confiscated to the interest of this Foundation should strictly be made a list of. The items so far used and the items that exist there, all should be checked and controlled. Gentlemen, I vest you with authority to issue orders, particularly in the matters that have a bearing on poor and oppressed people. In case you need legal proceedings, the public prosecutor is under obligation to form a special court for this purpose.

Decree

Date: May 18, 1980 [Ordibehesht 28, 1359 AHS / Rajab 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative

Addressee: Abdullah Nuri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You are hereby appointed on my behalf to supervise the election of three members for the Supreme Judiciary Council so as to run this election in line with the rules.

May God grant you success.

Speech

Time: Afternoon, May 18, 1980 [Ordibehesht 28, 1359 AHS / Rajab 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Tehran, Shemiran, Darband

Subject: the fiasco of coup plot in Iran

Addressee: members of the council of Sepah commanders of the Islamic revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The fiasco of coup plot

We should work with determination. No one should show any sign of disappointment. Whoever shows disappointment, he does not know the situation in Iran. Our revolution differs with coup d'état. Iran is not like Afghanistan. The Iranian people must know that it is not possible for any one to think of a coup d'état. If such an idea enters in one's mind, he is destroying himself. Is our nation in a slumber? Coup d'état need some primary things. One of them is the sleep of a nation. Next, the army should become a tool in their hands. The Iranian army cannot be such because majority of it is with the nation. Coup d'état cannot be done by four or five persons who are against. This is only a propaganda spread by the enemy. And a few simple and plain-minded persons are fooled. Our nation has punished all the traitors of the past regime or it has expelled them. If any one happens even to think of it, our nation will crush and perish them.

The nation of Iran cannot be hurt

Thank God. Army, guards and the nation are so together that they never will allow one to upraise against them. The population is thirty-five million. You don't heed the foolish words uttered within closed rooms. I assure you that no harm will be done to this nation. One day the Russian ambassador came to me. He said that Afghanistan has requested us for help. We want to enter Afghanistan. I told him that of course it is possible to capture Afghanistan. But, do you know that you cannot prolong there? Cannot continue your stay there? Anything if the nation doesn't want, doesn't happen. Now they have understood. But, their legs are plunged deep in the mud. The things will turn exactly the same as I have told. The Afghan government is by force imposed upon the people. So, it is anti-people, against the people and quite in agreement with the foreigners. But in Iran—the government, the people, the army, and the guards, all and all are together

combined with one another. Once America comes and brings its army, the very moment it is eradicated and wiped out by the people. America must come to its senses that the case of Iran is not the same as that of Afghanistan. In Iran, all the people are of one voice and one word. Anyway, I thank the army, the guards and the gendarmerie. I hope that all of you cooperate with one another. You also know that if you are martyred, you are still prosperous. If you won the enemy, yet you are prosperous. This is the secret of the victory of Islam in its early days. Your enemies cannot think in these terms because they endear their life. They are after worldly profits and gains. The little army of Islam with their broken weapons and a little number of soldiers defeated two great armies of Rome and Iran.

May God assist you and grant you success.

Speech

Time: 10 pm, May 18, 1980 [Ordibehesht 28, 1359 / Rajab 3, 1400]¹

Place: Shemiran, Darband, Tehran

Subject: Campaign against tyranny and dauntlessness against the powers

Audience: The people of Jamaran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A firm stance against big powers

It has been a long time since I last met my brothers and sisters here. It is my pleasure to see them tonight. I am really grateful to the people of Jamaran for taking the trouble to come here, considering that I have not rendered them any services. May God save them all from undesirable happenings of any sort, including the mischief of Satans, especially the big one.

Oh my brothers and sisters! Now we are in a situation in which we must be very vigilant. There is a big power on the West and another one on the East, both of which are seeking an opportunity to swallow us. But of course, we have taken a firm stand against them by the grace of God and the bravery of our brothers and sisters. We shall never let any power to confront us, or to interfere and intervene with our sanctity. You do not fear these big powers because you are in the refuge of God whose power is above all and every other power is doomed to perdition in front of His. Only the Power of God will remain.

Be dauntless against the economic and military blockade of big powers

As mentioned before, America is planning to establish a government in the country and then bring about a bloody massacre. But you do not believe in his success, even if he succeeds in coming to our country, no doubt he will receive his due punishment. We fear neither the economical and military blockades, nor their intervention in our affairs. Supposing they enter our country, we shall face them in full power; moreover, other Islamic countries also stand against them. We shall go ahead with full power and vigor so that to execute the Islamic laws in the country and the region and even beyond the borders; all over the world.

¹ It has been published in noor newspaper dating 27, 2, 59. 28, 2, 59 was the date in which Imam Khomeini met with the people of Jamaran.

Campaign against tyranny is obligatory

I hope God will help us reach our objective. Actually what is important is just to do our duty and obey what is obligatory upon us. Our duty is to stand against atrocities and campaign against tyranny. If we succeed in pushing them backward, the better, but if we do not succeed at least we have done our duty. We do not fear getting defeated. Firstly, we will not be defeated because God supports us and secondly, if we get supposedly defeated, of course we will not be defeated spiritually. Spiritual victory is with Islam, with Muslims and with us. Be strong! Face the difficulties; preserve the unity among you and keep remembering God. May God grant you health and happiness. I hope you will overcome all the difficulties with health and happiness. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Time: Morning, May 19, 1980 [Ordibehesht 29, 1359 AHS / Rajab 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah of Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The activities of the committees of Sepah Pasdran are part and parcel of the strength of the nation-maintaining the precepts of Islam and the revolution

Audience: Commanders of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees of Tehran and districts

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Guards and Committees—Two organs emanated from the bosom of the nation

First I should thank the gentlemen who have come around to meet one another. As soon as the Islamic Revolution was victorious, all the individuals around and across the country, the youths wherever they were, and all the classes—from clergies to academics—felt kind of responsibility on their lot. This was one of the peculiarities of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Without there being any organization, each group in its own location created the organizations as if they sprung out of the bosom of the nation. As an example we can refer to the Committees of which the gentlemen are members and supervisors. Another example, the guards. It was not the case for these organizations to have any central authority from the beginning so as to have had invited them for its membership or for adherence to it. However, it was just a feeling of a duty towards humanity and Islam that made everyone be at the service of Islam. This is one of the peculiarities of this movement and this revolution, as well as of Islam. All individuals obliged themselves to serve this revolution. Each and every body did a job in one way or another. The youths, those who were strong enough to become guards equipped themselves as guards. Those who were able to establish committees did it all over the country. In this way each and every class of people engaged themselves somehow in accordance with the teachings of Islam. This movement owes its success to these energetic and brave youths in Guards or in Committees.

May God preserve them for Islam and grant them victory in this Islamic *jihad*.

The Necessity of preserving the dignity of the Islamic Revolution

There is something I want to tell you again, although I have mentioned it so many times before. When this revolution occurred in the first place, it happened quite quickly and unexpectedly as if a glass might have broken. It assaulted all of a sudden and wiped out the big powers. After the victory, some shortcomings gradually appeared here and there; in Committees, courts, Guards and among different classes. I should say something to you gentlemen, and to each and every citizen of the Iranian nation, especially those who are engaged in some sort of activity for this revolutionary movement. As this revolution is indebted to you for its victory, the preservation of its prestige and entity is also up to you. Sometimes a revolution is national or is due to a particular party instead of being Islamic; that has a different characteristic. But sometimes like the revolution of Iran it is an Islamic revolution. Everybody including both you and we saw that there was no voice except "God's the Greatest" and "We want Islamic Republic". The whole nation across the country used to shout "Islamic Republic", "Neither East, nor West, Only Islamic Republic". This is an Islamic issue. Our nation is enthusiastically fond of Islam. Our people love Islam all—heartedly; that's why they came ahead, exposing their chests to the enemy and sent their youths to the war. Men and women campaigned side by side and met victory also side by side. This was the power of Islam. Otherwise neither any party nor any nation could have done such a thing. If you observe, the national or the parties' festivals are not like this. The whole nation—from the young through to the old, men through to women—all pursued the goal in one voice. It was the power of Islam that made each and every individual to shout only one voice and made the entire nation as a unified whole. All this was done to achieve victory and they did it. Our nation wants only Islam and nothing else. This nation wants to take refuge in Islam. Do they think they would be able to do something if they manage to gather one, two or five hundred people around themselves? They have also issued a few journals. But what the nation wants is Islam. Islam as well as the nation has acknowledged the clergy. Now the dignity and prestige of this campaign depends upon the clergy and the guards. They guard the revolution. Islam is now waiting upon Iran to see what they will do with it. Are they loyal to Islam? Will they serve the interests of Islam? Islam wants to see as to how far it will be respected in different places; in the courts, the committees, the guards of Islam, the police and the security forces etc. Now it is waiting to see what they will do. They reached victory by the power of Islam. Now what will they do with Islam? Are they in line with Islam? Do

they want to advance Islam? Do they want to establish Islamic laws in Iran? God willing, the Islamic laws will be established in other places as well. Will this revolution be exported? Or, God forbid, they will follow some other way? Today, we, you and the nation as a whole, and its different classes have a heavy responsibility. Those who are actively at the service of this revolution are responsible for protecting the honor of the Islamic Revolution and also the honor of Islam.

Breaking the sanctity of the clergy is a blow to Islam

If somebody from the stratum of clergy, either in the committees or schools, or from among those who are in the major cities do something wrong it is not attributed only to that individual, but to the whole community of the clergy. They will say that such are the clergy. Those who want to defame and discredit the clergy, and their real goal is to defame Islam want to attack the clergy because the clergy are the guards of Islam and its servants. If any clergy provides them with an excuse, they will make a trite and trivial one into a titanic one. If somebody does something wrong, they will attribute it to the whole community of the clergy. In these committees, God forbid, if any wrong happens, they will say that the clergymen have taken the committees and they are doing what their lust lists to do. They do not say that an individual is wrong. They say the clergy community is wrong. They want to defame the clergy community. They cannot endure watching the clergy reforming and improving the social affairs. They used to see that the clergy could not do any thing. But now the clergy have come into the field. They are all over the country. Those affiliated to clergies such as guards, the committees and all such classes are active and energetic. When the westernized open-minded people witnessed that, they are not capable of doing anything of benefit to the nation, the parties did not do any advantageous thing, and now the clergymen have come into the field just for the sake of God and are sacrificing their lives to protect Islam, they became aware of the shortages in themselves. That is why they want to discredit all these classes; the clergy, the committees and the guards. The clergy are, now performing those things that they were not capable of performing. So they want to introduce them as an inept and impotent class. All people of our nation, whatever their social class is are responsible in front of God. They should save the honor of Islam, the revolution and the movement. So this is a gigantic responsibility. Thus, your service is a great service. Your responsibility is greater.

The material aspects are not counted in the Revolution

God, the Almighty, is present everywhere. You should behold Him and be sure that He is present. Therefore, do not do in His presence what He has abandoned and prohibited. Be in the path of God. Be at the service of Islam. God forbid, if we are defeated, we will be martyrs. Let our martyrdom be for Islam. God willing, if we become victorious, we have made Islam victorious. Let us export and carry Islam to every spot of the world. Let us hoist the banner of Islam. My dear gentlemen! Do not be after material advantage. Do not pay attention to material aspects. You have made a great campaign, but for the sake of your bellies and stomachs. You sacrificed your blood, but not to obtain a position or a place. None of these things existed in your minds. When you poured into the streets, and confronted the tanks and guns you never even conjectured to become the boss of a certain place. Your objective was God, and you succeeded. So now, too, let it be for God to reach success again. If you feel a material shortage, do not pay attention to it, because you did it not for the material achievement. Similarly, in the early days of Islam, the Islamic soldiers used to work sincerely for God. They sustained on one piece of date all daylong and nightlong. Sometimes they sufficed at even less than that throughout the day and night. They served Islam. Even after their victory, they were not after attaining posts and positions or becoming the boss of someplace.

Sincere service to this revolution is worship to God

Purify your purposes for God only. Do the job just for the sake of Him. This is worship. Be sincere in worship. This campaign, the whole of it, was worship. This revolution, all of it, is worship. Be true and sincere in this worship. God is on your side. In the case of occurring any problems on your way, they will surely be attended to. In my opinion, all these issues should be solved in the parliament. God willing, they will be settled as per your desires. Your desires must be in accordance with Islam. The demands of all, which are Islamic, I hope, will be achieved. I hope the parliament will open and start its job in no time. The plans, which you submit, should be submitted in the parliament and this must be continuous.

Thank God, for most of the elected individuals are Islamic and dedicated ones. I hope all of us will succeed in serving Islam with pure intention. Whatever we have, is from God, the Almighty. We have nothing except what He has granted us. We are nothing by ourselves. It is He who exists. We are nobody. We got our entity at His Will. Still we are His. We must try to safeguard the deposit God has bestowed. The deposit is spirit. The life is a

deposit. Islam is a deposit. Quran is a deposit. May God whiten and brighten our faces on entering His presence. May God grant you all victory. May God guide the enemies of Islam to the right path. If they do not deserve guidance, may God defeat them or perish them.

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

Speech

Date: May 19, 1980 [Ordibehesht 29, 1359 AHS / Rajab 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah of Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Government of Islam in the world. Firm confrontation with the mischief-mongers

Audience: The people of Jamaran and Shemiranat

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hoisting the banner of Islam across the world

I see myself drowned in pleasure and pride whenever I look at these faces, bright and determined, the Muslim faces committed to Islam. You, the young sisters and brothers, are the hope of the nation. You, brothers and sisters, you pushed the campaign forward by sacrificing your blood. You did a revolution, which was unique or rare of its type; a revolution of Islam, a revolution of a group committed to Islam. Wherever I may happen to be, I am the servant of all of you. The only service I can offer is to pray. I will pray for you—my younger brothers and sisters. I am very hopeful that, you will continue this revolution at the unity of word as you did in the early stages with your endeavors that turned your uprising into a revolution. We are still on the way. It is a long way to be paved. That long way is to hoist the banner of Islam at every pole of the earth. I am hopeful about success. By the grace of God and trust in Him and at the courage of the youths, this long way will be trodden over easily. The main thing is that we must give up our personal aspirations and desires and overcome difficulties. We should be after the demands of Islam and the high-exalted dictation of the glorious Quran and the demands of the Almighty. We should obey the commandments of God. He has insisted for unity. He has invited us to be sincere and active in advancing Islam. We must push Islam forward. We must export Islam to all the spots of the world. We must make the big powers understand the power of Islam. I thank you very much for coming round at the moment. I think I am sort of trouble for you, no matter where I am. However, I pray for you all. Since the day I have come here, have caused trouble to Mr. Imam and also to Mr. Musawi, who are both my very dear friends. I have also caused trouble to the inhabitants of this region. I hope to be able to consummate the service that we have commenced. We will be able to raise the banner of Islam everywhere with the unity of word.

The courts should confront decisively with the groups affiliated to foreign countries and those seeking corruption

And you friends should be aware that there are various groups inside the country, seeking corruption and creating divisions among our brothers. There are groups still affiliated to the previous regime. There are groups, which depend upon America and also on Soviet Union. You should foil their plots by your vigilance and obedience to God. Do not let these small groups create trouble for our campaign and the revolution. This is the season of harvest in which the poor peasants collect their yield. These affiliated groups who claim that they sacrifice their lives for the sake of the needy ones, and introduce themselves as the servants of the oppressed ones, set fire to the harvested corn. I read in one newspaper that they burned hundred heaps of grain in only one sub-district. If they attain power, they will set everything on fire. Their trend of thinking does not correspond with that of Islam. As they see Islam is blooming and the Islamic regulations are carried out here, and, God willing, in all the regions they become anxious and very perturbed. So they create incongruity among the people. They burn the cultivation. They create hurdles in the factories to stop production. These people are after malevolence. Their sport is to hide bombs in the bazaar of Muslims and to blow up the oil pipes, and everything that belongs to the poor. You should be careful about them. They are corrupted ones on the earth.¹ They should be crushed with all the power. The courts, wherever are, should condemn them to death. They have no business at all other than creating trouble for the society and swallowing what belongs to others, and creating divisions among the people. They want Iran to return back to the big powers, so that the big powers once again enslave us.²

You, the youths of the country, watch out very carefully for them. Do not let them do their malevolent deeds. You should preserve everything. The protection of everything is on your lot. Safeguard the crops, cultivation and the harvest. Safeguard the gardens of the people. All these things are the result of their toil and back-breaking labor. Do not depend solely upon the government or the police since they are also busy rendering their services. You, too, should keep yourself busy rendering services. We all together shall serve Islam and Muslims. May God reward you all. May God purge the country from corruption and wipe out the root of corruption. May God grant you success in both this world and the other world. Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you.

¹ Jamarani.

² Sayyid Mahdi Imam Jamkarani.

Decree

Date: May 20, 1980 (10 PM) [Ordibehesht 30, 1359 AHS / Rajab 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the leader of Friday prayers in Ashtiyan

Addressee: Abul-Qasim Danish Ashtiyani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza Abul-Qasim Danish Ashtiyani may his blessings last,

Following the request made to you by the people of Ashtiyan for the performance of Friday prayers in that district, it is beneficial to comply with their request. For this reason, I hereby, appoint your Eminence as the leader of the Congregation (Friday) prayers in that region. While accomplishing this very serious divine duty, please acquaint people with their very sensitive duties in such a particular period of time. I wish you ever lasting prosperity.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah Musawi al-Khomeini

Rajab 5, 1400 AH

Decree

Date: May 20, 1980 [Ordibehesht 30, 1359 AHS / Rajab 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the leader of Friday prayers in Sonqor

Addressees: The inhabitants of Sonqor

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

People of the district of Sonqor¹ (may God assist them),

The petition sent by the respectful inhabitants is received. After negotiations with His Eminence Haj Shaykh Hashim Taqdiri, we decided to send him over there. Therefore, the aforementioned gentleman is hereby appointed to the office of the leader of Friday prayers for that district. I hope that he will carry out his divine duty along with religious propaganda. In the meantime, he will acquaint the inhabitants there with the sensitive and serious obligations that they have. I am hopeful that the people will utilize the opportunity and extend their sincere cooperation with him. The people will preserve the co-existence and their unity against the adversaries and will avoid differences and divisions. I wish you ever lasting prosperity.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khayr 5, 1400 AH

¹ Sonqor Koliyabi is one of the cities of Kermanshah province.

Speech

Date: May 20, 1980 [Ordibehesht 30, 1359 AHS / Rajab 5, 1400AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity for vigilance of Muslims against arrogant

Audience: Muhammad-Mahdi Shamsuddin (Deputy Chairman of the High Shiah Council of Lebanon). Members of the staff of Central Movement of Amal, the military wing of the movement of the deprived ones, Lebanon

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A warning to Muslims to be vigilant against the Arrogance

I have always been warning Muslims against Israel and its crimes in my sermons, writings and speeches for many years. This is a cancerous tumor growing among the Muslim countries. They will not suffice on Quds alone. Actually they want to make advancement. They are subordinate to the policies of America which in turn does not suffice on one place. All the big powers wish to have every other country under their control. We believe Lebanon as a part of Iran because no separation is there between them and us. We are so tied together as if we are one. Mr. Sadr ¹is ²a man about whom I can say that I have grown him up and brought him up. He is just like my dear son. I hope he may come back sound and safe. His absence amidst us is a matter of regret.

Muslims must be fully alert. This is not a period in which the Muslims could benefit from living individually in different spots and having their own special style of life in that region. This is neither proper nor beneficial. This is quite pernicious at a time when the big powers are seeking an opportunity to swallow us. Muslims should wake up from their deep slumber. I am disappointed with most of the governments. But the nations should take refuge in Islam and the dominance of Quran. Thank God, Muslims constitute a population of about one billion and they have got very rich countries. The Muslims themselves are very potent but the erroneous propaganda that is in effect since a few centuries ago and the influence that has crept into the universities and other training places where the sons of the Muslims receive their education, have all made the Muslims fell depressed,

¹ In *Nur* Newspaper the date of the meeting was said to be 31, 2, 58 but according to press report the meeting took place on 30, 2, 59.

² Imam Musa Sadr.

hopeless and helpless. They have lost themselves. So Muslims should endeavor to regain their glory.

The Dominance of foreign cultures is the biggest difficulty of Muslims

In the case of the dominance of the West or the East on the Islamic countries, what has been very important is their cultural dominance. They used to train our children in those training centers so as to become supporters of them on their graduation. Therefore when our youths finished their college or university, they were supporters of either the East or the West. As you can see, those youths who are supporting, China or Soviet Union or America in different countries, especially in Iran, are the products of such colleges. In other words, they are educated in such a way as to believe that they are nothing by themselves. All of the agents of the foreigners, from westernized writers through those teaching in our colleges, agreed with the notion that we are good for nothing. Therefore, we should be either after the West or after the East. What is considered as a great havoc for Muslims is this sort of culture and civilization influencing our youths and dragging them either this side or that side. They are mostly pro-Americans in Iran, calling themselves as Communists, because some of them who used to call themselves communists or at least just thought they were such, were servants of the court of Shah.

The obligation upon Muslims in disseminating the rich Islamic civilization

Anyway what is binding upon us, and upon the clergymen and also upon the Muslim scholars and Muslim writers and lecturers, is to make all the Muslim nations aware of our own rich Islamic civilization. Our civilization is so rich that has been exported abroad. They obtained our books and grasped them and made full use of their content. The civilization of East (Middle East), wherein we are located, has been and still is the richest civilization. Unfortunately, Muslims could not make any use of it. The story of Abu Ubaydah,¹ how much was his sword. Some one told that there must be Abu Ubaydah himself to make it work. His sword cannot do anything all by itself, so the people who use it should be present.

Islam has brought every thing for Muslims. Quran is and has every thing for Muslims. But, unfortunately, we did not make use of anything. The Muslims deserted it. Therefore, a push towards Islam must be given to Muslims. A wide avenue of information should be opened for them. From

¹ Middle East.

the little boys up to the old ones who were patients in the beds of the hospitals, all cried in one voice. It was a miracle that happened in Iran. It was this which brought them victory against the powers. Even the imagination of such a victory was very hard. It was so difficult that an Iranian who has nothing and no modern weapons, or even if he has one he does not have the know-how of it, could defeat such an enemy who had the most modern weapons and also the backing of all the big powers. It is, indeed, unbelievable. He repelled all the powers in spite of the backing of Muslim countries too. When I was in Paris, I was being requested mostly by America not to go to Iran. They used to tell me to let them stay. Finally, that man¹ left and Bakhtiyar² was staying here. Bakhtiyar³ too has committed many great crimes. He was the prime minister. He was thinking that America was backing him. They were coming and sometimes meeting me directly under the pretext that I was a merchant. Sometimes they asked other people present there to tell me not to go to Tehran. They insisted that I should not go to Iran now. I got the point at the very beginning. When the enemy says not to go, it clearly indicates that my going to Iran is needful. So I tried. I announced that I would go as soon as the way is open. They closed the way. I told I will move whenever the way is clear. They could not keep the way closed forever. The very day the way was clear, I came. Later I saw it was most befitting and necessary.

Muslims are bound to campaign against tyranny

Muslims should discover themselves. They should know that they have their own civilization, their own country and their own entity, individuality and personality. The Western schools have nothing. But they have injected in the minds of our youths that such schools must be attended to. These are the same propaganda disseminated by the big powers in Iran. They have created a civilization that grips us in its vanity. They took the due advantage of this. They created such a civilization that for us, in order to take our entity and prestige away. We should go back to the initial stages of the early Islam. Muslims should return back to the place where they used to assault the big powers of that time and overrun them in spite of their being in a limited number. Now Muslims constitute a very large population. They have so many schools of thought. They have ineffable wealth. But they are so divided and separated and amputated to pieces. After the world war, the Ottoman

¹ One of the Commander in the army of Islam.

² The Shah.

³ Shapur Bakhtiyar, the last prime minister of the Shah's regime.

Empire was reduced to parts. Then they placed every part of it under the control of one of their agents. So, all these things now have given birth to this present havoc. Now it is demanding that the Muslims should become one body and one whole at the strength of unity. They should stand against the big powers. In that case, there is no big power to stand against them. Now we have a small number. Our population is 35 million, while our adversaries are in a billion. In spite of our small number, we are determined to confront them. We did not think of victory. Our aim was to obey the obligation upon us. We are bound to stand against tyranny. When I was in Paris, some so-called "well-wishers" used to come to me and tell me that it will not happen. They were not aware of the matters. They said it is impossible. They said better think of an honorable retreat, a face-saving withdrawal. I used to tell them that we have a duty, an obligation, a binding and we are acting upon it. Whether it happens or not, it is not our concern. It is binding upon us from God to stand against tyranny. We have to face these men—slaughterers, these bloodthirsty ones. We can face and confront them to the extent of our ability and vigor. If we can become victorious, thanks to God. Otherwise, also thanks to God that we obeyed the obligation. The thing is that the Muslims should consider themselves obliged. They should not think that they will be no more in case they are defeated. If our moral be safe, if our dependence on Quran be alive, if martyrdom be our lot, it is all a great achievement. Thank God that we are victorious in all aspects. One of the two good things is ours, God willing.

Defeat of the big powers and the awakening movement of the nations

We are hopeful that one day we shall pray in Quds with you and with Sayyid Musa Sadr (God preserve him), God willing. We are not disappointed. Muslims should make advancement with all their strength. Today, big powers are about to be defeated. They are close to defeat. It is not like ten years ago. Do not you think so? Now things have changed. America is in a great trouble at the hands of the Muslims—the black ones. It is compelled to announce curfew in eight cities. This issue is a movement created in man. Now no one want the yoke. This is a thing you see everywhere. Now in Iraq too, a movement is going on. I tell you this thing is occurring everywhere—in India, in Pakistan and other places. These Muslims should discover themselves. They should not fear the big powers. No, they are not what you think of them. The reality is something else. Muslims should be united. They should have unity. In that case, victory will be theirs. Indeed, they will be victorious. I hope that these revolutions and

campaigns sprung among Muslims everywhere may end in victory and bring the Muslims all together. At the strength of unity of word and trust in God, which is the source of every victory, we shall go forward. All the Muslim countries will live honorably in ease and comfort, God willing. May God save the dear Lebanon. God may save the Muslims of Lebanon, who are fighting for Islam and grant them victory.¹

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

¹ Abu Ubaydah was one of the soldiers in the army of Islam.

Statements

Date: May 21, 1980 (10 PM) [Ordibehesht 31, 1359 AHS / Rajab 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Radio/TV should be purged

Addressee: Muhammad-Husayn Taromi (Manager of IRIB Information unit)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity of reformation in Radio/TV

I have always been anxious about Radio/TV. This is the most important station among all the public media. This station now has become almost too common. It exists in all the provinces, districts, sub-districts and even in the villages. Through this media everybody, in or out of Iran, can be easily, quickly and almost at the same time, aware of whatever happens. This station—Radio/TV—needs reformation. In other words, it should be changed to a station, an institute of education, learning and teaching actually of the Islamic materials. News is already announced there. Briefly, nothing should take place that could be against the Islamic standards. No way, no passage should be given to any group to design plots there or appear on the screen and say things that could provoke treason. We do not mean that things must be censored. We mean that everything must be in congruity with Islam and the nation.

Freedom within the frame of Islamic system

The nation is fond of Islam. All the organs that exist in Iran should be Islamic. The meaning of freedom is not this that every one is free to plot treason. No, no one is free to plot treachery and treason. No one is free to say things that could reflect weakness of this uprising or foil it and reflect a defeat to the nation. All people are free but within the frame of the campaign and the Islamic Revolution. All are free to speak, regardless of their group. If any one speaks with a predetermined intention to enfeeble Islam and weaken the institutes engaged in Islamic activities, this should not be allowed to happen.

You should not fear these groups of open-minded ones. Their pens are always busy writing what could create trouble and tumult. They are after some excuse to lay hands upon something and tell what they wish.

Ever since this campaign started and kept growing and developing, this group, not of course all of them but the westernized ones were engaged in their anti-revolutionary activities. Whatever happened, they used to throw a stone to hurdle the way. You should not pay any favorable attention to them. They are your adversaries. Whatever they deem necessary, they will do against you. If you see such treacherous persons, you take a firm and determined action against them. With the cooperation of all the Islamic organizations, you dismiss them and do not let them do their mal practices.

Radio/TV—an institute training society and the young generation

At last we should have one institute that is Radio/TV to bring up our society in Islamic environment. All the years long during the stay of the affiliated or the puppet Shah, Muhammad-Rida, this Radio/TV was under his control. He used it as a tool to seduce our youths. This powerful element that should be in the service of the country, they kept it in the service of others. This should be reformed and changed and set right. Radio/TV should be a teaching institute to our country and to our people. It should not be open to say things not in the interests of our country. They bring up our youths in such a manner as to lose their entity. Some of them were brought up in such a way that they were dragged to the places of licentiousness and lust. They had made such centers all over the country. Some of them were dragged to drugs. They were made addicted to it. Their aim was this—to spoil this young class of the society that is vivid and vigorous, capable of doing everything. This class that is expected to be in the service of their own native country was made a captive of lust and leisure and drugs. As a result, they were indifferent and unconscious towards whatever happened to their country. In this respect, Radio-TV was one of those stations which exerted its efforts to its utmost capacity? First it started presenting things that were not less than drugs. These things themselves were rather drugs. For example, the music it used to relay. Our youths, if addicted to music from their young years, will not be able work. He cannot be a resolving element or a determined person. Radio-TV mostly too often attracted our youths to such programs. From the visual respect, this organ (Radio-TV) made our youths corrupt and profligate. It demonstrated women of such and such type. As a result, our young generation became allured and lulled to every sinful addiction. Corruption was not corruption because it had become so common.

Their real aim was that in Iran, there should not be any energetic power to confront them in their destructive performances, so that the enemies of Iran and Islam could do whatever they wish. Therefore, now this should be

reformed. Radio-TV should be made in such a manner as to make our youths independent and determined in their own opinion.

They made the youths captives of heroine, opium and so forth. The Radio/TV should separate them from the corrupt class. They should fear these things.

The TV films should be instructive

Similarly, the films that are shown should impart a lesson, no matter whether locally made or imported. They should check and control the contents of the films. Out of mischief or diabolical intention, they may send some films to Iran to corrupt the youths. So, all such things should be controlled. All things must become Islamic. The interests of the country should be taken in view. It should be at the service of the country, not others. I hope you will prosper, God willing. You go there with power and a determined will. You reform the things there. You supervise the news unit. Don't let anything anti-interest be broadcasted within the lines. I pray to God that you prosper. God willing, all the organs of Islam are with you in thought and opinion. Try to help each other to make this organ a center of Islam to instruct our youths. You will gain success in achieving this goal.

The necessity of clearing Radio/TV from bad individuals

As for the staff, I have heard those who were sympathetic to Islam and country and were committed have been dismissed. Those who should be dismissed are still there at their jobs. You along with the persons who are there should clear those unfavorable to the country. You should do this without fear. Bring the committed youths in their place. Reconsider those whom you have dismissed. If you see anybody appropriate among them bring him back to work. But dismiss those who are pernicious, even if he is an expert. A pernicious expert is more harmful than a non-expert one. They must go out.

If God will I hope you will be successful. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 24, 1980 [Khordad 3, 1359 AHS / Rajab 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Fifty years long plots to create divisions among the various classes of the society

Audience: Teachers, students of the religious institutions, professors, members of the Islamic associations, students of the colleges all over the country

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To weaken the clergies—The fundamental program of Rida Khan

For you gentlemen, I should narrate an epitome of the history of the days of Rida Khan because you did not witness it. I tell you so that you may know what hands are at work. Rida Khan captured Tehran through coup d'état. He posed himself as a pious man at the service of the nation. He used to attend the meetings held during Muharram and also the "Takya" which were in a great number in Tehran those days. I witnessed some of the mourning demonstrations of Muharram in which military forces were involved. I have also witnessed one of the congregation gatherings established by Rida Khan which he himself used to join. This continued till his government was well established and stabilized. Then he tricked the nation and all the classes of the people. When the foundation underneath his feet grew stronger and stronger, then he started his program which was predesigned and already determined. It was to weaken the clergy category. He wanted to make the clergy lose their prestige in society. In this way, he wanted to pave the way for doing whatever he wished. The media of those days, the writers, all got well equipped against the category of the clergy. The taxis and the buses were not willing to embark them. The propaganda was so widespread and so strong that our youths got seduced easily. This religious institute "Faydiyyah" that you see was housing six or seven hundred students. They could not stay in the institute during the day. The students used to flee from the institute to the outskirts of the town, in the gardens and return at night. The reason was—the police was after them to take them away and denude their heads of their "ammamah" (i.e. the head covering of the clergy). The clergies of Tehran were in an even worse situation. They were taken to the police stations where their dress (the cloak of the clergies) was cut to make it short to the size of a coat. Among them were the clergies of respect, honor,

prestige, and dignity. Therefore, their cloaks were shortened in the police stations by means of scissors. Whose hand was behind all those crushing and defeating of the clergy? Although they crushed the clergy, the group that stood against Rida Khan was again this very same clergy. All of a sudden from Tabriz, from Khorasan and from Isfahan, the *ulama* came to Qum. From Isfahan, the number was greater. The clergies at the center also joined them. Unfortunately, all the campaigns and uprisings were defeated and crushed. The uprising in Qum was rather fundamental. But that too was crushed. Most of them were cheated and tricked. At the head was the late Haj Nurullah Isfahani—as was told then. It was later known that he was also killed by means of poison. He died in Qum itself.¹ So, what power was it that crushed the category of clergy in such a way? What was the purpose? What power was it, which separated the class of the clergy from that of the university? It was not possible to utter a single name of a clergy. Likewise, in the institute of Faydiyyah too, you could not utter a single name of an academic. So, what power it must be which separated these two classes from each other and made adversary to each other? What power was at work, which changed the university to such a form that its products—whoever came out of it—was a seduced, a perverted and a devious one. All of them were leaning towards the foreign schools. What hand was at work to change the university into a fortification of battle soon after the victory of the Revolution? Again that power is now busy to crush the clergy class. What had they seen of the clergy? They are disseminating the same thought and the same idea the days of Rida Khan against the clergy. They want to repeat the same past insults, vilifying and defaming the clergy and all those in this spiritual cloak. Why? What have they done to this class of clergy? They have created a gap between the clergy and others. Still they are doing so. But, by the grace of God, they will come close to each other.

Creating domination by separating the clergy and the Muslim masses from each other

They have studied the people of the East and the Muslims and the Muslim countries for a long time. Their experts and specialists have come and stayed in the Muslim countries in various forms. They have carried a deep research. They have reached to this conclusion that the Muslim masses are very close to the clergy.

In each town, the “*mulla*” (clergy) of that town and the leader of the Friday prayers has a close link with the people. The people too respect his

¹ He died on the night of 4, Dey, 1306.

Word. So, if they want to exploit the society and take it into their own dominance, they should separate them from the clergy. Well, why have they created such a division that one cannot utter a name of a clergy in the university? If a student of the university wants to pray, he should do it very secretly. In the religious schools too, they do not look upon an academic fellow favorably. This is also based upon the same research they have carried out for so long. This is quite obvious that these two classes are the thinking minds of the society. Therefore, they can do what they desire only in the event of separation between these two classes. They will not be able to achieve their end in case these two classes are glued with each other. Therefore, the pens, the tongues and the media that were in their service are put in motion. They are separated from each other to the extent of enmity. Now they have witnessed the powers of Islam. They found out that if those two classes become close and united an impregnable power would be formed. With such a power, they succeeded to expel the Satanic power which nobody in the world ever expected to happen. They expelled the traitor¹ while all the powers were behind him.² The foremost of them was America. Moreover the Soviet Union and the other devious Muslim countries were also at his service. We ourselves have experienced this thing. When I was in Iraq and wanted to start the campaign against the Shah, they, the Iraqi government, did not let me do and did not even allow me to stay there. Then I went to Kuwait but Kuwait also did not let me in. So I thought that whichever Muslim country I wish to go, I would have to face the same. God wanted something better for us. I went to a place³ which was not under the influence of Iran. There too, at the beginning some controversies occurred. Little by little, those controversies subsided. Now they are more serious than they were on the days of Rida Khan. In the days of Rida Khan, there was only research and study. The study had provided them with only a mentality. Those days, it was only a matter of conjecture that if the clergy united with the university students, or if the clergy gained power, it would be a hurdle for them and would hamper their exploiting Iran as per their greed. Of course, that was congruous with the reality. However, it was only a conjecture. Now it is no longer a matter of conjecture, but of reality.

They witnessed that it started from the clergy. The universities as well as far as their commitment goes, joined them. Those who were not committed later became obliged to be with them. Similarly, all the classes and finally the

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

² France.

whole nation. They knew that the clergy has influence but they did not ever think of such an influence. Shah apologized. He brought Sharif Imami¹ to the office. They said that well we did a mistake. We did not know that people respect the clergy so much. We shall adjust and amend this mistake. We shall serve the clergy. So they started telling such nonsense. They wanted to cheat the nation by these words. But nobody heeded them.

Do not mix the things in the cultural revolution of the universities

They have seen the power of Islam today. In a population of thirty five million, out of which the youths able to work could be fifteen or eighteen or say twenty million, bereft of equipment, without any military training overruns the regime only with their closed fists. They could not keep the man whom they were very anxious to keep. They saw the power of Islam with their eyes. Now they still want to do something worse. They don't want Islam to get stabilized. What was the purpose of these fortifications that took place in the universities; and who did that? Those who wanted to make the westernized university an Islamic one, should be both Muslims and very committed to Islam. Were they in that fortification, or the pens and the same endeavors, which were active in the days of Rida Khan seeking an opportunity to break Islam and its power?

We say we want Cultural Revolution, of course in every thing, but we should not amalgamate the affairs. Those who speak of Cultural Revolution mix up the things. I have heard them. They put up the affairs together. This will make the way rather remote. The university and Faydiyyah school; they should first start with the university. The economics of the nation should not be their concern. If the academics want to go head with the Cultural Revolution in the field of economy, they will lose their own job as well. If another class, capable of setting right the revolution in their field, come to set it right in another field, ex army, they will lose both of them and the thread will get loose from their hands. Therefore, each class should work in its own place or location. They should work only in those fields of which they are a member. You should not go after economic revolution. Those who want to make the economic revolution should not come after the university.

I am not telling you that these people who are mixing the affairs are traitors. They are just going ignorant. It is very likely that those who want to mix things up and want to mend everything at the same time and together

¹ Jafar Sharif Imami who at the climax of the revolution, was the first prime minister after Jamshid Amuzegar.

and do not allow the experts of each field to work in their own field, are somehow seduced. When we want to set right the university or start a cultural revolution there we should not amalgamate all things together. Everything should be in its own place. Bazaar should also be set right. But university should not be mixed with bazaar. A group of people should go there and start the Islamic and cultural revolution. They should be from the bazaar, the committed personalities.

The revolution should crawl into the army too. But the army should not be concerned with the university. There is no relation between these two. Although all of them are combined together, each should do its own business. In earlier days, it was said that a good "Shimr" is he who acts as "Shimr" himself. If Shimr speaks or recites a poem like Imam Husayn, then he is no more a shimr. While the institutes are united and are cooperating in creating a scene as a whole, they should not meddle with one another's job. If they meddle with one another, it will provide an undesirable phase. Every one must perform his own duty well. If one pokes his nose in other's job, that job will not be performed well.

The mischief to create division between the students of religious institutes and those of the universities

The pens, the Speeches and the malefic activities are under way to prevent you from continuing or completing the job you have started. They do not like the unity between the clergy and the academics. Now it is only the very beginning of your job. You have just started. I conjecture that they might come to the persons who are in Faydiyyah or other literary centers and whisper in their ears. Likewise, they will go to the university fellows and whisper in their ears. As a result, both will separate from each other in repugnance. They have been once injured and scathed by the unity of this nation. So they are afraid of Islam. They see your demonstrations. They see your meetings. They hear and see your Islamic slogans and cries. And so they are not at ease.

Nationalization, against Islam

I saw a writing a few days ago to the effect: Why are you afraid of being a nationalist? Why don't you say the national parliament? I say to that gentleman: "Why are you afraid of being Islamic? Now it is more than fifty years we have not seen a good outcome from this national parliament. If a good man was there, fifty men were also there at the service of imperialism. That one man was crushed by these fifty men. I tell these people that we are

subordinate to this nation. We by ourselves are nobody. We want to see what the demand of this 35 million is. We saw that this 35 million say we want Islam. In all their discoveries since from the very early start, there was not such a thing that could indicate they want to be nationalists. Nationalism is contrary to Islam. Islam has come to disseminate equality among all. Nationalism is not such. Now you see what is happening in America between the blacks and whites. This Carter, who claims to be a supporter of human rights, kills the blacks or treats them at prejudice and grudge. This is nationalism. Some of the Arab governments say we are Arabs and nothing else. Nationalism is pan-Iranism or pan-Arabism. This is contrary to the command of God, and against the Quran. When we say Islamic Republic, we also mean Islamic parliament. We did not see any miracle from that Imamzadeh (i.e. Imam's son). It is more than fifty years they have kept us behind. It is more than fifty years they have been impeding the work.

The rubber stamp nature of the Assembly prior to the Islamic Revolution

Throughout the period they had parliament not even once people voted quite freely and at their own will. I still remember during the period of Qajar dynasty, when there was no Rida Khan or Muhammad-Rida Khan, there were khans and princes. The khans used to bring the people in groups to the ballot boxes by force and take their votes for themselves. People were nothing. They knew nothing. They were given a sheet of paper and asked to drop it in the box. When Rida Khan came to power, you have seen that he had no trucks with the people. Similarly, most of you have seen that Muhammad-Rida too had no trucks with the people. Muhammad-Rida himself once told that the list of the candidates was used to come from the embassies. He meant that now it is not so, while he was obliged to bring the listed person to the job. Anyway, this is a confession of a man who ruled this country by tyranny. He was aware of all the affairs. He is making us to understand about the person recommended by either the American, British or Russian embassies. This is a thing spoken by Muhammad-Rida. His point in disclosing the matter was to indicate that he was no more like before. He even vilified his father so that the people may hold him in a greater credit and regard. This reflects the identity of the persons in the parliament. They were servants of foreigners. They obtained access to the parliament by force. You cannot discover a single incident that could show that Iran, as a whole, should have voted after its own inclination or at its own choice. In the earlier stages, the people voted for themselves. The khans were not able to do

anything in Tehran. But in towns and villages, they had influence. They used to take the people to the boxes and get their votes for the persons of their choice. For you this is a first experience you are witnessing an Islamic parliament housing the persons of the nation's choice. Before, if nothing was there, some or the other malpractice surely used to take place. The people— young and old, men and women—should come out so freely and cast their votes is quite an unprecedented thing. Well, you have seen Tehran, Qum and other places too. They do not want such a parliament to take shape. A parliament of the nation, of Islam, and its deputies too all Muslims. They don't tolerate to see the cleric and the university fellow to join together and come both under one roof and be combined.

The efforts of the persons (affiliated to foreigners) to scathe the Islamic system

I give a warning that they are busy to separate you. Now you are a plant, not grown. Your links too are fresh—yet to be bloomed. But you form a target for them, that is you are still their target. They do not let to happen a positive thing in the university. They will hurdle and hamper—if possible by guns or by creating fronts or by any other satanic or diabolical mischief. Who writes those slogans over the walls of the universities? What is the point in it? They gather people and shout slogans contradictory to Islam. What is the errand? These are the people who see the university and the clergy a peril to the nation. Since they are harmful, they should be wiped out. This is their point. This very group points their guns at the nation. They have weapons kept in a place to be handy to them at the time of need or at any other opportune occasion. They are the same people who created trouble in Kurdistan. Thanks God they are purged from there. These persons, as disclosed later, have weapons bearing the trademark of Israel and the Soviet Union. They see Islam is the power that stands against them and combats. They are still boys. Their masters, the big ones, who guide them and teach them and teach the boys. They know well that in the existence of Islam and the clergy and the university fellows, they cannot do anything. The clergy and the university—these two thinking minds—if be together, all the people come around them. They cannot return them back where they were. As such they cannot do what they want.

Now they have come to the conclusion that no coup d'etat is workable in Iran. No one can think of it. From outside too, no one can come here and stay. They have learned a lesson from Afghanistan also. They have brought there the most modern weapons, helicopters, the planes and a well-trained

army. But in spite of all that, they cannot make the Afghan nation humble to them. Daily they are facing a defeat. In Afghanistan, the government is with them. The persons responsible are also with them. In spite of all these positive elements, they could not prosper. In Iran no one is with them. As for the government, and as for the nation, all are together. There is nothing in their favor. So no one can come here. No one can do anything to their interest. God the Almighty is with us. We want to expel the outsiders for the sake of God. We want to expel those who are anti-Islam. If possible, we want to guide them. When we want to perform a thing for the pleasure of God, He too will help us. The condition is that we should be in the same way as we behaved at the initial stage of the revolution. We had forgotten all the personal matters. We were after one thing—Islamic Republic and Islam. We were never concerned as to what our dimmer to night is or what is our post or grade in the office. We should continue in the same mentality. Do not think that everything now is over. We can go after our life.

Provocations of the enemy towards disappointing the people from the Islamic system

The things that are being said to you such as this disappointed you from the Islamic Republic. This is a plot. You should not heed them nor to their words if you want to have a respectful, honorable, and a prosperous life. The fact is that during one year life of this Islamic Republic, many things are done more than the duration of these two traitors. If we take the setback and the handicaps into considered the progress has had been worthy of consideration. The villages had nothing. The two traitors had deprived the people from anything. Now the people, the organizers and the government are in close cooperation with one another and have rendered services to them. Our people should not give ear to their words. Our people should not pay attention to their anti-Islamic writings. Had there nothing was done now, neither you nor I could have been here. Is there any thing better than freedom in this world? Well, if nothing is done, this much has been certainly done that is we have cut short the hands of the foreigners, yes; their roots are still here and there. There are things, which we should bring into account. How nothing is done? Is it a trifle thing—expulsion of Muhammad-Rida from Iran? He was a powerful man. We cannot ignore his leaving Iran as a frivolous thing. Then what is this? An Islamic Republic is established. Now it seems that Muhammad-Rida is still in our country. He is still holding his kingdom. SAVAK is still there working for its interests. They want to play tricks on our youths. Thank God our youths are now awakened. They say

nothing is done. What you want to be done? Within a period of one year and few months all the organs necessary for an Islamic country are created. Such a speedy achievement has never happened anywhere. Thirty or fifty years after revolution, even a constitution cannot be prepared. Iraq still has no constitution cannot be prepared. Iraq still has no constitution. A few persons are together only to govern the country. In Iran since everything originated from the people, the revolution emanated from the society, and the people too were Muslims, all the things that form the foundation of a country are performed and taken place. We do not lack anything nor are we short of anything. Now the constructive job should take place. The persons concerned are busy. The thing is that you should not be cheated by these poisonous pens, the magazines and the newspapers that are at the service of others. It is regrettable that the publication permission is accorded to them. Do not let them to play chicanery on you. The whispers in your ears either in the university or the school, say Faydiyyah, should not get access to the inner most recess of mind. This unity that you have reached is very important to the elements of anti-Islam. Therefore, now their target is you. Their target that are anti-Faydiyyah, anti-university and anti-Islam. To continue a job is more than its creation. You went to Qum Saturday together. Talked together. Reached an understanding and a common ground mutually. Now its continuity is important. You should repeat your meetings once in a period of certain duration. You should be of one voice.

A non-Islamic university is at the service of imperialists' purpose

I am hopeful that this affiliation of your may be blessed. By this affiliation, you could be able to make your university and the education centers Islamic ones. We understand through the output what its source is. The plant that produces sugar, we understand by the sugar the nature of the plant. We can understand what and how are the colleges by their product that is the students. The gentlemen who claim of having achieved such and such during this period of one year, we can well know as to really what they have done in this one year. What the product had been during a span of fifty years? In fifty years, one million students should have had served the nation not to others. Has such a thing been ever achieved? Has the university ever produced a mentality in the students to think that they belong to this nation? Therefore, they should be in the service of the nation. They do not belong to foreigners. These communists, from where have they come? These Marxists from they have they come? They have come from this very university. We understand the professors and teachers through the students. We can

conceive the inside of the colleges. Its product indicates that. A few persons are committed ones—wherever they be. But as for the university, its roll should be a few millions. As such in a period of fifty years, a population of students, one hundred million, should have come out from the university. Indeed, such a figure has come out from the colleges. Had this university given birth to a desired type of students, now Iran would have been a paradise. We would have never been on a campaign nor was a war the need. There was no need for a revolution. The product of the colleges was an undesired one. What ever post they occupied, they worked in the interests of the foreigners. Let them tell for whom they worked who had such high posts and stations in the government. Did they work for the nation? They are the products of the same university. They left the university behind and took the high offices, jobs and posts in the government. All of them were in the service of the foreigners. Had they worked for Iran, or had the university been in the service of the country, now we would never have had any dispute nor any controversy. The university would never have been a front of battle. The departments would have taken a different shape and form. The university has had been at a failure to perform its due duty to the nation. It has had been in the service of other. However, so and so have trained our youths. They are still trying to hamper the way for the university to be in the service of the nation. When we say Islamic university, we mean a university based and founded to cater the needs of the nation. It should be for the nation. But in the university, the students are trained against the interests of the country.

Education and training has had been a word only. The training was nothing there. The training was to make our youths pro-West or pro-East. The education was to make them irresponsible ones. All these things you yourself have been witnessing.

Independence is in thought and practice—the outcome of the revolution of the university

Save this unity achieved among you. They will assault you to take it away from you. Try to have an independent country for yourself. Try to be free yourself. Be in persuasion of this. You, between your two classes, try to have a continued touch and link. The programs should be prepared by the students at the university and the clergies at the religious institutes. Things in accordance with the needs and necessities of the country should be charted out, not what is of any use to us. There are several things, which do not concern to our country. There should be a correct and sanative training.

When they come out from the college, they should be able to think independently and so in their work. The West and East should not influence them. They should be servants to their own country not to others. This is the meaning of the revolution at university. We should conceive the university revolution from its product. God willing, if after a few years, the product be human, Islamic, or one with a responsibility towards their own country, we will understand that a change has taken place. If it remains the same, communists be its product and Muslims from one side and communists from the other side would confront each other. We will be lame for ever. Even more worse will be in waiting for us. But we are hopeful that God will help us. Due to the endeavors of the clergies and those of yours, we will be able to reform our country.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: May 25, 1980 [Khordad 4, 1359 / Rajab 10, 1400]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The Necessity to respect the rule of the nations. The integrity of the countries territories. Non-interference in the affairs of others

Occasion: the 60th anniversary of the relations (political) between Iran and Moscow

Addressee: Leonid Breznev

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Leonid Breznev (Chairman of the Soviet Union),

Your Excellency's telegram on the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the political relations between the two countries is received with thanks. While expressing the due regards in reciprocation of yours, I do hope that the non-interference into the affairs and the territorial integrity of the other nations shall remain alive ahead of your view and the other world leaders as it is mentioned in your message of congratulations.

The relations between the two countries will be friendly—true to the sense if conveys. I pray to God for the intimacy and peace between the nations. I pray to God to cut the hands of the imperialists, particularly the cruel big powers from the oppressed ones of the world.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini
Khordad 4, 1359 AHS

Speech

Date: 10:55 am. May 25, 1980 [Khordad 4, 1359 AHS / Rajab 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expounding duties of representation in the Parliament

Occasion: The inauguration of the first session of the Parliament

Audience: The deputies of the Parliament

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Parliament is a place to raise the issues of Islam and what the people want

I am afraid that I might believe the things Mr. Hijazi¹ told me. I fear that I become decoyed by pride and entrapped in depravation of myself by the flattering remarks of his and of his like. I take refuge to God from pride and arrogance. If I accept myself distinct from other men, it is depravation of thought and mind and of spirit as well. Although I appreciate Mr. Hijazi he is a committed man and a polished speaker. But I have a complaint about what he says in my presence about me, which I might be seduced to believe. I want to say a few things to the gentlemen here because we can enjoy reminding things to one another. "To be reminded is for the good of the believers."² It is a good occasion. You have gathered here. In fact we are in the presence of the nation. Nation trusts you. What a good coincidence! It is a feast. Furthermore, the parliament is opened today; a day when justice is born in the world. It is a day when the Lord of Believers was born. He reflects the justice in the world. He himself was a miracle in the world. From the creation of the world till the eternity nobody has been equal to him in his distinctions and qualities. So, we take this occasion as a good omen. We believe that since the parliament is inaugurated on the day of Imam Ali's birthday, we should be the followers of Imam Ali's conduct too. He was the beacon of justice. He was a shadow of divine justice on the earth.

I have visited some sessions of the parliament in Rida Khan's time. I have heard about some sessions of the parliament in those days. As far as I have seen, they were not parliaments. Actually they were combating houses.

¹ Fakhruddin Hijazi, the first representative of the people of Tehran in the first term of Islamic consultative assembly. Mrs. Hijazi started his speech with this statement "you are both my father and mother" and the content of the rest of his speech was about exalting Imam who was very shocked by it.

² *Surah az-Zariyat* 51: 55.

The deputies were fighting and disputing for their aspirations and anticipations. Some of them were men of good conduct. They used to respect the law outside the parliament too. But even such people had no Islamic behavior as if it was obligatory for them to behave like others. Some of them even strayed.

The Islamic Consultative assembly, the parliament, is a house for consultation. The Mps should congregate and decide what the country needs. They should exchange views, argue and debate the concerns of Islam and the country. You are the representative of the people in the parliament to render service to them. So the issues that should be raised there must be those the people desire. The concerns of Islam should be debated there too. If befitting, they should be turned into a legislature. There should not be any personal motives. Supposing, God forbid, I have a grudge or a prejudice against you. But in an Islamic parliament, it should not be raised. The House is not a place to raise the personal issues. The parliament House is not a briefcase that everybody can come to know the inside happenings. The sessions or sittings are not public. It is an open arena. The proceedings are televised and broadcasted and the media publish them. Throughout Iran, they have seen and heard and come to the conclusion about the things that has happened there. God forbid, if rows are arrayed for battles and nervous breakdowns, or if the same trend that was practiced in the arrogant days is repeated, or the gist of the past parliaments resuscitate, then this is not an Islamic parliament. The concerned people have not done their divine duty.

Islamic conduct must be maintained in the parliament

I hope that the respected representatives will not act in the parliament on personal scores. They should refrain from selfish motives and shun personal prejudices. They should concentrate on the job to which they have become bound by the trust vested in them by the people. They should dispute, debate and consult within the frame of their representation. If the obligations are carried out in an Islamic environment, there will be no more controversies. Of course, such things will not happen, which used to take place in the past parliaments or in some of them, which was really shameful. Many great changes have taken place so far. The same trend should continue. You should preserve the dignity of the nation in the parliament. You should respect the nation in the House. Since you are a deputy, you should reflect the dignity and greatness of the nation. You are an epitome of good tributes of the nation. This is an Islamic nation. It endears Islam. It endears the Islamic regulations and rules. You are not delegated to the House to square your

accounts. If it happens, it is a seduction, a perversion. It will be an illegitimate place for you. You should be a teacher of conduct for the country there because your proceedings are disseminated for the whole country. When all the people witness their deputies who are sincerely at their service, at the service of their country and Islam, and their debates are also Islamic, and their investigations are also Islamic, it will be a lesson to all the individuals and to those remote ones as far as the waves go abroad. We must train and educate all the classes. You have got access to the House. When you raise a question, put it in an Islamic mould. In other words, you should enter the field fully armed with Islamic conduct, with Islamic manners. Use the same weapon as a tool to train the people. The signs of your discourse in the parliament will be in the minds of the people after a few years. Your conversions, your debates will be indelible for the people. The parliament will mirror your record. Moreover, God is present everywhere. He has the records of your conduct. You should know that you are in the presence of God the Almighty. The words you utter are in the blessed presence of God. Acting against His will is a great crime. You should know that God is the illustration of your actions. He supervises all your deeds. You should teach these things to others too. In all centers, whatever they are, there should be a training center for others as it was in the early stages of Islam. The high dignitaries, the high ranking officers, the chief of brigades and regiments taught the people by their own actions and behavior. We claim to be Muslims and claim that we are the followers of Islam. So, we should also train people by our own conduct and behavior.

Parliament is a place for debate, neither campaigns nor a battle front

God forbid if any deviation occurs in the parliament, it will spread widely because it will be reflected in the media. So it will constitute a great responsibility. Therefore, you should avoid deviation by means of your actions and deeds. You should act clearly to the nation. God will reward. You will have a reward from the Prophets. Do not found your actions on confrontation or a campaign from the beginning. There should be no such thing. That is the place for debate and consultation. A mild debate must be in the spirit of Islam supported by reason and logic. In fact, there should be no quarrel. It is all for Islam's sake. It is a service to Islam. You are all in the service of Islam. Don't do what they did in the past i.e. a group this side and the other one on the other side. It should not turn out into a battle front. I don't know if in the foreign countries they battle in the parliament. In the past the disputes in the parliament dragged the House to depravation. I do not

know if they imitated the foreigners or they invented it in the parliament. Anyway it was the ugliest thing. Its bad impression has remained and shall remain for ever. I hope that your performance will not have that impression.

Laxity in work and debilitating each other—the element of decline and depravation

There is one thing I have to tell you in persuasion of this very matter itself. Now our country is in its initial stage. Thank God, all the things that a government needs are now achieved. But still we are in the initial stage. There is one peculiarity in this stage, which later on might not exist. Now we are being assaulted from inside and outside, from inside by various means, by various pens, various magazines, various speakers and hooligans and hoodlums. From outside, the big powers are the source of trouble for us. If we want our country and Islam to be victorious, we should not impede work. We should have one voice. Guidance is one thing and hurdling the job is another. People should be guided. The center of power and law is parliament. Parliament is the guidance to all. It should be. But the parliament should not weaken the government. Likewise, the government should not weaken the parliament. Enfeeblement one is enfeeblement of the whole. If the president weakens the parliament, he himself will decay and decline. If parliament weakens the government and the president, it will end in the weakness of all. Occurrence of such things is not to our interest. It is a big sin and a crime. There is a thing wrong. But it does not threaten our country's destruction or eradication. Now this is our country's situation. Within a period of one year and a few months our country's work has been done which could take years. Neither the foreigners nor their agents inside could see and tolerate such a vast progress. Since the very beginning, they were thinking and anticipating that the Islamic Republic could not sustain. Republic should not necessarily be Islamic. Republic should be national. This was what they thought. We did not see anything useful from these Nationalists except destruction. We did not see one single individual among them—a correct one, a Muslim, a straightforward individual. We all should advance in an Islamic framework with Islamic plans and programs. Islam is not indebted to me neither to you, nor to any power. We are indebted to Islam. It is Islam that has bestowed us this victory and triumph. This is a bounty that God has granted us. If we do not be grateful God certainly will take it away from us. As it was in the initial stage, all hands were stretched above asking one thing and in one voice: "We want Islam", "We want Islam", and "We want Islamic Republic". God answered the wish too and granted what we wanted. Now if we withdraw our

hands, one goes this way and another that way, each says a different thing and each enter a campaign against one another, the government goes against the parliament, and the parliament stands against the government, then this denial of the bounty could become the cause for our missing it. God may withdraw His blessings from us. We might fall headlong. We may decline. Our country will return back to its previous position—to the same atrocities and the same tyrannies. Thanksgiving is for this: you are a parliament member, don't stymie the government. Guide the people. Wherever they lay foot crookedly guide them.

Whoever the government is, the prime minister or anybody else, they should not put an obstacle in the way of the parliament too. They are the executive powers. They should abide the law; the law which has been voted by the people. Whatever the nation has not voted for should be put aside. Don't let it be your concern. Your concern should be your own job. This law should be in the hands of all. Let the law fix the boundaries of all things. For the parliament, law has determined its limits. The limits should not be trespassed. They are not better. You shouldn't think that if you say a certain thing it will be welcome by the open-minded people. If you pray, it is not good nor is it welcome by some open-minded people. If you supplicate it will also not be welcome by the open-minded ones. There are some good ones among them. Good is in all classes. I mean those people who started adversaries from the very early stages.

There are also those who have always been trying to stymie the formation of the Islamic Republic under the pretext of service to mankind. Don't fear any power or anybody. Don't fear the leftists or the rightists. As for the constitution, it is also linked and subordinated to Islam. You'd better think of Islam. You should not follow other countries.

For example, in some countries, it is such and such. We'd better not be like them. At least let us remember God or say God once. Let us think beyond these things for a while. Be straightforward. Be on a straight path. Things themselves will advance with you if you be straight. Your support is God. Don't fear any thing or any power. I don't want to say that you can win all the powers.

Don't fear defeat in doing the duties

I want to tell you that if we do our duties, if we pace the way that God has shown us, defeat will have no sense, no meaning. In this regard, there are two things. There is no third. Suppose they (our enemies) come and we are beaten and defeated. So what? We have acted upon the obligation. We

have obeyed God. We will win at the end of the day. So, defeat has no sense here. Imam Husayn was also defeated at Karbala. He was killed. But he resuscitated a world. Imam Ali was also defeated in the battle of Siffin. But it was not a defeat. It was a service to Islam. He acted for the sake of God. There is no defeat for the acts of God. They will be victorious. Victory is in their alliance. You shouldn't have any fear or hesitation. If you say something against the Marxists' school or their belief, they may vilify you and say that you are too backward. But this is not so. They themselves are backward. They are lagging behind. They believe in themselves more than anybody else. They themselves are dictators more than others. They have fettered their nations. There is no freedom in their countries. Likewise, in the Western countries, there is no freedom. Freedom is only in words and in speeches. Had there been freedom, these blacks would have never been under tyranny. What have these blacks done? Do you think that these proposals and plans that they forward are ever put into practice anywhere in the world? They, the big powers, have created the organizations and institutions in the world and they hold them in their grip. Had it been a reality, they would have not the right to vote. It is a chicanery to deceive us or to overrun our rights. This is to fool us. These tools should not cheat you. You should not be influenced by East or West. You should act within the framework indicated by Islam. Don't pay any heed to what they say. Your aim, your motto should be Islam. You know that those who are against the revolution, against Islam, against the parliament, will persist in their controversy with you. The only difference is that they sometimes use some pretext and sometimes they seek some other pretexts.

One of the duties of the parliament is to serve Islam and the country

You should heed this thing. If you serve the nation and your country, then you are the people's representative in its true sense. The people want Islam. You should serve these people who have voted for you. You are a betrayer to the representation and the trust vested in you. I hope that God willing, you will promote this uprising with consummate respect, glory and power. The parliament shall be perfect in all aspects too—Islamic and of high moral. You should be a teacher of conduct to the society. So the whole society will be your supporter. You should have one identity—you, the government, the nation and the army. You are all part of one whole. You are all at the service of a perfect man—the Prophet. You are all the members of his organization. If this happens, then the victory will be yours. God forbid, if deviations take place, and personal interests creep in, and debates turn into

disputes, it will be the initial stage of our moral levity and the beginning of our conduct's latitude. This will be shameful to us in the presence of God. Moreover, you should not talk too much to be able to carry the load to the destination. May God help you all, and help all of us and all Muslims. May God save us all from the great Satan and his followers. May God save us from the civil of self that leads us towards badness.

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

Speech

Date: Afternoon, May 25, 1980 [Khordad 6, 1359 AHS / Rajab 10, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Husayniyyah of Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: God's rule/dominance over the self is a touchstone to measure faith

Audience: Commander of Sepah, the guards of the Islamic Revolution across the country

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Scale of God's rule in the self

Gentlemen, I am very grateful for your attendance here to meet me and enabling me to have a few words with you. God has maintained a scale in the Holy Quran through which we can recognize ourselves and the other. God Says: "... *God is the guardian of those who believed. He takes them out of darkness and into light. As for those who disbelieved, their guardian is the tyrant who takes them out of light and into the darkness.*"²

The scale to measure the faith in a true believer and a non-believer is this according to the God's word. God is a guardian for a believer. God will bring all the believers out of darkness, any darkness and curtains to the light. God will lead all the men who are drowned in tenebrous ness and hidden in veils and curtains. He will bring them out of all kinds of darkness and launch them into light if they truly embrace the faith. God will lift the curtains of a heart—dark heart—to which all things in this world are dark and hidden behind curtains, one after another and make the light glitter in the place. The light, the absolute light, is His own effulgence of beauty. If we want to scale or balance ourselves, we should first see the scale, which God introduces for the identification of a believer and a non-believer if it exists in us. We claim that we believe in God. This is and shall be a vain claim, a claim based on vanity, if that touchstone, referred by God, does not exist in us. Let us see if we are among the friends of God and God is our guardian, or protector. If we are among the friends of a tyrant or an arrogant then the tyrant is our guardian. See if you have come out of this entanglement of nature, this decoy of nature and this darkness of the natural world,. See if the attachment with it (the world) is completely severe? Or at least diminished? If you discover

¹ It has been printed in *Nur* newspaper dating 8, 3, 59 but according to the report of other newspapers the date of the meeting was Tuesday, Kohrdad 6 59.

² Part of a verse in *surah al-Baqarah* 2: 257.

yourself, if you coulombs yourself, and what you want to do be for the sake of God, then God will dominate you. Your whole being will be under the influence of God. Your strength, your process, your things, your limbs—all will be obedient to God and God's commands. If yours eyes are not curtained and they look at everything I mean the things that are prohibited, things that should not enter sight, then the tyrant is your guardian. On the other hand, if your eyes avoid looking at what they should not look at, that is if your eyes refrain from embracing the prohibited objects into their sight, this shows that God is the guardian, the protector and the proprietor. If your eyes embrace the illegitimate objects, it will cause darkness in heart. The test and the trial are great. Who is able to recognize or identify or spot himself as to the faith which he lays claim upon? He can detect as to whether the ray of faith penetrated into his heart, whether the darkness is shattered and spelled .This is the rule for Whoever, wherever he is; you wherever you are; in bazaar, in a school, and whoever you are, a guard, a police, president of a republic, a minister, a deputy or among any class—this is the general and common rule to all. This touchstone or test is for all and it is the same. We ourselves in the solitude of night and in our loneliness should see if our heart houses a light, whether our heart has developed any heed to light? Or it is still a dark heart, a dark cell for satanic hopes and aspirations? Our heart cannot be a third station. It should be bright, shining with light or a dark cell of Satan. We are dominated either by the rule of God or a tyrant. It is quite clear. If we take this world to heart and its temptation attracts us we do every thing for ourselves. There is no God in our calculations and actions. All will be self-centered. Then we are among tyrants and arrogant. Our guard will be tyrant too. If we purge and train ourselves, get rid of these worldly attachments and take steps towards the origin of light then our hearts will develop a care towards God—the consummate light will go toward the absolute truth, and will spend in God's way the bounty which God has granted us, this shows that we have driven ourselves out of the darkness or some part of the darkness, and entered into the region of light. You gentlemen can test yourselves. You are at the head of Sepah. See if you have sincerity in this service? Are you working for God? Are you trying to promote God's commands? Are you working to promote the Islamic Republic? Or you have other purposes? This service is like an umbrella which conceals your motives. It is just a pretext to persuade your own selfish aims. So by this touchstone, you can test yourself. If you find yourself after mundane gains such as your position or his position or be carried away by bestial instincts

then you should try to rescue yourself from this fatal stage. It is quite likely that one throughout his life be in the service of a tyrant unintentionally.

Selfish motives eradicate the value of a deed

This is one of the very important issues which should be comprehended. Sometimes man moves towards hell. He is heading to hell all during his life but he is not aware. From the beginning till the end of his life he is dealing with selfish motives. His deeds are in line with his own interests although he is a guard in Sepah. Since his actions are for his own sake, it has no value for God. He is serving in the army; His services seek his selfish aims though. Hence, he has neither connection nor a link with God. He may be a clergy, a student of a religious or a theological institute. His motive, his errand and his purpose is in line with his own self. It has no relation to God. He may be a Mullah' giving sanctions to the groups of the people. But God is not important because he himself is employed. This is a scale fixed by God. "Those who denied, tyrant is their guardian." This is a scale which measures faith, and finds out its existence. It is likely that we testify the things that are in Islam by word. It is also likely that our testimony be a sincere one. But if we look at the touchstone, fixed by God, we will find ourselves among the pagans category though we are among Muslims. God has divided human beings into two categories: "Those who believe" and "those who denied". Well, we testify that God is one, Muhammad is His Prophet. Moreover there are obligations to be performed. There is nothing beyond this. But, as for the faith—it is an issue above all. It is a thing above all things. We should test ourselves to the extend that God has indicated. We should know as to who is in charge of us, who is our guardian? Is it God or a tyrant? We should know if we are serving God or serving the devil. We are reading lessons. These lessons are for God or for the inclinations of lust of self that is Satan. We issue decrees. Well, are they toward God or to cater the self-lust that is Satan? We are working in an office. Whether we work for God or for self-proclivity? This is a trial. This is a test. This is a touchstone. God has fixed this. Oh my brothers! This is a house that you are in. But you have to leave this house. You have to take off the covering. It is late. But it is there. One may live for a century. Yes, it is likelihood, a possibility. But finally he will die. He will go. Well, when he goes, will he enter light or darkness? So, here is the scale. You are the guards of Islam. Your friends are guards of Islam. You have to search to find out if you are doing this job to promote your selfish motives? You seek some or other pretext in a day. Are you, God forbid, going astray? Or, you have sought a straight path. Are you on a right

path? There is no deviation, neither this side nor that. The right path is a path which its one end is here and the other end to God. Straight means that the path is clear. It is not tortuous, not sinuous, not crooked. Deviation is a thing that hampers one from pacing the way. It is the deviation that drags one to darkness.

Preservation of divine spirit originates in the Revolution era

Try to diminish your desires. Minimize your wishes to the least possible extent. God willing, you will prosper. Your Desires shall die, they shall succumb. You want to serve Islam. You have been doing so since the beginning. When this uprising and this Islamic revolution started, all groups, except the misguided ones who are always misguided, automatically understood the reality that they have to go this way. Nobody whispered this in your ears. You understood the way of God by yourselves. You have so far crossed one of its stations. You have crossed the obstacles, the setbacks and the handicaps, that were impediments on the way. You have repudiated them and cleared the way. Those hindrances were blocking the progress of Islam and its regulations. However there are some left but most of them have been cleared. You all became united. All the population of this country became one and united in their voice. When you all were one voice and sacrifice was your occupation, no tyrant or no arrogant existed. There was only God. It was a strange change; a miraculous change had taken hold of you all—all the classes. Nobody ever thought that he was doing the job to attain certain position. It was never so. Nobody was concerned of any place or any station. He who closed his fist and went beneath a tank, was it for a position? He was being crushed. There is no question of a position. This was for God. He who attacks without any weapons on the armed persons, he is not after worldly gains or any mundane temptations. He is sacrificing his life. He who prefers to give up his life, there is no doubt that worldly gains are not important for him. He is leaving the world itself and all in it. In that change, all who were in the field—women, men, children, elderly people, women with their infant in their laps, were united. Not any satanic idea surrounded you nor did any devilish hope persuade you. Remember your feelings at that time. Remember when you climbed over your roofs and shouted “God is the Greatest” (*Allahu Akbar*). Satan was around you trying to hunt you. Remember when you poured out into the streets and confronted those who had no fear of God and wanted to crush you under their tanks. Remember that condition. Remember your feelings in those days. It was the time when your guard was God. Everything in you was divinely. Every movement of yours was a Godly

movement. In those days, you were the “Hand of God”. These groups that were working together were “The Hand of God”, hand of God with a group.¹

That position, that condition, let them be in your memory. Preserve it. Keep it alive. The job is not finished yet. Don't distribute wickedness. This is the job of those who fight for worldly and material benefit. You did the job quite uniquely. You placed your life in a tray of devotion and presented it. Did you fight for the sake of your motives that you want the Distribution now? There is no distribution in question.

Elevation of the value of sacrifice for God

Ask God for reward. The worldly things are nothing to be a reward for your life you sacrificed and forwarded it in devotion. Now after sacrificing your life do you want a house? Do you want a shop? Do you want a post? Can this compensate that? One who has given every thing—his life, his youth, himself—whatever he had, now demands a house in return. Is there any return to it? Nobody can reward such a sacrifice except God. If this whole world is given to you, it cannot compensate it. Try to return back to that condition and save it. Don't be misguided by Satan again. Don't let a tyrant be your guardian. If those conditions in you are saved, the guardianship of God in you will rule. Nothing can substitute it. You go to Kurdistan and sacrifice your life there. Such a sacrifice has no compensation in this world. In the Battle of Hunayn, the Muslims were triumphant and won the battle. So the spoils of the battle fell into the control of Muslims. The Prophet returned back the spoils to its owners who were the Meccans; Abu Sufyan and his like. The Prophet gave back all the spoils to the owners who were his adversaries. Some complained. The Prophet replied: “They take their camels and as for you, the Prophet remains with you. Don't you like that?” The Prophet added: “It is a matter of regret to take a camel against so many sacrifices. They took their camels, and your lot is the Prophet himself”² You were in Kurdistan. You have seen those events. After rendering those sacrifices now you have returned to demand a camel? You do want something for yourself. There should be something tantamount to these sacrifices. There should be a thing in parity to its worth—the worth of the sacrifices. You overlook, you ignore, and you forgo these attachments. You give up your endeavor to these mundane things. The attachment itself is darkness. It is the same darkness that God says: “Those who disbelieved,

¹ A saying by the prophet. Authenticated by *Tirmidhi*, vol. 3 p. 316 “God is on the side of the group”.

² Biography of Bin Hisham, vol. 4, p. 142.

their guardians are the tyrants who drag them from light to darkness.” The innate quality of man is based on light. The innate nature of all of you is bright, a glitter, a Levin. It is the quality of monotheism. But it is turned black and turned to ignorance by our own hands.

A control of deeds renders victory over self

We must be a guard over ourselves. We must fight against ourselves. We must take account of our selves before we are called for to give account. You yourselves take your own account before the accountant hails upon you. All the moments of your eyes, all the memories of your mind, all your ideas and thoughts, the erroneous, are in the presence of God. They are also written down in the sheets and recorded in the files. Each and every moment among the moments of your eyes if happened to be against the command, do know that it is and it has happened in the presence of God. The same is registered either. It is also in the narrations that every week twice the record of our deeds is presented to the Imam of the Age (i.e. Imam Mahdi). Therefore, be careful that your deeds may not be comprised of any such things that could cause his gloom or regret or sadden him. Before the angels of God, he might feel uneasy. He will say to himself that they are my Shiahs, my friends. They act against the pleasure of God. Chief of a nation will feel uneasy if his nation makes some errors. Dear Guards! Dear soldiers of Islam! Wherever you be, guard yourselves against the self in you and all the Satans around you.

I hope that you will not be fair-weather friends. You shouldn't desert the associates and colleagues in the middle of the way after having shown that much zeal and enthusiasm in this uprising. Note that the caravan has started and now is on the move. It is heading towards God. Therefore, be all together in this path. When you all are together, God will be with you too, since this journey is towards Him alone. Don't create divisions. You are all brothers. "Indeed the believers are brothers."¹ This is also another touchstone to judge whether we see others as our brothers. Do we live together like brother? Or, God forbid, there is animosity among us. Are our relations brotherly or inimical? A believer is the one who is a brother to others. This bond of brotherhood, in reality, God has created in you. We are brothers half way, while enemy is in ambush. This is a path we are pacing. This is a path of God. Satan (Iblis) is the enemy. He tries to stop you. Be your own guard so that you can cover the way safely. You may arrive there safely. There is also a way for the progress and promotion of Islamic aims. Thanks God, you have

¹ Part of *surah al-Hujurat* 49: 10.

so far crossed it. Later on you may proceed safely. You recall those feelings, which used to drag you to the streets and the squares in the beginning of the revolution. Now too, you should resuscitate the same feeling in you. If you regain those past feelings, you all will be brothers together. This is an aspiration, which is possible for every one.

Islamic Republic trusts the nation

You have a trust in your hands. You should preserve it. That trust is Islamic Republic. God bestows this to us. We should not think that we did this and that. If we say that we did so and so, it will be the same tone of the Satan. God has given this to us. A little group, which had nothing, overran the big powers. The Islamic Republic with all its organs came into being. Now it—the Islamic Republic—is a trust for us. We shall not be able to surrender this trust to its owner if we are at divisions among ourselves, squad of guards have confrontations, police be at confrontations, and the other classes of the nation develop differences on worldly material. A trust should be returned back to its owner. We should consummate the Islamic Republic. The commands of God must be exercised in our country first and then in other countries. We have to preserve this trust. You don't go after hopes and desires that are vile and low and carry satanic pleasure. You must be courageous. Now you can have the same courage. Don't pay attention to those who are ahead and those who are behind. You should not care about these things. You should be together in the presence of God. God willing, all are the soldiers of God. God is our guardian. He will extricate us from all kinds of darkness and take us to the absolute light. May God support you all and be prosperous.

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

Message

Date: May 28, 1980 [Khordad 7, 1359 AHS / Rajab 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Eleven pieces of advise to the Parliament members

Occasion: Birthday of Hadrat Amir Almomineen Imam Ali. Inauguration of the first term of the Islamic consultative Assembly

Audience: Members of the Parliament

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The parliament is starting its first session by the Will of God and in an auspicious blessed day of Imam Ali's birthday. 13th of Rajab is the birthday of the greatest man of history. It is a day of gaiety, happiness and blessings. The Lord of Believers is a miracle of the age. On such a great day, the sacred house of the Islamic parliament, which is the first parliament of the Islamic Republic and its first session, is being inaugurated. This is a parliament elected by free elections. I hope that this parliament under the shadow of today's blessings be a house of justice and the followers of Islam. It will perform its duties to the interests of Muslims and the Islamic country. Thanks God the Almighty that this nation of Iran succeeded in laying the foundation of Islamic Republic in peace and freedom, and in short period of time. This success is due to the blessings of Islam and the unity of word of all the committed classes. I congratulate the commencement of this session of the parliament to you, the members, and to the nation. I would like to reiterate some remarks, which our friends themselves are aware of.

1. You, my respected friends, are the representatives of a nation, which does not think about anything other than Islam and divine justice. You are elected to execute the Islamic justice that was denied throughout the truculent period of the cruel regime of the tyrant Shah. It was a regime, which allotted the wealth of this country to itself. It also lavishly spent the money for the interests of the big powers to keep himself in power. But as for the nation, he deprived it of the basic needs of life and dragged it to the lowest point of poverty and impecuniosities. And as for the country, he kept it behind so as to be dependent upon foreign powers, particularly America in cultural, economical and political aspects. Now let us see what you and your elected government will do with this oppressed nation, which has brought us out of isolation by its revolutionary move.

2. I hope that the poor and needy ones who constitute a major part of the population be well-attended. Let service to them and betterment of their condition be at the top of your program. In this very first parliament, the house must bestow serious consideration to this deprived class of the population. Your elected government should execute the proposed plans and programs without any excuse or negligence. By doing so, you will pay back your debts to this class of the people who have brought you victory by their sincere sacrifices for Islam, freedom and the independence of the country. God will be pleased with you too.

3. You are the elected members of the parliament. You should confront them with full authority and power. The satanic pockets are still alive. They were steering our destiny in the past regime of the Shah. Do not fear any power except the Omnipotent God. You should not worry about anything except the interests of the country. You must be careful that outside the parliament, the leftists and rightists or any other malefic elements of the corrupted root will play tricks and make approaches in different guises to cheat you to gain a hold in the affairs to fulfill their greed and covetness. Anyway, they want to bring calamities and havoc. Therefore, you should be advertent and careful. You should remember God so as to seek refuge from Him and be in His protection from the satanic trap of the enemies. May God protect you all from going astray and getting seduced and many other deviations.

4. Thanks God, there are scholars and clergies present in the parliament. They are well-versed in divine laws and the sacred regulations. The jurisprudents are also the guards. The programs that are presented to the parliament or the designs coined there, should not be contrary to the sacred religion, Islam. The proposals that are suggested which are against the sacred religion must be foiled. You don't worry about the poisonous pens and the devious addresses and the strayed Speeches. Don't buy the wrath of God for the pleasure of His creatures. Do know that God is present, powerful and is observing your actions and deeds.

5. This parliament which is the first in the Islamic Republic shall be a paragon for the parliaments in the future. As such any tradition—either good or bad—might have an impact on the coming parliaments. It could be useful as well as troublesome. So, it is necessary that the debates take place in calmness with mutual respect and regard. It should not be as it used to be in the times of Rida Khan and afterwards. It is also a dire necessity to shun the dealing wherein one tries to crush the other. Matters can be resolved in a peaceful environment only.

6. Circumstances of the country and the characteristic of this parliament at this time demand a close coordination and coherence between the parliament and the government. In that case you can overcome the difficulties. Among the organs of the Islamic Republic, none of them should blockade each other's business. Similarly, the parliament and the president and government should not stymie each other in running the affairs. All should reserve themselves in the service of the country and Islam. Then God will support it too. Bear in mind the heavenly call: "Hold the rope of God all and do not get divided¹ and obey accordingly. You should refrain from differences, divisions and disputes. Pay attention to the teachings of the Commandment of God as He says: Don't dispute. You will fail. And your greatness will vanish². Failure follows a dispute. You color; smell—i.e. your track and trace—altogether will vanish.

7. The policy of neither "Neither East nor West" should be your motto in your fields, the inside and outside. If any one happens to have a leniency towards East or West, you must give him guidance. If he recalibrates, you can isolate him. If such tendencies are witnessed in the ministries or other organs of the government, that go against the run of Islam and the desire of the nation, impeach the person or the persons concerned. Otherwise, existence of such elements at the helm of affairs or at the top of sensitive stations shall be the cause for the havoc to the country.

8. You should act in a revolutionary haste in any designs or plans regarding the development, or construction or the betterment of the conditions of the poor people. Please refrain from debating on the terms or the wordings that would cause delay. Instruct the ministries and the executive officers to avoid the paperwork, which was customary in the past regime. You should try to provide ease and relief to the victimized nation and the things which they have long been deprived of.

9. In the government departments, the existing regulations that stymie the smooth run of things and cause long delays in reaching the required purpose and result in troubles for the people should immediately be rescinded. Such laws were set by force in the past regime to vex the people. Although these laws are nullified, it is necessary to act in a revolutionary spirit in this respect. Those laws should be substituted by regulations, which ensure people's satisfaction and happiness.

10. The parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran should do its best for the welfare of the religious minorities that are from the respectful classes of

¹ Part of surah *Al-e Imran* 3: 103.

² *Surah al-Anfal* 8: 46.

the society. Islam has a great concern and a special care for them. You should be active towards their betterment in the same way as you are for the Muslims. Fundamentally, they stand hand in hand with other Muslims in the service to the country. They do have share in all the values that a society accords to its sons.

11. The jurisprudents are requested to do their job, i.e. to safeguard Islam and its laws without bestowing least consideration of the persons or the seduced groups. Their job is too important and their responsibility still greater. They should perform their duty with all their power in the presence of God and His Vicegerent, the existing Imam.

I pray to God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and our dear country. May peace be upon the Muslims and the virtuous servants of God.

Wednesday, Khordad 7, 1359 AHS

Rajab 13, 1400 AH

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 28, 1980 [Khordad 7, 1359 AHS / Rajab 13, 1400 AH] ¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity for a spiritual change and its preservation

Occasion: The birthday of Hadrat Imam Ali

Audience: The Sepah of guards and all other security forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Example of Imam Ali in facing the people based on justice

I congratulate this happy feast to the nation of Iran particularly to the army of guards and the other security forces. Today is the birthday of our Lord Imam Ali. It is the birthday of justice and absolute justice, and the mercy of God. I present my congratulations to all of you. I hope that the divine justice that was resplendent in the face of Ali may brighten the faces of our people and particularly the faces of our security forces. You are the guards of Islamic Republic, guards of Islam and Quran. You should follow our Lord Imam Ali, who was a personification of divine justice. You should treat people with justice and be just among yourselves too. Besides, you should be merciful. God says: "They (the believers) are hard against pagans and merciful between themselves². If we want to know that we are believers and followers of the teachings of Islam, we should see in us this gage and scale. Are we a crushing force against pagans and kind and merciful between ourselves?³ I hope that the justice under the blessed existence of Islam and the saints has hailed upon humanity we may practice thereon and disseminate it in the world at large. Our nation has had enough of tyranny since 2,500 years and since then we have had fifty years of treason and betrayal and theft.

Preservation of the spiritual change—a miracle of the nation

You, brothers, should know that every person should start from himself for whatever quality desired to attain perfection. If you want to continue the Islamic Revolution or a cultural revolution, it should originate from yourselves. Your spirit should change. Thanks God, in this upraising and

¹ In *Nur* Newspaper the date of this speech was set on 10, 3, 59 while according to newspapers Imam Khomeini gave this speech on the occasion of the birth of Hadrat Imam Ali on Rajab 13, 1400 which is equivalent to Khordad 7, 1359 AHS.

² Part of verse 29, *surah al-Fath*.

³ *Surah al-Fatihah* 1: 5-7.

revolution, the spirit of our nation and in particular our youths, guards and soldiers has changed. It is something miraculous. The spirit which was not possible to reform into a human one, even with the labor of yours long inner fight and self-contradiction as though it happened within a night. Our youths throughout the history, particularly recently, were dragged to the centers of debauch and corruption. They had planned to spoil the youths by drawing them to incontinency and latitude to purge them. In their absence, tyrants could do their looting. The miracle of this revolution is that the youths were dragged back from those centers to the field of campaign. A great number of people all of a sudden changed to persons who spurn the past regime and all those alliances that the regime had created. They embraced Quran and found shelter in Islam. In the past they did not mind any thing except their own lasciviousness. May this great change be a blessing for you. But hereafter, we need the permanency and preservation of this change. This is a need for all of us. This is a need of Islam and its high teachings. This change that occurred in the early days of the revolution should be preserved to last long. Always think ahead. Be in an effort to advance. Don't think to retreat back. It will be a backward advance if there is a levity or lassitude in conduct or conjecture. You should make progress ahead with the same spirit you had in the campaign and the same tendency that tied you in the early stage of the revolution. If you maintain the same change, you can wipe out the tyranny altogether. God willing, you will be heading towards Quran and Islam and thereby towards God.

The straight path—the path of perfection and humanity

This is the very same way. The straight path is only this. This is the straight path, which you ask God in your daily prayers. "Guide us to the straight path. The path you blessed on them and not the path which leads to your wrath and strays. The straight path is the path of Islam, the path of perfection. This path leads to God. There are three paths: one is straight. One is to East—upon them is God's wrath'. One is to West—the strays'. You proceed in the way which is the way of perfection, justice, mankind, and a straight path, path of sacrifice for Islam and the justice of Islam. Without going astray either this side or that side and to the corrupt schools it will be the right one ending to God. If you pace the way straight in this world, you will avoid the way that leads to hell. Hell is hidden in this world itself. If you take a straight path in this world and do not lean either side, which leads to hell, in that world too you will take the path, which is directly straight. The path of God is straight, the path upon which God has bestowed bounties.

Here the bounty is Islam. The greatest bounty is humanity. You should stick to this path, the path you came from which is for Islam and to guard Islam. All of us, and the nation too, should be guards of Islam and Quran. This is the straight path. To fight for the sake of Islam and God, is the right path. This is the same path which you pray for. You should care not to go astray because on one side is the wrath of God and at its other side the strays. They have missed the way and gone the wrong way. God has sent His wrath upon them. Both ways at either side lead to hell. So far you have done well. May God support you that hereafter too you may go on the right pass. You make covenant with God that you will pace the way till its end and that you will be its guards. God willing, you may cut short the hands of the strays' and those on whom is the God's anger from this country. I am sincerely all yours and a well-wisher.

Message

Date: June 2, 1980 [Khordad 11, 1359 AHS / Rajab 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dealing in the crimes of America and the Shah's regime in the last half century

Occasion: Formation of a conference to investigate into the crimes of America and the Shah

Audience: Members of the conference to investigate into the crimes of America and the Shah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Representatives of some nations and political parties have come to destroyed Iran to see into the crimes of the government of America and the Shah towards our nation and also into the crimes of the allies of America including the deposed Shah Muhammad-Rida. We thank you for the trouble taken in this regard. I should point out that the government and the nation of Iran is not able to gather all the documents of the crimes that stretch a span of fifty years of the Shah's regime and thirty years of American government. So we are at a failure to present them to you.

How is it possible to gather the documents of wild and bestial tortures, murders and assassinations and the imprisonments of the past tyrant regime that ruled fifty years over Iran? How can it be possible for us to gather the names of the martyrs of the Gowharshad Mosque and the repeated massacres throughout the tyrant rule of Muhammad-Rida? Is it possible to collect the names of those fallen in the massacres of 15th of Khordad 1342 AHS and up to now till the downfall of the Shah, particularly the last two to three years? Similarly, how can it be possible to collect the imposed contracts of the American capitalists made through the Shah against the oppressed nation of Iran? Furthermore, how can it be possible to present to the honorable representatives, the graves of the martyrs all over Iran filled by the collective murderers? Besides, is it possible to present you the bodily unfit population scattered all over Iran, which came into being since the 15th of Khordad 1342 AHS till the recent years?

The thing that the government can do is that it can show you a very small number of documents, which were not destroyed by the American elements because they did not have time as they were overtaken by surprise.

The documents are in the so-called Embassy of America. Most of the important documents are reduced to powder by the staff of the Embassy. The documents in hand prove the American interference into the Iranian affairs.

American advisors direct interference in our destiny and the sanctity of our nation. It was the Shah's great treason to our nation that he imposed the capitalization¹ to please the Americans. This was confronted by the nation and the clergies of the country. Since then, all types of crimes were committed against the nation. You, the representatives, please do know the American Embassy is named erroneously an embassy whereas in reality it is an espionage station having the equipment and material especially meant for espionage, which were used to do the spying in the whole region. This place was constructed specially for spying in our country and deciding the destiny of the nation. Bringing troops to an independent country is an unpardonable crime. Carter said that he once interfered militarily in Iran. I should say that our nation has witnessed that the other nations support the tyrant and condemn the victim. Our nation is now waiting for you, the representatives. You have come to Iran to investigate into the crimes of America and the deposed Shah. We anticipate and hope justice and straightforwardness. We hope your investigations will result in the condemnation of the oppressor.

I pray to God for the rescue of the oppressed people of the world. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Capitalisation or the consul's judgment passed its bill and became a law on 13th Mehr 1342 AHS by the government of Asadullah Alam. The bill was sent to the upper house (Senate) in Mordad 1343. This bill was taken to parliament on 21-7-1343 AHS in the presidency of Hasan-Ali Mansur. Imam Khomeini stood firmly against it. His notable Speech in this regard resulted in the exile of Imam Khomeini to Turkey and then to Iraq.

Decree

Date: June 4, 1980 [Khordad 13, 1359 AHS / Rajab 19, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Delegating a religious representative to Pakistan

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Rahmat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Mohammad-Rida Rahmat, may his blessings last,

I have received repeated requests from the Shiahs and the Iranian citizens residing in Pakistan asking me to send a clergy to minister their religious obligations and cater their spiritual needs. Therefore, it is befitting that you proceed there to supply what they are short of. You attend the student and religious institutes to administrate their necessities. You do not hesitate to obtain the opinions and accords of the native clergies and the legible and competent people in your affairs.

I hope the natives will utilize the opportunity and make a due benefit of your presence there. You will perform your duties to the best with cooperation with other people. I wish your success.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini

Rajab al-khayr19, 1400 AH

Letter

Date: June 1980 [Khordad 1359 / Rajab 1400]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Return of the requested subjects to the representatives of the leader in the High Defense Council

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

[In reply to the letter dated 13-3-1359 of Mr. Abul-Hasan Bani-Sadr, President of the Republic. He reported the conditions of the army. He gave his opinion about the innocence of Brigadier Shadmehr and Brigadier Bakeri. He requested the supervision and superintendence in the military affairs.]

In the Name of God

The matters I have told Chamran¹ will be conveyed to you and Mr. Khamenei². Notify me of the consent that they will reach at. If support is needed, go ahead.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini

¹ Mustafa Chamran, the Imam's representative in the High Defense Council.

² Sayyid Ali Khamenei, the Imam's representative in the High Defense Council.

Speech

Time: morning June 5, 1980 [Khordad 14, 1359 AHS / Rajab 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Carter's worry regarding the trial of the persons captured in the American Embassy. The nation of Iran being stable bereft of fear

Audience: The delegation of the representatives participating in the conference (international) for the investigations into the interference of American in Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The anxiety of the American government is the proof of the crimes

I should thank you for the trouble taken to come over here—a ruined victim country. May God help you all to proceed with the truth and defend the victims all over the world. I have a question. I want to know why Mr. Carter is so annoyed by the visit of these delegates to Iran. Why is he so much afraid of the trial of the persons here in the embassy which is called a nest of spies? If he had committed no incursion in our country, if the American government has had no meddling in our affairs, if his embassy here is based on a desired and correct foundation; he should in fact welcome such delegates and pave the way for their indignations. Why is he so much anxious that the things will be looked into? What has he done? What has the American government done with our country that Mr. Carter is so much worried? He has behaved well. He has respected the international laws and regulations. He has not done any tyranny or any atrocity towards Iran. These are his claims and challenges. Besides, his friends too claim the same. We have something else to claim. In order to counterfeit our claim, let him send a delegation of his own choice selecting the persons from each corner of the world. Let such a delegation come over here and see for itself how good he has behaved with our people. Let this be proved that the Iranians are the ones who have bitten the hand that fed them. Let them see if we have any proof to establish the crimes of America. What is in it? and why? He is blocking the way for the persons who are from his own nation and the dignitaries among his nation. He has fixed a fine of \$50,000 besides an imprisonment of ten years. Why? What have they done? They have come here to look into the matter. He has fixed a heavy fine for them. If we have no proof why do they fear? Those who do not know would conclude that there is something in this hiding, which has made him so distressed. His anxiety itself indicates that

things have happened. weak countries are always the winepress into which the big powers tread.

It is a matter of remorse and regret. The weak countries are to be overrun and crushed either in the days of peace or war. There is a saying that a cock is butchered whether it is a marriage or a funeral. The weak nations are the same. I still remember the World Wars, One and Two. I do not presume that any of you remember the First World War. I was a school boy. I used to see the Russian soldiers in Khomein. We had become a target of their race or embattlement. But most of you remember the Second World War. We again became the target of three powers—America, England and Soviet Union. The Russian soldiers were dispersed all over Iran. The Russians were from outside Tehran up to Khorasan. English soldiers were in Qum and around it. Others too were in other locations. We were the ground, a bridge to victory. We must become a ground for their movements that they should triumph. Even after the victory when peace returned, we were once again butchered. The same was the condition during the war. In the time of peace, we were worse than war time. During peace, the world was calm and peaceful. These big powers did not have a war. They had an opportunity to take away all we had. We had nothing during all the period Americans and the British have had direct interventions in our affairs. Our culture was not ours. The persons in the colleges were not trained to be useful to our country or to render a service to the nation. The military force was not ours too. In the economical aspects we had nothing. All the programs were drawn and sketched from abroad. The deposed Shah has written in one of his books, later withdrawn from circulation, that the allies (the three powers) came and met here. The heads of these three powers considered befitting that I should stay in power. His associates perhaps said that such a confession was a great mistake on his part. So, the books were withdrawn from circulation although the sentence was erased from the book. It is said that I was a documentary proof admitted by one who was put at the helm by atrocious tyranny and force. Shah in that sentence admits that he was installed by foreign powers.

Before him, the same case was with his father, too. The difference was that in his father's case, the British themselves announced in Radio Delhi that they brought Rida Khan to power in Iran and installed him on the throne. But later on he betrayed us. So we expelled him from Iran. This was a confession made by the British themselves. Muhammad-Rida said in one of his discourses that the list of the names was used to be written in the embassy and sent to him. He said that he was obliged to act according to the list and make them members of the parliament. By this confession we can judge the

members of the parliament and Muhammad-Rida himself and the government well. We can know and judge America, Soviet Union and the British. This serves evidence and stands as a proof.

The victimized cry of the oppressed nation of Iran does not reach the ears of the world

We just want to see what our action says? Ever since Rida come to power and engaged in his corrupt doings, the Islamic Republic clergies started the campaign. The uprising started from Azerbaijan, then from Khorasan and once again from Isfahan. The other clergies of Iran from other parts helped the campaign. Did they want to wage a war? Likewise, on the 15th of Khordad, what did the people say? Tomorrow is the anniversary of this 15th of Khordad. What did they say? Did fifteen thousand people deserved to be killed? It is said that the deposed Shah himself was directing the police action. What does the Iranian nation after 20 years want? What do they say? It is a matter of regret that the public media is in the service of the big powers. We cannot broadcast the voice of this oppressed nation outside. We have no means. All the papers inside and outside the country are writing against us. All the TV and radio stations abroad are against us. They broadcast all kinds of lies. They project Iran like a jungle inhabited by wild beasts and animals. One kills another. The breasts of women are amputated. They propagate such things and even more about Iran. So how can we make the voice of these oppressed people heard by the outside world? Who will do this? All are at their service and at their disposal.

Now let us see, you ladies and gentlemen, who have come here and investigated the things. Will you write the facts? Can you? Do you have such a power to make the affairs of Iran known to the world? We do not want anything. We do not want to take any side. We just want that the facts be protected and defended. You can convey or transfer to your own countries only the facts you have reached at. You tell your people what was the story of 15th of Khordad. Tomorrow you will witness this nation shall always mourn the 15th of Khordad. You will see what this nation has to say and what this 15th of Khordad has done to them. 17th Dey ¹ what has been done to them. This uprising was attaining momentum. It is nearly two years that we are having some or other problem. A massacre it was. Do you know about the prisoners in the era of Rida Khan and particularly the prisoners in the regime of Muhammad-Rida? Do you know what they did to our youths in the underground cells of the prisons? You have seen on TV yesterday night

¹ The day Rida Khan uncovered the veil.

and the night before. The TV displayed the court. Those who appeared therein; it is two or three cases.

You don't know what the story was. Do you know that they have sawed the legs of some of our clergies? You don't know that they placed our youths on burning hot pans. So how can we make the world aware of our pangs and plights? I suppose you too might not. Tomorrow when you depart, the hired pens will start writing against you too. The traitors of mankind will write about you so as to suffocate your words. But you do tell the stories in your own locations, places and stations as far as your ability and strength goes.

Intrepidity of the Iranian nation in military intervention and economic blockade

Our nation has already started the uprising and its campaign. I hope that the nation will go ahead. There is no power to do things in Iran as they used to do. Mr. Carter and his likes are now anxious to return back to Iran the things, which they were doing before in the days of the deposed Shah. But it is only a vain desire, which the big powers will have to take it to their graves. Iran no more allows them to intervene in its affairs. If they think they have a huge army and plenty of tools and means for the killing of human beings; we too have a great number of victims and the closed fists. The day of the victim is more painful to the tyrant. They want to corner us in economical blockade. They have already done this. We can know these governments, which claim that they are civilized ones and independent, from this very action into their nature as to actually what they are. Carter is sitting there and giving commands. These governments that are imposed upon the nations obey him. They have no independence. The big and stronger governments have no independence. They are not able. They fear America. They fear to go against the desires and demands of America. They fear because it will be pernicious. Perhaps it will be more harmful to them. Many governments have told us that they can provide us the things we obtain from others. We don't want anyone to give us anything. We are the oppressed people. We preserve our own independence. Supposing, if it happens that we should return back to the initial stage of humanity and ride on donkeys for our movements here and there, we shall prefer to be in this stage rather than under the oppression of Carter or his likes and have such and such life. We preserve our independence. Our nation prefers martyrdom. Our nation says that they want martyrdom. Since the uprising, this has been the desire of our nation. I was in Najaf in those days. Men and women still come to me requesting to pray for them to attain martyrdom. I pray for the reward of martyrdom. A few days

ago, there was a marriage ceremony here in Tehran. The couple got married. The bride handed over to me a paper. I read it. She had written therein to pray for her martyrdom. A woman, who has just become a bride, wants to die a martyr's death. Would a nation that has so much desire for martyrdom, fear the military intervention? Will such a nation care for economical blockade? Let the whole world close its doors upon our faces. Let this population of Iran, thirty million, be imprisoned in Iran itself. Let a wall be built round Iran so as to be a prison for its people. We still prefer that. We don't want any outlet, any vent that could give passage to the looters to come here under various excuses to do this or that or to bring civilization. Their civilization is worst than wilderness. The wild beasts of a forest are far better in their conduct than this civilization. This is the door of civilization the deposed Shah wanted to open for us. By doing this, he wanted to impose the foreign powers, a way to take away what we have. They send a few dollars for us in return. They siphon our petroleum and make bases here for themselves. So is this the great civilization? This father and son, specially the son, have dragged our country behind. He spoiled all that we had. It is so vast that if the nation works hand in hand, which thank God they have done, yet we need years to mend or repair the loss. It has taken fifty years and twenty years through Americans intervention. So all these years there has been plunder and pillage. Do you want to have relations and ties with those who robbed us? They close all the doors and impose economical blockade upon us. We have a vast country for ourselves. We have water too. God bestows rain to us. We ourselves cultivate and we eat our own harvest. We are in no need of these things. They need not annoy and harass a nation that is ready to embrace death to safeguard its independence. This freedom and this independence we have achieved is a gift for us from heaven. It is a divine bounty lavished upon us. We are obliged to preserve it. If we do not preserve it, we have denied the God's bounty. We don't fear these threats, nor do we care their ships sailing this side and that side of the gulf. Now these things are out of date. It has lost its charm. In the past, yes—it had the efficaciousness and workability. If a ship came from England and appeared in the gulf, the whole issue was resolved.

The unseen succor of God in defeating the tyrant and oppressed

Now bring here all the ships you have. You can send all your planes here. The matter is not as it used to be before. We have trust in God. We have this belief that there is one to handle the world and the worldly matters. Those who were so far inadvertent, let them pay heed and attention to this

issue: A nation had nothing except a cry of: God is the greatest” (*Allahu Akbar*). Indeed, all is enclosed in that. How has this nation overcome all the powers? How did it set aside all the powers? The powers that were Satanic and supported by all—not only by the big powers but the second grade powers too—how did this weak nation, bare-handed and bereft of every military tool and training, triumphed over them? They did not let us live in our own country. They did not allow us to do anything. So, how was this victory achieved? It was nothing but God-created terror in their hearts. The terror gripped them by the will of God. And we gained victory. We won. They lost. This is the same incident that happened in the early stage of Islam. God bestowed victory upon a little band of Muslims over a huge multitude of pagans. God created terror in their hearts that they could not defend themselves. A band of thirty thousand with swords won over a huge number of seventy thousand. Sixty thousand were in front line. But the huge number was defeated by a little number. What was that? It was nothing but an unseen hand at work. Should not they wake up? Those who have no attention towards moral and spiritual matters? They have no belief in the unseen. Who destroyed these helicopters of Mr. Carter, which were heading to Iran? Did we destroy them? Did the sands destroy them? Sands were under God’s command. The winds were under God’s command. The people of Ad was destroyed by the winds. These sands obeyed God’s orders. Let them try once again.

Preservation of the moral spirit of the initial stage of the revolution

We should not become proud. I tell the Iranian nation not to give vent to pride. All power is that of God. So, you should depend on Him. That great power which the nation of Iran depended upon in the initial stage of the revolution, the cry of *Allahu Akbar* (God is the greatest), should be preserved. If you do so, then you have insured yourself under divine insurance. God may not allow the hands now at work to triumph in making you disappointed. God may not let them deviate you from the moral issues that you had before. That day would be a day that God has lifted His Compassion from you. You will fall back to the same past situation. So, be at your guard to keep the condition you had in the early days of the campaign. You did not campaign for your bellies or for a room or a house or a position. You aspired for martyrdom. A carpet or some other gain is not a desire. This is a divine condition. Preserve it. Guard it. As long as it is saved, you are victorious. I promise victory to you. God too has promised victory to you. He

says: "If you help God, He will help you"¹. Keep your feet firm. Close your fists fast. They are divine ones. Preserve it. Do not fear any big power. Do not fear any inside or outside propaganda. We trod our own way and that is the way of God.

Awakening the oppressed ones is the first step against the arrogant

This delegation has come and investigated, though they cannot investigate nor can they discover or assuage our pains and agonies. The agonies and havocs I have witnessed in the days of Rida Khan now seems to have been forgotten and out of date. The persons who had seen those atrocities now do not survive. Now you cannot become aware of the things befallen on this nation during the period of fifty years. You cannot imagine what befell on our youths. What they suffered in the black holes and the underground cells of SAVAK (the secret police). The information you have gathered and even you went to the spot to see for yourselves, the locations and the documents are already handed over to you. You can see that the place has no resemblance to an embassy. You can concur that the issue is not hijacking the diplomats. This has been imposed upon you by foreign media and radio stations. They insist to give them the term of diplomats. If you see there you will understand that the place was not a place for a diplomat. These fellows were not diplomats. I hope that God may grant victory to all of us and all oppressed people of the world to get rid of these big powers.

This is a thing, which has already taken place. It has already been the case that the oppressed people have started a campaign against the oppressors. They are awoken now. Awakening is the initial step, a first step of uprising. In the procedure of mysticism, awakening is also the first step. This is a divine procedure and mysticism. So in this field it is the first step. The Muslim countries, the Muslim nations, the oppressed ones throughout the world are awoken. The Blacks of America are getting slaps of this wakening. They will win the day, God willing,

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Part of verse 7 of *surah Muhammad*.

Speech

Date: June 5, 1980 [Khordad 14, 1359 AHS / Rajab 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah Tehran

Subject: Internal change of a nation is the source of victory, unity between religious institute and the university; Importance of Friday prayers

Audience: Professors and students of Divinity and the Islamic Sciences College, Tehran University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic Republic is the God's trust

First, I pray to God my dear ladies and youths and He may bless you with Islamic view. As this Islamic Revolution advances and goes ahead, it defeats the enemies with the same proportion. They become more equipped. In the early days of the revolution, they were expecting its collapse. So, our antagonists and the parasites of our society hoped so. In the meantime, you took the first step and cast your vote into the ballot boxes. You voted for the Islamic Republic. The controversies of the oppugners or the rightists or the leftists had been in vain. Now all the necessary steps have been taken. Fundamentally, we have nothing short of the Islamic Republic. The foundation is laid. Their disappointment has grown much. It is likely that their activities increase, and all the things a foundation needs are laid down. They may try to create obstacles in the executive process. Therefore, the obligation upon us and the nation is greater. Now this Islamic Republic, which has been formed, is a divine trust in the hands of the Iranian nation. The entire nation and you the respected students long for Islam. You want an Islamic culture. You do not want to see the persons like those we had in the past regime, and the persons of their ilk that come from abroad. Now they do not want the colleges and even the high schools to remain in their healthy and pristine position. On the other hand, you are determined to make the base of the culture an Islamic one to obtain an Islamic output. You want to make the culture to be like a frame that the persons therein be so developed to be beneficial to the society, to Islam and to the Islamic county. The efforts of these people are to stop you making progress in what you want and holding you from attaining the end you have. Now it is essential that you be vigilant of their plans and plots. It would not be surprising that they will infiltrate into the colleges and schools, and whisper their satanic aims to deviate you from

your purpose. They are the same seduced groups. They are the agents of SAVAK. They are the agents of the aliens.

The fear of the big powers from Islam

I have often and repeatedly told you that the tyrant institution and the big powers are afraid of one thing and that is Islam. They are terrorized by Islam. Now they fear more because they have been hurt by it. Before, this fear was only an imagination. In their fancy, they feared that they would not be able to snatch away the wealth from these countries if Islam gained hold. But now, they have actually been hurt by the whip of Islam. They have witnessed that a great satanic power with its allies and all other powers, cannot protect their satellite power inside the country in spite of the outside powers that were in its support. Our nation broke this big wall. They are aware of the fact that our nation was deprived of any modern weapons. These few rifles that are in the hands of our guards are the remnants of war. There was no such thing before. They used to utilize stones, sickles, lances, canes, bricks and etc. Later on they developed some primitive things, which were in no way equal to the arms the enemy had.

Change of the nation—a bounty of God

They could have assaulted and bombarded Tehran. So they could have defeated the campaign for example. Who was the one who did not allow them to do such a thing? Who made the fist overcome tanks and guns? Does anyone else have such a power except God? You and I, do we have such a power? Who drove the people to the frontiers—who lead the population of 30 and odd million to one direction and united them from the children of seven years, who had just learned the utterance, to the old man of eighty years, inept and unable, and made them all rise in one voice!? Who brought the hearts together? Who gathered the closed fists into a force? What power on earth can perform such a miracle?

In the remote villages, such as Chaploq, Borbor and Kamara, the villagers used to go to their clergy to roam in a demonstration. I was notified about this when I was in Paris. Some one who had visited these villages and witnessed the things told me all about it.

Who was the one who gathered the people across the country to confront the guns and tanks? They came into the streets and squares of towns and cities in spite of their own difficulties and troubles. What power dragged our youths from the spots of corruption to the field of campaign? From all the quarters of corruption, here in Shemiran, the youths left their lust and latitude

for the sake of the campaign. Who created this change in our country and in the youths of our nation? You have seen people fearing a policeman. This bazaar of Tehran, the biggest bazaar of Iran, if a policeman entered and told them to install a flag or a banner on the shops; no one had the courage to say "no". So the people, who were so timid, became so daring. Who changed them? They became so brave that they came into the streets and shouted "Down with the Pahlavi regime". The people used to be scared of telling a thing about a policeman or a minister or the prime minister. Now the same people have changed so much. Their courage carried them so far, at such a length!!! Such a sudden change should take place; it is the job of some one else. Where there any schools that they come from and administer injections, which bring change into the persons? Such a thing is not possible at all. Was it the result of propaganda? No, propaganda cannot create change into the nature of people too. It is something like a miracle—in such a short time to change so deeply. This was the power of the one who changes hearts. We read in the Supplication: "O, thou can change the hearts of sights? O, thou can minister the night and the day? O, thou can change the conditions and the status? Change our conditions to the best of the conditions."

This is achieved. This has changed. Our condition was changed from fear to force, from feebleness to a ferocious power, from terror to courage. They forgot their own difficulties. Their self-centeredness vanished. A nation of thirty and odd million changed suddenly from the condition they were having throughout the period of Shah's rule to a bravery and courage. In recent days, the fear had increased. Disappointments, despair and desertedness had gripped the nation. They were so afraid that even in their homes; nobody dared to say anything, particularly about the secret police (SAVAK). The son was afraid of his father and the father feared his son. With regards to His Majesty, no one dared to say anything in his own house. In such circumstances, who made us so brave? We all had so much fear and terror. What changed us to this extent? We changed to brave spirits. Who made the bazaar and the merchants sacrifice and forgo the personal gains? Those who were after their own profit? The bazaar remained closed for a month and in some districts, even more. The merchants never thought of their loss. Who did this miracle? Is there anyone except God who has such a power?

Sometimes revolutions progress to a certain extent, and then are deserted. But there was some power and some one who held us on our path adhered to the revolution. God is the one who kept us alive in our revolution. All in one voice demanded the Islamic Republic.

Vigilance and attention towards God—the source of safety and success

Don't forget God—a power beyond nature. Don't forget such a mighty power. You have to trust that power. Such a great power supports you. Now America with all the strength and power which no power even that of the Soviet Union can stand against it, is your adversary. It is trying to defeat you. You are sitting here. You have nothing. Perhaps you might have a rifle. But America is gathering all the power against you. In spite of all this effort it cannot overcome your strength. It is still short of enough power to fight you. What is this? We have such a power. America, which can conquer the whole world, is afraid of us. Are we the ones who have done this?

This very Mr. Carter: He has been shouting since the beginning of our movement. He has been against us since the beginning. He has been terrifying us. He has been annoying us. He has announced in America that nobody should travel to Iran. This delegation that has come here consists of former American justice secretary and the personalities of their own country, America. They did not mind 10 years' imprisonment in addition to a penalty of \$50,000. They were brave enough to neglect and ignore this law imposed upon them.

Here these gentlemen say that such a law is nonsense. Now they know that he utters banter, meaningless and senseless things. We know that he has been talking nonsense since the beginning. I was in Paris. He said in one of his Speeches that Shah has extended too much liberty to the Iranian people. It was the time when the people had broken the curfew he had imposed. He thought that it was a grant bestowed by his Imperial Majesty. He did not know that the people had taken it themselves. His Imperial Majesty has given us nothing. He has done everything possible to him. He did massacres but to no avail. He changed ministers. Each minister came and said some rodomontade to the people. By such nonsense Speeches he thought people will ignore the past. He saw that was of no avail too. People are the same. Finally he repented. This very same man one year ago and also two to three years ago said that these clergies are like filthy animals. So we should not have any talk with them. This same man in the presence of all said: "O, the clergies of Islam!, O, the great oracles! I am sorry. I am such and such."¹

This was a trick too. He did. The nation has been listening for fifty years to his trite and prattles. The nation has witnessed destruction, plunder, pillage and prisons for fifty years. Children have been witnessing their corruption. So they cannot be trusted any more. Our nation has now changed, and has become a vigilant one. It has recognized all the matters and become aware of

¹ Clark, former American general prosecutor.

all things. God willing, this awakening of your shall become firmer and stronger if you focus on God. You will gain relief and salvage.

The enemy's fear of the seminary-university unity

Before, if the British government said a word, the members of parliament here had no courage to go against it. Sometimes, someone appeared with courage to stand against their demands. For instance, like the late Mudarris. He was an intrepid man. He used to confront all. But it regrettable is that they still say that the clergies had no part. He was one clergy in the parliament. Rida Khan wanted to establish a republic. But Mudarris oppugned the idea. He knew that it was a trick. He wanted to plunder the people. However, Mudarris blocked the way. In spite of all this, have the clergies had no part? Since the advent of Rida Khan, Mudarris stood against him. Rida Khan first established himself. Then he started going against Islam. Those who campaigned against him and confronted him with their closed fists were clergies. They were clergies who campaigned in Tabriz, Mashhad and Isfahan and all over the country. On the other hand, no political party and no other institution stood against him. No body rose against him. The others were idle and sluggish. They were waiting to enjoy the results of the toil of others.

Now you should know that the best way was what the religious quarters hold. Also the class of students and the university joined them to reach this aim. Now they fear that the students unite with the clergies. They want to come together and form a coalition. They are afraid of this alliance. So this is a dread, a terror, and a fear for them. Alliance between these two classes means the alliance of the whole nation. They labored years long to separate these two classes from each other. It was a plot. It was design. In the university they abused and objurgated clergies. It was a deliberate performance. It was not just an occurrence by chance nor was it an occasional one. Likewise, in the environment of clergies, academics were abused and objurgated. It was an intentional whisper deliberately poured into the ears of both the classes. The public media too gave wind to this. The clergies were openly and publicly scarified. The media as a whole stood against the clergies. Their poets too sang the song that the country cannot be reformed as long as there exists a clergy. One of the verses of this ignoble man was sung by all and disseminated by all the media. The purpose was the separation between the two classes—clergies and the university. They set each other in confrontation. A student would not sit by the side of a clergy. They knew that if these two categories combined, the job for them will

become impossible. Even now they are having the same thought. They have not given up the idea. You don't think that their agents have forgone the idea. Now it has been started as it was in the days of Rida Khan. Assaults against the clergies are already in practice. In the north, it is more because of the leftists there. In other places it is a little mild. But it does exist. They have no scuffle with the "ammamah" (turban) holders. They discern the base, the foundation. They see that the nation with its clergy, academy, bazaar and worker—all have become together. They have prepared within a period of one year and a half all the material that a government needs. This thing is unprecedented in the world. It is a thing which others may not be able to accomplish in a period of fifty years. They still do not have. These people have prepared all things within a year and a half. Therefore, they fear from such a gathering or union. They see themselves defeated ones. Since they know that they are defeated by clergies and the academy circle. They know that a clergy can group the people of his locality and his mosque. From the very beginning, their aim is clergy. They want to abolish the clergy class. They lifted the turban from the heads of the clergies. Before, no clergy dared to appear in streets. This was not an occurrence of chance. It was a studied plan. They know that the turban wearers can do many things. People trust them. People listen to them. So, they try to bankrupt this class. They fell greedy upon our oil to take away as long as they want. Besides, they tried to spoil our youths. Their point is that there should not be any one to check them or say why? They see the Why' if comes out of the mouth of a clergy, it renders efficacious. In the days of Rida Khan, all were silent out of fear. But a clergy stood against him and used to say Why'. Since it was not yet common and still it was in initial stage, the campaign was meeting with defeat. Now they see volunteers have become common. People are changed. University students no more spurn a clergy. Likewise, a clergy does not disdain a student. Both sit in an environment of religious institute of Faydiyyah planning how to reform the university. So, now they are terrified. They say that if they separate these two classes, the clergy too will be distanced from the people. Then the job is done. Now these days, wherever you go, the same words that were in winds in the days of Rida Khan are being freshly whispered. All the throats, those of SAVAK's and of "*Fadai-ye Khalq*" are emitting and imparting the same past sayings. Every passerby strikes a blow to a clergy. They know the way. They want to burden the youth with their own load of thoughts. Therefore, they try to lower this class in the eyes of the people. This is the same thing done in the era of Rida Khan. At this moment Sayyid is engaged in carrying out t his task.

Breaking the sanctity of the sacred elements

This is incumbent upon me to inform the nation of Iran. It has been reported to me that these fellows have deserted the mosques. Islam came out of these mosques. In the early stage of Islam, the armies used to come out of the mosques. In the Friday prayers, people were grouped to form volunteers to face the enemy. The mosques were the fronts. They have seen peril and harm from the mosques. The leader (head) of the mosque wants to pray. There is a group who just wants to put their prayers at show. They themselves do not have intention to the real prayers. A group comes forward and takes its stand at a side. A man comes forward and takes its stand at a side. A man, God knows whether he has taken the ablution, stands to pray. A group of ten or twenty persons stand behind him. They follow his leadership of prayers. Is this the prayers? These people do they really want to pray? If they want to pray, is this the prayers? In fact, they want to repudiate the prayers. Exactly in the same way that they lifted the Quran over lances and sticks and defeated Imam Ali. Imam Ali kept on saying: "I am the Quran. I am the commander of the faithful. I am the Quran with voice." But the fools did not listen to him. Imam Ali said that it was a trick. But nobody paid heed to his warnings. The people pulled out the swords and said that they will kill him if he did not stop the fight. They did not let the army of Islam to vanish. Now too it is the same case running. They perform prayers. But their prayers are to defeat the mosque. I have heard the mosques are empty. This is a matter of regret.

Prayer is what turns a man into human being

You accomplished an Islamic revolution. You did it to promote Islam and execute the Islamic regulations. There is no religious obligation above the prayers. Why do you neglect to perform prayers? All these issues relate to prayers. You go to a court or any other place. Will you see there any files of prayers performers? You will see the files of those who have deserted prayers. Wherever file you find there, it belongs to those who do not perform prayers. Prayers are the backbone of the nation. Lord of the Martyrs on the day of Ashura at the noon prayers. It was the battle day. The battle too was decisive and dreadful. All were in an eminent danger. One of the associates told it is noon now. Imam Husayn thanked him for reminding the prayer time. Imam Husayn wished him that God may acknowledge him as a prayer performer. In that hot battlefield, the Imam stood and prayed. He did not say that there is now a war going on. He fought for the sake of the prayers, to keep the prayers alive. Imam Ali, someone asked him a religious issue. He

was engaged in the battle. He stood and gave the answer there and then. One told him that now it is not the time for such things. Imam Ali replied: "I have pulled the sword for very such a thing."

Battle in Islam is not itself an entity or an obligation. Battle is only a means, a tool by which the filthy elements that block the way and create handicaps for the progress of Muslims are expelled. The point is to follow Islam and through Islam polish the human beings. The prayer is a factory to make humans out of men. Corruption and undesired things are warded off from a nation by means of prayers. Those who are fettered in the lewd places and lascivious locations do not perform prayers. The prayer-holders are in the mosques. They are always girded to render service. Do not desert the mosques. It is an incumbency upon us. These days are exceptional that we are in. We are in an exceptional age.

Prayers are the loudest cry

We succeeded by the name of God. Prayers are the highest remembrance and mention of God. No negligence should take place regarding prayers. Perform the prayers in a group. Don't say that I will go home and there I will pray. Association in prayers is better than praying individually. Keep the mosques occupied. They fear from the mosques. They whisper into your ears that a clergy is good for nothing. Why should you go to a mosque? We ourselves pray. They don't pray. But they want to counter the prayers. They do not let the Muslims pray. They are against prayers. Because they fear from mosques, I have a religious obligation to inform you to keep the mosques full and inhabited. You, the academic students and the religious students, none of you should desert the mosques. Mosques are the fronts. The fronts should be dept occupied. The word "Mihrab" means the place wherefrom war imparts or emanates. "*Harb*" means war. "*Mihrab*" is the object. For the sake of conception, we can say it "alters". Today is more than all days, that is now, I mean the running moments, and this age is more sensitive. The reason is all things are achieved. Satans are disappointed. They are trying from all sides to create hurdles and block the progress. It is not important to them of their design gets succeeded after ten years. They make preparations for ten years. It is enough for them that the gradual progress in their plot. Mosques to get empty little by little and the clergy are set aside bit-by-bit. They replace by a man who is not a true clergy and has a belief in anything. Through him the prayers will be derelict. The fronts will be forsaken. Afterwards they will assault on us. So, you should keep a constant vigilance over this fortification. Don't say that we have done the revolution.

No. It is not correct. The most powerful and strongest cry is the prayers. Do pray. Be in association or together. Perform the Friday prayers with due ostentation and ceremony. Likewise, the usual prayers other than the Friday's also perform similarly with much care and attention. Satans fear the mosques. They fear the prayers. The students, academic students, clergies, turban-wearers, scholars—all these classes who are thinking-mind, should enhance their alliance among and amidst themselves. They should be aware that their alliance should not be foiled by the enemy. If they come into the university and say that they have no business with the academics; likewise in the religious schools, you should know that it is chicanery and a trick. They want to separate from each other. They want to open the space for themselves. Be aware. Be awaken. Be vigilant. Now all the eyes are adhered to you. These delegations that come here from abroad, some of them have said that other nations have no knowledge of the conditions here in Iran. The reason is all the public media is in the hands of our enemies. Regrettably, we have several magazines and newspapers inside the country. But they lack circulation. Anyway, they come and go Books are loaded and unloaded at the gate of the university. Therefore, you should be vigilant to not fall a prey to them. They are hurt by you. They are wounded and injured. So they are now after revenge. Do not let them to have an open hand.

The bloodshed in the regime due to the non-Islamic nature of the universities

You preserve your meetings and gatherings. Have a firm hold on the mosques. Let the university undergo changes and reformations so that to be useful for us. If the university was our own, though it is named after the nation, that is "National", but it has not a remote bearing upon the Muslim nation. If we had an Islamic university, the one to be useful to us, there would have had not been so much bloodshed. Our youths would not have been killed in such a vast number across the country. This happened because we have led no university of ours. Whoever came out the university got a job. He used to oppress the people and tell them that whoever completed his college would become a servant to others. If the head is corrupted and is mistaken the whole lot will be the same. The first grade servant enters into understanding with his superiors. Then he easily steals the people. They reach an agreement with the head of a village and then they rob the whole village. The empire of Ottoman: It was a big power. But deplorable it is that was split into parts after the world war! Each of its part was given to one of

their servants¹. Egypt too is in the hands of another servant². I don't know there and where they have installed their servants. They install dictators. The nations are made silent. Suffocation is imposed upon nations. Be afraid of the day when they will bring a dictator and place over your heads. I hope such a day never dawns. However, we should not be negligent or careless. Let not this happen that we may grow proud thinking that no one has any thing to do with us. No one can do anything. This will be our vanity. Well, the economical blockade—you may not fear of it. The military incursion—this too is nothing to be afraid of. He made a mistake, an error. Now he might be contrite. But the whispers—they are to be feared. They come close to your ears and start pouring the ears. These are Satans. Therefore, should be afraid of. They are to be feared who whisper in your ears that the Islamic Republic too is like the regime of the Shah. Were you able to sit there? Were you able to gather in a meeting? Do fear them who say nothing has happened. They are split and mingled in the groups and gatherings. They want to create reluctance, temptation, hesitation and uncertainty. They burn the piles of corn and say they are servants of the people. They aim at straying you from the right path. May God guide you. May you adhere to this same right way. May God guide us all to the right path and deviate us from the right and left. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ Saddam Husayn, the president of Iraq.

² Anwar Sadat, the president of Egypt.

Speech

Time: 10 am June 5, 1980, [Khordad 14, 1359 AHS / Rajab 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: 15th Khordad—a turning point in the history of the nation. American interventions in the country's affairs

Occasion: Anniversary of the Khordad 15, 1342 AHS uprising

Audience: Various classes of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

15th Khordad—a turning point in the history of the nation

Khordad 15th is approaching. Our nation should not forget it. It should be treasured in memories. Fifteenth of Khordad is a turning point in our history. From that date onward our political activities started. The clergies equipped and themselves well. When I came out of the prison, I was told that the agents of Shah in the districts whereon 15th Khordad campaign was underway had arrested and executed the people. I was informed that on 15th Khordad, fifteen thousand people were killed. Those days we considered this a great event. Indeed, it was great. Later the crimes of the deposed Shah were far greater. We cannot imagine the crimes which have been committed since 15th of Khordad till the departure of Bakhtiyar¹ from this country by the Shah's agents and Americans. We cannot count them. We can just tell a summary of it. It is beyond imagination and numeration. How can we know the number of the disabled ones. The martyrs and executed ones; it is said they were fifteen thousand. But those who gave their bodies partly and rendered themselves disabled, what about them? How their body parts can be compensated? We can neither narrate the plight nor can we even frame the happening in our fancy. Anyway, it was a great havoc in our nation. But it initiated the movement. Since that day, rather a little earlier, our clergies started the campaign. The uprising grew in the hands of clergies. It sprung from Qum. It reflected far and wide. The regime arrested the clergies. Almost all the clergies in Tehran were imprisoned. Later on, gradually they were released. Although there was havoc but it was a gift from god. People were aware now. They concurred and gave consent to the call of the clergy. The campaign spread across the country. The root of the campaign was Khordad 15th. Little by little it became demotic and disseminated. Thanks God the

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar, the last Prime Minister of the Shah's regime.

oreigners' roots were eradicated from this country. The Shah departed. America provided him refuge. He is now under the protection of America. He is living somewhere near Egypt which is under the power of America. However, the Khordad 15th was a calamity to the nation but it was the blessed day, which ended in the independence and the freedom of the country as a whole.

Avocations of some countries in the crimes of America

We obtained freedom at a heavy cost. But its worth stands higher. Those who support America and the previous regime, still try to bring the past conditions back to the country. But this is a vain idea. Carter has recently announced that he will intervene if other governments do not do that. He has told that he will intervene for the sake of those who are imprisoned in Iran. This is a criminal thing, particularly for the president of America who claims to protect human rights. This is a crime. He should be put to trial. Carter should be brought to justice in an international court. Where are those who claim to respect the independence of all the countries? Why do not they check Carter? On what grounds does he want to assault Iran—an independent country? He has brought his army and wants to bring more. Where are the others? Are they supporting a criminal? Where should we protest? Where should we complain? The countries are the followers of America. The heads of those countries are all employed by America. They support the crimes America is perpetrating. To which quarter, to which court should we go to complain about these tyrants? They are holding the reins of the victims in their hands.

Unfortunately the governments which claim to be independent are satellites of America. They should be charged for the economical blockade keeping a nation under the pressure of need and deprivation. Such an act is based on what principle of the human standards? Which law is in line with such an act? The only justification is that America is powerful. It gives us the only justification that America is powerful. It gives you orders. Do you think that by economical blockade, our nation will be defeated? Will it be humiliated? Will it fear you?

American threat won't have any effect on the strong will of the Iranian nation

The Americans should know and all other who want to intervene in our affairs militarily, even if the Soviet Union and all its allies intervene—you all know that your intervention or your incursion nor your economical blockade

will have the least influence and effect in the decision and determination of our nation. We are girded up for every thing. We are prepared for death. What do you want to make us afraid of? What can make us fear? We are ready for martyrdom. Your military incursion? Go and frighten those who are afraid of death. This country is willing to embrace martyrdom because it discerns martyrdom as its own prosperity. Therefore, none of us have any fear of any of these things. Let America do what it wants as Carter has said. Let them do that, and then they will understand what the matter is and where and how the things stand. It is better if Mr. Carter takes a lesson from Afghanistan. The government of Afghanistan is already in line with him and with Soviet Union. The government of Afghanistan is already in line with him and with the Soviet Union. The communist and Leftists parties too are in agreement with him. The parties are in agreement with him. Afghans have had no modern weapons. They took weapons from Russian soldiers and killed the Russian officers by their own weapons. Still it is going on. The Soviet Union sends weapons and soldiers daily. But so far it has not been able to humiliate the brave nation of Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, although the Communists and the Leftists are allied they cooperate with the government. But they cannot humiliate the nation.

In Iran, thank God, the government and the nation are together. The Leftists who are with America, here they are not paid any attention. We don't take them seriously. One day all of them will vanish. America should know that it cannot do anything by its military attack. Likewise, the economical blockade is of no use. A nation that observes fast and believes in martyrdom never fears these things. Therefore, this 15th Khordad though it was heavy for us as we had to sacrifice several martyrs it brought blessings for us. I congratulate the people. I hope our country will remain constant at its campaign here after too as it was on the 15th of Khordad. All the mighty ones may get disappointed to intervene in the affairs of our country. May God make you all prosperous. May God give strength to Islam. I hope this uprising go beyond the frontiers and reach of all the Islamic countries. This school is for all the oppressed ones to get rid of the arrogant. Thanks God the beginning has already defeated them. Such a start is already begun in the world. It is not only in Iran, but everywhere in the world. the oppressed are awoken. The absolute majority is with them. I hope the tyranny will soon be wiped out. May God bless you. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Time: 10 am, June 6, 1980 [Khordad 15, 1359 AHS / Rajab 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Explaining the duties of the military in the Islamic system

Occasion: The anniversary of 15th Khordad 1359 AHS uprising

Audience: Students of the officers' college

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To be hard with non-believers and friendly with believers

We saw together what befell on this nation on the 15th of Khordad. Why was this nation crushed? Today is also 15th of Khordad. You, the prospective hope of the nation, have gathered here. Let us have a talk for a while. The things passed and are in the process, but let us exchange our opinions.

The words this gentleman read are a Quranic verse of half a line regarding the believers. God has made a gauge, a standard, a meter by which one can know himself whether he is a Muslim or a believer.” Hard towards pagans, merciful among themselves¹.” When you confront foreigners, you are hard towards them, but mild and merciful amidst yourselves.

I have witnessed to a certain extent the things since the coming of Rida Khan to Tehran and his coup d'état till now. I have seen what happened in this country. In the days of Rida Khan hard and crushing behavior was the rule. In the days of his son too, it was the same. They treated the nation roughly with a satanic power. There was no university those days. So they used to crush the students. Contrary to God's saying, the treatment was rough with the clergies of Islam. God says they are merciful among themselves. But they treated hard and rough. They crushed and pounded the nation.

The allies—England, America and the Soviet Union—crossed the borders of our country and entered. They assaulted Iran. One of the officers said that Rida Khan had asked him how long the defense was. He had answered: three hours. In fact he had lied to Rida Khan. Rida Khan asked why it happened so. He replied: “This was important”. I have seen these things too. When a foreigner entered Tehran, these officers fled away. In other words, they deserted the camps, the fronts and the cantonments. I saw the soldiers roaming about in the streets. They had nothing to eat. A camel passed by. The caravan of camels was passing. I suppose their load was

¹ Surah al-Fath 48: 29.

watermelon. Some of them were falling down. The soldiers were rushing towards them to pick up the fallen commodity and eat it. This was the condition we had. We cannot explain it well. This was about the army we had in those days briefly. The same was with our police force and the gendarme. They were quite against the saying of Quran. They were hard, harsh and horrible towards the people. God says believers are harsh against the pagans. They were harsh against their own nation—the Muslims.

Military to be mild towards people and a crushing force against foreigners

There was an occurrence, which made me uneasy. It was the meeting between Muhammad-Rida and one of the presidents of the United States of America. I presume he was Johnson. The bitterness of the event is still in my mind. This man treats his own people in such a harsh and crushing manner. He was standing in the front of the table of the president. The president had lifted his glass and was not looking at Muhammad-Rida. He was looking the other side. He was standing like a schoolboy. I remember that he resembled a school-going boy. In the past, the pupils were very much afraid of their teacher. He was standing in the same manner. It was such a scene. I was very unhappy. I was annoyed to see that. Whenever I remember it, I get annoyed. What type of people ruled us! What type of people dominated us? These people, they were so humble towards foreigners and so cruel to their own people. They wanted to crush the nation.

You who are the hope, God willing, for the future of this country. You who should act according to the God's saying in His Book to be a believer. This should always be your motto. Be merciful with your action. Be mild and polite with them. On the other hand, against foreigners, be striking and heavy-handed—just contrary to what it was in the past regime, and like the early days of Islam. In those days when Muslims were confronting the pagans, the Muslims used to behave in such a way that it had become customary to say that the Arabs are man-eaters. There were Muslims among themselves who were kind and sympathetic. One day, the great chief, Malik Ashtar, was passing his way. One did not recognize him. He scolded and objurgated him. Malik did not say anything and passed by. Others told the man that he was Malik Ashtar whom he had scolded. The man ran after him. But Malik had already gone into a mosque. The man came to him and apologized. Malik said: "No, I have come here to pray for myself and also pray for you. Such was the Islamic training to the Muslims.

The Islamic culture and demeanor is the fundamental element to protect us from getting injured

Our army is the hope of our nation. If the army gets trained in Islamic culture, it will never happen that one could attack it. Or the army might be shaken. Uncertainty is for those who have no faith. However, one who has faith cannot be uncertain. If all the classes of our nation are civilized in Islamic culture and become united, then no hurt, no injury and no harm will touch the nation. You try to invigorate faith in you when you are in the colleges and universities. Faith will make you honorable here and dear to God. You will arrive in the sacred court of God with reverence and respect.

Try to rule your countrymen with justice. Be merciful towards them. If one committed a wrongdoing, do not behave harshly. Your actions should be according to law. The soldiers of Islam were in the same manner in the early stage of Islam. They achieved great victories with their little number. They conquered the Iranian empire with their little number. The secret of their victory was this: They had faith. They battled on the ground of faith. The faith gave them spirit, strength and vigor. Furthermore, their belief in martyrdom was another motor instigating them. If we are killed, we shall be with our God as martyrs. At such stand, they fought and with such spirit, they progressed. Their enemies did not have these standards, neither in their conjecture nor in their faith. The Muslims went to the fronts themselves whereas their enemies were taken to the front by force. Here was coercion and there willingness. The Iranians saw the army of Islam in quite a different situation. So the Iranians embraced them. A similar case was at the Roman fronts too. Our army hadn't been on Islamic standard, no force from outside could have been imposed. American advisors were imposed upon us. The high ranks of the army were among those who had no faith at all. They were after their own desires. They wanted to be harsh with the nation. The deputies were after their own gains through theft.

The army of Iran is from the people

If today American or the Soviet Union wants to send an advisor for you, you will oppose it. Suppose an officer of a high rank wants to do something wrong; the lower ranks even the soldiers will not let him do it. The reason is that our youths are reformed. Our soldiers are changed to some other entity. It is different from the period of the past regime. They are now a different being.

Oh, My brothers! If you want an honorable life in this world as well as in the world hereafter, you should stand against others with force and firmness.

Among yourselves, be kind, sympathetic and friendly. If the military is without backing of the nation, it will be the same as it was in the past. Those holding high ranks in the army were aware of their fate if they were to stay in Tehran. People would have squared account with them. So they closed their suitcases and fled. Thanks God, you have the support of the nation. You may be a few thousands only but the support of thirty and odd million is behind you. This is a people's army. This is not a military of a tyrant. You and the people gather together under one roof. People demonstrated in their favor and they demonstrated for the sake of people too. You preserve this unity.

This is a bounty from God. Preserve this backing of each other. This backing gives you the strength—a strength that each one of you will be able to stand against a hundred and even several hundreds. When you see the enemy opposite you and at your hind is the nation unhappy then you have nowhere to go. You cannot save yourselves. The nation has turned its back to you. As such there remains no refuge to go. On one side is the enemy and on the other twenty or thirty million of your own friends but not friendly with you. On the contrary, if this twenty or thirty million be friendly with you, they—the young and old, women and men—will come to your aid. . If an army be in such a condition, it will be victorious. So, try to be so.

Safety of the country is in the unity of the armed forces

Which one is better? The 15th of Khordad when the army scattered the people and massacred them or this 15th of Khordad when the army is in the embrace of the nation? Each is dear to the other. Therefore, preserve this bounty God has bestowed on you. Army, police, guards, and the nation—all are friends to one another. All share one another's happiness. All are in each other's pain. All feel each other's good and bad. Army and guards and gendarme and other forces should coordinate and cooperate with each other. All are together. If each of them goes his own way without any coherence with the other, then there is no need for any foreign attack or assault. This country is ruined and split from within. This country will resemble to an island eaten by insects rendering it only a vacuum. You have experienced the secret of your victory. You have seen how you vanquished this satanic power while all the powers were at its back. You won because of your faith you had. "*Allahu Akbar*" (God is the Greatest), this cry was with you. Unity shaded you. All were under one umbrella and one dimension of destiny. It was never in the manner of one going this and the other going that way. All treaded one path. All raced one run. Army—the faithful elements therein and the police likewise, all joined together. All were blessed with faith. In those

days none claimed to gain a rank or get a position or an office. The foundation was faith in God, the demand was the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the cry was “God is the Greatest”. This led you to victory. This was the secret of your victory. The nation does not know that view the nations abroad have towards us. In foreign countries, they have great respect for us. Our nation is most reverend and respectable in the eyes of the foreigners. Those who are still suffering under the yoke of tyranny understood what we have done and achieved. What our nation has performed.

Victory in rescuing the oppressed ones from bondage

In the same manner that God had taught them through inspiration and gathered all together since the beginning, all took one motion and shattered the whole setup; now we should preserve that secret. It will be a mistake if you think that we have triumphed and we should go after our own business. No. We have not triumphed. We are still subject to the threats of military intervention and economical blockade from the greatest power over the globe that is America. It is not a matter of the president of a republic but it is a question of the empire, imposition and obstinacy. Now we are confronting such a power.

We are surrounded by powers. This side is one power. That side is another. Each side a power shadows us. All these powers have one desire and that is to upset the present setup of Iran. So, presently we are not victorious. Our victory shall be on the day when in all the countries, the victims and the oppressed people get free from their fetters of poverty and dependence. The root of corruption is uprooted from the society. Those who want to disappoint the people from the Islamic Republic of Iran will get wiped out. We are victorious on such a day. That day we shall not give up the unity among us.

Unity of the Muslims among each other wards off the possibility of harm and hurt

Muslims are (one hand) united. This is based on the words of God: “One hand.” So there is no two. They are ones who are against the other¹. Here God says one hand. He did not say two. Two hands might result in contradiction. One would move this side and the other another. If Muslims be like one hand, which means a fast unity they will not be harmed. Injury on them or a country means nothing. You have nothing to fear from outside. We fear from within ourselves. You can be put to disunity by means of plots.

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol 28, p. 104.

A division between you and the guards, you and the police, or any other force can result in a peril for the nation. It will be the greatest injury, which will consume us gradually. This harm will be greater to us than a war if imposed upon us from outside. This is more harmful.

Vigilance against the insinuations from within

Satan started all those clamors abroad from here. You give to it a possibility of being from within. The clamors, the cries, the shouting that are outside Iran, could make us lose or miss our way and get occupied with the foreign matters, which would be at the cost of our negligence about inside matters in immediate concern to us. Therefore, don't be careless about the inside of the country. Inside the country, for example, the cantonments within the army and gendarmes, which hinder a correct system, take place. Such a thing is to be afraid of. Or, a different thing occurs within the army ranks. One says he is the superior and the other says the same. This will create chaos. This is to be feared. The whole structure of army will become instable. System and discipline will vanish.

The necessity for keeping a discipline in the armed forces

If army happens to be deprived of discipline it is no more an army. Satan will crawl in. Satan will creep in all the security forces and the civil forces. They stick everywhere in some way or other. They want to remove the discipline in the army and the gendarme and all the security forces and create chaos inside the army itself. If an army is embraced by disturbance and chaos or relaxes in its lap, then it is not an army at all. It cannot confront the enemy even with the least power. If the army cannot reform itself or create discipline within its ranks it cannot stand against any force.

There are some who whisper in our youths ears by way of sympathy as to why you should obey. This seems like the past regime that you should be humble and obedient. No. This is like the days of Imam Ali. Obedience to a tyrant is bad not the obedience of an Islamic army—an army which belongs to Islam. Obedience to a commander of Islam is incumbent. Disobedience is prohibited. The tyrant was bad because of his tyranny. But his discipline was good. If you want to exploit all the things the system will turn into a chaos, a huggermugger. If inexperienced young fellows, without no information or thought, come and run the affairs without a discipline or order, then all of you will have to suffer. If the lower ranks do not undergo the orders of the higher ranks, if there be no inferior or a superior, and if no one obey the commander-in-chief of the forces, then the army cannot be named as an

army. It will be split. In the days of Imam Ali too, obedience was incumbent upon the army. This is the order of Islam; of course, the commander too should not view his subordinates from a tyrannical angle. He should be sympathetic and kind towards them. You all should be one power, one hand against the enemy. You should preserve the discipline and order. All the forces should maintain order among themselves. If so, the army will be of standard. The same goes for the guards, the police gendarme.

If the units of guards started working in a hugger mugger, every four of them holding the people or taking away their belongings, God forbid, they are not the guards of Islam. They are tyrants in some other guise. What a tyrant is? The case is the same. The life and the property of the people are not safe, not protected. If in these days, the life and property of the people happens to be not safe, then it is the same as it was in the past regime. The only difference is it is in another guise. This is more dangerous. This is hypocrisy. Its chastisement is greater. The punishment for hypocrites is more severe than that for the pagans.

Coordination and discipline among armed forces

You all try to have coordination among your armed forces. Try to act thereupon the standards that exist in the army, guards and police. Do not think that to obey your superior is of the system of the past regime which was tyrannical. Obedience to a superior in the Islamic Republic and in the army of Islam is the commandment of God and an order of Islam. Obedience to the commanders who are so to say the controllers of affairs is considered in Quran as obligatory, an incumbency and a binding. These youths, who are in the pure and transparent bloom, may not be cheated by the Satan who approach them and talk to them. Whoever incited you towards non-obedience and chaos; leave him and don't be with him any more. Try to discover as to who he is and wherefrom and from where the data is being fed and catered to him. You do know he is a non-Muslim. They are those who do not want nor cannot they tolerate a country depending upon its own potentialities and possibilities. All the foreigners are envious of you. So they plot against you. They wanted and still want to plunder Iran. They will try to create division and separation between all the armed forces—one against the other, or distant from each other. If this happens, it will be too pernicious for you all.

I pray for the prosperity and safety of you all and the armed forces. All to be together and the ranks in between should be respected. Now you are students. You should prepare yourselves for the service of the country and Islam, which again is a service to the country. God willing, our nation will

advance with power and strength and shall not fear these words being said here and abroad.

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

Decree

Date: June 9, 1980 [Khordad 18, 1359 AHS / Rajab 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Delegation of a representation of outside the country with a purpose to attend the needs there

Addressee: Husayn Nuri

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab al-Khayr 24, 1400AH

Khordad 18, 1359 AHS

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

Viewing the religious needs and spiritual shortages of our dear students and the Irani nationals residing abroad, it deems necessary fit that your Eminence should take over the charge of attending the necessities. The opportunities you have would serve you to travel to the countries wherever they are residents. The possibilities at your disposal would enable you to uplift their difficulties in whatever way you presume good. You supply their shortages in consultation with the people acquainted with their conditions. I hope that with the help of God and the cooperation of the people there, you will render the job to the best ability at this sensitive juncture. Obviously, the Iranians and the Irani students will extend cooperation to you conceiving the seriousness of time. I wish success for all from God.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 11, 1980 [Khordad 20, 1359 AHS / Rajab 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: the judges' statement of *Ijtihad*

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

In His Most Exalted Name

Khordad 20, 1359 AHS

Rajab 26, 1400 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Haj Shaykh Husayn-Ali Muntaziri,

To obtain the level of *Ijtihad* in magistrateship you have volunteered or other are introduced for the membership of the high supreme judicial council. You may proceed in any manner you deem fit. I wish from God the continuity of your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: 10 am, June 11, 1980 [Khordad 20, 1359 AHS / Rajab 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah Tehran

Subject: In coordination among the Islamic organs; and the necessity for discipline and consistency towards reformation of the country's affairs

Audience: Mahdawi Kani, Muhammad-Rida (In charge of interior Ministry), and the assistants and the provincial governors of the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expressing anxiety because of differences in the Islamic organs

I was never anxious during the length of the campaign that before 15th of Khordad until the decline of the regime of Shah. The reason was I saw we are in confrontation of a tyrant regime and the foreigners. We are under obligation to change the things. If we had failed in our endeavors, it was not a serious matter to me because we had performed what was incumbent upon us. As such we had no responsibility before God. Some gentlemen used to tell me in Paris that this thing cannot happen. You'd better allow some of them to see you. When the Shah had already gone, I used to say that we have an obligation. We are acting thereupon accordingly. Those who act upon their obligation, they are not anxious whether they will lose or gain. If we won it is so much the better. If we failed, Imam Ali too had failed in a battle with the Muawiyah. Imam Husayn too was killed and lost in the battle. But, in any case, they acted what was incumbent upon them. Likewise, we are acting upon what is incumbent upon us. I had neither worry nor fear along the length of this campaign against the tyrant and pagan hood. But now I am anxious and worried. We wanted to establish Islamic Republic. Thank God, many things are achieved. But my worry is from within us. There are two aspects—one is light and the other is heavy. The light side is the activities of the adversaries—their plots and their treacheries. This is not so important from my point of view. The thing that matters is the incoherence and inconsistency among the Islamic organs. There is no coordination. All are invited to coordination but they themselves do not have that. This causes worry. This creates uncertainty. As a result, the country shall remain shaky. If such a condition prolongs, the harm will appear from within. There is no need to come from outside and hurt us. We ourselves destruct and destroy ourselves. The more worrying thing is this: our hands are tied. Why? If we raise our finger to point at the person or people to tell or announce that he or

they are terrorists or malefic and mischievous, it would constitute responsibility. Therefore, we cannot say so with certainty. At most, we can say that they are mistaken or erroneous. The people suppose they are the provincial governors or the ministers or other people. We say we don't campaign with them because they are from us. We used to campaign. The campaign either succeeded or failed. In either case, the victory was ours. But now we have no campaign. Since there is no campaign for us, we have to come to an understanding among ourselves. The country is now in a chaos. Assault hails from every side. So, we ourselves should carry ahead. But much to our regret, wherever you lay hand, there is difference, a division, a crevice, a gulf—governors with others, army with guards and so on. All stand at difference with one another. It is quite likely that this could have taken shape because of a mistake or misunderstanding. The greater mistake is to accept this initial mistake. If we remain in this condition, we cannot administer the country nor could any one else.

Discipline and coordination in reforming the affairs

Unless there is coordination among the forces and the provinces and a military man in the job, things will not progress. Regrettably, this thing is not yet established among the people. Furthermore, the government officials have not digested the sense of this thing. This matter is not to that extent simply to say that so and so ministry is having problems. Now to whichever ministry you go, you will see that the people working in it have no coherence and coordination with one another. The ministries too are not at good terms with each other. One ministry does not see eye to eye with the other. As such all departments are in chaos. So, who should put the things in order? There is no way except that every one, wherever he is, should mend the affairs there. For instance, you live in a province or in a town. You should attend the things of that spot. You should mend the things existing there. You don't engage your mind somewhere else. You don't think that other places too are in a spoil. If your mind is occupied by the problems of no concern to you, you cannot reform your own environment. If you be engaged in a thought that the ministries too are running the same difficulties, you will be held up from doing your job that is the reformation of your own place or spot. The ministries will have to be reformed by the people working therein. Afterwards when the parliament is formed—by the will of God—these and such problems will have to be mended by the parliament. One who has a difficulty in his house should try to solve it himself instead of going to his neighbor to see how he is. If any difference is running at home, one's anxiety

should be to pacify the difference. After this if he finds the same case somewhere else too, of course, it is much appreciable to set up the things there.

You gentlemen! You are governors of the provinces. Your province is like your own home. Your attention should be focused and concentrated to your own province. You see the people there whether all are good. Are there evil and malevolent elements too? You see for yourself if you can change these people to become good? It will be an error and a great mistake if you go after a person who is bad in the ministry of petroleum. By doing so you are ignoring your own province. Each one should attend the things where he is situated. The governors should see after their respective provinces first. Later the turn will come to other spots under your supervision such as districts and sub-districts, towns and localities and so forth.

As for the ministries, Mr. Kani¹ is in the interior ministry. He will have to see the situation in the ministry and mend accordingly. Some one in some other ministry will do the same. If each in his spot alters the things, the country, which is like a society, will be reformed.

Differences and mismanagement—the source of the defeat or decline of the Islamic Republic

However, the worry is that the Islamic Republic may be defeated. Before, we were in confrontation with the tyrant. He might have defeated us. In several cases, the tyrant has been victorious. Now in the world a tyrant is victorious too. But the Islamic Republic, we claim that Islam is there, the laws and regulations of Islam are its contents. If such a system is to be defeated by its own people, it will be too much. If the clerics across the country committed a harmful thing to the Islamic Republic, or the courts or the ministries do something, which is harmful to the Islamic Republic, it will be as though we ourselves have destroyed Islam. Till now, our slogan has “Islamic Republic”. Now it is achieved, the contents we could not provide to be Islamic. Furthermore, we should rather destroy it. One pulls the way. The other pushes that way. When one speaks something, the other too says the opposite. As such, the country will become chaotic. All will shoulder the blunder on others’ shoulders. No, it is not so. In blunders, we all are equally responsible. You all are shepherds. You all are responsible². I cannot say that all the blunders rest on some other’s shoulder. We should admit that we have

¹ Aqa Muhammad-RiDa Mahdawi Kani, head of Interior Ministry at the cabinet of the revolution council.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol 72, p.38.

not yet attained the due growth and progress. We are still short of mental, ideal and spiritual development.

Very serious mission of the responsible in preserving the Islamic system

These were the people who did the things. Well, now it is your responsibility and ours to preserve what they performed and attained. The masses cannot run the country. But they worked. The masses—they worked. The yield surrendered you. Gentlemen! Now those who are at the helm of the affairs should preserve the gain. This is a divine trust. Each of us, wherever he be, every head of chief be against another head or chief, each power oppugn the other one—if such be the case from Tehran right to the borders and frontiers—it will be a country full of fury, fear, huggermugger and chaos. Such a country needs a caretaker. So, later on they will fix us and appoint us a caretaker. We ourselves should be mature enough. We have gained the victory. As for these matters, if we lack the due maturity, we will not be able to run the country. The thing that worries us is the trust which is now a deposit in our hands; if we cannot protect it or guard it because of lack of maturity, then, indeed, a caretaker will be necessary and a necessity for us. In the world they shout that we need a caretaker. So, one should come and take our care—either it would be America or the Soviet Union. Therefore, we should be aware of the fact of our own existence. We should not miss ourselves. Do not think that we exist no more. Should someone else come for our maintenance?! Now it must be you to maintain yourself. You should adjust the things in respective provinces, since you reside there. You must do that with vigor and power. If there is any shortage, the parliament will attend upon it. Anyway, the matter for worry and anxiety is that we should not be defeated. Defeat of a person or even a murder of a person is nothing. But if the uprising is defeated by our own conduct, it is too bad and deregulation. So we must be vigilant not to let it happen.

Brotherhood and understanding in the reformation of the country's affairs

All of you—if any one of you has a belief in his country, in his religion, he has a belief in God. Today it must be preserved. Trifle and superfluous differences amidst each other among people should be repudiated. It should not be like this; one pushes aside the other not to lag behind. Whatever happens let the other suffer; this is bad. Such a behavior should never exist. All of us must be careful to have a brotherly approach to a person who might have committed a mistake. We can tell him in a mild way that the thing done

by him was not correct. If he stood obdurate, you may refer to the quarters concerned. They will deal with him. Anyway, this has made me anxious. It is quite long that I am worried. I have disclosed my anxiety to all the people around me. I have told them that we cannot keep the campaign alive. We cannot campaign with a tyrant or a campaign against the foreign elements. But a campaign with ourselves! Let us sit together. Let us reach an understanding together. Let us be brothers together. We all are from one soil, of one country, from one land, from one country and from one religion— Islam. We all have sympathy with Islam. It should not be this way to say we are Muslims and others are not. If we, anyone amongst us, do not and does not perform the job which is vested in him in a due and correct manner, none of us is a Muslim. We are tyrants. The problem with the tyrant was the same. He was doing things against the interests of his own country. Now too, if every one of us, wherever he is, in Tehran or in a district, acts contrary to the interest of the country, we must gird ourselves for our own ruin. If our uprising, our campaign, ruins, we are ruined. If so, well, let us destroy; let us ruin our own campaign. It doesn't matter. In any case, I hope that these issues and matter that have gripped you be resolved. God willing, when the parliament shall carry its sessions, take the matter there. Get inspiration from the parliament and get them carried out by the executive side of the government. God willing, all the problems will be solved. In anyway, let me not recite a congregation. I am telling you to remind you that a population of thirty and odd million has campaigned and defeated a great power. Other powers failed to do such a thing. Against them, no power has dared to stand. All are now thinking what to do here. They look upon us as victorious. America is shouting and clamoring out of its absolute inability to do any thing. Others too are sacrificing it, traducing it. So, you need not fear anything at all. God willing, you are victorious. I hope you go ahead and be at your advance victoriously. No one is there to harm you or hurt you. Let this country be Islamic and its gist and contents Islamic too. You try to make the contents Islamic. It should not concern you. For example, somewhere, in some spot, the things are not Islamic. The work that you have to do is to make it Islamic. We, wherever happen to be, if we mend the things there, at our spots, then everywhere will be amended and the structure will stand on a sound and strong frame. God willing, I hope you will progress with all your strength and progress. The country is your own. You yourselves reform it. Its good and its bad is your concern now. Now there is no one to give you orders and commands. This country is your own house. You should maintain and manage your house.

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

Speech

Time: Morning, June 12, 1980 [Khordad 21, 1359 AHS / Rajab 27, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Mabath (Commencement of Prophet Muhammad's Prophetic mission), its glory. The worth and importance of lending loan without interest

Audience: Managers of interest-free loan institutions

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

Commencement of prophet Muhammad's Prophetic mission, a great event in the history of mankind

I do extend my felicitations to the entire nation of Iran, all the Muslims and you, gentlemen, who are present here on the occasion of this auspicious fast.

The time, the age—by itself is of no importance nor does it have any distinction with others. Time is a moving element, always in motion and progressing. It is a fixed entity. One part of it has no difference with another. The honor or glory of age or time, and likewise the obnoxiousness or ignobility of age or time is for the event or occurrence that happens therein. I must say that the day Muhammad was vested with Prophethood remains glorious and most distinguished in the annals of history from the first beam of light till the doomsday eternally. There is no other day superior to this.

The reason is that there is no event greater than this. Great many things of great importance have occurred in the world; for instance, coming of the Prophets and the advent of the Prophets of greater fame and record are of much importance and due note. But there is no event, no occurrence greater than Muhammad's taking office of the Prophethood and becoming the last Prophet to the world. As such, no fancy can frame an event greater because there is no one greater than the Prophet except God. This is the sending of a last Prophet, a seal of the Prophets, to the world.

The greatest personalities of this existence cannot be seen before the Prophet at who ends the chain of Prophets. The great and glorious laws of God descended for the good of humanity. It is such an event that has glorified the day. A day such as this we neither had before nor shall we have

¹ 20, 3, 59 was the date mentioned in Noor newspaper. But according to pres reports, the Imam gave this speech on the day of Prophethood's mission in 1400 which corresponds with 21, 3, 59.

later. Therefore, to the Muslims and to the oppressed ones of the world, I present my congratulations.

The correct understanding of Islam through a perfect man

There are various and different conceptions of Islam and the Prophethood of Muhammad. The difference in conception emanates from the quality of the person who forms and frames the conception. As the people vary, so their views too. As the people differ, so do their views and this entail difference in the idea or the conception of the subject itself. The idea concerning the Prophet has been different and shall ever be so because of the views and angles that cannot be the same with all. The conception regarding a man is different in congruity and coherence with the views. Similarly the conception about Quran too differs on the same line—people differ with one another and accordingly their views. So does the laws of Islam and Islam itself. The limitation of a view is in line with the limitation of the person concerned. Man is a limited being. But he can move without limits. If the view is to be unlimited, it depends upon a man who should be unlimited. Such a man is a perfect man—a man of perfection. A man with perfect beauty and perfect glory can have an unlimited view. And such a man can have a correct and right conception of Islam, man, the Prophet and the universe. Apart from a perfect man, all other men have all things in a very limited view. Therefore, they cannot draw a correct form or a correct concept of Islam, Quran, Prophethood, the Prophet himself as in fact they are. A limited one or a limited thing cannot house an unlimited in its or his environment unless he or it should become unlimited and come out of the limits. A perfect man is unlimited. A perfect man's qualities are without limit. He is the shadow of divine. Such a person can draw the concept as it is of Islam, or Quran or the Prophet, or the world. Others form the concept in line with their own maturity, which in anyway is limited. So, they should develop their own grades and ascend the ladder of perfection. As such, they can attain the concept of “proportionate” to their grades of perfection; the concept of all the facts and truth inclusive of Muhammad becoming a Prophet. The Prophet is a perfect man at the top and summit of the cone of the universe. God the Almighty is unseen and at the same time evident and obvious. He belongs to all the qualities. In Him you can see the collection of qualities without limit and never to end. In the personality of the Prophet, those qualities glitter and through him take their entity. Likewise, all the names and qualities in Quran too shine and glow.

The Prophet's duty to train and make man perfect

This day is a day wherein God sent the most consummate and perfect being, there is no one more perfect than him, to make His creatures perfect; the man who is initially a feeble creature. He has the capacity to progress and attain the highest grades of perfection. God sent him to give man his due station of progress, to widen his dimensions. Dimensions hidden in man are universal. Islam is to train man in each dimension. Different and various concepts that are formed of Islam are due to the views that the various people hold. There is a great difference. None of these concepts has attained the maturity to recognize or conceive Islam or man or Prophet himself or even the world. All are stagnant to go further. Quite likely, most of the people think that the Prophet and the other Prophets God has sent are to rescue man from tyranny or injustice. This is their duty to exercise justice among the people and the society. That is all. Their job is not beyond this. Most likely some could conjecture in the economical dimension. Prophets came to relieve man from hunger and poverty.

Some might think in a mystical dimension. God sent the Prophets to spread and disseminate the divine knowledge and letters. So they limit the office of the Prophets to this sphere of letters. Likewise, philosophers and jurisprudents might think and confine the duty of the Prophets within their conjecture of philosophy and so forth. So, the believers think in some other ways. The open minded ones think in their own vogue—nations—each in its own taste. All think. All have a thought. But all are short to reach the true point. There is a narration: "He who conceives his own self, conceives his Lord."¹ This saying makes us understand that man is such a being, if discovered and known, paves way for knowing God. God can be known by knowing the being of man. Such a saying cannot be true in relation other creatures except man. No one can know the Lord of man unless the man himself. Self-knowledge entails knowing about God. This cannot be attained but by the Prophets of God. This should not be thought that Islam has come to manage the world or to make the men advertent to the world hereafter—the next world. Or it has come to acquaint the people with divine literature. To make anything limited goes contrary to the reality. Man has no limit. As such a teacher or a trainer of man too is limitless. The receipt of training that is Quran is also without limit. It is not limited to this materialistic world nor is it limited to the unseen world. It is not limited to the world of loneliness. It is all. It is everything.

¹ *Tasnif Ghurar al-Hikam*, p. 232.

Lord of the Prophet—a perfect coach for training

It is said that the first revealed chapter is “Read in the name of your Lord”. It is not said: “Read in the name of Allah¹, nor said: “Read in the name of men”. He has said: “Read in the name of your Lord”. This means Lord of the Prophet; the one who has taught the Prophet. This means God the Almighty with all His names and tributes; All the names including being the Lord of the Prophet and man. The entity of God is with all the names and tributes; the names and qualities of God circumference the creatures of the world. In other words all the creatures are the evidence or appearance of His Names and Qualities. When God commands “Read in the name of your Lord” means the name, which includes all the names and qualities. God is the teacher in all its sense in the world of nature, in a world beyond nature; the teaching that is coherent and consistent with all the worlds—the world of arrogance and glory (Jabarut’). This is the Lord of the Prophet. Prophet is bound to read and recite. The very first thing commanded to him is to act according to the narration, reading, education, and training. It is as though He wants to say that your Lord, to whom belongs every thing, orders you to read so that you can teach the people and guide the way—the way of Lord of the Prophet, the last and final one. So, the Prophet is obliged to invite the people to the Lord of the Prophet. Quran too has come for the same end. Islam too has the same mission—to teach and train the people. If there be no teaching on training to man, he is more wild than all the animals and more harmful than all the beasts. Man is such a wild being. If no teaching is couched to him then no being in the world will be more pernicious than him. No being could be harmful to the extent of the harm that he can do. All the Prophets came to train man. If he (man) is left to himself he will upset the whole world. But regrettably; Prophets were not successful in their mission too. “By age, man is indeed a looser”². It is likely that the world Age”³ be a reference to Imam Mahdi in this age. Or a perfect man like the Prophet or the infallible Imams. In our age, the Imam is Mahdi. This is a swearing. I swear by the creatures of age, by the compendium of creatures, or by the brief of the world. It is a copy representing the whole world. The entire world is hidden in this perfect man. He is the brief of the world. He is a compendium of all claims. So God is swearing by his name. God says that man is in a loss. Man is truculent, cruel and ruthless. “Except those who believe, that is those who have received training. Not those who surrender; those who believe; the faithful ones, the

¹ *Surah al-Alaq* 96: 1.

² *Surah al-Asr* 103: 1-2.

³ Part of *surah al-Asr* 103: 3.

believers; the people, those who receive teaching from the Prophets. In our age those who received the teaching of our Prophet they are not the same as the believers. All are in a loss. The exception goes only with the Believers, the Faithful ones. The Believers have these qualities too: "They do good deeds and recommend (others) towards the Truth and patience." This is an exception. The rest of us, are at a loss. Islam has come to bring all the losers into the group of Believers. Islam has not come to wage a war or occupy a country or to conquer others. Islam and all other true religions have come to rescue man from this loss and shelter them for the fortification of Faith. Though the Prophets tried, they did not succeed much.

Prophets are the source of perfection existing in mankind

This little perfection that exists in human beings is due to the Prophets' endeavors. Had the Prophets not come, all the people, with an exception of a few, would have been like beasts of jungle or even worse, fighting each other. Now too, you witness those close to the fortification of Faith, are remoter from the crimes. You can see in the courts and the magistracies that the Faithful ones and the Believers have no files as criminal record. All the cases belong to those who have no Faith. The murder cases or the theft or debauchery concern those who have no belief in Islam or even in God. A number of human beings are taught and trained, which has saved them from crimes. If this little amount of training had not been there, all the humans would have been Carters and Hilters. It is the teaching of the Prophets that saved them, particularly from bestiality and madness which man has for power and self-promotion. But the success they had desired and tried for is not attained. The Prophet was anxious and worried because he was inviting the people towards good and receiving no compliance. "So you are likely to destroy yourselves."¹ One of the agonies of the apostles was the same that their teachings did not fructify as was due. The Prophet wanted to make all the people like Imam Ali. But it could not happen. The Prophethood of Muhammad's great yield is Imam Ali and the Imam of our Age that is Mahdi. This was a great success. God sent the Prophet to turn the human being into perfect conduct. But the Prophet wanted all to become such paragons. But a thorough success was not his lot. Islam is a collection of standards towards making man perfect. Quran is a book; but it has the mission of making man perfect. The Prophet took office of prophet hood till the last day of his life and endeavored to make man perfect. All the battles which have taken place in Islam were for this very purpose—to bring the

¹ Follow-up of *surah al-Asr* 103: 3.

wild and uncivilized humans into the fortification of Islam that is Faith. There was no lust for power. So, we see in the conduct of the Prophet and all the Prophets and the men of piety and Imam Ali that they were not after power. If Imam Ali was not bound by duty or had he not been under the incumbency of the Mission resting upon his shoulders, he would not have accepted the caliphate. He was under an obligation to make man perfect. So this was a binding upon him from God. So he had to obey so as to do to the extent he can, to the measure possible to him. Regrettably, he could not make a man out of Muawiyah. Likewise, the Prophet could not make man out of Abujahl and Abulahab nor their likes. Similarly, Imam Ali could not make man out of those of Muawiyah category. Islam never pulled sword out for gaining power. The Islamic government is not like other governments. If any person pulls the sword out for attaining power, he is distanced from Islam. He has not gained access to Islam. He is a Muslim in name but he has no belief in Islam. The Prophets came to break down these powers, to crush the Satanic Powers. So, our Prophet too came to crush the powers. This is one of the jobs the Prophets had. Prophets had to carry man to the grades of perfection, which was his due. The work or the job is the means. The purpose is the absolute perfection. Prophets want all people to be like Imam Ali. But this has never happened. Prophets did not come for the sake of the world. World is the means to reach this means against perfection that is contrary to perfection. The battle of Imam Ali differs in nature with the battle of Muawiyah. The difference is in itself. Both pull their swords. One is the shadow of divine upon the earth and he pulls the sword. The other is the shadow of Satan and pulls the sword. As such by nature and in nature, these two are different with each other. One is after power and pelf while the other is after God. Whatever he performs is for the sake of God. Therefore, their doings, their performances differ from each other. Prophets also never took one single step for the sake of the world or money or power. He who does not conceive the Prophets may think that they were after the world or other materialistic benefits. World or the power or the materialistic benefits, all were meaningless for them.

The High importance and the value of interest-free loan

The best of the deeds we are performing or you are performing is the extension of loan without taking any interest, i.e. as it is called a good loan'. Sometimes a deed is good. For example, the prayer is among the greatest deeds. But the worshippers or the prayer-holder is bad. He prays to show off. He goes to hell with his prayers. A good loan is good. The cashier's job is

quite difficult. You have to be an honest cashier. Your job as a cashier is for your own people, for your own needy fellows, and you will be useful to your society. Do not try to make a profit by selling something to them along with the loan. Do the job for God and win the trust. The funds people contribute for these institutes of lending good loans' (i.e. without interest) are deposits in the custody or in the hands of cashiers. I do not know any of them. Yes, I know some of them. I don't know whether they have any idea of their own job or they have taken the job just by chance? Anyway, I am not acquainted with any of them as a cashier. You know yourself. A man knows himself better. I mean not to perfection. As for his deeds, he himself knows what he is doing. You too know what you are doing with these deposits. Do you act as it is ordered by God? God willing, I do hope that you perform according to God's pleasure. God forbid, if you have any shortcomings, please compensate for it. The nature of the job is very good. Its responsibility is greater. Good loans are among the good deeds. Lending money without any interest is one of the best and pleasing deeds. There is a point in this transaction. A good loan entails work. Anything free can easily create beggars. But here the good loans go to create work. One borrows. He is bound to pay back the loan. There is a moral bondage upon him. So, he goes in search of work that could enable him to repay the loan within the specified period. The surplus enables him to continue the work. But he, who sits by the side of the street and begs for alms, never thinks to go after work. He is under no obligation. There is no credit in his promise to pay back. Loan is very important. More important than that is a good loan. There is no sin as imposing interest against the money borrowed or lent. Quran clearly condemns it. The point is here. If interest spread in society, activities will diminish. Secondly, the interest—whatever it is as money or anything else, it is not against labor. The moneylender sits idle in his house and passes his time in debauchery and gets the money, while his money goes on giving birth. So this is a tyranny. Others labor and toil. And he takes advantage because he had lent money. The Quranic verse specifies the interest as tyranny. No one will have to work. They lend money and subsist on the interest. Money should circulate and rotate. Thus, work will be created. As such, the means of livelihood will move. Lending money for interest corrupts the society. It encourages corruption. Quran says: "Do not do injustice nor do you undergo injustice." Somewhere else it says: "You have got up to battle God ...". This is very important as lending money for interest is condemned. Giving loan, good loan, without taking or drawing interest is also appreciated in the same proportion.

Recommendation for good and appropriate treatment of a borrower

You have established a great thing. God willing, by your deeds, the interest will depart from this Islamic country. You should pay attention to yourself. Each person should take his account of himself. One of the stations in the way of mysticism is taking account of oneself. One should be careful about himself so that he may not be misled while performing a deed. At night, when he returns home, let him take account of himself in a way as if a third person is interrogating him. Let him interrogate himself. What has he done today? What have you done with this fund of good loans? Ask yourself how you have dealt with this poor man who came to you to borrow money? This is very important. One may give loan or give money freely but with a frown. In other words, he has broken the heart of this borrower, while the heart is a seat where God's glory glitters. You are, anyway, lending money. Why not with a smiling face? Finish the job with him as soon as possible. Don't deal like governmental departments or offices. Treat him tenderly and respectfully. One who borrows feels a shortage in himself. Perhaps he may feel ashamed though poverty is not a matter for shame nor borrowing is to be ashamed of. But, quite likely, he may find himself obnoxious or degraded or vilified. Therefore it is up to you to make him feel at ease and this can be done by your behavior towards him. Since you have the responsibility of giving loan, you yourself by your dealing and conduct can make him not to consider himself in those terms. Such a behavior is more valuable than giving a good loan. Sympathy with the oppressed ones is among the great deeds. Giving a good loan is tantamount to worship. So, for the needy ones, you should keep the cash box open. A borrower may believe in God more than you. He could be more respectable and honorable than you. So having or showing sympathy to such a man is not less than worship. This tops the good deeds. If one gives some money or something for charity and then keeps upon him an obligation this act is repudiated. It becomes void and nullified. Man should polish himself to ward off such doings. I pray to God that all of us, the whole nation, be advertent of Islam and purged from bad qualities.

Preservation of the Islamic system through efforts for reconstruction and progress

Finally let me tell you that you should not be sluggish or idle in this campaign. You are still in the middle of the way. You should pace the way with determination and dexterity, strength, a strong will and a closed fist. As long as your fist is tied, no harm will reach you. Don't open your fist. Going

after personal benefits, such as a desire for a house or a post, or asking what your responsibility is, is opening the fist. Don't open the fist even before God. Let it be in the same position as it was in the earlier days of the campaign. You had no aspiration, no desire and no demand. The women sacrificed their youth for God's sake. They had no greed. You all worked for the pleasure of God. You'd better preserve that spirit. Keep the closed fists alive. Don't fear the powers. These powers are nothing before the power you trust in. They are trying to hinder the formation of Islamic Republic. But they will not succeed in their aim because our nation is determined. There might be few ones having a different view with that of our nation or with adversary intention towards our nation. But they are not that much to be counted. The determination and the will of our nation are so strong that we know that it will be the winner with all its bounds in all aspects. Your fundamental intention should be this—to push ahead this uprising. The way for pushing ahead the uprising is that everyone should perform his job well, whatever it is and wherever it is. Those who work in the farms and fields should try to work with sincerity. It is said that this year our peasants have toiled much. Our nation should help the farmers in collecting their yield. The campaign can progress in this way. If you can mend the farming, the industry, the culture, which is all yours, then this uprising is carried out to a certain extent. I hope that this uprising be against the self too. I want it to be a spiritual uprising. As other things are being done such as cultivation and industry etc., let us campaign against self. A great change happened in the early days of the campaign. That change should be kept alive and attain perfection. Don't fear any war cry. The words that Mrs. Carter is uttering are nothing but a war cry. The world has already condemned them. The world is free and awake. The world is after you. Your uprising is a miracle for the world. So, this uprising must be kept alive in its miraculous dimension. You must progress trusting God and in unity of expression. I hope that we will reach the desired destination. Let this uprising expand to join the uprising of Imam Mahdi. May God help and prosper you and advance our nation forward, and make our adversaries come to themselves. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Decree

Date: June 14, 1980 [Khordad 23, 1359 AHS / Rajab 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Formation of the Cultural Revolution headquarters

Audience: appointed members of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for a Cultural Revolution, which is an Islamic issue, besides the demand of the Muslim nation is already announced since some years ago. But it has not yet been put to effect. As such, the Muslim nation, in particular the faithful and committed students are dragged into anxiety and worry. Moreover they are worried about the malefic and mischievous betrayers. The Muslim fear, God forbid, to lose the opportunity without having done a positive thing. The culture may remain the same as it was during the previous corrupt regime. This important center was kept at the disposal of the colonists, which is quite evident by the output of the university. Few people were at the service of the country and Islam. Others did not do anything except harm, hurt and loss. The continuity of this havoc, which is also the desire of some groups affiliated to foreigners, will be a fatal blow to the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic. Any leniency in this matter can be tantamount to a great betrayal to Islam and the Islamic country. Therefore I have vested Messrs Muhammad-Jawad Bahonar, Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi, Hasan Habibi, Abd al-Karim Soroush, Shams Al-e Ahmad, Jalaluddin Farsi and Ali Shariatmadari with responsibility of forming a squad. They may solicit efficient people having obligation, and some among the professors, Muslims and workers with obligation, and the students with Faith and obligation, and the other educated classes having belief in Islamic Republic to form a consultant council to chart the program in the various subjects and adopt a cultural line of walk for future colleges on the ground of Islamic culture. Moreover, they may select professors already girded and befitting and acquainted with the matters related to revolution and Islamic training. Likewise, the schools and other training centers should be based upon the foresaid ground because they were under the management of seduced and deviated and imperialists' learning and training. By so doing, our dear sons will be protected from deviation. I wish God's success for these gentlemen in

this very sensitive issue. I pray for the glory of Islam and the Islamic countries. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Before noon, June 15, 1980 [Khordad 24 1359 AHS / Shaban 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Worth of a deed in the way of God. Poverty of people at the time of Pahlavi, mischief of the groups against the revolution

Audience: Workers of the Jihad Sazandegi of the of the towns

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Working for God—Its highest worth

I am aware of your hard labor. Likewise, I know the toil undertaken by the sisters sitting above over there. The thing I can do is to pray, to supplicate. I do this for all of you, brothers and sisters. I hope that all of us appear happy and successful before God. You have rendered great services at the cost of many great activities to please God and meet His acknowledgment and the acceptance of the present Imam of time, Mahdi. The troubles become easy and pleasant if they are rendered in the way of God and consolation of mankind. In the past tyrant regimes, if one rendered a service, it was for the tyrant. If it were for the sake of welfare, the welfare was worthless too. The responsibility got widened if the welfare was much. Those who served long years as tyrants and did harm to our nation, which you all know, lived a well and comfortable life. But they got the name of a tyrant in this world and shall meet their due punishment in this world like Nasiri¹ and his kind. They destroyed thousands of houses and thousands of fathers and mothers lost their sons and youths. Finally one can kill him, since he has killed several men and if he is killed it will be against the murder of one man. It will not equal the murder of a thousand people. Here is not the place for punishment. In the next world they will be punished and they will have to pay for it. The deeds are the fetters in the legs of the doer. Whatever one does here; its image will be preserved in the next world. If it be a good deed it will have a good image. If it be a bad deed, it will have a bad image in that world. When we depart from this world, we receive the consequence of our doings in that world. It is not like here to pay the penalty or a fine. Our doings are personified there. Our deeds are either a hell there or a paradise. Those who take pain and undergo labor in the work for the sake of God will see their reward there. They will see a good result. They go with a bright and

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri, head of intelligence service and security in the country (SAVAK).

smiling face before God. They will not be ashamed of themselves. Secondly, they will go after their deeds they did here. We cannot even imagine what they will receive and see for the result of their acts. The bounties of that world cannot be described in this world. Whatever be said of those bounties, it is still only a word, which cannot confine that truth and reality and the extent of the bounty. It can only be conceived when it is tasted and received tangibly. I hope the youth, who are taking so much trouble, receive their reward like the reward of the youths of the early stages of Islam. They were never after any thanks from the people. Sometimes the army of Islam was subsisting on a date in the battle field. They were so poor. It is recorded in history. Sometimes it was even worse. They had to subsist on only one date. One keeps it in his mouth and then passes it on to others and so forth. But they labored for Islam. They were those who gave glory and to Islam. They spread Islam. Now it is our turn. It has reached us. Our guards here cannot be rewarded or compensated. But you should not be disappointed. The deeds that are for God cannot be compensated. It is only God who can compensate it. A work or a deed which is for God has no compensation in this world. Try to do your actions just for God. So, when you get to that world, your hands should be full. You, brothers and sisters, you are performing a great service and you do encounter pain and agony. I hope that all this be recorded in your account-sheet, i.e. your ledger, every week and presented to the Imam of Time, Mahdi and you be the object of his prayers. God willing, we all will be such. We are such in the presence of all saints of God. I hope that you will appear with bright faces in the presence of God. Try to keep this Islamic uprising glitter upon the annals of time.

Poverty and deprivation of the nation during the Pahlavi regime

Now this country is yours. There is no mask over your heads, which might have come from abroad. There is no one to rule over you. During these fifty years all of us have been so. During these fifty years, all of us were in captivity. Everybody has seen that there had always been a secret police in these years. I remember everything ever since this cursed regime came to power. You don't know what this noble nation has suffered during the regime. How our ladies, suffered the pain and ignominy. In the name of civilization and under the pretext of free women and free men they brought havoc upon them. The police of those days were short of good manners and deprived of humanity. They resembled a beast of jungle, even worst than a forest animal. A forest animal is rather mild. As for the respected ladies of Iran, men and youths, clergies, traders, merchants, academic people, all could

not escape from their cruelty. During the second regime (Muhammad-Rida), most of you remember the things he did. The country was not ours. They had made him a servant. They have now made a servant in Iraq¹. Another servant is in Egypt². So, they put a servant who was cruel. Every thing was ready for him. He did whatever he desired. He filled the pockets of his masters and dragged the nation to poverty and destitution. In Tehran itself there were localities for wealthy people and localities for the poor—such as Halabiabad³, and I don't know some others. Perhaps you know the way of their life. All the wealth of this nation went into the pockets of Americans and English. In the time of Rida Khan, mostly the money went into the pockets of the English. Americans, Russians and others were benefited. The rest went into their own pockets and those of their cronies. Some have told me about their palaces as to how they were. But our unfortunate nation was deprived of the bare essentials of life. For example,—in some parts of Tehran, there was no water. Water cannot be supplied there yet. During my stay in Najaf, one of the merchants of Kuwait, or Iranian origin, came to see me. He used to come every year. He was telling that some villages, probably in Fars Province, had no water. They had built something where the rains were stored. The women of the village had to go to two or three kilometers away with their pots to fetch water for their children. He further asked my permission to rebuild that storage of water, which was in ruined condition. I gave him permission to utilize the money that is in Imam's store (Shariyeh Imam). This was the condition. The villagers had to go that much distance to get water. The roads were not asphalt. I don't know if they had any doctor too. Perhaps you might have heard that in some places, due to the lack of a doctor and water, when the eyelids of their children got stuck, impeding the opening of the eye, they used to open the eye by means of urine. This was our civilized nation. It was supposed to reach the level of Japan or become like America. This was the country they used to say "Great Civilization" or the "Door of Civilization". They had cheated the poor people. They had given everything of this country to the foreigners. The people were deprived of their necessities such as a physician, a hospital etc. In Tehran, too, they used to live in tin shelters. I was told that they had to ascend and climb fifty or sixty steps to avail a water tap. Such conditions prevailed in those days. They ate and carried away; but left the troubles for the country. Those

¹ Saddam Husayn (president of Iraq).

² Anwar Sadat (president of Egypt).

³ In the south of Tehran there are tin shelters for the poor.

troubles cannot be mended for years long. If all the people cooperate, it will still take several years to compensate.

Satanic mischief to dishearten the people from the Revolution

In the initial stage of the Revolution, a change took place for all the people, which awakened them. I hope that the change will remain alive and so the vigilance. They will advance forward with the same spirit. In this case, the country will be reformed with a stable and strong economy. Our need to the foreign countries may vanish. We may live a free and independent life.

Among the things I should point out to you is this: Many people have crept into bazaar, colleges, workers' class and other classes of the masses. They are endeavoring to dishearten the people of this uprising. They whisper into the ears of the people's "What has this Islamic Republic done?" "They have done something for us." They want to disappoint the people. If any trouble occurs, the people should remain aloof. On the other hand you have done something that the whole world believes it to be a miracle. Had you done anything that would have been above all the things? What if you had expelled all these thieves, bloodthirsty ones, murderers, man killers and so forth? If it is not so then the Revolution has done no work. Now the fundamental jobs are being done everywhere. There is construction of houses going on. The offices and departments are being purged. You have a great responsibility. You are doing your work. All the classes of the people should be careful that there are adversaries to Islam who whisper in your ears that nothing is done. They themselves know what has happened. They are afraid of the things, which are done. So they fear that still worst might happen to them. Better not to hear them. We have the obligation. We have to work what God has commanded us to do. If it yields a good result, thank God, we have received this world and shall receive the next world too. If we cannot attain the result then we have the next world in any case, Thanks God.

Speech

Time: Before noon, June 16, 1980 [Khordad 25, 1359 AHS / Shaban 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Supervision of Radio and TV and the necessity to purge and reform it

Audience: Managers of the units, and the members of the Islamic Association of the IRIB

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You did not expect that a center has been under the management of a truculent government for fifty years through the security force. The staff and the personnel of it were the elements of their own choice and selection. So, you cannot expect it to become Islamic all of a sudden. Of course, I know that it has improved but not to that extent that is required of Islam. It should be purged sincerely and seriously. It is a center where Islamic propaganda originates. It is the most important spot of propaganda. So, in such an important place, there should not be elements that go contrary to the Islamic trends or the people having roots in the past regime. Radio and TV should be under the supervision of parliament, the government and the executive force. All these three organs should manage it. The parliament has not yet taken the form so as to have a say in the affairs. Therefore, you have to be patient for some time till the parliament gets established. In the meantime, they should do their job. The people who have responsibility, particularly the chief executive, (in charge of the organization) should see that the things are done in an Islamic way. If anyone or the chief executive himself happens to go astray, God forbid, or those who are in the most important places of this center go astray, it would not matter if he or they quit the job. I myself will discharge them. But, still there should be some patient pondering. You should study the people to see if they are befitting to be placed there. This shuttling and sifting of the staff takes time; however it should take place because it is a necessary thing. Till then, the wheels can rotate on their track. It is not so that we do not have experts besides the present working ones. The people should be in reserve. If anyone is to be discharged, his substitute should be ready and handy without causing a break in the process of work or the program. God willing, these issues will be mended. Of course in a revolution of this magnitude things cannot be changed so suddenly in a salubrious way, which can only be created gradually or little by little. I hope that by the grace of efforts of those who are here, the center will be managed

well because they are committed to Islam. All these hurdles will be repudiated when the parliament takes form and this center comes under its supervision and all others according to the constitution. There is no hurdle that cannot be lifted up.

I have always said ever since the things started moving ahead and the campaign attained stability that Radio and TV should be reformed. By reforming them, many things would be reformed subsequently. Likewise, its corruption envelops corruption for many other things. Now you try to perform your duty in an Islamic manner wherever you happen to render service. You note the people committed to Islam. At the same time the step is to be taken seriously and the incompetent people are to be replaced. I hope all things get better as soon as possible. In any case, a little patience is, necessary though. It is not only Radio and TV. All the organs are in similar split and chaos. All can be reformed gradually. I hope all these affairs will be set right gradually. They will take shape through Islam and its commandments.

God willing, be prosperous. The service you are performing has its own worth. All should join it. God willing, you set the things right there in a sense of a paragon.

(Imam Khomeini regarding the songs broadcast from Radio and TV said:

The songs which are useful and thrilling can be broadcasted. There is no objection to it. The songs of Mr. Mutahhari have no objection.¹

¹ A song was versified on the occasion of the martyrdom of Mutahhari.

Message

Date: June 17, 1980 [Khordad 26, 1359 AHS / Shaban 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Glorifying Hadrat Abu Abdillah al-Husayn. Warning to plotters

Occasion: The birthday of Imam Husayn. The Day of Guards

Addressees: Iranian nation and the Revolutionary Guards

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today is the 3rd of the holy month of Shaban; a blessed day. It is the Day of Guards of Islam, of Truth, and of a divine school. Today is the birthday of the one who by himself, his sons and his associates' blood kept the school alive; a school which was going astray and towards ignorance; A school which they were trying to make it according to their nationalism of Arab. A school whose slogan was "There is no news of the next world nor revealed any revelation."

Islam was to vanish. As such in the Islamic justice, there came the regime of Shah. Islam and revelation was dragged to isolation. A great person who fed upon the justice of divine revelation, sprung from the house of the chief of the Prophets, Muhammad, born to the parentage of Ali and Zahra and stood against the strays. He created that great event¹ ²by his unique sacrifice and a divine uprising. The castles of tyrants collapsed and were pulled down. The school of Islam was rescued and saved. Peace and prayers be upon his great and unshakable spirit and the spirit of his family members and associates. He guided us from the darkness of ignorance to the light of truth. So, now O the nation of Islam and the nation of Muhammad! It is upon us to follow our great Imam and guard the revolution by sacrifices. The continuity of this dear school, which ensures the freedom of the victims and the annihilation of tyrants, needs to get rid of self-lust which is the heritage of Satan. The sluggishness, disappointments—a plot of the enemies of this Islamic country should be crushed in its embryo. O Guards! You have sprung from the core of the Islamic nation and have guarded Islam and the holy campaign. You made the revelation bear fruit by your sacrifices and the blood of your brothers. You have purged Iran from the pollution of the corrupt regime of Shah by your great bravery and the courage of army and

¹ Neither a revelation nor news came.

² The battle of Ashura and the martyrdom of Hadrat Imam Husayn and his followers.

the security forces. You cut the hands of criminals from abroad out of this Islamic country. Yet, you should be vigilant and advertent that the enemy is in ambush. The supporters of the big Satan and the regime are engaged in their plots.

I would like to point out a few remarks in this day—the birthday of the Lord of Martyrs, the Guard of Islam. The martyrs of the revolution, their spirit is present here. I say so because I don't want to betray you nor do I want any treason to be made to you.

1. It is possible that there might be traitors infiltrated amidst you. They could have dragged the plain-hearted guards committed to Islam, to deviation. They might incite them to confiscate the properties of people without a legal ground or to disobey or to ignore the order and discipline to make them disdained by the people or to spoil their real entity. By so doing they try to spoil the hard labor they have so far undertaken. In short, they try to make them most hated figures within the eyes of the nation. Therefore, you should know they are enemies to the Islamic Revolution and to you who invite you to chaos. If you face or find such people, you should introduce them to the revolutionary courts.

2. It is incumbent upon you to obey your commanders. Disobedience results in getting the armed forces weak. Those who incite you to such an act aim at your weakness. If they do it deliberately, they are your enemies and enemies of the revolution and Islam. So, it is upon you to introduce them to the authorities so that they may be dealt with seriously.

3. Coordination with all the forces, army and security, and the government organs is a necessary duty of you—the respected guards. The obedience to the commander-in-chief who is my representative is one of religious and Islamic duties incumbent on you and on all the armed forces.

4. I do know that you are from a deprived class. Your salaries are trifle. You took a brave step in the revolution to triumph. You continued the struggle not for worldly gains. Now it is not so too. It was for the sake of God and Islam. You recall the army in its early days of Islam. They passed their days by one single piece of date. They subsisted on one date. They fought the enemy on this trivial nourishment. They kept their wages on God to pay them. They believed that God will compensate all their hardships.

5. The president and the government should necessarily take the necessary steps to strengthen the armed forces and particularly the guards of the revolution. They must try to compensate their wants and shortages. The Revolutionary Consultant Board and then the parliament should sanction a budget for the armed forces particularly the guards to a due and desired level.

To strengthen them is to strengthen the country because they guard the freedom of the country and keep the campaign alive.

6. Committees should remain as long as the need for them is there. Although it is necessary to wind them up but the need cannot be overlooked. Those who act against Islamic standards must be dismissed.

7. I shall appoint people in the squads of guards, gendarme and police as I have done in the army to report about the run of things every week. The purpose is that the members, the committed Muslims, in charge of army and the organs could form an inspecting institute in the armed forces and have supervision over all the organs. Then they can report the matters to me in brief. I hope that the armed forces which are now in the service of Islam will coordinate among each other towards protecting the country and Islam without any fear through the backing of the nation.

8. I demand from all the government and national organs and other groups to refrain from sectarian activities or groups' divisions and the self-lust and opportunism. They should be in the service of the country and the victims. They should try not to go astray from the path of the nation. They should believe that God is present and sees everyone's action. They should avoid divisions and hypocrisy. They should prefer the interests of the country to their own. They should not try to weaken each other. They should be with the nation. May God be your protector. Greetings of God and His virtuous servants be to the souls of the martyrs of the Revolution. Finally, I would like to remark what all of you know. That is to appreciate and respect the martyrs of the Revolution and their families and also the disabled ones. All the executive system should attend to the demands of the martyrs from ties, disabled ones because we owe them. We and the nation are under their obligation. If any, in any office or ministry, happens to create obstacles for them, he should be dismissed and put to trial as anti-Revolution.

I wish from God the glory and greatness of Islam, Muslims and our dear country. May peace be upon the pious servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 18, 1980 [Khordad 27, 1359 AHS / Shaban 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Friday prayers leader

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Shirazi

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Abul-Hasan Shirazi, may his graces last,

Hereby you are appointed as the leader of the Friday prayers in the holy city of Mashhad. This great divine duty is upon you. Please acquaint the respected inhabitants with the Islamic duties and Revolutionary incumbencies in this sensitive period of time. Further, you exert efforts towards gluing unity among them. It is obvious that the natives there will enthusiastically perform the Friday prayers as much gloriously as they can. Besides they will extend their cooperation with you. I wish success and prosperity from God for all of you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Shaban 4, 1400 AH

Message

Time: Afternoon, June 18, 1980 [Khordad 27, 1359 AHS / Shaban 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Distinction of the Iranian Revolution with all other revolutions in the world

Addressees : Workers of the Jihad-e Sazandegi across the country

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

The unique distinction of the Iranian Revolution is its religious feature

Although the place is very tight, and the air too hot, yet I would like to tell you a few words. The revolutions taken place in the world or will take place later were either by the people themselves or the governments which is coup d'état. Most of the revolutions were coup d'état. The revolutions done by the nations were mostly at the guidance of the parties or in the line drawn by the parties. You will never find one among the revolutions if you search all of them that it has happened purely by the nation without intervention or guidelines of any political party or a group or a sector. Next, you will never spot one that has had a school of thought and a divine school too. You will never find one similar to the revolution happened in Iran among all the revolutions of the world. The revolution of Iran had an Islamic dimension and still it has. People are Muslims throughout the country. They campaigned with the Islamic thought. All have witnessed that at the time of assault by the corrupt regime all went out with a cry of *Allahu Akbar* (God is the greatest). This they did all over the country. All were against that arrogant regime. All demanded an Islamic regime. It was not to abolish one tyrant regime and to replace another tyrant one. There was no role for any political party. There was never any thing like this. This revolution was in the shadow of Islamic thought and idea. Islam has everything. Our nation never came out in the streets to demand such and such regime. It came out to demand Islam. All were together at the word of Islam and the Republic of Islam. No group, political or non-political, had a say in the campaign. The campaign progressed in a miraculous way. The reason was that it was an Islamic movement. The nation's aim is God, so that nation will progress and triumph. It has no fear of death. It is divine. Those who are divine do not fear death. They have risen to establish God's command. No person, no group, no party has a right to claim it is his creation or doing. This is done and achieved by the nation. This a God's doing. It was a miracle happened by the will of God.

As long as this dimension remains divine, the nation cannot be harmed or scathed.

Particularities of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Particularity of an uprising originated from the masses themselves is what happened in Iran. The revolution succeeded to a certain extent. Some people throughout the country have come forward to make the people aware. In the meantime, there is neither regulation nor a discipline. The people themselves have taken the responsibility of forming organizations. They have formed groups. The nation has created courts across the country. A clergy has become magistrate in every town and sub-town. A few have become prosecutors. All this has taken shape without any formal orders from the center. Across the country, various institutes are formed. All these institutes are the effusion sprung from within the masses. The nation stands a security to them. Jihad Sazandegi, Committees, and Guards—all these organs are fresh and new. The people themselves have brought these things into existence without systematic organization. Such a responsibility for construction exists as long as there is cooperation among people. If the passion that the nation had since the early days of the revolution vanishes, God forbid, that day will be a destructive one to the nation. Why should it vanish? If differences, divisions, self-lust, creep in it will serve as a ground for disappearance of that divinely dimension—the secret of the victory—from amidst the people. This will be the reason. The Mercy of God will be lifted up. Therefore, act in a way that “The hand of God with a group¹ may not lose its sense. If the groups be together and the Islamic thought be alive, God shall be with you.

Give service with sincere purpose, and not with personal interest

The organizations that came into being in Iran were initially based on true divine purpose and took a divine appearance. If this divine purpose get belittled and lowered by you, the hand of God will be lifted up. So, try to make your service divine. I mean the service you are rendering in the organization you are in. Your service is of much value and worth. Let your service be for the sake of God, for the victims and the oppressed ones. God is pleased with such a service.

Try to keep away from the selfish lust. Don't pollute your service with the undesired or obscene things. Satan is in ambush to speck these Islamic organizations. Betrayers are working hard. The treacherous hands are busy.

¹ A *Hadith* by the Prophet, authenticated by *Tirmidhi*, vol 3, p. 316.

All want to represent these Islamic organs to the world in a way which they are not. God forbid, if anything bad happens for these organizations it will be an opportunity for the adversaries. They will bring ignominy and odium to you although you are rendering service to God. The courts all over the country should be mindful of the court and the justice of God. They will ward themselves off deviation, errors and blunders. Furthermore, as for the properties of the people they should act with much prudence. If, God forbid, an innocent is treated as a criminal and punished accordingly, it shall be a great sin before God. There will be no justification for God. You, gentlemen! You are in the Jihad-e Sazandegi, try to make it a real “*sazandegi*”, i.e. construction. There should not be any deviation. If the Jihad be a real one constructive it will be espoused with the Jihad-e Akbar (i.e. The Greatest Jihad). I appreciate you youths and all the youths across the country. You are taking pain and undergoing fatigue as you are working in the Jihad of Reconstruction. As you are in the Jihad of Construction, I want you to try to be in the Jihad of self (i.e. a holy war against the selfish motives). The present job you are doing, if it be sincerely for the sake of God a Jihad against the self too has taken place. I finish the speech because you are sitting in a troublesome pressing gathering. I wish from God that you be honorable in the presence of God. Peace, blessings and the mercy of God on you.

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

Decree

Date: June 19, 1980 [Khordad 28, 1359 AHS / Shaban 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointing a representative in the IRGC

Addressee: FaDallulah Mahallati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban 5, 1400 AH

Khordad 28, 1359 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh FaDallulah Mahallati, may his graces last,

Hereby I appoint you as my representative in the squad of guards. With the cooperation of my members of delegation who are committed Muslims and responsible of the security forces and who are acceptable to all, you should organize a committee for the inspiration of the military issues. The committee will be responsible to report to me every week with care and accuracy whatever occurs in the above named organs. The armed forces personnel are obliged to cooperate with you.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 19, 1980 [Khordad 28, 1359 AHS / Shaban 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in the police

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban 5, 1400 AH

Khordad 28, 1359 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Imami Kashani, may his graces last,

Hereby I appoint you as my representative in the police force. With the cooperation of my representatives in the Guards, army and gendarmerie, and the members of the delegation who are committed Muslims and responsible of the security forces and who is acceptable to all, you should organize a committee for inspection of the military issues. The committee will be responsible to report me every week with care and accuracy whatever occurs in the above named organs. The army personnel are obliged to cooperate with you.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 19, 1980 [Khordad 28, 1359 AHS / Shaban 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in the gendarme

Addressee: Muhyiddin Anwari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban 5, 1400 AH

Khordad 28, 1359 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhyiddin Anwari, may his graces last,

Hereby you are appointed as my representative in the army, guards, police and the members of the delegation who are committed Muslims and responsible of the security forces and who are acceptable to all, you should organize a committee of inspection of the military matters. The committee will be responsible to report to me very week with care and accuracy whatever occurs in the above named organs. The armed personnel are obliged to cooperate with you.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: June 23, 1980 [Tir 1, 1359 AHS / Shaban 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of an in charge of religious accountable affairs

Addressed to: Abdul-Ali Mazari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All praise is to God, Lord of the Worlds, May God bless Muhammad and his progeny—pure and purged. Curse of God be upon all their enemies.

His Eminence Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali Mazari has served great many years of his blessed age in religious learning at the sacred religious institute of Qum. He has authority in collecting the religious funds such as *zakat*, fines—the penalty fund against tyranny and as well as the Imam's sacred share and the share of the respected progeny of the Prophet (i.e. *Sadat*). He is allowed to spend the referred funds among the deservers of the place where he intends to travel to settle down there, namely Mazar, Chahar Kent, Dazzeh; Yusuf, Poshtavand, Dazzeh Yusuf, Pushtavand, Dahna Ghor, which is in the jurisdiction of the commander of Balkh, Afghanistan. I hope he will be prudent enough in collecting and spending the religious funds. I wish from God success for him.

May God's peace be upon him and upon our Muslim brothers.

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini
Shaban 9, 1400 AH

Statements

Time: Afternoon of June 23, 1980 [Tir 1, 1359 AHS / Shaban 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Importance of preserving the Islamic characteristic of the movement

Addressees: Commander and the responsible figures of the security and the intelligence of the guards of Tehran and provinces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gentlemen! Today the most important thing for us is to safeguard the Islamic nature and dimension of the campaign. It was since its early stages. It is also Islamic today. God willing, it shall remain so till the end. All of us—the nation, all of you, those who are guards, army, gendarme, police, officers, government departments, ministries, should concern themselves with pushing ahead this campaign in its Islamic dimension. It should be in away that if one visits any quarters or the spots of this country, he should see it as a mosque. He should feel that the people are bound to Islam and its conduct. If such and such preserved no one will see any decline. A dimension that consists every thing and everyone can be well under its umbrella—should be kept alive. If it misses its Islamic aspect, everyone will choose a way for himself. As such the ways will multiply with various destinations or sides. When the ways get twisted and torturous then the harm becomes easy. On the other hand, we should be under one banner like the groups in the early days of Islam, which were few but united under one banner. Their movement was one. So they were victorious. Now we are in such a position. Islam is trusted to us. Whether you like it or not, you are the guards of Islam. You are not like the past security forces. They had different character and conduct. Presently, all the forces are Islamic guards. Whoever becomes a guard of Islam, he himself should be Islamic. His walk of life should be in a way to reflect the Islamic characteristic to others whoever happened to see or estimate them. The seduction or deviation sometimes appears among the youths who have no understanding of these matters. So you should hold them going astray or getting seduced. The security for this is your own actions or deeds. Anyway, you should check them from entering into the people's lodgings or transgressing others and so forth. Such things are now attributed to them. I cannot believe it to be true. The fundamental point is that we have to move according to the way of Islam. We must develop and push ahead the campaign upon the base of Islam. We should keep away from the creating

differences. You see what the newspapers are writing, and how one is crushing the other. These and such things must be refrained from. You all must be brothers. The brotherhood must cement you all to be together, associated and united under one banner of *tawhid* that is the united of God, uniqueness of God, monotheism. The campaign should move ahead from that spot. Victory is yours. If it be so, your activity which is guarding Islam becomes worship. When you stand to pray, you should be careful of every movement so that the prayers be accepted. Similarly, you should guard all sides because you are the guards of Islam. By so doing, your service can stand for the sake of Islam. Then you can become the army of Islam. All your works will be worship. As your prayer is worship, your other works will be worship.

Your prosperity, success happiness I wish from God the blessed and the exalted. In these matters as I have told Messrs. Montaziri, Meshkini and Rasti¹. You may get their instructions. They are men of virtue. There is no objection at all if you approach them or reflect them. May God support you.

[In reply to the statement of the guards' commander:] We hope that gradually these matters will be reformed. These are the things that need time. Husayn² shall talk to them—Bani-Sadr and the consultant board, so that they can take decision. God willing, you will be happy.

¹ These three are instructors at the Theological School in Qum.

² Aqa Sayyid Husayn Khomeini.

Speech

Date: June 26, 1980 [Tir 4, 1359 AHS / Shaban 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Disturbances created by groups related to foreign countries; vigilance of nation against plots and mischief

Addressees: Members of Islamic Consultant Boards, workers of Iran, the personnel of Military Health Sector

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If I am called a servant, it is better than to be called a leader

I thank you all, the army, workers and various categories, which have come over here to see me.

If I am called a servant, it is better than being called a leader. I hope that all of us and all of you, among the army, the workers and all the classes of the nation might be mindful of an important matter. You all know, particularly the workers that from the early days of the revolution till now, the classes of the people who have stood and campaigned against the revolution in various types and various methods. On the whole all their efforts were anti-revolutionary and anti-Islam; the groups which appeared after the revolution. Occasionally, they claim being Islamic. They become Muslims better than you. Sometimes they claim being revolutionary. They become revolutionary far beyond you. Sometimes they consider themselves founders of the revolution. The revolution, in fact, is done by the masses of the people—from workers, peasants, students and you. All of you have achieved this revolution that is brought to here. They had been abroad and watching. Or they were here watching to see who will win. If Shah and his camp won, they would go that side and make them indebted and themselves creditors. If you and the nation won, they would move this side as creditors and you the indebted. They use different pretexts and various names. They want to have everything—by using your name or the name of a worker, though they don't value a worker. They exert efforts to block the way for the revolution till its fructification. This is the last fruit the Prophet had desired. Since they are hurt by Islam they are certainly anti-Islam; even more than before

Chaos and tumult through the affiliated groups

These groups have grown like mushrooms. They have hailed from various countries. They were waiting for an opportunity to block the way of the revolution. This is a danger for our revolution. We know they will not perform a positive thing. But we are concerned that they will create trouble for us. You have witnessed that they have created difficulties in Kurdistan. They could not vanquish but they kept creating troubles for a long time. They did the same in Tehran too. They cannot do anything serious. But they can create chaos. At every occasion, something fundamental took place, these groups which are now in Iran has created some mischief at the same time.

The first day when you were to vote for the Islamic Republic of Iran, these groups created chaos around Tehran. This step was taken. Anytime you advanced a step ahead, they created mischief. When the parliament was established and it started work, these groups created chaos simultaneously. They create trouble and they cry. They kick and beat others and they shout. This is a tricky dimension they have. This is the way they do things. As a result, it will hinder and hamper fructification. They shout that they sacrifice their life for the sake of the nation.

The opposition of the affiliated groups to the cultural reformation

You see what they, who are at the margin of the Islamic Republic, perform and utilize the names of Islam, people, nation and etc. It is likely I may utter "Islam" or *Fadai-ye Khalq*" or *Fadai-ye Khalq* or *Mujahidin-e Islam* or *Khalq*. But when you look into my performance, you will see that I have been these organizations since the beginning. I have pulled the gun everywhere. I have been an oppugner. Wherever there was a reformation, I have appeared there and stood against it. Furthermore, I have even pulled the gun and closed my fist. Well, the colleges, which were at the service of imperialists, were supposed to be reformed. As soon as the plan for the reformation of the colleges was charted out, a fortification was made in the colleges to evict the plan taking place. Now they are sheltered in the same fortifications. This time it was done abroad. They try to prevent the formation of the cultural reformation. They do not want a revolution in the culture. They want the same culture to last and remain so that such fellows may come out of its womb—the people like the past deputies and ministers. These people wanted to destroy the country. They did the same before too. They were the past ministers, deputies and the chiefs. The calamities that hailed on this nation were brought by these same ones. It was they who gained access into the nation under the names of *fadai-ye khalq* and etc.

They did not let the nation be its own. Whatever you had, they poured into the others' pockets. Their cronies, the associates of the deposed Shah ate the rest. So now they are campaigning against this uprising.

Everyday when this uprising wants to take a step ahead, or the parliament wants to go into session, we encounter some disturbances in Hamjadiyeh. Much regrettably, our youths do not know what they are doing and aiming to do. Even some people who are affiliated to me do not know what is going on. They think it is just a matter of some rascals or rogue business. Is this the only thing? No. It is not so. This is just a periphery phase. It is something else. It is too deep. It is an American issue. This is the thing that America should come here and take the destiny of our nation. It is not the matter of demonstrations—one wants and one is against. They are after huggermugger to create setback in the run of the country.

Creation of trouble through the mistreatment of the workers and peasants

You, the gentlemen and workers! You have an important role in this country. You want to cut the hands of others from this country. You have already witnessed that in this period of one year and some months that people infiltrated in your rows. They narrated Speeches or whispers. They provoked some people among you to go on strikes and things like that. Their pretext was that they are your supporters. A worker in any country, if he does not work and carries out strikes, that country will be destroyed. They are wolves in sheep clothing and with such a disguise they approach you. They shake your beliefs and make your stand evasive by telling you what you are and what others are. They are not your sympathizers. Sympathy is a mask for them to delude you. They want to paralyze you, and the plants and the cultivation of lands. They are those who set fire to the heaps of corn when the farmers want to collect the yield of corn. Presently, they are doing the same thing.

Those who are in favor of our campaign or the revolution, go alongside our nation. They are with these workers and farmers. They want to emancipate the country from the foreign yoke. Thus, we understand who the enemy of our campaign and the revolution is. A country can be emancipated through work. A peasant works in his farm. A worker works in a plant and so forth. All should work if the country is to be free and independent of foreign sources. Those who creep into your rows and stymie the work, or mingle with a group to prevent you from the work, or distribute the money (come from abroad) among some of these ignorant workers, to make them go on

strike; They are from the same root of the past regime. In cultivation it is the same. They mingle with farmers. They create troubles. They go around the country, from corner to corner, telling them that so and so has house, has property. They assault on the peoples' properties and houses without any religious sanction. We are ignorant of them. They cannot be disappointed so soon. They have interests here. They have many benefits—materialistic ones and otherwise. Our country is a bridge of victory for them. Therefore, they cannot give up this country because of their interests.

Creating chaos through deceptive slogans

We should not forget that now we have become free, so we should not foster chaos or strike. We should bear in mind that in a country where a revolution has taken place a great many disturbances are likely to occur. Gentlemen! You are at least fifty or more years, which I well remember. You must remember the deposed Shah, his work in recent years. What did he do under the name of great culture? He said: "I want to make Iran like Japan, like America within two to three years". So he said and surrendered the very honor of the country to foreigners.

Of course, he who is a saboteur would not reveal his real character in advance. But he would pretend that, "I am your friend" or "I wish your success", or these clerics are backward and whatever they say is useless and that they are adherents of capitalists, for example. Even if a truth-seeker comes to them they will tell him that you won't get anywhere. They are supposed to say the clerics are retrogressive. Who are these clerics anyway? We want to be at your service, they say. These groups corrupt the country. For instance, in Kurdistan they do the malevolent mischief. If the situation there becomes normal, they go to the other part of the country. If Baluchistan gets normal, they will head to the center. In the center they can do better, because it is a big place. They come with the name of Islam, Quran and so forth. This country should not be cheated.

Things should be legal within the shortest period

This revolution went ahead and advanced forward within a span of one year and a few months by your strong hands. You even succeeded in forming the things which a government needs. The Islamic Republic, then the parliament, you have achieved all. You have gone to the ballot boxes several times and voted openly and freely and voluntarily. This is a slap on the face of those who cannot tolerate the progress of Islam. They know that all these

things could not have been achieved had not there been an Islamic uprising. It is the strength and the power of Islam pushing ahead all these things.

You see in Iraq, which is close to us, they did a revolution some twenty years ago. Now this year, they have held elections. This is to say that we are human beings here. Their elections are far worse than the elections in the era of Shah. It is not the case that people go to the ballot boxes and cast their vote. As it was in the days of the Shah, they take the people to the ballot boxes and draw their votes as they desire; all by coercion and force. They are worse than the Shah's regime here. They see that all the necessary things are done in Iran within one year and so which a country should necessarily have. But they have done nothing after twenty years even by tyranny and dread of cruelty.

The real target of the enemy—The nature of the Islamic revolution

It is hard for them to tolerate this Islamic Revolution. They analyze and see what has happened. What is the difference between a man here and a man there? Both are men. But one claims to be the leader. There is a party everywhere. But in Iran, there is no such thing. There is no party there. But what was there that the things progressed and developed with such a haste and speed. When they ponder on these things, they conclude that the main reason that gave motion to the wheels in Iran was the school. It was the school of Islam, which did all the things. People did because God was their target. They did everything for the sake of God. When God is the target, people become His hand. When God is the purpose, the fists are closed. It is so now too and shall be so in future as well. The thing that should be taken into consideration is Islam. People come nearer to Islam. People shall tell others the laws of Islam. But they draw the contents from the revolution; the revolution, without content. This is the last strike. In other words, it is returning the things to their previous state, in a different phase. Their aim is Islam. They say that there should be no Islam. No matter whatever else there be.

Some intellectuals among some classes say that the Majlis should be national. For example, the Islamic consultative Assembly should be national, i.e. national parliament because its name 'national' exists in the constitution. Their point is that the name 'Islam' should not exist. They fear Islam. There should be 'national' but not 'Islamic'. In fact, there is no such clause in constitution to fix the name 'National' or parliament, i.e. the National Parliament. But such a name does not exist in constitution. Yes, it is said to be mentioned against a thing. The National Parliament, it has been named but

not an obligatory law to bind it. It has not been made a compulsory obligation that the parliament should be called a National one. For instance, suppose if in parliament one says what is the news in the palace of senate? This does not mean that the constitution or the Islamic law wants to name the senate as "Palace". What they argue is a thing of the past. Now it should be Islamic. They fear the name of Islam. Even the name is horrible for them. They clamor for the name national and so on.

These things are not just by chance. But it is the consequence of their studied plot and plan. Whenever you wanted to do a thing, they gathered and aborted your efforts. They want to change the mentality and mind of the nation. They want to pervert the mind of the people. They want to take the route from the nation and put another route, whatever it is or wherever it might lead to. However, they create a problem that could attract the attention for a month so that during a period of a month, perhaps they can do something.

The enemies of Islam are known by their approach

You should be careful. You should know the enemies. If you do not know them, you cannot defend yourself. Your enemies are those who prohibited the right to vote ever since the Islamic Republic was formed. They set fire to the ballot boxes. They broke the boxes which they could not burn. They prohibited the Islamic Republic, and they have become one of it, a part of it. They are now supporters of the Republic. This is not support. This is a trick. This is a chicanery. If they want to say 'I am against Islam', I have nothing to do with Islam'. Iran is an Islamic country. So, they cannot do anything. Therefore, they are obliged to say we are Islamic. So, we should see their actions. We should see the chaos they create. Since the early beginning, they have created trouble. These groups, the adversary groups, each have a different name. Troubles, problems, tumult, chaos is created to distract you so that you cannot continue pacing on the straight path which is your route, a route God has ordered you to pace.

Those who were servants in the Court of Muhammad-Rida now have become against Muhammad-Rida. They are not against Muhammad-Rida. It is only to make you think so. We are being tricked in this way. Or, we may leave them alone. Or, we may become their sympathizers. They were able to fool our naïve youths. They are well-versed in propaganda. Therefore, the nation should be advertent not to be tricked or cheated. They are posing themselves attached to Islam. The nation should see their record as to whether they are so in practice too? Or, they want to destroy Islam by

uttering the name of Islam. The thieves also commit robbery under the name of Islam.

By the name of Islam, we should not be fooled. We should see into the record of their deeds. We should see the contents of the books they write. We should see what their propaganda is and what it is for. They just want to say they are Muslims. But only a claim is not sufficient. These days all people say they are Muslims. All say that they are revolutionary. There is no one who says that he is not a revolutionary. Some say they have done the revolution. Well, how odd! How strange! This nation, what should it say? The people went out into the streets, into the squares, stood against guns and tanks, campaigned against the past regime and the big powers, and finally brought the revolution to this stage. But now I have come here. I sit here. I say "I am your leader". You are wrong. On what grounds you are the leader? Why should you be the leader? So, everyone has some or other claims to make. Everyone says he has done such and such. Well, where did you do it? Where were you? If a thief, who was from your stock and stem, was killed. So, then were you a revolutionary?

One should check who are these groups in this country and what are they doing here? They do what is harmful. Regrettably, there are some who are not advertent of these matters. Sometimes they sympathize with them. Sometimes they say a thing which these groups utilize to their benefit and say it is a support for them. They even wanted to fool me. I was in Najaf. They had come there to fool me. They were there for twenty days and so. Some said twenty-four days. I don't remember the exact number now. They were among those who claim Islam. One of them came to me. I gave him the opportunity to say what he wanted to say. He thought that he is playing a trick on me, and I was already cheated. From Iran too, one had written to me a letter recommending the visitors. May God rest his soul in peace. He had sent me a letter. These visitors had gained the sympathy of those who had written me the letters. They had come under their influence. I heard their words.¹ He spoke from Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah*. All his words were within the framework of Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah*. I heard the story of the Companions of the Cave.

I remember a story that had taken place in Hamedan. Perhaps it was in the days of the late Sayyid Abdul-Majid Hamedani. One Jew had converted into a Muslim by Sayid Abdul-Majid Hamedani. Some time passed. A few days later Sayyid Abdul-Majid Hamedani noted that he (the Jew previously) is showing his Islam too staunch and too ardent more than Sayyid Hamedani

¹ "They are courageous" an allusion to *surah al-Kahf* 18: 13.

himself. He had become far more Muslim than any one else. Sayyid Hamedani became doubtful. So, he wanted to know the reality of the case. One day called the new Muslim (the old Jew) and asked him:

Do you know me?

Yes. You are one of the clergies of Islam.

Do you know who are my father and ancestors?

Yes. The Prophet is your ancestor.

Do you know yourself?

Yes. I and my ancestors were Jews. Now I have become Muslim.

Now tell me, why are you such a devout Muslim?

Here the Jew understood that his plot was detected. So he fled away.

The man came to Najaf, stayed more than twenty days. He spoke only from Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah*. I remembered the memory all of a sudden. My mind remarked me clandestinely. This man is like that one. You have faith in God and in other beliefs. Why then you come to me? I am neither God nor a Prophet, nor an Imam. I am only a clergy in Najaf. He had come to me. I only listened to him. I did not speak at all. I spoke when he said: "We will start an armed campaign." I told him not to put and expose himself to the danger of death because an armed uprising is impossible to be done.

They try to annihilate us by the very means of Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah* in order to annihilate Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah* later. It is the same story as happened in the days of Imam Ali. They raised the Quran over lances and said this Quran shall decide the dispute between us. Imam Ali was really a victim. He told and wept saying that it was a chicanery, a trick, a plot. We should fight. We should fight. But it was to no avail. After a while, they gathered around him (Imam Ali). They threatened him. They pulled out their swords. They told him that they would kill him if he did not give order to retreat. It is the command of Quran, they said. So, Imam Ali was compelled. He was left with no alternative. He was obliged to yield to the ignorant crowds. The victory for Imam Ali was sure, had the army stayed an hour in its ranks and rows. But here Imam Ali was under compulsion. He was obliged to give orders to retreat. As such, the army of Islam was defeated. It was a fatal defeat which entailed fatal consequences giving birth to various and worse issues. Those who had pulled swords for him again pulled their swords against Imam Ali. So, we should see their deeds to judge them correctly. Those who pulled the swords on Ali, had forehead glittering with the sign of prostrations to God. Ibn Muljim had a forehead with the symptoms of prostrations that he prayed to God. But, in

spite of that, you see what he did. Symptoms of prayers over his forehead, and he killed Imam Ali himself! So, which one should we believe? his worship or his performance? his assassination of Imam Ali or his prayers to God?

Annihilation of Islam in the name of Islam

Islam has always had trouble with such people. They tried to destroy Islam by its own name. Did not Muhammad-Rida print Quran? Was he not going to Mashhad annually? Did he not keep speaking of Islamic justice and so on? Did he not say that Abbas rescued him from danger? These words have power. Power is hidden in such words. A real power is concealed in such sayings. Therefore, they seriously tell the nation things like that without feeling the least shame or embarrassment. They say, posing too serious and sincere face that this is done by God. God has done this and so forth. People believe such things. Many trusted his words. Well, a king says Quran', says Islam', says more and more. So, what should be done with such a man? We should labor long to make the people see or conceive the other face of this man. Both sides of a coin should be seen. You know there is a face with Quran, Islam, God, *Nahj al-Balaghah* and etc. With such a face he comes before people. It is dangerous. We should introduce such faces—one like that of Muhammad-Rida—to the crowds. We shall be victorious if we make the people know their second face. This was what exactly happened in the case of Muhammad-Rida.

In whatever case we enter, we see the aim and the target is the clergy. Muhammad-Rida used to say in his Speeches: "Name these follows backward ones". He further said: "They are the agents of the backward force". They are agents of the British government. I was once in Tehran sitting in a car. We were three in the clergy dress. I heard by my own ears one telling the other: "I had not seen these skeletons for long." He further said: "The English people have made these figures in Najaf and Qum in order to fool the nation." So, in those days, we were British agents. Now we are regarded backward. The open-minded men consider so.

Throughout the period of Rida Khan's rule, the force that confronted him and stood against him was this very backward one. They were clergies uprising against him. They wanted to awaken the people to the realities. Because they are hurt by this class of people, they want to separate them from the people. They had separated the university students from the clergy class more and more. How they want to do the same with all the masses.

They don't want any hindrance for their doings. There should be no one to ask them why and what for.

Warning against infiltrating agents and the need to identify them

I must say a thing here to the nation of Iran and to the clergy class of Iran. I am afraid of some clergies infiltrated into this category doing things undesirable and harmful. I am afraid of these disguised clergies who might change the very face of Islam. They might display Islam in a shape or a status, which is not its real one. I address the clergy class of Iran to identify and introduce these fake clergies who have gained access into many locations such as revolutionary organizations and committees and etc. to the people and tell them that they are not from us. We keep away from them. It will be too late when we come to know that throughout Iran committees of Imam have sprung up. No body knows who this Imam is. What information the Imam has about the committees, we ourselves don't know. Everyone has done what he wanted in the name of so and so.

A few days ago, what Mr. Khalkhali did in the premises of the shrine of Shah Abdulazim¹ was a due thing and not a wrong one. Another clergy designating himself as the representative of Imam destroyed a grave of some one who is said to be a good man. Likewise, he has destroyed the houses of the people and the property of a group. Such a work leaves bad impression. It is abominable, obscene and creates hatred and disdain. By doing such things, they want to destroy the very campaign itself.

This is a danger to the whole category of the clergy. This is a danger to the whole country. I am giving a warning to all the clergies in Iran. Get awoken to this danger now facing us. Tomorrow there will be no excuse because I am already awakening you to the facts and realities. These clergies, the fake ones, have crawled into our rows. They go here and there and do what they want. They torture and trouble the people. They do them without any religious sanction or any permission. You should keep away from them. They are not my representatives. They want to create trouble in any name. Their aim is to discredit us in the people's eyes.

I should further say that these guards have served the country. They are still serving them. Their existence is necessary. They will be rewarded by God. Their labors for the sake of the nation is worthy before God. In other sacred rows, some one creeps in. He displays much piety and honesty. Then

¹ It refers to the sabotage of RiDa Khan tomb in Tehran-Shahr-e Rey. The order was given by Aqa Sadiq Khalkhali.

all of a sudden he assaults and invades peoples' houses and loots it. He is not a guard. A Muslim does not let himself loot the peoples' houses. These men are infiltrators. They are doing wrong things in the guise of guards.

We should know that we have carried the campaign so far and now the thing is how to end it. We should shun chaos and huggermugger. The government of the Islamic Republic, of course, shall seek these mischievous elements. They are unjust people. They siphon others' labor. They benefit from others' toil. The government shall confront them. In any case, guards are not allowed to do whatever they like. If ten things are done unjust, at least one thing should be correct and just. They have made people raise their voices. People do not know that these things are being done by the infiltrators. People take it from guards. Similarly, in the cleric category, there are infiltrators too. They have crawled in to spoil the name of Islam by doing wrong things in the guise of guards or in the guise of clergies.

Beware of them. They are doing wrong things. They are teasing and torturing the people. Well, there is one branch Jihad-e Sazandegi. This is good, very good. They are working hard. They will be rewarded by God. Yes, amidst them and among them there are some who do what is against Islamic standards and what is against divine regulations and against governmental laws and restrictions. Their ultimate aim is to raise the voice of the masses. People should say that we are tired of this Jihad-e Sazandegi. This is what they want. Therefore, please do know the good and bad, the vicious and virtuous. Today, one clergy from Mashhad was telling me the same.

Vigilance of the nation is necessary against malefic influences and hypocrites

Beware of those who are doing the wrong things in the name of Islam. If he is having turban, set him aside. The clergies themselves should repudiate him. If he is among the guards, the guards themselves should discredit him. If he is among the army, the army itself should isolate him, and so on and so forth.

They, whenever possible, try to infiltrate in order to disrespect or discredit Islam. This is a danger for the uprising. They want to disfigure Islam and present a garbled face of Islam. This is a great crime they are committing. If we remain quiet, it will be a crime. We must point out. You must act.

Those who come under the name of Islam and act destructively, they are not Muslim. They are against Islam. They are anti-revolutionary. They have only crawled in. So, our nation should be vigilant. Today, vigilance is the need, more necessary than before. In the early stages, people knew who was against Islam. The security force (SAVAK), all the people knew that they were against the nation and Islam. Since people know them, they campaigned against them. The hypocrites are worse than pagans. One who says he is a Muslim and acts against Islam, Quran condemns him too. In Quran, we have a chapter for hypocrites. But there is no chapter for pagans. In the chapter of hypocrites, Quran describes and specifies the conduct and qualities of hypocrites.

Islam has always been entangled with such groups. They were many in the early stages of Islam. In the era of Imam Ali too, they were great in number. Even in the days of the Prophet, these groups were many. Similarly, throughout the history of Islam, these groups were the cause of all troubles. Among the Muslims, there were hypocrites. Those who were real Muslims, suffered very much. The hypocrites used to approach them in the guise of Muslims and played tricks upon them.

One of the rich men at that time came to me in Najaf. I was talking about Iran. He said: "No, you don't fear the worse. You fear the best might happen." In those days, when Rida Khan lifted the turbans of the clergies, one clergy from Qum—may God rest his soul in peace—told me: "They want to separate the bad from good ones". I told him: "They are against the good ones. They do not want to know the bad ones. They want to know the good ones to crush them." There has had always been a trick—from the very first of Islam till now. Ever since man existed, there has always been a chicanery. There are some people who are cheats and tricksters in various guises. In these Islamic countries, the outer appearance is an Islamic face. Some go to mosques. They pray there. They observe fast. This is the outer appearance. But from inside, they are against Islam. To know them or to trace their real identity is very difficult. Therefore, our youths are easily fooled by them.

Oh you, the workers! May God save you for our country. Oh you, the army! May God save you for our country. Please be aware of the fact that today Islam is a deposit for us. We had the excuse in the days of Rida Khan. Most people used to say: "What can we do before lances and etc. But today there is a lance. We are trustees of Islam. It is wanted from us. If today, we get fooled by these groups infiltrated among us in the name of Islam or God

forbid, if we be attracted to them, we have betrayed the trust. We are supposed to be trustworthy. We must save Islam.

May God protect you and prosper you. You are Islamic. Proceed on this very line and get this campaign prosperous.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: June 27, 1980 [Tir 5, 1359 AHS / Shaban 13, 1400 AH] ¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Friday prayers leader of Kohpayeh

Addressee: Muhammad-Hasan Qadiri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Qadiri, may his graces last,

In accordance with the request of the natives, you are called upon to go over there in order to comply with their requisite. At your arrival there, you should attend their religious shortcomings and other religious issues. Your efforts must be towards catering to their needs in spiritual dimension besides solving their difficulties in whatever way you deem fit. In the meantime, you are hereby appointed to lead the Friday prayers there. I hope, while performing this duty, you will try to preserve unity among the people there and acquaint them with the obligation that the revolution and Islam expect from them. I wish prosperity for all of you from God. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shaban 13, 1400 AH

Tir 5, 1359 AHS

¹ The date of this decree has been set on 22, 4, 59 by *Nur* Newspaper.

Statements

Date: June 27, 1980 [Tir 5, 1359 AHS / Shaban 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Foreigners' efforts to block the way of independence of culture and the country's economy

Addressee: Rida Sadr (the Commerce Minister) and economic delegation

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

The people of Iran, was able to ascend the grades of progress and prosperity due to its wit and vigor, genius and productive nature but it was barred from it. They blocked the way under various pretexts for having a useful university. Now foreigners are idle. They do not like us to have a good university of our own nor do they want us to have a sound and salubrious economy. God willing, I hope that our scholars and men of thought will study the matter towards creating university and economy that we may not depend upon the foreigners.

Speech

Time: Before noon, June 28, 1980 [Tir 6, 1359 AHS / Shaban 14, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Strong protest against the absence of reform and progress in the various affairs of the country

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi (chairman of Martyrs Foundation)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The nation of Iran is indebted to the martyrs and to their respected families

We are at the threshold of the blessed birth of Imam Mahdi. So I congratulate all the Muslims and the oppressed people of the world and the Iranian nation, and even you—dear sisters and brothers—on this great feast. I wish from God the health and happiness of all Muslims and the oppressed ones against the arrogant tyrants. I left the prison after 15th Khordad. I became aware of the incidents that had happened. I came to Qum. I confronted some who had lost their dear ones. I did not think that these scenes I witness would entail me. That time, I considered the wounded ones and the martyrs of 15th of Khordad as a great historical event. It was a heavy load upon me. When I was confronted by those who had lost their dear ones, a sort of distress and depression took me. I did not know that I might confront brothers and sisters who had lost their kith and kin. So now we have to face the families of martyrs and wounded ones. These families are all over Iran. I should beg pardon of all because we could not and cannot compensate the havoc you have endured, which was havoc for the whole country. We are unable even to present condolences to you. But at the threshold of the birth of Imam Mahdi, I present my condolences to him and pray to God to near the holy appearance of the Imam. Let him come. We should see the elegance of his sacred person. He will see you though he is well aware of the things—issues and troubles that hail on us. We are already indebted to the labor you took and your dear ones. The whole country, Iran, is obliged to the youths who pushed the campaign by their closed fists and developed it to the present extent. They are still ready to carry it even further. Have those who are still against you ever seen you? Do they know the havoc and calamity descended on you? They still support the past regime. Their poisonous pen writes in opposition so as to keep the revolution behind. Have they ever thought that

how the families of the martyrs who scattered all over the country live? They have lost their dear ones, their nearest ones. What do they say? Why are they opposed? What for? Why do the ministries, the offices, the government departments and institutes, have to answer you? They are already recommended to avoid exchanging paper business in the offices so as to minimize the delay and accelerate work. In spite of such recommendations, they are still on their own track, which is against the revolution. They do not progress in their work, so they set hindrances for you too. Who are they? What do they have to say? Those who are at the helm of affairs, why do they not pay attention to their matters? Why the president of the republic does not intervene in the matter? Why does the revolutionary council not look into the matter? What is wrong with them? What are those affairs that have made them busy and occupied? We are indebted to them. It is they who have made you sit in the present locations of power. Had they not been here, neither I nor you were here. Even the groups which oppugn the campaign could not have been here. Those who are anti campaign, their entity is quite evident and their dealings quite different. But you who are pro campaign, with the campaign, and in our camp, why don't you check these departments and offices while the administration lie in your hands? These ministries and these ministers who are under their administration, what do they say? Don't they believe in Islam? Or don't they have competency at work? Can't they check the people who create setbacks for these disabled ones, for the martyrs' families? Don't they know that such a thing and such a behavior or such a tendency should not exist at all? Don't they know that Iran is indebted to them? Don't they understand that it were they who wiped out the cursed regime of Shah and brought you to power?

Warning—the traces of the arrogant tyrant should be vanished

What is the situation in the country? What is going on in this country? I don't know. It is not possible to convince the people only by words. It cannot be. The marks and the signs of Shah still exist on the papers. I don't understand what these men are? The hospitals, the memorandums, the office stationary—still all these are related to Shah. If you belong to Shah, tell us so. We shall see to it. I shall tell the nation what to do with you or how to deal with you. If you don't belong to Shah then why do you not take out these old brands and marks? These people who are corrupt and still exist in the offices, why are they not out? Why are they still continuing to be in the offices? Should they be there to spoil our youths? I don't know what the position of this country is. It is twenty years that the deprived nation, is

laboring hard, submitting innumerable martyrs on the day of 15th of Khordad. Now again we have to face such fifteens of Khordad! They have attained martyrdom. For how long should we confront the sad, gloomy and melancholy faces? How long should the nation of Iran wait that you may get rid of the difficulties, which you claim to have? Iran should wait for how long? And you, when will the nation perform the reformation or amend the things? Now it is more than a year and a half that has elapsed since the revolution and there still exist the marks of Shah. Tell us if you are from the Shah's regime. If these signs and marks of the Shah are not abolished till ten days' time, I will tell the nation to do the same thing with you as it did with the very Shah himself. I am keeping quiet. It is a long time and I am silent. I want them to solve the troubles. But I see they don't pay any attention at all. Why should they not be mindful? Why does the Revolutionary Council not care about these matters? Why is the president of the republic not attentive towards these things? You'd better act a little upon what you say. You are all against the Shah's regime. All those at the top are against the Shah and the previous system. I know them. They are Islamic. But they are too lenient. I don't understand why and what for is so many leniencies. Two to three days ago, they brought a certain thing to me. It was a memorandum. It carried the Shah's mark and brand. In the Foreign Ministry and the other ministries, this should be mended. It cannot go on like this. If they cannot, let them quit the office and their job. We shall find people who can. If they are able, then why don't they act?

Apologizing the nation for not reforming some of the affairs

I apologize to you. I beg pardon from the nation of Iran. I apologize to those mothers who have lost their sons. I apologize to these brothers who lost their dear relatives and near ones. I also beg forgiveness from the army personnel who lost their youths. I apologize to these guards who lost their youths, brothers and other dear and near ones. I am so feeble in performance, that I cannot mend the things or set them right. Therefore, I do apologize to Imam Mahdi and the Prophet and against the nation of Iran. I reiterate my apologies to the army, the armed forces, the guards, and once again to the nation that I could not do a thing for you. We are weak. We are involved and entangled in paper work the office routine demands—a long and tortuous process and nothing else. We are bound into the marks and signs of the Shah. This country is still that of Shah's. Our ministries are still those of tyrant. We

could not amend them though they should have been amended at once and without delay. If they are not mended, we do the things which are possible.

O God! Relieve our victim nation from all troubles. O God! Bestow blessings of performance to those who are executives, judiciary and the legislation, and those at the top of power. O God! Guide those who by their actions or by their pens or by their Speeches create impediments in the run of affairs of this Islamic uprising. Return them back to the nation's embrace. Bestow upon them kindness and sympathy so that they may know what they are doing against these havocs and calamities. May God preserve your honor before Imam Mahdi. You should not be depressed and be in distress. God and Imam Mahdi are at your support. May God bestow power to the nation of Islam and particularly to the Iranian nation to enable us to act upon the Islamic errands. May God make us so powerful to stand against the Satan and the enemies of Islam and its aims.

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

Radio-TV Message

Date: June 29, 1980 [Tir 7, 1359 AHS / Shaban 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Establishment of true justice in the days of the promised Mahdi (*aj*)

Occasion: The auspicious birthday of Hadrat Wali al-Asr Imam Mahdi (*aj*)

Addressee The nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I present my congratulations to the Muslims and the nation of Iran for the festivity of the 15th Shaban that is the birthday of Imam Mahdi. Shaban is a great month. In this month, the great Savior of mankind is born. On the 3rd of this month, the great holy war waged was born.

Mahdi the only real Savior of mankind

The issue of the disappearance of the Imam is a great matter that makes us to understand some of the issues. One of them is: Real justice should be spread in the world in its true sense. This is a great thing. There is none among mankind except Mahdi for this task—God has preserved him in reserve to carry out this mission when God deems fit. Among the Prophets, each of them had come to execute justice. Their errand was to spread justice into the world. But they did not succeed in their mission. Even the last Prophet did not succeed who had come to establish justice, to reform man and to coach him the manners. He was not successful in his mission in his own life time. That one who will succeed in carrying out the justice throughout the world is Mahdi whom God has preserved for this task and this mission. The justice he will execute, shall not be one now in the conception of every ordinary man. His justice will not be to the extent of the comfort of the people. His justice will embrace every aspect of human life, every dimension of man's entity. If man developed a deviation in his practice or in his spirit, or in his mind or reason—to set right this deviation or turn it back to the correct one is a justice in a sense. The repudiated deviation brings back the right one in its place to create justice in man and his life. The manners of a man are deviated or perverted. To normalize the perverted thing or set right the strayed thing means that justice is brought to its track. Or, a man is made just. Likewise, in beliefs, suppose, deviation has taken place. When this deviation is steered to correction it means that justice is done to the man

concerned. Justice is done to the reason and so forth. Such a person to handle such a strange and unique talk was not created. God has given it only to Mahdi. Neither in the beginning nor in the end, could one do such a thing. It is reserved to Mahdi and Mahdi is reserved for it. All the Prophets were sent for this errand. But due to some setbacks they could not achieve the end. It is for Mahdi alone to successfully attain the objective.

The birthday of Mahdi—the biggest feast for mankind

The lengthy age bestowed upon him by God shows that Mahdi is the only person to handle this mission. Apart from him, there is no one else to fulfill the task. The fathers of Mahdi, the Prophets, did not succeed. If Mahdi was dead, then among human beings there was none for this mission. So, God has reserved him because of his competency for the task. Therefore, his birth stands a great feast for the Muslims and mankind. If the birthday of the Prophet is a great feast for the Muslims, the birthday of Mahdi can be said a great one. The Prophet could not spread the justice. But Mahdi will do that; the globe will be filled with justice at its various grades. When Mahdi appear he will set right every perversion. He will bring man from the abyss of depravation. It is said: “He fills the earth with justice after having been replete with tyranny.” The justice that he practices is not one which is familiar to us which we are acquainted with. For instance, there should be a just government dealing with all equally. No. It is not so. His justice is above this sense. He fills the earth with justice. Now the earth is full of tyranny. It might be still worse later on. All the inhabitants over the globe are in perversion. The good and perfect people are having perversion and deviation though they themselves may not be aware of. The conduct, the behavior, the belief, the actions—all is deviated. Man in his performance deviation is evident. Imam Mahdi is assigned to set right all these perversions and deviations. He will mend the torturous and sinuous things to become right and straight. The earth will be replete with justice in its true sense. Therefore, from this point of view, this is a feast for all Muslims. Since Mahdi will guide all the human beings, it is a feast of humanity. He will wipe out truculence and tyranny from the face of earth. In its absolute since it can be regarded greater than the birth of the Prophet.

Necessary preparation for the promised Mahdi’s appearance

We, in days such as these, the days of God, should be mindful of the advent of Mahdi. I cannot name him as a leader. He is far above and greater. I cannot even say he is the first personality because there is no second to him.

We cannot represent or express his personality in any term or designation. This much suffices that he is Mahdi—the promised one whom God has reserved for mankind. We must gird ourselves to visit him when that could be available. We should be in his presence with our uplifted heads.

Many preparations are underway in our country. I hope the same be in other countries. We must prepare ourselves to meet Mahdi.

The mission of the mass media

As for radio and TV, I have often repeatedly said that this organization should take a form of a training center. Now it is said that another aspect is created in it. Another organization is created in it. This should be a center to educate or train the people. We should be aware that we are living in an age wherein the nation of Iran has attained its aspiration that is a social justice. The nation has cut short the hands of malefic elements. This organization was in the past in the service of a tyrant government. If now there are people who were in those days in the service of tyranny, they should work to compensate their sins. The second organ which they say to be carried out must be that of justice, and that of training. This should be noted that our youths have seen a wrong training the last fifty years. Not only in the colleges but everywhere—radio, TV, magazines and etc; which were in the service of corrupt ones. As such, corruption is spread in every dimension. The youths who lived in deserts are also corrupt because they have read magazines and heard the radio and so forth. Now all should be mended. All should be compensated. The sins committed should be compensated. So, the newspapers and the TV should now repair the past. In reality, these organs should perform the coaching. The films shown on TV should be good ones. The films should be useful to the country. Their content should be teaching ones. Similarly, the articles that are read over radio or written in the newspaper should be against corruption.

Peace and calm—a necessity for the country

One of the necessary things we need in today's Iran is calmness and peace. If we want the success of our campaign we have to preserve and protect the peace of the country. All the classes among the nation should be careful to protect the calm of the country. They should not go fighting another. Now the duty of radio and TV and the newspapers is to guide the people towards peace.

The newspapers should refrain from writing material that could provoke people or incite them towards perversion and deviation. Further, the papers

and the media should make the people understand that we have enemy. Enemy is after chaos for us. The deviation should be set right. The provocations should be repelled. If the perverted people cannot be guided or returned to the straight path, they should be insulated. If you deal harshly with them, they will pose themselves as victims. Their appearance in a guise of victims is harmful to us. So, we should tell them the matters. We should guide them. We should be fair towards them. The announcers shall know all these things.

I hope that the perverted ones will return to the right way. Those people will come back into the embrace of the nation. I hope the people will rejoice this feast in its true sense. People should get ready and prepare themselves to see the Imam of the running time. May all be happy. May all become aware of the fact that radio/TV has an important role to play.

Minimizing the differences in society

The media, the newspapers, should know that the differences should be diminished from the social surface. We should minimize the differences. The things that create or cause differences should be avoided. Regardless of this, we should know the enemy. Beyond this, we should endeavor to foil or counter the actions of the enemy. This will lead to peace. We must be careful not to provide any opportunity for the enemy to start propaganda against us.

I hope that the nation of Iran may live in health, happiness and peace—the blessings of the fifteenth of Shaban. May God bless us all under the blessed birth of Mahdi. May God bless us to see him. He is a person we cannot describe his real entity and identity. He is far beyond what we could name him as the first person of the world or the leader of the world. May God give success to us to do service to Imam Mahdi, to Islam and to our country.

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

Statements

Time: Morning, June 29, 1980 [Tir 7, 1359 AHS / Shaban 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Time limit of 10 days for creating changes in the country

Addressee: The Revolutionary Council members and the government delegations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The subject I said yesterday about the marks and signs of the Shah over the official papers should be implemented within 10 days. No matter, if hundred million Tomans are consumed in this respect though it will not be to that extent. The top of the papers bearing the mark should be cut. If possible the mark of the organ concerned and/or the mark of Republic should be printed thereon. Otherwise, on the white papers the mark should be written. There is no harm in it. Gentlemen! You are not revolutionary. You are not thoughtful of this much waste. I announce hereby, if anywhere, I see a responsible person happens to write something over a paper bearing the mark of the past arrogant; I will introduce him myself to the public prosecutor to put him on trial—a revolutionary trial. They should be treated in the same way as heroine-sellers are treated. These fellows are more dangerous than heroine. The people in charge should deal with them firmly and strongly. As for another issue, which is more important than the first one, is to purge the offices, departments, and the ministries with the anti-revolution elements. The very nature of the departments and the ministries should be changed. The incompetent people from there should be put aside.

A group or, in other words, a committee should be formed to check the person. If any person happens to work against the government, he should immediately be checked and ousted. The group or the committee is responsible to see such an ousted person should not return back. It should be made out as to who is hurdling the work. Whether he is the minister himself? If so, he should be caught and expelled out of the ministry. We are serious. I am not concerned as to who should do this thing. This is again the same routine as it was before. Let us act revolutionary, or the standard of a revolution we must act.

Speech

Date: June 29, 1980 [Tir 7, 1359 AHS / Shaban 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The tyrants/the arrogant—distinction with those who are on the way of Truth

Occasion: The birthday of Hadrat Imam Mahdi

Audience: Staff of the Revolutionary Guards stationed at Jamaran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Distinction between the tyrants and those on the way of Truth

I thank you my friends. You from the early start of the Revolution, till now have labored hard, donated blood and endured all the troubles. You made the Revolution prosper. You brought victory to this Revolution. I wish you health, honor and happiness for the sake of Islam from God. O brothers! It is a fact that the path of Truth has many difficulties. You do not anticipate ease if your way is that of Truth and God. Those who are at ease and comfort are not on the path of God and Truth. The tyrants, the arrogant; their path has never been a path of God. But they always or often live in luxury, comfort and ease. People who rendered service for God or for the servants of God have always been in difficulties and worries. The scale is this to balance the difference or the distinction between these two categories in the presence of God and the open-minded nations; whether the tyrants are close to God or those who render sacrifices for the sake of nation's aspirations.

Recommendation towards rendering service and behaving well with the people

You—the dear guards throughout the country—have an obligation and a great right on the nation. It would not matter if I advice you. You should be careful enough to preserve the honor you have attained before God. You have sprung from the earth with an everlasting prowess of Divine. You extended and stretched your hands towards the sky and gained the honor in the Eternal Court of God by means of your services to His servants. You should be careful that your path is the path of God. Therefore, over this path, one should pace in safety and commitment. Your conduct and your behavior should be good towards people for whose sake you have sacrificed blood. Your conduct should be a conduct of a servant towards his master. This

world is ephemeral. What are eternal are our deeds, our actions. You should do for God's sake. What is for God shall remain¹. The work for God does not go in vain. The thing that is for Satan and for the selfish motives shall vanish. May God bestow health and happiness to you. May God give you strength and power. You may pace the path with strength and safety. You may carry this campaign till the end. I hope that this campaign may stretch as far as to join the great campaign of Imam Medhi.

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

¹ It refers to *surah an-Nahl* 16: 96.

Statements

Date: June 30, 1980 [Tir 9, 1359 AHS / Shaban 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Discipline a necessity in army

Audience: Jawad Fakuri (Air Force commander) and other Air force commanders

[Imam Khomeini while stressing the need for the discipline in the army said:]

Discipline in the army is an essential thing. In the early stage of Islam too it was the same. But the only difference is the conduct of the commander which must be human and Islamic. The staff will obey such a commander too.

[Imam Khomeini remarked that big powers are hollow, void and empty. He added:]

We should not have a least fear or worry of the outer appearance of the big powers.

Speech

Time: Morning, July 1, 1980 [Tir 10, 1359 AHS / Shaban 18, 1400]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Education/training from the Quran's view, the position of culture in the Pahlavi regime. The need for basic changes there

Audience: The heads of education throughout the country, the Islamic Association members, the Home Ministry workers and the provincial workers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In the past regime—Training and education

I thank you for coming over here and sitting pressed in a narrow place. I have a few words to say: On many occasions, words serve an elegant umbrella and pose an attractive appearance while the gist therein might not be so. Training and coaching have good appearance. In the days of that tyrant rule, we had a ministry under this name. The Islamic Association now exists all over Iran and is also among the attractive words. We all know what these words express and represent. They mean we desire Islam to take action. But we were entangled in the words whether it were "Training and coaching" or "Islamic Associations", we are confined within words. In the past regime too, "Training and Coaching" existed. But you know what it was and what its end was. One used to consider that the "Training" was the correct one. It was a thing the nation needs. "Training" is a science which makes the nation self-sufficient. "Coaching" strikes an ignorant man too. The first opinion that flows at the surface of these words brings us home to think that when the people left schools, colleges and institutions, they are useful to the country and the nation. They have attained magnanimous manners, high moral and conduct and correct beliefs and so on. But on the contrary, we have seen what the output of those schools, institutes and colleges was. What were the people trained therein? What the errand was? If the "Training" was in line with the requisite of Iran, we would have had schools at a very high level and standard after a period of fifty years. For instance, after fifty years, still we can't cure a patient if his sickness happens to be a little complicated. The physicians, the doctors quite easily say: "It can't be here. Here it is not possible. Why not possible? Why should a patient go abroad for treatment? All these schools, all these colleges, all these expenditure, all these fifty years' time, we still cannot treat our ailing and sick people in our country.

We have to take our patients to England or America. Then what have these colleagues done all these fifty years? Well, let them come and show what they have done. Let them show the people what they have trained. Let them show what coaching they performed. You say training is a subcategory of coaching. So, where is its product, its output? Those whom you have trained' and coached'—how is their spirit? On their beliefs, their character, their conduct, their manners, what its standard was? What is it and to what extent has it gone that now we clamor and cry to mend it, correct the things, and so forth. This is a cry from far away. The young fellows say that there are such and such women. I know such things are not confined there. Such a thing also exists in ministries too. I know some ministries are still worse. I don't want to name that ministry. If the minister concerned hears me, let him correct the things. A ministry is not a center of corruption and licentiousness. A college is not a place for debauchery. It should be the center of education.

Education and training from the Quran's view

God has described this in one line. There is nothing, not even one single item, among worldly things that God mentions it or stresses gratitude upon the people. But it is only in the dimension of education. He says: "Indeed, God has obliged the Believers by sending amidst them a Messenger from themselves who recites them the God's signs, and purifies them, and teaches them the Book and the Wisdom."¹

In the dimension of training', coaching', education, purge and purification, God the blessed and exalted uses a metaphor of gratitude or obligation or indebtedness upon the people before He says that He has sent a Messenger to purify and educate the people. The purification precedes the education and training. Purification is first. Of course, this verse is liable to debate. It is a lengthy one. I will say only in one word. This holy verse displays to us the state of training and education. This needs full explanation. The God's words: "God has indebted the Believers ...". It seems that the very errand of the Prophets was to coach and teach the people. Upon the Prophet is the recitation of the signs. Science or knowledge is hidden the signs of God. One of the signs of God to be viewed is a thing that educates or teaches a man. The signs should be recited, that is, to be pointed out and then (the people) should be purged and purified. In other words, the self should be purged. When they are purified he teaches them the Book and the Wisdom'. Bringing up or coaching is prior to training. If not in priority, it should be

¹ Part of *surah Al-e Imran* 3: 164.

simultaneous, that is, side by side. It comes in first. If the Self is not purged or purified outcome of the corrupt qualities; the knowledge/the science/the lore will have a negative impact. All the wrong faiths and wrong religions are invented and introduced by scholars because knowledge existed in a place which had no coaching. So, scholars invented a religion their fancy framed. As such the presence of knowledge in the absence of purification, a scholar bearing that knowledge while he is not purified becomes dangerous. It makes no difference for the society whether the scholars are in colleges or in a religious institute. Such scholars are like a store. God says: "The example of those who got the Thora and did not act thereupon is like a donkey that carries a load of books."¹ A scholar might be having knowledge of monotheism, manners and religion but the Self in him is not purged, then he is a being, a creature, an entity perilous to the society. A college is a place where students (youths) go and learn. But if the training and coaching is not a correct one, it is of no use at all. Even if the most correct one occurs, but the students' heart is unpurified, then such youth or student who has gained knowledge with an impure heart shall create corruption in the society. God forbid that the corruption originates from a scholar with an impure heart. There are several narrations and sayings of the Prophet that in hell the dwellers are in a great torture by the putrid smell of an unpurified scholar. You have seen that the colleges were in the hands of the students when the college was Westernized and dependent upon the West. Such was the training. It was not a correct one. The imperialist colleges do not let the students get the correct training. There is always a limit. They educate the youths to the certain extent and not beyond. When our youths go abroad, they are not allowed to learn with English or American students. They are not coached by the same standard and at the same level as they coach their native students. They have different training and coaching for the countries under imperialism. Therefore, the output and outcome of this training comes out like Sharif Imami² and Nasiri's³. They have worked abroad. They were educated abroad. They became doctors abroad. When knowledge enters into a sick heart, it is like the rain in a salty land. It will increase the filth. The rain created a good fragrance somewhere else. The scholar, who is not purified, is more dangerous than an ignorant man. An ignorant remains corrupt for himself. But a scholar not only is himself corrupt, he also corrupts the whole

¹ Part of *surah al-Jumuah* 62: 5.

² Jafar Sharif Imami, the first prime minister of shah. He carried out The massacre of 17 Shahrivar when he was a prime minister.

³ Nimatullah NaSiri, head of intelligence service and security (SAVAK).

world. He drags a country to corruption. Purification is prior to education. The Prophet came to purify and then to educate. He came to prepare the self. Afterwards he teaches the Book and the Wisdom. If the Book and the Wisdom was not twin to training, the output will be the same as existed before the Revolution in the Senate and the Parliament. The parliament was very much ostentatious. The college was a great building too. The foreigners have no concern about the buildings. Whatever they be and whatever budgets might be spent in such things, they were not concerned. The ministries—the length, the width, the height and the depth did not concern them. Their concern was only the contents and the gist. The teachers were their concern. Some of the teachers were in their service. They used to prepare our youths to be available to them.

The necessary changes in the universities, training and education

You are in the field of training and coaching. Are you aware of the training or the coaching as to what it should be? Let not the words cheat you. You don't cheat yourselves that you are training and coaching the students. Those who are in Islamic Association should not be fooled by the word of Islam. They should see themselves as to what they are doing or what their performance is. They should be mindful of the things that are in store, are they for the interest and to the advantage of the country and Islam? If all these things be in the interest of Islam and the country its repercussions will appear after a few years. If universities and the culture be set right and becomes Islamic, these people who are adversaries shall be the same because they have grown-up in the lap of foreigners. They fear that they would not be able to steal if the colleges become Islamic. They are afraid that the colleges become Islamic; they will miss and lose the center of corruption. It is shameful to say what the story was. In the ministries, in the departments, offices, everywhere was a center of lasciviousness and lewdness. Those whom I had sent to go and see inside the ministries told me some strange things in spite of the existence of Islamic Associations. How these Islamic Associations blind their eyes? How these Islamic Associations permit such worst things. If the training and education was correct, our country should have been self-sufficient. After so many years' experience and agony for this victimized nation, whose property has gone with the winds, still huge expenses should be charted out! And this nation should still remain hungry! The situation is like a machine. At its one end, Muslims are poured in and from its other end, communists come out. From one side believers go in and come out unbelievers. The good people mingle with them in the plants. In the

end, they become corrupt, lewd and licentious too. If it is so, it shows what type of department it has been. We conclude about the nature of the organization from the result of its work. These people who were in the government and in parliament and senate for fifty years, we should see them as who they are. These are the same people who came out from these colleges. Had they had good training and good education, they would not have presented our country by their both hands to the foreigners. There are many difficulties. These difficulties should be lifted out and by your own hands. Don't wait for one to come from outside and lift the difficulties for you. If one comes from outside, he would not educate or train you. He wants you to be at the same place where you were in the past regime. You should mend and correct the contents although the training is the same one. You try this much that the education be the correct one. Education will only be useful when the person have been purified. Further, the manners and the spirit should have been rightly coached and directed. In the colleges and all the centers of education, where the clergies learn and where the students (not clergies) learn, should be people whose self, the inner being, must be purified. As they lean, so they should purify their spirit. If a clergy with a purified self happens to be in a society, he can change it from top to bottom. When I was young I used to visit towns. In some of the towns I used to see the people there quite decent and polished with manners and having religious trends and tendencies. I became enthusiastic to know how it is so while the other town is not like this. I found the clergy there was one who had purified the self. Since he himself was reformed, he had reformed the whole town. When a clergy visits a village or town or a district, he should be a purged man so that he can purify the people wherever he goes. Then later on he can educate them. Teachers that go to schools and institutes to teach the classes there should go with them. They cannot be deviated. So the colleges should be purified. Likewise, the organizations, the departments, etc should be purified with the corrupt person who drags the youths to corruption. If a teacher seduces the pupils, you should be watchful and arrest such a teacher. Such malefic people wherever they are, should be purged. They are Satan. They are corrupt classes among the masses. Wherever they are, they are our enemies because they drag our youths to deviation. They are enemies of Islam; even if such a person is a teacher or a minister. They don't do any work. They come to chew the gum. I have sent people and they have seen it. If these people are not checked, I deem it a necessity to introduce them myself. I was in prison. Mansur had become prime minister. He sent the home minister to me. I suppose Sadr was Home Minister. He was the son of

Sadr al-Ashraf. He told me about the government. The previous one was so and so. We want to be so and so. I told him that I don't have any enmity with the previous government nor do I have any brotherhood with you. We must see your deeds. Now I am confined here. You'd better not release me. They had come to set me free. If you release me, the same story will be repeated. I have no relation or kinship with you. I say what I see. Now I announce to all those who are in charge of the affairs that I have not entered with any of you into a brotherhood contract. Had I entered into a brotherhood and had I seen anything wrong, I would have told and remarked it. So reform yourselves. Reform the ministries. Each minister occupies a ministry. He should purge there from those perverts and those who seduced our youths in their work and in their belief.

The functions of Islamic Associations in the center and the departments

I hope the Islamic Associations that exist across the country will be Islamic. They should bestow attention to this fact as to whether they themselves are Islamic or not. They are stationed everywhere in offices, ministries, plants and companies. A man cannot put others right if he himself happens to be pervert. There is no doubt at all that a drunkard cannot make others shun drinking. On the contrary, he would invite others to the thing favorite to him. If you don't reform yourself, if you are not Islamic as the name applies to you, you can never invite others to Islam. God has sent guides and Prophets for the people. He sends one who is infallible and has had no deviation throughout his life. Such a person has the competency to teach and educate the people and purify them. If one wants to be the trainer of a society or a place, he should be invited to Islam. In the first place he himself should make himself Islamic. He should invite his inner being to Islam. Then he can invite others to Islam. The teachers, if they have not undergone the teaching, cannot teach others. The origin of every affair starts from the person concerned with self. When the Prophet came, he started the invitation from his own house. He was a perfect person. He invited Khadijah—his wife. She accepted the invitation. Imam Ali—accepted the invitation. He gathered all his kith and kin and relatives and told them the case and kept on his invitation while some didn't accept. When I tell you to do this and don't do that while I happen to be a corrupt man, my saying will not be efficacious. You have the Islamic Association, may God protect you. Those who have established these Islamic Associations should start from themselves. This association should be Islamic in its—moral, conduct, behavior, action, belief and so on—all must be Islamic. In other words, he

should be purified. He must have learned the Book and the Wisdom—at least to the extent that the Book invites. Your interest and your loss are hidden there.

I hope all of you will reform yourselves in order to reform the society.

Commencing reforms with the atmosphere at universities

Inside the college there should be reformations because students come out of there. Inside the college the reformation should take place not the fortification or a front for fighting each other. The people who are committed should bring and create a college—a place of education, knowledge and learning. Such a college is the need of our country. A college, which is the source of corruption and deviation for our youths, is neither necessary nor a need. Many things under the head or title of education are most undesired ones because they seduce the youths and pave the way for their perversion. There must be people to chart out a program, which should contain the extent of catering the needs of the country. The students should be taught what they need. The program must cover the things that reform our country. The things existed previously, which were not to the advantage of the country, must be deleted and rescinded. God willing, the colleges become good. The staff will comprise people who are polite and polished. The youths are good in the beginning. The teachers spoil them by their coaching which is not to the advantage of the country. Each infant born is instinctively good, not perverted, bad or corrupt. Later on at the ladder of growth, it is the environment, if bad, that makes the young bad. The teacher, by his erroneous training drags the young to corruption. So the environment of college must be salubrious. If one enters it, he must enjoy the healthy and purified atmosphere there. All the people in that environment must be committed to manners and Islam and to the country. If a foreigner goes in, he will come out well trained and well taught. If a society turns good, the people too will become good. When all members of a family—are good, the children will be brought up good. Yes, they will become corrupt if they live in a corrupt environment. Infants are so plain like a mirror. They soon grasp whatever image falls on their mirror—whether a filthy one or a pure one. You, gentlemen, are in the field of education. You are in schools, institutes, colleges and other centers of education. The people who are there should be trained because the old fashion, and the old method that was a corrupt one, is still running there. The scholars for teaching manners and conduct are needed in colleges, schools and everywhere.

An active presence at mosques

The mosques should become centers of correct coaching. Thanks God, mosques are such places. People, who enter mosques, should be trained in the Islamic manners. Don't leave the mosques deserted or empty. They are enemies who try to keep you away from the mosques. The holy month of Ramadan is near¹. In the month of Ramadan, education should be increased several times more. "The Exalted night is better than a thousand months."²

In the month of Ramadan, the coaching and learning should be in the mosques in all its dimensions and in its true and correct sense. If there be any other gatherings, this should not become a pretext to desert the mosque. It is a vain saying that many of these days: we should mind our own business. The Revolution is over. No. It is vain. It is the mosques from where the revolutions originate. You protect the colleges and protect the mosques too. There is no contradiction. You should be an academic and go to the mosque. See the mosques are duly repaired and reconstructed. You, the members of the Islamic Associations and you the academic ones, by going to the mosques keep the mosques inhabited and well occupied. Your job is great. I hope you and the nation will choose the way of prosperity. I hope the young will be rescued from those who seduce them.

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

¹ *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 1, p. 35.

² *Surah al-Ghadr* 97: 3.

Message

Date: July 4, 1980 [Tir 13, 1359 AHS / Shaban 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ladies having a veil but incomplete, should not be subject to bad treatment

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

[Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran issued this statement in reply to the inquiry made to him with regards to the bad treatment of the ignorant and anti-revolution elements with the ladies having incomplete veil.]

It is possible that the ladies in bazaar, roads, streets, lanes and avenues be objected by the seduced and anti-revolutionary people. So, no one has a right to object the ladies. Such interferences are prohibited to the Muslims. This is the job of the police and the committees.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: 10.00 am, July 6, 1980 [Tir 15, 1359 AHS / Shaban 23, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Government in Islam and other religions of monotheism and its difference with non-monotheism schools

Audience: Officers, cadets of the navy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Education of man—The highest purpose of Islam and the monotheist religions

First I thank you for your coming here—a place troublesome for its narrowness. I wish happiness and prosperity for all from God. The position of Islam differs in all its dimensions with that of other schools. As the history informs us in all the stages of humanity there was no government nor any faith or religion like the government and the faith of Islam. There would not be such a thing in the future too.

Islam is a truth, fills and complies with all the dimensions man has—whether materially or morally. All the dimensions are covered by Islam. Education is the Islam's obsession. If you look at the governments now who are running the world, whether religious or non-religious ones, you will see they are not concerned with the pregnancy of a woman. Likewise, they are not concerned about the infants feeding on mothers' breasts. All the governments in the East or West are the same. Similarly it is not their concern to pay attention to marriage, its time or its quality. The babies in the lap of mothers and the parents' responsibility towards them are also a matter of no concern or interest to these governments. Even the manners of people do not concern any government. The only thing that concerns a government is a thing which is harmful to it. All the mundane governments are concerned with people if they go against them or if they don't concur with them. One should not come out and shout or clamor which disturbs the setup. This is a main concern of the governments. What takes place inside the houses is one of the concerns to the regimes because it could be a plot against them. Other than plot, one can do anything he likes. The mundane, the materialist governments give liberty to the people. But the liberty they give is far different with the liberty that Islam gives to the society. The method of the Islamic government differs with all the governments in its organization and

its run. The armed forces of Islamic government are different from the armed forces in other governments. Your marriage is a concern to Islam because Islam wants the fruit of the marriage to be a good man, not a beast. Before marriage, there are laws in Islam as to determine a good befitting pair in harmony to each other. What type of woman should a man choose and what type of man a woman should select—is the concern of Islam. The qualities of a man and the qualities of a woman are described in Islam. Even at the time of marriage, and the relations between husband and wife after marriage, is decided by Islam. The life between husband and wife is a concern to Islam. The time for the privacy of husband and wife is Islam's concern. All these concerns are to secure the highest purpose of mankind. A man should be a perfect human in a correct sense. This is the purpose of other monotheist schools. If man goes out of control, he becomes wilder than a beast and more dangerous and harmful than animals.

Mistakes of man in reaching the absolute perfection

You witness all these crimes being committed on man or against human beings by the big powers never occurred throughout the history by a bestial animal. The big powers think they are educated. Their crimes have been against their nations too. A wild animal needs a prey. When the needed prey is available, and catered its hunger, then the wild animal does not go after other animals to hunt them or hurt them or kill them or confine them in reserve to be in it bondage. This is man who does not get satisfied. It is man that his lust and his desires have no end. If a country is given to him, he is after another. If he takes over the second, he wants the third and so forth. There is no limit to the aspirations of man. Whatever he obtains or gains, he goes after the one which is not yet obtained or gained. If man is left at his own, his lust and desires are boundless. His lust for power has no boundaries. You don't think that man will be satisfied and sit idle if he is given one complete galaxy where there is a sun and several planets around it. He will say, let us go to another galaxy and see what is there. Now you see that they are trying to go beyond earth to the planets. If they avail one planet, they will go to the next. Such is a man created. In anger; in lust and desire and in selfishness he is unbounded.

There is nothing that can gratify a man. If he is given a true education, he reaches the extreme satisfaction. And that satisfaction is the end of his desires. The absolute perfection is the end of his lust. If he reached the total perfection, he will be in peace with himself because of the satisfaction he attains.

All are after total perfection

Hearts are satisfied only when they reach God. Without God, there is no comfort to hearts. Man is not against the self because the self is concentrated on the total perfection. The thing is that perfection is missed. The self of a man is anxious to reach the perfection. To distinguish the total perfection often one is mistaken as it is this or that. One considers the knowledge is the perfection. He pursues knowledge.

One considers power and goes after it. All these endeavors are that the people are after attaining perfection. In other words, all are after God but they don't know.

Islam is the guide of man towards the absolute perfection

Islam has come to show the way. It abolishes the perilous twists of the way and clears the way from rocks and obstacles. Islam has not come to conquer the countries. To pursue power is not in the framework of Islam. To keep the nations under its domination or to imperialize the nations or to colonize the countries is not among the objectives of Islam.

Islam has army but not to conquer people or a country. Its purpose of the army is to maintain order among the people for guidance. Army is to gain the hearts. Islam wants to govern hearts. Hearts want to reach perfection, and in this respect they have confused the way. In Quran and in prayers we read: "Guide us in the right path". There is a straight path which leads to perfection. Man is confused. The confusion should be repelled. Man, if wants, can pace the straight path. Man has no information. God has the information of this correct straight path; a path that gets man out of confusion and bewilderment and leads to its other end. Its other end is God.

We in our daily prayers; want from God to guide us to a right way, not a sinuous way full of twists and turns. There are those who have gone astray and those upon whom God is angry. So the way is separate. The more they advance, the more they become distant from the destination the army of Islam has for us. The generals of the army in the early stage of Islam were the teachers of moral and character. They used to guide and teach the people while they were fighting. The instruction was that unless the enemy did not start the battle, they had no orders to fight. They stood still. They were not allowed to start the war so as to overrun the enemy to win the battle and gain the spoils. They wanted to win the hearts of the people. Wherever Islam went and chiefs of the Islamic army went, the first thing they did was to build a mosque there. When the Islamic army reached Cairo, they first drew a line on

the ground and thereat a mosque was built. So such was the case wherever they set foot.

Prophets have come for this purpose—to guide the people to the way that leads to absolute perfection and to rescue them from wandering vainly. The safety of man is to come out of the nature's darkness to light. But beyond this, there is the curtain of light. In the supplication of Shaban we read: "O, God! Bestow upon me the total isolation so as to concentrate towards you. And open the eyes of our hearts by your light so that we can see you and the rays of the light of our eyes can tear the curtains of light." The aim and purpose of Islam is to get us out of the darkness of self-centeredness. Man becomes proud as soon as he avails a thing—a post-repression etc. Islam's purpose is to shatter and crash the pride. As long as man sees himself, he cannot see the way of guidance. So the first thing one should do is to crush the self and the lust that engages him in selfishness.

Islam wants the nations' welfare

The purpose of the Islamic army is to hunt the people to win their hearts. Islam does not aim at any materialistic. The battles that took place between Prophets and their antagonists were not for any mundane gains. They wanted to mould stubborn and arrogant men into polite clay. They wanted to conquer the egoism. God ordered Moses and Aaron: "Go and advice Pharaoh. Perhaps he may repent." Pharaohs are in question. Don't think that he was one man and existed at the times of Moses. If man does not get the Islamic education, he is a pharaoh. His inner being is pharaoh unless he is taught in any monotheist school. His inside is Satan and Pharaoh. The aim of Islam is to repel the selfishness which is the main obstacle in reaching the total guidance. It is narrated that once the Prophet saw a group of men tied in chains and being dragged towards him. The Prophet was very much upset by the sight. He told them: "Shall we take them to heaven tied in fetters?" The Prophet was very much uneasy as to why the people are not guided. His agony in this respect was so much that God consoled him: "Perhaps you destroy yourself regretting that they do not believe in Quran."¹ So the issue here is belief and faith and not conquering a country or so.

The Islamic Republic of Iran must have the policy of guidance to the people. May God guide these deviated people in our country and all other Muslim countries. Islam wants people to come under its banner. It wants to

¹ Soliloquies conducted during the month of Shaban.

rescue the people from wandering aimlessly. They themselves are not aware. But their missing thing is the perfection.

Islam wants to guide all the people. Why do they flee from Islam? The gist of Islam is the reformation of the nations. Islam's aim is to goad the deviated people to the straight path. All should be friendly with each other. All should be brothers together. All should love each other. They should be like the dwellers of heaven. "As brothers (sitting) over the high couches facing one another."¹ In heaven, there is no malice, no envy. All have a brotherly spirit. They are purged and purified. God forbid, if we happen to be the dwellers of hell, there we will be purified. Hell is the way to heaven. Islam's purpose is to repel and repudiate all this difficulties, and to goad all to equity, brotherhood and happiness. To goad the people in the same way as a shepherd goads his sheep. A shepherd has attachment with his herd of sheep. He wants them to graze in a good pasture green with grass. It is said that most of the Prophets or all of them have been shepherds too. Why these groups keep away from Islam? Let them come and see what Islam has to say. This Islam is so friendly with man that it is with him since his marriage and the birth of his children. Then in the lap of mother accompanies the babe. In every stage of life, this Islam is in association till the last. It wants your guidance. It does not want to dominate you or to be your master. The Prophet, the first man, the founder of Islam, the founder of guidance of the people, sees his conduct as to how it was. Was he ever after power—any time, anywhere? These very fellows were his friends. There was no white and no black. He was sitting with them together. He was so mingled with them. He should sit above and others below and not one by his side; these distinctions and differences were not then. One type of conduct for all; this was the trend. All the deeds, all the faith was to educate man to get the aim that is to reach the level of a human being—the nature of monotheism. "The nature of God thereat man is created."² This nature is that of seeking God. This is in all men. The pagan is after something though he himself is not aware. He is after complete perfection. Everyone does a thing because he considers it a good thing. Even thieves consider their craft perfection. All are after God. Man by nature is after God. But these sinuous and torturous thoughts or ideas mislead him because he is not on a straight line. So the strayed path makes the nature silent.

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2: 6.

² Part of verse 47 from *surah Hajar*.

Army—a guiding Islamic force

O brothers! You have come here; you, the army and navy personnel. Some of you, at least, should pay attention to this fact that today you are the army of the Prophet of Islam. You are the army of the present Imam Mahdi. He the Imam, is attentive to you. The report of your work is presented to him. According to the narrations, when the reports are presented to him, he may not feel uneasy. Our forces should guide the people. This is the difference between the Islamic forces and the tyrant forces. The tyrant forces want to deal with the people cruelly and keep away from them. Be careful that however powerful you become, you cannot exceed the power of Muhammad-Rida. Now he is dead. Death is like a wedding day for him. This is the world. Those who have divine knowledge become happier as they near that world. Try to be the army of Islam. Try to be a force that tolerates the adversaries and guides them. If you hit, let it be a hit of education. One hit of Ali on the day of Khandaq is better than the worship of men and angels. ¹This is a narration. The hit was one; raising the hand and bringing it down, and killing a man in the battle of Khandaq. From the political aspect, this hit relieved Islam from the mischief of pagans. But its moral is more important. Hand goes up and comes down. But one may think that it was me who did this. It is Satanic to conjecture so. One may consider this a power of God and would not take himself into account. He might consider the hand as well as the sword by the power of God.

Bravery towards the enemy by adhering to God

We had nothing. A few years ago we were nothing. He made us powerful and gave us everything—power, and such a vast stretched land—the sky, everything. It was God who gave all this to us. We had nothing. We were nothing. Now we are nothing too. We must understand this much that we are nothing. We say so. No. It is not so. Try to find out the origin of the matter. He who did and performed a job is God. He gave victory to a weak nation over such big powers. As long as you stick to God, you need not fear anything. He, who adheres to God, does not fear anything. The last thing is one might be killed. It is martyrdom. Martyrdom is prosperity. It is not to be feared.

¹ This is the saying of the Prophet in the Battle of Khandaq. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, p. 1.

Our young people have no fear of martyrdom. But they welcome it. They have developed this power. They shook hands with each other. They saved the country. We want the country to be saved from paganism. We want to protect the monotheism for the country.

All should come together and enter into this school, which is for God and guides you towards God. Don't ramble here and there. There is no place better than Quran. There is no school better than Quran. This Quran guides us to the higher motives. We don't know but inside us we have attention towards Quran. You, the army of Iran, you, the security forces of Iran; from whatever class you are; but do know that you and your armed forces today are the armed forces of the 12th Imam Mahdi. Try to gain his pleasure for your work. You must know this fact that now you are in his employment. As such, you are in his service. We are all so. We should try to gain his satisfaction because it is God's satisfaction. If we avail that we shall be secured from any hurt and harm. We shall have no fear either.

God willing, may He bestow on you all honor, health and power. May God bestow on you victory over Satan inside yourselves and ourselves. May God grant victory over all those who are anti-Islam and anti-guidance.

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