



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

SAHIFEH-YE IMAM

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

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Transliteration Symbols

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

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters

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



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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Statements

Date: July 7, 1980 [Tir 16, 1359 AHS / Shaban 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need to eschew factionalism in the news agency

Audience: Kamal Kharrazi (head of the Islamic Republic News Agency) and director general of the Center for the Development of the Education of Children and Adolescents

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

The need to eschew factionalism in the news agency

We want someone as the head of this institute who would say and write the truth exactly as it is. The Pars News Agency must be cleansed. Those who do not belong to any group must be utilized so that they reconstruct that news agency in accordance with the goals of the Islamic Revolution.

More effort should be put into broadcasting news regarding Iran's Islamic Revolution, to other countries, especially Muslim countries.

Speech

Date: July 7, 1980 [Tir 16, 1359 AHS / Shaban 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance and necessity of cleansing up the universities

Audience: The staff members of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance and necessity of cleansing up the universities and creating a healthy, atmosphere in them

Of course, everything that you mentioned is good in every respects. However, there is one point to which attention should be paid, now that you want to prepare the universities for appointing teachers and admitting students, many of them might assume an Islamic appearance and pass themselves off as teachers or students, for instance. You must do something about this problem. Although all of them are Muslims and pious, and are in agreement with the Islamic movement, their background must, nevertheless, be considered. I mean that there must be specific groups to study the backgrounds of the teachers and those who want to enter the universities, so that the universities do not become centers for those who are not there to study but are there for political reasons and other such reasons. You must also look into the causes of corruption which you witnessed in the universities, and do something about them so that the university does not once again turn into a center for those individuals and groups who want to carry out activities as groups. University is a center for acquiring knowledge, for educating and being educated. It is not a center for gangs to carry out their own activities because of which the same problems and that same mischief will return after six months; and then when you want to start all over again, you find the problems to have increased. So, the important point is that, from the very outset when you want to reopen the universities and recruit teachers, you must study their backgrounds: what type of persons they were in the past; what they had done; what position they held in the university; how they interacted with the youth and whether or not they had carried out any intrigues. You should not be content with their testimonies to the effect that they are Muslims and that they are this and that, and such things. These issues must be studied thoroughly so that when the universities reopen, the people who teach there, even if not a hundred percent perfect, should be decent ones. Now, after the universities reopen, certain inspections

must be carried out by having inspectors everywhere to see how teachers deal with students and what topics, other than their studies, they talk about and what issues they put forth. If the inspectors find out that the subjects are such as to mislead the students, they should inform the authorities. Therefore, there should be an organization to deal with such teachers who do such things. All of these measures are for purpose of having (responsible) people who can stop such activities in case some groups, for example, intend indulging in them and so cause the same old situation to arise. No matter how much reform you carry out, when impious people enter the universities, they will spoil the reforms. In a place where there are no impious people, reforms [...]. Some groups [active in the universities] have no intention of studying. Their sole goal is to mess things up. Some individuals are really unaware of the issues; they really cannot tell the bad from the good. Such people can be trained. However, for some groups, such training goes against their purpose, which is to create such an atmosphere in the universities that even those who are seeking knowledge, are not able to study properly and are pushed into the same deviant groups, and so disturb the situation.

The necessity of moral training in the educational environments

The crucial point is that the universities must be so transformed that the people in it, especially the teachers, are committed individuals. Moreover, there should be individuals and teachers for the specific purpose of talking to the students, in an appropriate manner, regarding ethical and Islamic conduct, so that they be morally trained from early on. This issue should be followed up more in the high schools so that they [the youth] would be brought up in a proper manner, and do not go and work for Russians, British or Americans after being trained.

These are very important matters that need to be considered very carefully. Of course, these changes should not be made in a way that would limit education. It should not be like the past [i.e. during the Pahlavi Dynasty]: improvements should not be blocked. But the moral aspects should also be recognized. Those teachers who can talk to students and teach ethics and religious subjects should do so, while they continue with their academic curriculum. Moreover, the curriculum, as you have also proposed, should be in accordance with our country's needs. It is not right to have classes for fine arts, for example, which will have no result but to keep us backward and help others who want to exploit our country. And also classes to teach a certain type of music and things of that nature which were many and which I really do not know much about—are useless for a country like ours; we do not need

such things. We should have those subjects that we are in need of. We should strive to become self-sufficient, God willing, well, your plan is also in the same.

The universities, the object of the aliens' attention for creating deviations

I hope that you be successful and all the various groups assist you, I from the government to the President, the future government; all of them must help. If the universities get straightened up, the country will straighten up. The universities could be the center of all corruption just as they could be the center for all improvements. That is why they have always been the object of the attention of foreigners. They have never been able to corrupt the theology centers. There may have been some deviation recently, but [generally speaking] they have not been able to do much up to now. They had turned the universities into centers for propaganda and corruption. They would pull the universities in every direction they wished. This is the important issue that must be taken into consideration at this time regarding the universities. Moreover, the curriculum, as you have also planned, should be such as to make us, God willing, self-sufficient in the fields that we are in need of, even if it takes a long time. May God protect you all and make you succeed in implementing such affairs.

Suppose that you reopen it, you will face the same problems. If the universities are reopened before a sound foundation is established for them, the same groups will come back and will create the same mischief and the same confrontations against one another. Until the proper arrangements are in place, the universities should not be reopened. We want universities, not centers where perverting influences are concentrated. If we just want a nominal university and not care about what happens in it, then we ought to reopen it quickly, in which case the same groups will pour in and bring the same woes upon it. Universities should be reopened when you are sure that they will be universities, when you are sure that they will be beneficial to our country and to Islam. But if you are not sure that the universities will function appropriately, it means that you have set up these centers [of education] and have spent lots on them but the same mess exists, and if they [the corrupt groups] return [with the improved conditions] they will increase their activities and make more efforts with the result that the same confrontations and the same situation will arise again.

Therefore, those who insist that the universities must reopen immediately, are either unaware or they are corrupt. They want such a state

of affairs; you should not pay heed to them. You must sit down with the concerned professional and discuss the matter with them. You must reopen the universities when you are sure that they will actually be universities, and that they will be centers of knowledge and education. We do not want to create facades of universities and show off to the world and the West that we have universities! We did have universities. We had them for thirty years; but you saw what happened!

Taking into consideration the interests of Islam and the country in reforming the universities

We want to set up something so that we, ourselves, believe that we have universities, whether the West and the [so called] intellectuals like it or not. We ought to work for our own good. We should not have in mind to do something that a certain group would appreciate or support as it would mean deviating from the path. We must work for God. We must do that which pleases God; that is, that which is of benefit to our country, to our poor nation, the poor of our nation, no matter what anyone says. We should not expect the people to shout hoorays or applaud us. We should not be after such things. We should try to put the universities right, even if we get insulted or abused for it. It does not matter. Let anybody say anything after we have carried out our duty. We should not be concerned about gaining a good reputation. I have seen many people that express opinions against their own beliefs in order to make a good impression on the intellectuals. This is a problem; it is a mistake. We must think about that which is of benefit to us and this poor nation that is backward; that they (the ex-regime) had tried to keep in a state of backwardness. We must think out a way of redressing this backwardness. If we reopen the universities as they were before, we will have the same problems. They will persist till the end and, in fact, even get worse. And as you were pursuing the matter (of reforming the universities) you will be blamed for the problems. Until you have not come up with the right plan for the universities, reopening them is wrong, and the plans that you have proposed to that end are either wrong [even though not ill intentioned], or have been laid out under the influence of groups that are hostile [to the Islamic Revolution]. Those who want the universities to reopen promptly either intend to cause harm or are unsound characters who want the same problems to exist [based on their wrong perceptions]. Of course, not that it is right to delay their reopening for several years, but it is also not correct to reopen something defective at any cost at the beginning of the year which will make the problems even worse than before. You must

consider all the various aspects [of the issue]. [Wait for the reopening of the universities until] you have completed your plans and straightened them up. If you do so, the reopened universities will really be universities; the student will enter to really study and the teacher will also be there to really teach. Neither the teacher will be there to corrupt nor will the student restart the rivalries. Such matters should not exist. Only then will everything be in place.

We should not pay heed to the differing tastes. We, ourselves, need to realize what we are doing, and how we could be of service to our nation. When we have realized that there is something, we should hold our ears and not pay any heed to what they [i.e. those hostile to the Islamic Revolution] write... Whatever you do, those who intend to cause damage and do harm, will do as they wish. They will do their job no matter what you do. If you do something that supports them, then they can do [the damage they intend without any difficulty], and if your actions oppose them [i.e. their stance] they will do harm as they wish [again regardless of what you do or say]; but they are unable to do so.

I hope that God will help you in this matter and give you success... and I thank you. I express my thanks as one brother to another though the matter concerns you, yourselves. We should all be thankful to God for the opportunity He has granted us in being able to engage in such tasks.

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, July 11, 1980 [Tir 20, 1359 AHS / Shaban 28, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Clarifying the duties of the clergy in the Islamic system

Occasion: Before the Holy Month of Ramadhan: The failure of the Nojeh coup d' tat conspiracy

Audience: Clerics and prayer leaders [i.e. those clerics who lead the congregational prayers] and the clergymen who are members of the peoples' voluntary forces (Basij) from Tehran and other cities

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God's grace in discovering the enemies' conspiracy

If the gentlemen would please sit down I would be more at ease. Please sit down; please sit down. I apologize to you in that you have come in this heat and you are here in such a hot and cramped place. This is your home¹ and I am at the service of the gentlemen themselves. May God, the Blessed and Almighty, grant you gentlemen and the whole nation success so that the difficulties that lie ahead vanish through everyone's endeavor.

I would like to have a word with the *ulama*, the prayer leaders, and the clergy in general all over the country; and a word with the nation as well. What I would like to tell you priests is that, as you are also aware, conspiracies are showing up on every side and are increasing. But, the conspiracies that are related to guns and the military forces are nothing to be afraid of. God will assist us in these conspiracies, just as He has done up to now, which you can see for yourself. Just today, one of the *ulama* of Jamaran came to me and related a story in which God's support was manifest. He said that some of the members of the Islamic Revolution Committee and officers from the Islamic Revolutionary Guards had planned a crackdown on a house in Shemiranat [i.e. a neighborhood in northern Tehran] based on the reports they had about it being used as a casino. When they entered the house they found the gambling equipment and the alcoholic drinks as they had expected. When one of the officers went around to see what there was behind the place, a dog ran up to him and barked at him, forcing the officer to enter the basement. There in the basement he found a great number of guns and other weapons. The story may be announced to the

¹ A phrase that shows respect and sincerity.

nation through the radio and the media later on. I told that gentleman that this discovery was made by the guidance of that dog. The dog was an agent [of God]. All the beings in the world are [His] agents. On that particular day¹, wind and sand were His agents, and in this incident the dog was the agent that compelled the gentleman—that *pasdar*—to make the discovery. Do not be afraid of such events. Our nation should also be fearless of such incidents. Those who witnessed the failure of their head [i.e. Muhammad Rida Pahlavi] who possessed all that power [that the West gave him] and enjoyed the support of all the national and international groups, in doing anything against our nation and against God's (the Blessed and the Almighty) support of our nation are really stupid. These individuals [who carry out armed conspiracies] are a bunch of hopeless creatures who, after their heads have gone to hell, are trying to carry out conspiracies [against the Islamic Republic] for the sake of trivial and transitory worldly considerations. Moreover this conspiracy was such [so insignificant] that it is obvious that even if we had not detected it, and they had carried out their coup, they would have been crushed. Such incidents need not to be feared. The gentlemen should pay attention to those plots which began with the commencement of the movement—that is, our victory and yours—and are still persisting.

The enemies' trying to portray a negative image of the regime

The enemies avail themselves of every opportunity and of all the means there are [so as to neutralize the Islamic regime]. For example, one of the attempts being made abroad and backed by the domestic devils is to block and disrupt the enforcement of order. A peculiar tone of propaganda is infiltrating the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, the Students' Islamic Association (which exists all through the country), the courts, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards, police officers and other military forces in order to deprive our nation of its unity and to show the world that the people (in Iran) are not subject to any laws; that they do not have a system. They want to show that the law of the jungle rules in Iran so that the superpowers find an excuse to send a "guardian" for us in order to rectify the situation. They cause chaos in the country. For instance, the members of the Student's Islamic Association (their young members) occasionally do things which entail disorder. Or even the Islamic Revolution Committees, in some regions of the country, influenced by certain [antagonist] individuals who have

¹ Referring to the failure of the American military operation in rescuing the American hostages in Tehran after the sandstorm destroyed their aircrafts and helicopters in the Tabas Desert.

penetrated their ranks, implement certain measures that shatter the [normal social] order. The Jihad-e Sazandegi [The ministry responsible for the construction and improvement of the deprived regions], also under the influence of such [enemy] agents who have penetrated and are penetrating their organization, sometimes perform their tasks in ways that make people hate them. Moreover, the courts also make mistakes that result in [peoples'] dissatisfaction. Their goal is to weaken the clergy's status among other people and to destroy the coordination between this force, that ought to be present, and the organs that should exist to run the country. If, suppose, the police force and the other armed forces act without cooperating with each other, no matter how strong they be, they will not be able to do anything. Until there is no solidarity among the Islamic Revolutionary Guards, the gendarmerie, the army, the police and the rest of the armed forces, and until they do not tread the same path, they will not be able to counteract and snuff the conspiracies that are afoot and may take place any time. Members of the clergy, from whichever level (whether the *ulama*, jurisprudents, students, preachers or prayer leaders) must fulfill their respective duties, for if they disregard their own duties and attend to other matters that do not concern them, they will have done something against the established order. This will [provide the enemies with the adequate pretexts] to portray you other than what you really are which will gradually lead the rest of the nation away from you. That was the same tactic carried out at the beginning of Rida Khan's rule, when he staged a coup d'état, and after he established himself. The same programs are starting now.

The necessity of the clergy's attention to the limits of their religious duties

I am addressing this public message to all the *ulama*, priests and to the whole nation. You all must consider this plot carefully and with great attention. Not doing so will separate the people from the clergy and render the clergy unable to fulfill their duties. [Beware that] if they find the right opportunity they will utilize this plan (separating the masses from the clergy) and do the same thing again. It is the same plan that I well remember. It was implemented during the rule of Rida Khan. It was to depict the clergy unrealistically and afterwards to separate them from the masses. This was one of the measures that Rida Khan implemented at the beginning of his rule and after his power was established. Back then, the chauffeurs were good agents [for the enemies]. One of the *ulama* (may God bless him with His mercy) once told me, "I wanted to go from Arak to Tehran or Qum, but I was

not able to hire a cab. One of the drivers said, we have decided not to take two groups as passengers: prostitutes and priests!” That was how the chauffeurs were back then. I do not know how it is that they are again making use of the drivers, notwithstanding the drivers being different from what they were in those days. Of course, most of the chauffeurs are religious, God willing, but some are acting in the same way as before. They have been affected by the enemies’ propaganda. Some cliques have formed because of which some chauffeurs do not take the *ulama* as passengers. This is that same scheme that the British started first, and now all the agents of those world powers opposing you [i.e. Muslim scholars] [are implementing]. You must pay heed to one point and the nation must also pay attention to it. You must be careful not to exceed the limits of your religious and clerical duties.

The necessity of the clergy’s presence in the political arena

All priests and other citizens must be active concerning political matters; they must show their presence. What some individuals are saying that priests must limit their activities to religious gatherings and academic work and their other customary functions and to leave politics for them, is either the result of inattention to the depth of such issues, and I must say that some of them are inattentive or because they are the enemies’ agents who would do such things in Rida Khan’s time. They had been brain-washing the nation and the clergy for about three hundred years—that the clergy should not meddle in politics—to such an extent that the gentlemen had become convinced about it. If there was an issue—a political one, for example—that benefited our people and, therefore, some of the *ulama* wanted to have a say in that matter, some other members of the body of clergy would actually protest the former’s concern by claiming that the issue was political and that it was none of the clergy’s business. They had totally pulled aside from political issues. I mean that they had actually been put aside. They [i.e. the enemies] had convinced them [i.e. the *ulama*] that their only occupation was to inform people of the [minor] Islamic ordinances and not all of them. If they were to speak about all issues, it would mean also the political issues as most of the jurisprudential books concern politics. However, the clergy had come to believe [that false precept] and so had our people. That was the result of their [the West’s] propaganda. When the westerners came to Iran, they studied [Iran’s social situation]; they came to the conclusion that the clergy were a danger to them and so they must be put aside from the social scene; they wanted them to become preoccupied with their own trivial internal matters and the people be disconnected from them so that if anyone of them decided

to intervene in political affairs, people would not agree with him because the issue was political and was none of the clergy's business. On the contrary, therefore, all people from the various strata of our society, especially the clergy, must take part in the country's political affairs and must be aware of what is going on in the country, in the Majlis, the Executive branch and the other parts of the government. Of course, they [i.e. the clerics] should not abandon their own occupations. They should not think, like they would in the past, that they should not participate in any way in political matters, and on the other hand they should not think that their sole purpose is political activity. No; this sort of thing was not proper for you and me at that time, and neither is it now.

The efforts made by the Theology Centers in the field of religious jurisprudence

All of you [clerics] must hold fast to your [religious] pursuits. The prayer leaders must hold fast to the mosques; the preachers must hold fast to their preaching; the jurists must be diligent in keeping up jurisprudence in the religious schools in Mashhad, Qum and other centers, and also Najaf. These schools must be schools of jurisprudence. It was these centers of jurisprudence that have safeguarded Islam since the past one thousand and some hundred years. Safeguarding (Islamic) jurisprudence has been the policy of our *ulama* since the distant past—the times of the Imams of Guidance—up to our own time. You should not suppose that because you must be active in political affairs, you can disregard jurisprudence; not at all. The schools of jurisprudence must continue with their traditional syllabus without any violation of that system. Study jurisprudence and its prerequisites in the same traditional order and endeavor to hold up jurisprudence. The prayer leaders must hold fast to the mosques and be diligent in guiding the people. The preachers of our people must persist in their preaching, giving advice and guiding [other people]. At the same time, they must be vigilant regarding their country's affairs, just like the merchants who must be attentive of the country's affairs and, at the same time, continue with their business. We should be careful not to turn away from the most fundamental element in securing Islam [i.e. jurisprudence]. Therefore, the theology centers should not become heedless of jurisprudence. Jurists are like forts for Islam; they have secured it. The schools for Islamic studies should mainly focus on the field of jurisprudence. If the schools of jurisprudence vanish, God forbid, or become ineffective, the bond between the jurists and the people will dissolve. The schools of jurisprudence are the main elements

in keeping this bond. It happens that some figures in the schools of Islamic studies propose that the study of jurisprudence does not need to be so lengthy and detailed, and that other subjects must be added to the curriculum, they are either making a mistake or are agents [of our enemies]. The study of jurisprudence must persist vigorously as it has in the past. Traditionally, the schools of Islamic studies had jurisprudence [as their main course]. Some students also studied other fields including the philosophical fields. There were ethics teachers as well who preached morality to the people and other scholars. There were mystics too who preached their own mystical subjects and carried on their own affairs. However jurisprudence, which is the foundation, had (and should have) its own specific place. Moreover, the gentlemen must also hold fast to the mosques. Do not lose hope by the hearsay that the aliens' agents spread among the populace. Just as you must be aware of the country's political affairs to see what is good for the nation and what is not, you must maintain the schools of jurisprudence as firmly as before. Jurisprudence is the element that has secured Islam up to now and, God willing, will secure Islam to the end. Beware of straying from your main occupation and your path. For example, [it is not right] for a cleric to have four bodyguards or to do whatever he wishes; it is not right for a cleric to set up a committee [unnecessarily] and [make that an excuse] to get bodyguards for himself and to [think that he can] act according to his own wish. These are plots that have been arranged to remove you from the arena. They [the enemies] want to delude you into following certain fields to remove you [from your main duties], so that they could spread frustration among people by making them believe that you have occupied all the offices of the Islamic Revolution's Committees and the courts [in order to usurp all the power and benefits for yourselves]. If clerics do wrong in a couple or few cases, they will magnify it and disregard all the good deeds. [Therefore] at the same time everyone is doing his or her own job and is doing it to the best of his or her ability, he or she must be active in the country's affairs and aware of its political issues.

Protesting and preventing deviation and corruption

You must be alert; whenever you realize that a group or individual or even the government is taking the wrong step, you should all protest and prevent that wrong from materializing. Moreover, if incompetent individuals are put in charge of missions and the *ulama* of those regions are aware of the corruption of the officials, they [i.e. the *ulama*] should not act themselves, rather they should inform the concerned authorities who can

replace them, and should ask them to replace such officials. If the *ulama* act in person or send someone to remove that official (even though he is corrupt), they will bring suspicion upon themselves. They should enlighten [the respective government agency in charge of the mission] that its choice of officials is wrong; they should pressure the Executive and the Legislative in order to correct them. The *ulama* will be disgraced among the populace if they intervene directly; everyone is duty-bound to safeguard his or her reputation. Every believer must seek to safeguard his or her reputation, but the obligation of the *ulama* in such matters is greater because they are more aware of what is right and wrong. Therefore, it is our [i.e. the clergymen's] duty to hold our own occupations in esteem. The prayer leader must not lose hope in his congregation; the preacher must not lose hope in preaching; the religious reference authorities must not lose hope in their religious leadership; the regional *ulama* must not become disheartened as a result of their respective problems. They must perform their own specific duties and also be active in the political matters.

The scheme of separating the clergy from the people

What I would like to tell the nation is that they must be alert as the enemies of Islam and your country will utilize all means [to implement their plans]. Some of their plans that you people have also witnessed, such as causing disorder and corruption, are obvious. Another plot that they are working on right now is to undermine those centers of connection between the clergy and the people and to extinguish those centers little by little. They are trying to spread this notion that clerics are good for nothing, so why should people attend mosques [where clergymen preach]? The people may participate in demonstrations; demonstrations are all right as such. But mosques are centers from where all our affairs must be governed. The mosque was the cause of our nation's victory. Mosques are very important centers that people must pay heed to. They should not say, "We do not need mosques any longer for we have already won victory." Our victory was to make way for the rule of the mosque. If we did not care about prayers and Islamic practices, then for what reason did we trouble ourselves by getting involved in these [i.e. political] matters? We are performing these tasks for the sake of Islam. You people stood up for Islam and did so much for Islam, and are still doing so. Make sure that you do not leave the centers for spreading the truth of Islam, the centers for expanding the Islamic jurisprudence and the mosques vacant. This is their plot: they want to gradually empty all the mosques. [One method that they use in implementing

this plot is that] while the clergyman is leading the prayer someone enters the mosque with several others (who most likely do not even believe in mosques or even Islam, and in some instances, it is evident that they are not believers) and [instead of praying behind the clergyman] go to a corner to perform a separate congregational prayer with one of them leading the prayer. This is no prayer at all. They want to kill Islam with that prayer. Therefore, the clergymen must safeguard their reputation; they must not do anything that would give a wrong impression of Islam to the people, God forbid. The people are [on the other hand] duty-bound to protect their mosques, the centers that pertain to the clergy. The same scheme [that was carried out] during Rida Khan's rule is being now implemented. At that time as well, they came one by one, little by little. Their [the enemies'] poets started writing poems: "Until there are clergy and Qajar in this country, this wealthy state will get nowhere." This was how their poet wrote poems (I do not intend to read the whole poem now). The articles they [the enemy agents] wrote were anti-clerical. Back then they wrote and circulated [anti-clerical] propaganda with utmost impudence. They had forced all the different groups to work against this group according to the duties they had set for them. That is, the obligations that the English (at that time) had set for them. Basically, they had brought Rida Khan up because they had realized that he was a thug. And of course, at first they brought a journalist, Sayyid Diya¹ along with him. But then they ousted the latter and kept him [i.e. Rida Khan] who was a thug and could do the job [as they wished]. First of all, he was illiterate; he did not know anything about politics. And secondly, he was a thug and would do whatever they told him. That was their scheme at that time, and [even then] they were scared that the clergy might do something about it. Now that they have witnessed that the clergymen, replying to the peoples' calls, alongside all the other strata of society—including university students and teachers, merchants, laborers and farmers—have performed something so great, they are trying harder now than at that time [at Rida Khan's time]. If they were then figuring out a plan in order to prevent something like this from happening, now they know [and have seen] that such events could happen.

¹ The journalist and Rad Newspaper manager who made the preparations for Rida Khan Mir Panj's (the brigadier general of Qazvin) attack on Tehran with help of the British and under the direction of William Edmund Ironside, the British general. The coup took place on August 3, 1920. Ahmad Shah, [the last king] of the Qajar dynasty, who was a weak and despicable character, gave in to the rebels. Sayyid Diya became prime minister, but later on, Rida Khan brutally forced him out of office and made himself prime minister. And when Ahmad Shah had gone to Europe, he cunningly set up the Founders' Council, ended the Qajar Dynasty and became the first Shah of the Pahlavi Dynasty.

Now they know that if the clerics, university students and teachers and the other strata unite, they can surely carry out other such great tasks. They are now more persevering in separating the people from this group [the clergy], to separate the university from the [Islamic studies] school, and to make all the different strata of society pessimistic towards one another and to set them against one another.

The readiness of all strata of the nation to safeguard Islam

Today, this is a duty for all of us. Our nation must fulfill this duty. Today, is a time when the world powers want to crush this movement and Islam, which has recently caused them much damage, and to uproot them completely through domestic and international plots. Today is a time for all our people to be on guard. Do not go after land and other worldly acquisitions. Do not go after such a things so much. You must safeguard Islam. Maintain all earthly possessions under the protection of Islam. [Do not be deceived that] if they take away your Islam, they will be harmless to the nation and your national pride, as these nationalist groups portray and keep on saying Nation! Nation! If they take away your Islam and separate the clergy from the people, there is no way that you several nationalists¹ could do anything [for this country; that is if you do not do any harm and] if you do not have someone like Bakhtiyar² among you, [for if you do have such characters among you] which seems like you do [you will be harmful for this country]; do not create so much discord.³ O writers! do not undermine the clergy. O enlightened intellectuals [!] do not pull the country from one side to the other [meaning: do not play with the country's affairs for your own benefit]; [if you persist] they [the people] may, God forbid, [decide to] discharge all of you [from your offices]. Be united. Be ready. The nation must be prepared for the difficulties ahead, so [if] that day comes, God forbid, that, suppose, their Phantom [fighter] jets come and destroy this place [i.e. Imam's residence], and I go after my business [i.e. I get killed], the nation must have ready hands and protect Islam with their tight fists. The clergymen, the merchants, the laborers, the farmers, the government employees, the armed forces must all be on guard. Now, that we are still on the way [to building an Islamic state] what with all these conspiracies [of our enemies]; if we disregard this movement; if we disregard this revolution and go after our normal lives; [if] we return to our normal occupations and not be

¹ Refers to the secular nationalist groups.

² Shapur Bakhtiyar, the last prime minister of the Pahlavi regime.

³ It again refers to the secular nationalists.

present in the political arena; and if we do not prepare ourselves for safeguarding this Islamic state and securing Islam, the situation may lead to a bad end; God forbid. It is possible that... Of course they cannot do anything, God willing, but they can delay [our progress]. You can see for yourself that whatever [project was planned to be carried out] some groups [have opposed those plans] and blocked their progress. They created commotion [in the country to stop the reconstruction projects]; but they were not able to. I am not saying that they can do [any real] harm. They [absolutely] cannot. Even if [they had been successful in] getting the Phantom jets off the ground [to carry out the coup]; what could they have done?! They (the people) would have beaten the hell out of them!

Fear of clergy's failure in fulfilling their responsibilities

[It seems like they have thought that] our people have sat down [in their homes mindless] and would let one or two Phantom jets do anything! These idiots thought that they could take over a thirty five million population, all prepared, with some soldiers—who do not support them—and some non-commissioned officers, for example, and the like. They thought wrong. They have not realized that the Soviet Union, in spite of all its power, its means and modern armaments, had its nose bloodied in Afghanistan. Even though such an action was sheer folly, but they carried it out by compelling some youths, unfortunate and dumb individuals, to do such a thing. [That is] the activities that had been going on for the past two or three days, for instance.¹ [The Nojhe coup was a good example of such coups. But even though it was so well planned and devastating in effect if it had been carried out, Imam says that we should not fear such events.] These persons [who cooperated with the enemies] were so mindless that they did not think that even if they had been successful in taking off from the Hamadan base and had come all the way up to here and had bombed, say, a few places, they had to land?! Or were they planning on staying up in the sky?! We are not scared of such events. We [on the other hand] fear our own [internal disputes and] groups. [We should] fear ourselves.

If you [clergymen—referring to the audience] and your colleagues, the whole body of the clergy (may God assist them), do certain things, God forbid, that diminish your credibility even [if not now but] in the long run, that [time when people are fed up with you] will be the day that there will be no need for Phantoms [for dissolving the Islamic state]; the people

¹ What the Imam has said up to now is basically that we should not fear coups and armed conspiracies.

themselves will put you aside. And the nation would not be able to do anything [for saving the Islamic state] without a guide [i.e. the clergy]. And even though what I am saying is [not regarding our present status but in preparation] for several years from now; but then [when the people do not want you anymore] the foreign enemies will be able to do their work. I am afraid that we, the clergy, would not be able to fulfill our obligations appropriately. I am afraid that the Islamic schools, as the result of certain propaganda, would disregard their fundamental task, which is securing [and working in the field of] jurisprudence and that, gradually, jurisprudence would be forgotten, and [therefore], they [i.e. the enemies] would achieve their goals in the long term. You should not think that they are in a rush to finish up the job [i.e. to overthrow the Islamic state] in the next two or three days. If they could, they would do it now, but if they are not able to do so, they will plan to do it in [for example] the next fifty years. They will never give up. And one of their most important schemes is to create disunity among the different groups of people. And the important project [for them] is to separate the clergy from the populace.

Safeguarding and enlivening the mosques

The blow that they received from the [Muslim] clergy [of Iran] was unprecedented, because they believe that the damage that others caused them was because the clergy had compelled them.

They believe [rightly so] that the mosques compelled people [to revolt and overthrow the American regime]. Therefore they know that they must start by doing away with the mosques. The reason why they [i.e. the enemies] want to lessen the congregations in the mosques, and [some of our] unfortunate youths and religious citizens fall for [their plot], is that want the congregations during this year's month of Ramadan to decrease bit by bit; and then a little more next year until there would not be anything left of the congregations in ten or fifteen years time. They are not in a hurry. They will carry out this plan gradually as much as they can. You should be alert and safeguard your mosques, your *mihirabs*¹ and your pulpits more than before. Now that you have seen this miracle² originating in the mosques, you should hold on to them firmly. You should not detach yourself from them. You³ who have seen such a miracle in Islam, crushing all the [world] powers and not just the superpowers, and our nation that has received this miracle from

¹ *Mihrab*: the spot in the mosque designated for the prayer leader.

² It refers to the Islamic Revolution.

³ That is, the people.

Islam, should not be apathetic with regard to it. Even if four [i.e. several] policemen or [Islamic Revolutionary] guards do wrong [it should not make the people cool towards the Islamic Revolution. After all] they were the ones who detected this¹ conspiracy. Why do you not appreciate their efforts? Why is it that if one of them does wrong, you [i.e. some people] say that all the [Islamic Revolutionary] guards are like that. [Why is it that when] a scholar, a clergyman or any individual [from the clergy] commits wrong, they [i.e. some people] say all the clerics are like that. This is that scheme. They want to create disunity among the [Islamic Revolutionary] guards, the Army, the gendarmerie, the armed forces and you [i.e. the clergy] and to make the people lose hope in you all, so that if they [i.e. the enemies] want to act [to dissolve the Islamic state], there would not be any clergyman to guide the people and to mobilize the populace; so that there would not be any armed forces (to defend the country). [That is why] they want to make all [the different groups and divisions in the government] oppose one another.

Today is the time for all the government organs to cooperate and to maintain order, for if law and order breaks down, there will be an upset in the situation [i.e. the Islamic regime will dissolve]. Everyone should be a devotee ready to sacrifice him/herself for Islam. They should be ready, wherever they are, test the enemy comes—suppose at night—to bombard us. They should be ready to come out and kill them [i.e. the pilots, etc.] when their (jets) fuel is exhausted and the planes have to land. Be prepared. Do not go after the [trivial] disputes that you have among yourselves. You [i.e. the people and all those responsible in the Revolution] are still on the way [and are therefore vulnerable]. Put your differences aside. There will be other times for you to argue in case you want to do so, God forbid. But now it is not the time. It is not the time today for the Islamic associations to create disorder, God forbid. Or, for example, for the Revolutionary Guards, or the gendarmerie to do so. They should be concord among all of you. If you have any disputes, put them aside. Suppose that two of you are quarreling and all of a sudden an earthquake begins, Would you continue quarreling?! No! You will jump up and try to save your lives. [We are in the same situation right now!] The super powers have created an earthquake in Iran. [Therefore] do not spend your time on your personal affairs and disputes. Do not go after such matters! Be prepared. Be prepared just as you were at the beginning of the Islamic Revolution. Be prepared in the same way, and hold on tight to the mosques and increase the congregations in them.

¹ It refers to the Nojhe Coup.

I must assert today that it is a religious obligation for all Muslims to safeguard the mosques. Islam depends on it today. Whether during the month of Ramadan or afterwards, you must enliven the mosques (with your presence). Once when I had the honor of visiting Mecca, I went to a bookstore to buy a book. The deal was of benefit for the bookseller too, but when the *adhan* was called he suddenly left, leaving me standing there, and [as he was walking away] he told me “*sunnatun hanafiyyah*”.¹ And he did not say anything else and went away to say his prayers. In Madinah, the Bazaar was closed at prayer time. I mean that the doors were open, but nobody was there. They would go for prayers [when it was prayer time]. Why do you [people] not go for “*Namaz*” (prayer) [like that]?! Why do not you leave your shops at noon, when it is prayer time, to go to pray?! If you be persistent in praying [in mosques at the beginning of prayer time] you will have revived this Islamic political tradition. Just as you, thank God, participate in the Friday congregational prayer, go to the mosques on other days as well and fill them up. If the mosques, the center and bases of Islam are kept strong, there will be no reason to fear the Phantom jets. So do not fear America or the Soviet Union, etc. That day should be the day of your fear when you disregard Islam; when you disregard the mosques.

May God assist you and make you successful, and may He protect Islam and the Muslims, and render the designs of the aliens on this country ineffective. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ That is, hurrying to the prayer at the beginning of its specific time is one of the good traditions of the pure religion of Islam. The custom of the Hanafiyyah sect of Islam.

Speech

Date/time: Before noon, July 12, 1980 [Tir 21, 1359 AHS / Shaban 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The invincibility of the army of Islam

Audience: Representatives of the Muslim Pishmargan Organization of Kurds¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The invincibility of the army of Islam

I thank these self-sacrificing youths who have really proved their sincerity to Islam and have proved that they are the Prophet of Islam's army. I really like you all; the love of a Muslim for another Muslim and a father for his son. And I pray for you. Since the time you have stood up against the evildoers and those who wanted to suppress the Islamic movement, I have backed you with all my strength and have prayed for you. May God keep you for [the cause of] Islam and may you be honored in His Sacred and Great Presence. You know that we had no intention in these affairs [i.e. the Islamic Revolution and setting up an Islamic government] but to remove the rule of the oppressors and to install an Islamic government in its place. Those who have opposed this movement during these years, whether in Kurdistan or anywhere else, are ignorant of Islam and do not want an Islamic state to be established. You know better [than anyone else] from the way they [i.e. the internal enemies] perform their activities, that they are agents of the outsiders. You know where their weapons used to come from, judging from the quality of the weapons they possessed. Be firm and strong for you are working for Islam. You are like the soldiers of the first stage of Islam [during the time of the Holy Prophet]. You do not need to worry about being defeated, for there is never any defeat for the army of Islam. Martyrdom is not defeat, and [obviously] victory is no defeat [either]. [In war] you either win or you get martyred. In both cases you are victorious. And I hope that these roots of corruption [in the country], some of whom are leftovers of the previous regime, while some others receive their inspiration from abroad, be ineffective in their efforts.

You witnessed [their failure] in the [supposedly] multifaceted coup in the past two or three days that they wanted to stage a, supposedly, multifaceted coup. God, the Blessed and Exalted, assisted us and [the scheme] was

¹ A Kurdish organization that was a staunch supporter of Iran's Islamic Revolution

detected [beforehand]. Many of the traitors have been arrested and many more are being sought. And their cliques will also be detected, God willing. And God, the Blessed and Exalted, is with you, you bright faces of Islam who, no matter where you are, serve for Islam. [I hope] that this Islamic state is established, God willing, so that the world would realize what an Islamic state is all about. May God assist you [in your affairs], and [I pray that] you be successful in all aspects [of life]. And we hope that the Islamic government starts developing Kurdistan before the other regions, for the Islamic government really intends to build up the Kurdistan [region], not like the previous [regime] that just talked [about construction plans]; but [in practice] there was nothing but ruins. I hope that in this time [regime] it will not be just talk, and hope that this country improves in all aspects. May God grant you good health and make you the resource of Islam. And [may He] assist you and grant you success.

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

Speech

Date/time: Afternoon, July 12, 1980 [Tir 21, 1359 AHS / Shaban 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The failure of the Nojeh coup in the Islamic Iran and the obligations of the Muslims in the month of Ramadan

Audience: Members of the Islamic Society of Ladies of Shemiran¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The circumstances of the coup d'état and the state of affairs of the Islamic society [in Iran]

I thank you ladies and gentlemen who have come and gathered here at this time when the month of Ramadan is near. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to you and to put forth several issues [about the present situation] and to say a few words regarding the blessed month of Ramadan. The adversaries of the Islamic Republic have made a big mistake intending to carry out such a childish and devilish act.² They have imagined that the Islamic Republic of Iran is like other regimes in that a regime sometimes takes control and then [after a while] a party or an army officer with his clique stages an uprising rebel and overthrows that government and sets up another government in its place, or another regime. These people have made a mistake in comparing the Islamic state and the Islamic movement with those other regimes and governments. And for the same reason, those groups who have not realized the depth of this revolution, and also some of the political and military figures; those who had dreams about taking this opportunity [i.e. the coup] for plundering the country—just as they did in days of the previous [regime]—and having a free hand in robbing [the riches of this nation] and doing whatever evil they wanted to do, are gradually losing hope, and so they resort to such things without realizing the depth of the issues. A coup takes place in a country that has a government distant from the people, and with which the people have nothing to do, or are dissatisfied. This is usually the case. In those regimes, a quarrel breaks out among the heads of the country and the political parties, for example, or among the high-ranking military or political figures, without the people having any part in the affairs. They do not understand what the participation

¹ A neighborhood in the north of Tehran.

² It refers to the frustrated coup of Nojeh.

of the people [in the regime] means! Or they do understand but have planned such a conspiracy out of lust for power and wealth, thinking that they have, perhaps, a one percent chance of being successful [in their scheme]. They [i.e. the enemies] do not realize the difference between political uprisings, between nationalistic revolts, between those revolts that are carried out for achieving worldly gains and this Islamic movement! In the Iranian Islamic movement, neither nationalism and nationalistic trends, especially in its crooked meaning [i.e. the immoral nationalistic trends utilized in some countries to bring up Western-backed regimes] nor political groups and the enlightened intellectual figures and other such elements that are present in other rebellions, had any role at all [in the Islamic Revolution]. This movement originated from among the masses; from among the men and women. And the role of women in this revolution was [actually] no less than the role of men. It could even be [rightly] asserted that the ladies had a bigger share in this revolution as put more effort into it. Their efforts and enthusiasm were greater, the reason is that when the ladies enter the fray, the men's courage becomes twofold or even tenfold. Men cannot stand to see women enter the fray while they just stand aside. A mass of Muslims, a population of thirty five million (excluding the few hundred corrupt persons), believers in God, believers in Islam, believers in the Holy Quran; thirty five million people with one voice, and with faith in God and the Holy Quran rose up [and revolted]. In every house you enter, you will feel the Islamic movement. As I have been informed, the topic of all the ladies' and men's gatherings has shifted to political subjects. Suddenly peoples' attention, regardless of their social status, their gender and age; turned to political affairs. So much so that even the children who come to our house sometimes to play, play political games. One of them plays the President's role; another [child] plays the role of another one and so on. Those who really think about issues should be able to realize the depth of what has taken place in Iran. When in the past fifty years (which some should probably recall) or the past twenty or thirty years (which most of you should remember); when have you ever witnessed the women entering the fray just like the men [as in the present Islamic movement]?! The women would be in the forefront of the demonstrations holding their children in their arms. If a lady had two children, she would carry one in her arms and hold the other child's hand and came to the demonstrations like that standing up against guns and tanks. Can you and we remember such solidarity among the various groups of people and such vast participation in the state and political affairs? [Before this Islamic movement] when something happened in the country, even the men

would not come to know of it, particularly so in a certain quarter of Tehran. The ladies, too, would be indifferent; and so would the people. Even those who were aware did not care. This involvement of the different groups of people [in the affairs] is unprecedented. All people of this nation are involved in the political and social issues and they hold themselves responsible. If certain events occur that are opposed to [Islamic] values, people will not be indifferent, men will not be unconcerned and women will not occupy themselves with something else [instead of taking action]. This [i.e. peoples' indifference to the regime] is not the case [anymore]. May God approve of you ladies and men for being present in the forefront [of political and social activities] all [united and] together. These individuals [i.e. those responsible for the coup] thought that [they can overthrow the regime] by mounting a coup, killing several people and bombing several locations, they thought that the center [of this movement] was just one location, one district or a few districts; and, therefore, if they destroy those centers, it would be like the case of other coups in that on bombing the pivotal point itself. The others have less, or nothing, to do with the whole affair. They (the plotters) thought that it would be the same in this case as well. [But] now all the houses are the centers of this movement and all the people are the soldiers of the army of Islam.

The enemy's unfamiliarity with Islam and the Islamic society

This issue [securing the Islamic regime] is an ideological one; not a materialistic issue. Women do not take part in [this movement], risking their own and their children's lives, for (later) profit and position. Islam and the Holy Quran were [the sole] incentives that brought the ladies out of their homes [to participate in] in the political scene alongside the men, or even ahead of them. Every house belonging to this nation is the abode of hope. They think that by bombing a house, or killing one, ten, a hundred, two hundred or five hundred people everything would be over! Every man and woman of this nation is Islam's *pasdar*. The issue [in this movement] is faith, not material gain so that if people think they will not be gaining anything, they will stop supporting it [as the enemies have perceived]. No, the issue is faith and defending Islam. And, [we] must defend Islam to the last person. Therefore, the only way for them to succeed is to kill the total thirty five million population; in which case there will be no country left after the coup; and [obviously] this will never happen. They do not realize that they are making a mistake. Their intellectuals, who claim to have insight and understanding of politics; the different [opponent] groups that also have such

claims and some of the military officers, who are also unaware of the issues, have not been able to grasp the depth of this subject. They have still not realized the power of Islam; they have still not paid heed to this aspect. Who has invited these [Islamic Revolutionary] guards to perform this task?! Has anyone asked the officers of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees to form these committees? Who mobilized the students, the scientists and the other elements of this nation? Who mobilized the women in that they are participating [and rightly so] in the country's affairs? Nobody; God has invited them. They are answering God's call. There is no way that someone could think of taking over such a country by killing some people—and supposing that you kill as well—and bombing this place and that by means of the Phantoms; even if they succeed in getting their jets off the ground. Do they really think that this uprising is dependent on one person?! No; this is not the case. The problem is that they do not know Islam, because they have never been in it to understand what it is about. Maybe they do not intend to study the history of Islam [to try at least to understand it]. Maybe their reluctance in studying the history of Islam is because they are so much against it. They are unaware of the background of Islam, of the events that have happened in the history of Islam and how it has progressed. They weigh everything in terms of these material considerations and, according to them, nth hand political considerations that they are concerned with. That is why they do such things or call for such measures. This Revolution was the work of Islam. Could any other element but Islam mobilize everyone, regardless of age, for a single purpose?! Everyone had his or her own business before this movement. Everybody had his own separate task. No one minded such issues. The one cause that welded everyone into a union and mobilized the masses was Islam. They must study Islam and know it so that they do not make such mistakes any more. Let us suppose that they had fulfilled their plan and had killed the several main figures of this regime; well, did the nation revolt for the Prime Minister or for any other figure?! Do they really think that one figure is controlling this movement?! Every individual is involved in these matters; the whole nation is involved. This misconception should be changed so that they would not make such mistakes and, later, undergo these trials. All the various groups must change their views; all the political groups, all the [supposedly] enlightened intellectuals must alter their perceptions and all the other [active] groups in this country must correct their vision and eliminate this misconception. They must realize where a coup would be successful and where it would be a failure. They should realize that the issue of public involvement in this country is the same in all the various

regions, whether the capital or the farthest regions of the country. Wherever you went, you would hear the same thing: "We want an Islamic Republic." Is it possible for people to mobilize themselves like this without clinging to the Holy Book and the *sunnah*? It was the faithful minds that staged the uprising. These are the (faithful) people, whether the women or the men, whose children on meeting me, not once or ten times, but many times, request me to pray for them to get martyred; and I pray for them to triumph. This is the case from the time I was in Najaf up to now. Can they (the enemies) overcome such minds full of faith and hearts full of light with a coup d'etat¹? They ought to clear their misconception and pay heed to the essence of the Islamic movement, the essence of Islam, the essence of the holy Book and to faith. If these matters are taken into consideration, neither the person who intends to disrupt the working of the university by creating commotion will do such a thing, nor the one who, for example, wants to stage demonstrations [against the Islamic regime]. If these people realize the core of the matter, if they realize that Islam is the stimulus of this movement, if they realize that the leader is the Imam of the Time, if they realize that the minds of the thirty five million people of Iran are vivified with the light [of faith], and that they are alive for Islam, they will never reach the conclusion that they can go and kill several people and take the helm of affairs at hand. Is such a thing possible?! Yes; a government run by some people at the top without the public being involved, can be overthrown and replaced by another group. But in this regime, there is no ruler and no ruled; we are all standing shoulder to shoulder. We are brothers and sisters unto one another, and all of us have a share in this movement because it is Islamic. Islam is not exclusive to one person; it does not exclude the others. Faith does not apply to just one person while excluding the others. If they [enemies] want to take over [the country], they must fight from house to house; not only in Tehran, but all over the country. Suppose that they take Tehran (though this is an impossibility), the rest of the country will rise against them and retake Tehran. If America and those who think they can overthrow this regime really want to accomplish something, they must utilize such means and bring in such people as to oust the population of 35 million from the political scene. What means are those that can oust thirty five million men and women who are all [spiritually] equipped and are involved in the (country's) issues. It is impossible! Bakhtiyar and Carter surely cannot remove those whom God has brought on to the scene. One who is addicted to drugs² can never stage a

¹ The failed Nojeh coup d'etat.

² Referring to Shapur Bakhtiyar, the last prime minister of the Pahlavi regime.

coup; it is all talk. What they are saying that he was to come is just talk. Who was to come? As it is being said, if it is two hours late for him to use drugs, he becomes physically incapable of action. So, who was to come? The fact of the matter is that they are not familiar with Islam. They are under the impression that Islam is a regime like the American or Russian ones. In those regimes, only the high-ranking officials are involved in the political affairs (of the country). Even their own people are against them. Those high-ranking officials [of those regimes] rule [as they wish]; they oppress and squander [the riches of their countries]. The people are not at all involved in their country's affairs. It is not the case that the people are involved in the political issues such as in Iran where all the ladies also participate. It would be of great benefit to them if they tried to understand Islam; if they studied Islamic history and read about the events that occurred in the early periods of Islam. In one of the battles that took place, the unbelievers had taken position in their citadel. As at that time, the means (obviously) did not exist to go up and bomb them from above, and as the citadel had to be taken, one of the Muslim commanders proposed that he sit on a shield and the Muslims lift the shield high on their spears so that he could climb up the wall and, entering the fort, fight them inside it and then open the door from the inside. One man against a host that was in possession of the fort, did just such a thing. His men placed a shield on their spears, and their commander sitting on it, they lifted it up with their spears whereby he reached the top of the wall. Then he entered the citadel, fought his way to the gate and succeeded in opening it. It is Islam; it is faith that accomplished these things. These different perverted groups would do well to study a little about Islam. They ought to study a little of Islam's history and understand the meaning of Faith.

The blessed month of Ramadan and the invitation to the Almighty God's feast

The sacred month of Ramadan is ahead; a month in which you should strengthen yourself morally. There is a tradition attributed to the Noble Messenger about informing the people of the advent of the blessed month of Ramadan. One of the phrases is: "You have been invited to God's feast."¹ The difference between God's feast and peoples' feasts is that when you go to a feast, you will have some items of food to eat and means of entertainment befitting your status. But in God's feast, one part is to observe the fast. Another important item which is a [spiritual] meal from the Unseen, is the Holy Quran. You have been invited to His feast; you are His guest in

¹ Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 93, p. 356, Narration 25.

the month of Ramadan. Your host has compelled you to fast. Block those avenues that lie open to worldly considerations and lusts so that you are prepared for the “*Laylatuul-Qadr*”.¹ The month of Shaban² is the prelude to the holy month of Ramadan. It prepares the people for the holy month and for the feast of God. When you want to go to a party, you do not go in your usual, everyday dress. You normally dress up in another way and attend the party in a different manner. You modify your manners from what they might be when you are at home. The month of Shaban is the time for that preparation before attending the party, just as you get ready and make yourself look a bit different from the way you appear in your house. Shaban is the month that prepares these people; these Muslims, for “God’s Feast”. And the manner of preparation lies in the “*Munajat-e Shabaniyyah*”.³ I have not seen any other supplication that has been said to have been recited by all the Imams⁴, as is the case with this Shabaniyyah Supplication. This supplication is unique in this regard; I do not recall any other one that the Imams used to recite. The purpose of this Shabaniyyah Supplication is to prepare you and everyone for “God’s Feast”.

Reinforcing the soul and reaching the height of moral development in the supplications of the (holy) Imams

People have some misconceptions that have greatly increased. That is why some [of these supposedly enlightened] people, not understanding what supplications are all about, say that reciting the Quran is enough. They, thereby, disregard the supplications. They have not understood them for what they are. They have not bothered to study the supplications and their meanings to see what they are all about; to see what they want to convey to the readers and what their purpose is. Even if there was no supplication attributed to and recited by our Imams—the originators of our supplications—except this one, it would have been enough to substantiate their rightfulness. All the issues that the mystics have discussed, and have written in their books in great detail, are present in this supplication, but in fewer words. It could further be asserted that the Muslim mystics used these supplications as their material. Islamic mysticism is different from the mysticism of India and other regions. These are supplications about which

¹ The night in the month of Ramadan when the Holy Quran was revealed as a whole to the heart of the Noble Messenger (s).

² Shaban: the month before the month of Ramadan.

³ A prayer highly recommended for the Muslims to read every night during Shaban.

⁴ Iqbal al-Amal, p. 685.

some of our great teachers¹ used to say that while the Quran is the book that has descended and come down [for us], the supplication is the thing that “ascends”; it goes upwards [from us to the unseen]. The spirituality needed for moralizing people and making them real humans [that is, in accordance with the God-given criteria governing real human beings], without which people would be more savage than the carnivores, rests and exists in these supplications. These supplications, with their unique language, drive people upward [towards the Divine] to that height that you and I cannot understand. Only those who have lived that way are familiar with it. Why is that someone like Kasravi² proposed the burning of [all Arabic] books. *Mafatih al-Jinan*³ was one of the books that he burnt. He burnt the books of the mystics as well. Of course he was a very skillful writer but he became insane towards the end of his life, or he had that sort of a mind. Many Eastern characters are like that: when they learn a few words, they think very highly of themselves. Towards the end of his life, Kasravi claimed that he was a prophet. Because he could not reach those high levels [of faith and spiritual purity], he thought he could bring the High down to his own level. *Mafatih al-Jinan* is not Shaykh Abbas Qumi’s book; he is just the compiler. He has collected the supplications in it. This person who burned the *Mafatih al-Jinan* or had designated a day for burning such books was not aware of the content of this book. He may have not read *Munajat Shabaniyyah* even once in his life. He did not have that sort of a mentality. The supplications of some of the months and days, especially those that pertain to the month of Rajab, Shaban and Ramadan, strengthen the soul miraculously. Of course not that I can understand such realities; but those who are familiar are aware of the effects of the supplications. These supplications open the way for the people. They are the search lights that enable the human being to come out of darkness and into Light [i.e. spiritual vivification]. You must pay attention to these supplications. You must not be deceived by what some writers, like Kasravi, who used to undermine (the significance of) these supplications. This results in undermining Islam. But these unfortunate characters are ignorant. They do

¹ Aqa Muhammad Ali ShahabadI, who taught Imam Gnosticism.

² Ahmad Kasravi Tabrizi was an author and history writer who wrote more than fifty books. He refrained from using words that have come into Farsi from Arabic. Even though he was a clergyman during his youth, he became an anti-religious and anti-clergy figure later on. He proposed to burn all books written in Arabic and the ones on religion, including the Holy Quran and the *Mafatih al-Jinan*. He was assassinated by one of the members of the Fadaiyan-e Islam.

³ *Mafatih al-Jinan*: a book of supplications narrated by the Holy Imams and recited by devout Shlahs.

not understand what exists in this book [i.e. the Mafatih al-Jinan]. The same issues that exist in the Holy Quran are present in this book except in a different style, in the language of the Imams. The Quran has its own specific style; the supplications retain their own unique style and the language of the *ulama* and the mystics is also different. The things which make the person light-hearted and move him out of this dark abode and rid the soul of its problems and miseries are the supplications. Our holy Imams (s) were under the oppression of authoritarian rulers and thus could not perform the tasks [that were necessary for the peoples' guidance] openly. Therefore the supplications they uttered, apart from the guidance they gave clandestinely, were their means of mobilizing the people against the tyrannical regimes. On reciting these supplications, the people's morale would rise. They would feel light-hearted whereby martyrdom would become sweet and easy for them. The supplications of the sacred months of Rajab, and especially Shaban are the prelude and the provisions that prepare the soul to reply to God's invitation to His feast. The table on which the meal is served is the Holy Quran and the location of the feast, of course the most important location, is the "*Laylatuul-Qadr*". It is a feast to purify, prove and educate. The souls [of the believers] are prepared from the first day of the holy month of Ramadan through fasting, struggling [against the worldly lusts] and supplicating (God) in order to get ready for the main meal which is the "*Laylatuul-Qadr*", when the Holy Quran was revealed.

The goal of the prophets of God: to free humankind from their lusts

This Divine feast should divert the humans from this [base] animality to the real aspect of humanity. It should pull them out of the pits of sin to the gates of Absolute. Light on which the whole world depends. The purpose of the prophets' message was to save humanity from the state of confusion they are in with every single individual going in a different direction. They wanted to call peoples' attention to the Right Path out of this world [of misery]; to tell them to disregard all the other paths, for the only way is the path of God. Show us the straight Path"¹; "Lo! my Lord is on a straight Path"². There is no other way out but this path. Other than this path, there is only the [base] world: that is those issues pertaining to the human desires and their worldly wishes; this is the [base] world. The world which has been denounced is not this natural world [of the creatures]. This world of nature is Light [i.e. the continuation of God's illumination and thus includes no evil].

¹ *Surah* Fatihah 1:5.

² *Surah* Hud 11:56.

It is the attachment of the soul to this world that corrupts the humans. The darkness that overtakes us is the result of becoming attached to this world, to these posts and positions, these delusions and superstitions. All the prophets came to grasp our hands and release us from these worldly desires, which are all against what our nature and temperament necessitate. They came to rescue us from these attachments and guide us to the world of Light. Islam is above all other religions in this regard [for it is the final message]. The supplications [that our holy Imams have uttered] are to rid people from the desires that have made them wretched, from the miseries of this world that have bewildered and confused them, and to save them by driving them to the true path of humanity. There is no other way; the Right Path is the only way for humanity. And our holy Imams, not being able to guide people openly as the result of the situation they were in, utilized these supplications as the means of guidance. The goal of the holy prophets was not to take control of a region [for example] and do something for themselves. This was not the intention, sir! The prophets' goal was not to take over the world in order to develop it. Their goal was to show the path to the people of this world; to the extremely oppressive and ignorant humans. This path is the only way to God, the Blessed, the Exalted: "Verily my Lord is on the Right Path." At one end [of this path] is this world and on the other end, that which is beyond the world [the world of light and immortality]. On one side there is this [base and dark] world, but beyond it exists the Ultimate Light. The prophets' mission was to help us reach that Light: *"Allah is the Protecting Friend of those who believe. He bringeth them out of the darkness into Light. As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities. They bring them out of Light into darkness."*¹ *Taghut* struggles against the prophets, against Allah.

Attending God's banquet

If we succeed in participating in God's feast, and arriving at the table of the Blessed and Exalted Lord; that is if they allow us into this grand gathering—for the devils are standing on the way to block our path—and thus if we succeed in attending that banquet, we might find our way to the path of (real) humanity. All other directions [of life] are wrong. They are the paths of animals. Humans are strange creatures. They possess animal passions that are boundless; and devilishness which also stops at no limit. They are boundless creatures in all aspects. Whichever path they choose is limitless. And all the paths are wrong and misleading; they all end in Hell except the "Right Path", the path which is that of humanity [and not the

¹ *Surah* Baqarah 2: 257.

animalistic aspects of humanity]. Thus, if they permit us to attend God's feast; if we become eligible to take part in this banquet and comprehend (the significance of) this sacred month, there is hope of our being guided. Fortify yourself during this auspicious month and get prepared for all the upcoming events. The holy prophets wanted spirituality and, therefore, struggled to correct the deviations in human societies and also among the ruling class. For instance: take the story of Moses: a shepherd¹, staff in hand, going to Pharaoh and, despite the Pharaoh's pomp and power, inviting him to become a Muslim (and submit to God's authority); to become a (proper) human being, or a minor, the orphaned son² of a shepherd—or a shepherd himself—from the Hijaz (Arabia) inviting all the powers (of the time) to humanity, was all for the purpose of turning the people into proper human beings. The whole purpose is for us to become real humans; but, unfortunately, it has proved very difficult. There used to be a saying: "Becoming a priest is so easy; but becoming a human being is so difficult." But my late teacher, Shaykh Abdulkarim³ (May God have mercy on his soul) used to say: "Becoming a priest is so hard; being a human is impossible." It is so difficult as to be almost impossible. The mission of the prophets was to achieve the impossible. Do not strive so much to this way and that. Your souls want God, and so you must go after what you really want. Your spirits desire God, but you are unaware (of the fact). The spirits of all people desire God. You must edify yourselves during this Ramadan and every Ramadan. Today, which is probably the last day of Shaban, you and I must prepare ourselves for attending "God's Feast"; His banquet, so that, God willing, we enter this great month with spiritual well-being and benefit by the Blessed and Exalted Lord's Light of guidance and so change ourselves (for the better). We must really be different in this month as compared to the other months, and must try to comprehend the "*Laylatul-Qadr*" and its bounties, for it is the night in which the Holy Quran was revealed and the directions for the prosperity of the whole world were disclosed. That is why it is superior to all other nights; and we must understand this (reality). May God assist you and give you the opportunity to attend His Feast in good health and happiness. And I hope that

¹ Hadrat Musa ibn Imran (*a*) or Prophet Moses the son of Imran.

² Hadrat Muhammad (the Noble Messenger), the son of Abdullah.

³ Abdulkarim HairI Yazdi (1276-1355 AH) was one of the great Islamic jurists and a leading reference authority (*marja-e taqlid*). He was the pupil of Sayyid Muhammad FesharakI, Mirza Muhammad Taqi ShIrazI and Akhund KhorasanI. He migrated from Iraq to Arak in 1332 AH, and revived the *hawzah* (theology center) there. He moved to Qum after staying eight years in that city, and established the theology center there. He was Imam KhomeinI's main teacher in the fields of Islamic jurisprudence and "*usul*".

we get blessed with the heavenly blessings—the Holy Quran and the sacred supplications—and that we enter the “Night of Grandeur” with a pure heart in order to comprehend it. *“That Night is [Laylatul-Qadr] Peace until the rising of the dawn.”*¹

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

¹ *Surah al-Qadr* 97:5.

Decree

Date: July 18, 1980 [Tir 27, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The appointment of the administrator of the Iranian pilgrims to Mecca

Addressee: Muhammad Rida Tavassuli

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan al-Mubarak 5, 1400 AH /

Tir 27, 1359 AHS

The honorable Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Rida Tavassuli Mahallati—may his graces last:

I have appointed you as the administrator of the pilgrims to the House of God [i.e. the Kabah: the holy shrine revered by all Muslims located in Mecca, Saudi Arabia] in order to improve the performance of the great obligation of *hajj* and administer the affairs pertaining to this obligation, and to increase the level of Islamic practice among the groups of pilgrims, and also to take care of issues related to this task. You must, with the assistance of Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ali Hashemi Golpaygani and the council of those appropriate officials, set up an assembly of competent, responsible and faithful individuals in order to cover all the affairs of *hajj*. Moreover, if the *hajj* affairs coincide with the affairs of another government organization, like the Red Crescent, the officials responsible for those affairs must be approved by you [as well]. And you are duty-bound to select faithful and responsible individuals for those tasks. I hope that you have in mind the great humanitarian, spiritual, political and social aspects of *hajj* and that you take the opportunity of *hajj* to inform the pilgrims of the [main] social and political events of the year in the world of Islam. I must necessarily point out that all the signs of “*shirk*”¹ (this is the meaning that Imam intends here) that is removing all signs of the overthrown Shah and his regime as an authority that were revered like God] and *taghut* must be removed from all the various stages of this holy pilgrimage. May you, God willing, be successful and triumphant.

¹ Usually the term “*shirk*” in Islamic usage means “polytheism”. However it also denotes “practically considering other beings (in this case the figure of Shah) mutually responsible alongside God”.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Approving a Decree

Date: July 19, 1980 [Tir 28, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Approving the appointment of Mr. Murtada Ridai as the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

Addressee: Ridai, Murtada

In His Most Exalted Name

Your appointment¹ as the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps is hereby approved. You must endeavor to make sure that all Islamic commandments are implemented in the Guard Corps. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ BanI Sadr, the president of Iran at the time, appointed and introduced him as the head of the IRGC.

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, July 19, 1980 [Tir 28, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need for order to exist in the armed and security forces and to purge them [of undesirable elements]

Addressee: Murtada Ridai (the newly appointed head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps) and a group of *Pasdars*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The success of the Islamic Republic principally depends on the rule of Islam over all the government bodies

The basis for this revolution and movement is Islam. That is, we do not accept any other criterion; any other contention. And therefore all the armed forces (the Islamic guards, the gendarmerie, the army and others) must adjust themselves to Islam. Those individuals who are not Islamic in their outlook; that is, they have not accepted Islam, must be purged. And those who are Islamic in their outlook and accept Islam, but in practice disregard their faith, and do things according to their own interests, must be guided. But if they do not correct themselves and the authorities lose hope in them they must be put aside. The element stirred the people (to action) was Islam. No other power could have driven a thirty five million population in one direction; no other power. Thus we can see in our history that those movements—some of which we have witnessed ourselves, like the nationalization of the oil industry—which were not Islamic and had nothing to do with Islam, being based on nationalistic considerations, were unable to succeed. And they (the one who nationalized the oil industry) were later deprived of whatever they had partially accomplished, and so left the scene. If Islam and Islamic doctrine rules, in the military or non-military set-ups, we will triumph. But if we disregard the Islamic doctrine, with everyone doing what they wish and just thinking about themselves, we will become vulnerable. Thus, it is incumbent on us; on the heads of the army, the *pasdars*, the gendarmerie, the police force and all the intellectuals and writers to drive the nation in one direction: toward Islam and God. If this goal materializes and all the government organizations are “Islamized”, we will succeed; no doubt. But if we disintegrate, and every organ goes its own way—for instance the Islamic guards do not cooperate with the gendarmerie or maybe even oppose it, or oppose the army, or any other two organizations oppose one another; then in

such a case we must be ready to face defeat, even though it may not happen in the near future.

The necessity of coordination among the armed forces

In my opinion, one of the very crucial issues is coordination among the armed forces. They should not be in disagreement. They should all be together. But the question of how this can be carried out and arranged should be thought out by themselves. And my representatives in the armed forces should also think of a way of creating coordination among the armed forces. It should not be so that if a problem surfaces, God forbid, each department goes its own way thus entailing defeat [for us].

The importance of putting Islamic practices into effect

The important issue is "Islamization", which means that Islamic practices must be implemented. Some individuals believe that we must spread the Islamic ideology and leave aside Islamic practices. This opinion is contradictory to Islamic doctrine. The Islamic practices must be implemented in the army garrisons and the center where you the *pasdars* are based. That is, now during the month of Ramadan they [i.e. all the armed forces] must fast; [of course] those for whom fasting is obligatory must fast. All of them must pray [i.e. they must perform their five daily prayers] and retrain absolutely from committing acts prohibited in Islam. Islamic criteria must be observed; this is the meaning of the Islamic Republic. Otherwise if there is no sign of implementation of Islam in the gendarmerie, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the army or in any of the other government offices it will not be an Islamic Republic. It will be a wrong name for a state which is being administered in that same *taghuti* manner. We must correct these discrepancies in earnest. And so if there are corrupt individuals who are against the creed, they should be expelled at the very outset and furthermore, if they are found guilty of treason, God forbid, they must be prosecuted. Those who adhere to the Islamic doctrine (meaning that they believe in Islam) but act otherwise should be guided. If they are amenable to guidance, so much the better; but if they are not and the efforts prove futile, they must [also] be purged.

Stressing the importance of maintaining order and solidarity to prevent instability

One of the important issues is keeping order. It means that if the affairs are not carried out on an orderly basis, disorder will prevail. If the officers in

the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps do not obey the higher ranks and the latter also do not obey their commanding officers; and if the same thing goes on in the gendarmerie and everyone goes his own way [disregarding the other departments]; such a trend would certainly undermine the armed forces. And in such an event, the country will become unstable. Thus, one of the important issues is the maintaining of order. The soldiers must obey the colonel, the general and the head of the guards [depending on their ranks and the department they serve]. They should submit [and obey] in the name of Islam. This period is not like the time of *taghut* for one to obey if it so pleases him, and even if he obeys outwardly, he, in reality, does not want to do so. Islam the thing that is now in control; it comprehends both the exterior and interior of people. Thus, if someone in his heart of hearts does wish to obey, that person has disobeyed God [just like the soldier who has disobeyed his superior]. This is another important issue that must be observed in the army, the IRGC, the security forces and the rest of the armed forces.

Another important issue regarding the Revolutionary Guards Corps is that though I like these guards a lot and am thankful to them—what Iran has accomplished is the result of the struggle of such people—some enemy agents, in some cases, infiltrate their ranks and do certain things that damage the reputation of the guards. For example, several officers decide that a particular individual is a bad person and, based on this assumption, arrest him and confiscate his orchard and land. Such actions entail commotion, and are, therefore, against the interests of the Islamic Republic, and also against Islam. Such actions ought to be really prevented; the guards should not take action without a court warrant. They should not interfere without the orders of the public prosecutor. A *pasdar* should not presume that he can do whatever he deems appropriate because he has power. This gives rise to anarchy; and doing something in a disorderly manner means that one is *taghuti* [in his actions]. This is another important issue that you who are in the Revolutionary Guard Corps should seriously follow up on all over the country with the assistance of the authorities and the others in the judiciary. If an officer of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards or several of them, take action on their own, without having a court warrant, and confiscate orchards or plots of land, or if they seize some possessions or arrest people, they must be prosecuted and punished. For Iran to stand up on its own feet and to be able to determine, God willing, its own future appropriately, the first thing that needs to be done is to establish order among the armed forces. It does not make any difference whether it is the *pasdars* or the rest of the armed forces. They must observe order and the Islamic precepts, and also preserve

their own Islamic essence so that all the tasks are (well) accomplished. I wish to reiterate that cooperation among the armed forces is also mandatory according to Islam, while their disunity is against Islamic law. I do not want to rule out [the reality of] the differences of opinion. This, however, does not mean that everyone can do as he wants. The commanders should sit down with my representatives and sort out their differences. It should not be that in the face of any eventuality, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the gendarmerie and the army act separately without any coordination among them. There ought to be unity and coordination among them. And this could be achieved through your efforts and [the efforts] of Mr. Mahallati¹ and Mr. Khamene'i² who are there and the other authorities in other places. These issues should be taken care of through consultation among yourselves. And what you said about their request that I intervene in the affairs of the armed forces is not possible for me. I cannot intervene in every issue directly; and that is why I appoint representatives and, for example, approve of you to be in the Guard Corps, and to direct the affairs. My representatives are the ones responsible to be directly in contact with the issues. This is how I can act and so whatever you do there (in your area of duty) means that I have done it. Those who like to take orders from me must obey you [in order to obey me]. And this is how I involve myself in the affairs. This is the case regarding all the persons whom I have appointed [or approved of]: obeying them is obeying me. They are not in charge independently. For instance, the President; I have placed him as the president and so cooperating with him is cooperating with me. And it is not possible that I directly intervene in all the affairs. I have appointed certain individuals for this cause and that is how order can be maintained.

Guarding this divine trust against selfish motives

In any case we are all part of this nation and we are all responsible for safeguarding this country. And you see it is much more sensitive at this stage because of the apparent dangers that we have faced and will face more in the future. We have been entrusted by God (the Blessed the Exalted) with the responsibility of safeguarding this Islamic country. And thus we must not permit any weakness in ourselves. There should be no personal considerations, no selfish motives. We are all brothers and so we must endeavor together to safeguard this trust that God has given us. I want to tell

¹ Aqa Fadlullah Mahallati, the Imam's representative in the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.

² Aqa Sayyid Ali Khamene'i, at the time, the Imam's representative in the Ministry of Defense.

those who lecture and write about the issues that undermining the police force and the Islamic Guard Corps is undermining Islam. The same case pertains to the gendarmerie and the rest of the armed forces. Of course, this does not mean that the corrupt individuals in these forces should not be purged. The corrupt individuals should be prosecuted no matter what position they occupy. But those who are working in line with Islam—all the lecturers and writers whether clergymen or laypersons—must support them. Just a word to weaken their position is weakening Islam and thus is blasphemous and forbidden. I hope that you all be successful, and blessed by God, in safeguarding this trust. We must be aware that there is another world ahead where we will all be present and called to account. Thus, if we do anything to damage the Islamic Republic, we must explain ourselves [in the Hereafter], and we will be judged and very harshly at that in the Presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted.

The need for taking decisive action against those who planned and directed the coup

It is important to take notice of these matters. Those individuals who have done wrong but can be reformed by admonishing, advising and guiding them, should be reformed by such means. But if they do not change, they should be purged. And those who participated in the recent happening and had this evil thought of staging a coup d'etat,¹ should be put to death according to the ruling of the Holy Quran, without any exceptions. No one has the right to pardon anyone guilty or to be lenient with him. According to the Quran and Islam they are corrupt and corrupters, and for such people four penalties have been designated, of which the smallest is the death penalty. I hope that, God willing, you will succeed in traversing this path, this straight path, safely, and will enjoy good health and prosperity. May God protect you.

Speech

¹ The unsuccessful Nojeh Coup attempt.

Date/Time: Before noon, July 20, 1980 [Tir 29, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 7, 1400 AH]

Date: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Taking decisive action to deal with mischief and conspiracies

Occasion: The formalization of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the introduction of the new Cabinet

Addressees: Members of the Supreme Judicial Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Admitting past mistakes

With every passing day of this revolution, I realize more and more that our people acted earnestly [as was appropriate] but we did not. We are either at fault, or are powerless. But in any case, we must answer to the nation. The people threw out that “embodiment of corruption” [i.e. the toppled Shah of Iran] and achieved partial victory. When it came to our turn, none of us acted in a revolutionary manner. If we had the experience of revolutions —that is, if we had been defeated in a revolution, and then had staged another one— we would have not acted in such a way. The people carried out the revolution correctly, but we failed to carry out the crucial measures back then; and that is why we face so many problems today and we will have more ahead unless we make up for our faults in a revolutionary (drastic) manner. You see that for a long time, we have been repeatedly announcing national mourning and we keep on attending funerals or participate in demonstrations for condemning the various assassinations or hold commemorative services. Our *pasdars* are being massacred like this (so easily), and that is because we did not conduct the revolution as we should have. If we had, we would not be facing so many problems. For example, at that time that they wanted to go to negotiate with the rebels in Kurdistan, I had told them to negotiate from a position of strength. I told them that the army, the *pasdars* and such forces must first surround the area and the rebels, and then they must negotiate with them. Now how many of the *pasdars* have been martyred in the past several days? Our faults are the result of our [the heads of the Islamic Republic] being of two backgrounds. Some of us were just out of [theological] school, and some others had just returned to the country. Neither were we experienced in revolution, nor did they possess the revolutionary spirit. Neglect occurred and resulted in those prolonged troubles arising for us and causing so much damage. We made a big mistake in appointing the temporary government, which I thought necessary at the time. We should

have set up a young and decisive government from the beginning that would have been able to administer the country, not a government that is unable to do so. The problem back then was that we did not have enough competent individuals; we were not acquainted with them (enough) so that we select them. Thus the temporary government was appointed. It was a big mistake. And now that the [new] government is supposed to be approved by the Majlis, the latter should make sure that an earnest, religious and one hundred percent Islamic government be approved. If there is one individual in the proposed cabinet similar to the present cabinet members, they should not approve of the cabinet. The ministers' (backgrounds) must be reviewed one by one. We need decisive, religious and one hundred percent Islamic ministers. If the new government turns out like the previous [provisional] government, with the background and outlook, we should say farewell to this movement; and there would be no chance of succeeding. We must, therefore, make up for the past mistakes. [Another mistake was freeing members of the SAVAK]. We should not have forgiven them. They [i.e. some of the liberals] insisted that those agents of SAVAK who had not killed anyone should be pardoned. But that was a mistake. Now those of the people whom were freed are scattered all over the country, and are busy hatching plots. We mistakenly let that group go and also [another mistake] we did not arrest others that we should have.

If we had acted from the beginning like the other revolutions carried out all over the world; that is if we had shut all the country's doors and had blocked the movements in and out of the country and had crushed the opponent groups and had been harsh with them, we would not be experiencing so many problems. We would not have been holding mourning ceremonies nor having so many (people) martyred every day. That is past [and we cannot do anything about it]. We ask for God's forgiveness .

The parliament's duties with regard to giving the government a vote of confidence

Those mistakes should not be repeated. The government and the Majlis must act decisively. If there are still individuals in the Majlis that play the same tune and hold the same opinions [as the liberals in the temporary government], others must not pay heed to them. The Majlis must act determinedly. And if the government wants to take a wrong step, they [representatives in the Majlis] must determinedly ask the government to correct itself, and must block that wrong action. From the beginning, the Majlis must make sure that all the ministers and all the members of the

cabinet understand what has taken place in our country. They must understand the situation we are in right now. They must understand how Islam ought to be implemented in this country. Lots of these individuals do not even care about such issues. None of the present ministries are sound ones. Almost every day we have reports from other countries that Iran's embassy in that country is not functioning appropriately. We receive reports that Iran's possessions in the embassies are being destroyed. Iran has millions of dollars worth of possessions which are going to waist, and many houses of value that have been built are falling into ruin. And there is no one to follow up on them. We have nobody to look into these matters. There is much talk. They [i.e. the authorities in the temporary government] keep coming and saying that everything is going fine! But it is not true. The Majlis should assemble a committee of competent figures to go over to those countries where we have embassies and reform them. They should get rid of the corrupt personnel and these "Savakis" so that we could have proper embassies. All the embassies that we have right now are corrupt. They [i.e. the personnel of the embassies] having nothing to do but gluttony, having fun and fornication. They must be put right. This is not right; we claim that we have had an Islamic republic for the past two years, but nothing actually has been Islamic. Wherever you look, you can see that nothing is right. The ministries are the same. This situation cannot persist for long. We cannot stand the fact that these men [i.e. the liberal figures in the temporary government] want to arrange things according to their own way of thinking which has been developed in Europe. We want to implement Islam. One of these liberals had come to me crying as to why some of these individuals [left over from the Shah's regime] were being executed! Not these recent ones, but those that Aqa Khalkhali¹ had (ordered to be) executed. They [i.e. the pro-West liberals] do not realize that while Islam is education (in itself) it is also the religion of education. Those who do not improve through should be dealt with (drastically). An example is the execution of seven hundred Jews of the Bani Quraydah in the presence of the Holy Prophet and under his command after he saw that they could not be persuaded to desist from their wrong doings. They [i.e. the pro-West liberals] are uttering the same Western thoughts that we must just educate [the criminals and not take any harsh measures in punishing them]; that we must first educate everyone and then carry out punishments. It is strange that if someone consumes alcoholic beverages [which is prohibited according to Islamic law] right now, we should not punish him/her; we have to first correct his mind! This is

¹ Mr. Sadiq Khalkhali the president of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts at the time.

nonsense. The penalties must be implemented. The ministries must be put set right.

The Majlis is officially starting its work today. With the formalization of the Majlis, it must carry out reforms in all spheres. This means that it must put into use its utmost power to approve a resolute and one hundred percent Islamic government possessing the necessary powers. It should examine the government activities: what is going on in the ministries and in the provincial governments. The Majlis must ask the government for explanation regarding its activities. If the government does wrong, the Majlis must utilize its impeachment power to put things right. If our army had acted appropriately we would not be struggling with the Baluchistan and Kurdistan problems. They [i.e. the authorities in charge] are not fulfilling their duties as they should. Of course there are some who are working hard; I do not intend to ignore their endeavors [and be ungrateful], but [over all] they are neglecting their duties. They do not follow up their tasks. They ought to be impeached for the death of fourteen persons there, and the brutal manner in which they were murdered. Why should this happen? Why has not any appropriate action been taken against the rebels who have camped in the mountains? Why are not they being exterminated? All these are because of the heads of our army not being revolutionary in their outlook. And the same applies to the ministries, and the government. None of us are revolutionary. And because of this we will be hurt, and have already been hurt. When will all this mourning cease? Until when should we have these mourning ceremonies? Until when should our innocent youth be kept on getting murdered and their efforts unappreciated? Till when should they be belittled? They keep on getting killed and even humiliated. They keep on getting killed and keep on getting contradicted. Until when must we bear all this? These affairs must be set right.

The necessity of reforming the Judiciary

The judiciary must also be reformed. The Islamic judicial system must not remain in the hands of these people (liberals); the ones that are there at present. Which one of them is an Islamic judge. Which one? Which one of them could you point to who could judge according to Islamic law? Of course, we must totally put aside the issue of having judges who are “fully qualified juristsprudents”¹ There are not enough of such individuals; we do

¹ According to Islamic law, only an expert in jurisprudence can be a judge. But when there are not enough of such experts, other individuals who have studied Islamic law can occupy that office.

not have enough of them to cover our needs in the judiciary. What I want are judges who are familiar with Islamic law—even if it be by adopting the practices of the religious reference authorities—and who realize what judging [according to Islam] is and how it should be performed. If we do not take earnest action to put the judiciary right, and are neglectful in purging it, our troubles will persist for ever. Our judiciary has problems, and so does our army as well as all our departments. We must not henceforth conduct our affairs in the way we have been doing. We must make up for our faults. We must endeavor to fulfill our duties with all our strength. We do not have any special ties with anyone. We obey Islam and want to implement Islamic law. If Islam is not going to be implemented in a ministry, we will shut it down. A ministry which is harmful to Islam and to the Islamic Republic is worthless. The Majlis authorizes the budget but the concerned minister, for example, does not provide the necessary funds; and thus problems develop. Everything gets upset. Some individuals in the government are not revolutionary in their outlook. They believe that we must be indulgent, regarding this and that, at present.

Islamization and the Abandonment of Nationalistic [movements]

These individuals not sympathetic with the Revolution must not be appointed as ministers. And Mr. Bani Sadr¹ must not propose such people for approval to the Majlis, and if he does, the Majlis must reject them and must not pay any heed (to the criticism of others), except if that person is capable of holding that position. The individuals approved must adhere to Islam. They must not be negligent. They must be supportive of the Revolution so that we could preserve our country. If the government continues in the same way, we must be ready to mourn the demise of the Islamic Republic, and of everything [pertaining to Islam]. You see how they [i.e. the secular liberals] are begging to permit the nationalistic trend persist for some time suggesting that we must wait a while to see how it works! How much harm has the nationalistic movement caused us? I do not want to go into details regarding the damage that was done to us back at that time when the “nationalistic” movement was dominant, and what harm that person² whom they (the nationalists) praise so much, did to us! I do not want to talk about our students of the Madrasah Faydiyyah being machine-gunned at that time, just as the clergymen were machine-gunned during the time of Pahlavi. Mr.

¹ Abul-Hasan BanI Sadr the first president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

² Mr. Muhammad Musaddiq the leader of the “National Front” and the Prime Minister from 1330-1332 during the reign of Muhammad Rida PahlavI.

Ha'iri and I went to the Faydiyyah School [the site of the slaughter] to help the wounded. The doctors did not dare certify that they were wounded [fearing SAVAK persecution]. They [i.e. the secular nationalist liberals] must withdraw from the scene! They must go and get lost! They must be disbanded. We cannot tolerate the various desires of the different groups [of the liberals]. Some want a democracy. Some others desire secular nationalism to rule. And others favor an Islamic nationalistic state. All these trends have been harmful to us. We just want Islam and nothing but Islam. The Majlis must be Islamic. The thoughts circulating in the Majlis must be Islamic so that we can accomplish our tasks. I cannot stand to witness the killing of our youths as the result of our negligence. We must put aside negligence. And now that the Majlis has been established and has started its work officially, it must oversee all the affairs of the country in accordance with its own procedures. It must carry out its duty firmly and without any shirking and must impeach any offending deputy. And if he/she is really proven guilty, the Majlis must hand him/her over to the courts to stand trial. And this is why all the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, all headquarters of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps and all the Revolutionary Courts must continue their service with utmost strength. The courts must have the same power as before. Of course it is your [i.e. the Supreme Judicial Council] duty to replace the corrupt and incompetent judges. But these bodies which were formed as the result of the Islamic Revolution must remain without any alteration so that the affairs are conducted according to the needs of the post-revolutionary state. We cannot let these affairs be conducted in the way—as in the pre-revolutionary period—the judiciary, for example, wants. We have been through a revolution and thus the affairs cannot be managed normally. We have been making mistakes [for the past two years]. We have to admit that we have been wrong in conducting our work in that manner. Such mistakes must not continue any longer; we must seriously get to work. We must act forcefully and firmly. This is what I have to say, and I am sure that you gentlemen agree. You have held the same opinion from the beginning and so from now onwards, we must act in the same way.

Statements

Date: July 21, 1980 [Tir 30, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The duty of the Guardian Council: to supervise the legislation enacted by the Majlis

Addressees: The members of the Guardian Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You must oversee the Majlis's legislation and in doing so you should not take into consideration matters of expediency. You must make sure that the legislation be absolutely in accordance with Islamic law. Do not pay heed to some of the members (of the Majlis) who wish to pander to a small segment of our people; the so-called "progressive" individuals; you must firmly oppose such ideas. Keep God in mind. Basically only God must be considered in fulfilling our obligations and not the people. If [for example] a hundred million people, the whole population of the world hold an opinion contrary to the Quran, you must stand up to them and preach the word of God, even if all the people rise up against you. This is what the prophets also used to do. Did Moses, for example, act differently against Pharaoh? Did he have any supporter? Thank God that our Majlis is Islamic and there will not be any legislation enacted against Islamic law. But you are duty-bound to keep watch. Do not listen to the supposedly "modern" well-to-do class of people. God is with us, God-willing. If we act for God, He will support us.

[At this point one of the jurists of the Guardian Council asked about the Majlis's change of name, to which Imam replied:]

There is no real change, because no article has been ratified in this regard. The Majlis just wants to select an official name and it will. How much should I tell you not to be afraid of such talks? Now that they know that they cannot totally disregard Islam, they want to add the word "Islamic" to the Majlis's title and then after a while delete the "Islamic" and readopt their previous stance. Stand firm and do not consider anything but Islam and the Quran.

Speech

Date/Time: Afternoon, July 21, 1980 [Tir 30, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 9, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The unity of Shiah and Sunni

Audience: The representatives of the migrant teachers of Nosud and the governor and the commanders of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps of Paveh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for Shiahs and Sunnis to eschew differences

Some of the Muslims are Shiahs and some are Sunnis. Some are Hanafi and some, Hanbali. And there are also some Akhbari. Such a state of affairs was wrong from the beginning. Such matters should not be raised in a community in which everybody wants to serve Islam and lives for Islam. We are all brothers; we are all together. The only difference is that your *ulama* issued their own particular decrees and you followed them, and thus became Hanafi. Another group abides by the “fatwa” (decree) of Shafii, while yet another, by that of Hadrat Sadiq (the sixth infallible Imam of the Shiahs), and so became Shiahs. These divisions give no reason for conflict. There should be neither conflict nor differences among us. We are all brothers. Thus, Shiah and Sunni brothers must refrain from any kind of discord. Our conflicts, at this time, will only benefit those who are neither Shiah, nor Hanafi, nor the followers of any of the other sects. They do not want any of the Islamic sects to exist. They have realized that the only way of achieving this goal is by fueling conflict among the (various) sects. We must bear in mind that we are all Muslims, and believers in the Holy Quran and *tawhid* [monotheism]. We must, therefore, endeavor to struggle for the Quran and *tawhid*.

I hope that you do not see any harm in this Islamic Republic which belongs to you as well and not excluding to any particular sect. I hope that you will enjoy success and victory. About the problems in Kurdistan and your region, I must say that they will be resolved and the authorities will put things rights. And the difficulties, too, will end. I pray for you and hope that we all be united under the aegis of Islam and the banner of *tawhid* against those who deceived and led our brothers in other directions. As it has, of course, been announced, those who lay down their arms and return to the fold

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur*, the date of this speech has been given as 4/31/1359 AHS.

of Islam are of us. And just as I have no weapons myself, and pray for everybody, they, too, must have no weapons. There are no differences, whatsoever, and no aggression will occur. May you be successful by the will of God.

Letter

Date: July 22, 1980 [Mordad 1, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Proposal for Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini to be the prime minister

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr (the president)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The blessed Hadrat Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini:

I wish to state that considering the present circumstances and the fact that we have a young nation, and thus have a great potential to put the country on the right track in terms of production and other activities and because the spiritual and inspirational aspects are the most fundamental, I feel that Hajj Ahmad is one of the most suitable persons to occupy the office of prime minister. Agreeing to this proposal would be very right on your part.

Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr

In His Most Exalted Name

I do not intend to permit my close relatives to occupy such offices. Ahmad is the nation's servant and at this stage he will have the freedom to serve better. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: July 24, 1980 [Mordad 3, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The scheme to undermine the army; criticizing improper attitudes

Addressees: The heads of the three departments of the armed forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expressing regret over the efforts of some groups to undermine the army

I am very distressed to see some corrupt individuals finding excuses to undermine the army as the result of the treachery and unawareness of some of its personnel. All of our government and national bodies need to be reinforced at the present time. Our people are not involved in these issues that are said to essentially weaken the army, the gendarmerie and the rest of the armed forces. These issues concern the groups who wish to demoralize the army and the nation so that in case something (untoward), God forbid, occurs following such demoralization, the armed forces will be powerless (to take action). This is most regretful. Today, with the situation we are in, we need to be sympathetic to one another; we need to be cooperative and orderly. If in a country, rules and regulations are not respected, which is necessary for its administration, that is if, [for example] the general in the armed forces is not obeyed; if the orders of the commander-in-chief are not carried out; if the lower ranks do not submit to the colonel; if such order does not exist in the system, then it is no system. If the administration is disorganized; if there is no coordination among the armed forces, we should not expect our country to improve. The opponent groups are the ones responsible for creating these problems. If there are one or two hundred corrupt individuals in the army, but it forcefully blocks the actions of these individuals and uncovers such plots with help of the Islamic guards and thus the conspiracy fails¹, the army should not be criticized [for the conspiracy of those personnel] because it effectively prevented them from carrying out their evil intentions. This Army is that force which did this [i.e. crushed the conspiracy] and, in cooperation with the Islamic guards, effectively accomplished its mission in Kurdistan and other regions.

¹ Referring to the failed Nojeh Coup.

Some of the interactions between individuals and departments not being in accordance with Islamic criteria

Unfortunately, wherever you see and point at, there are individuals (who are of course in the minority) who want to spoil everything; even in the Majlis and the proposed cabinet I witness attitudes that are not in line with our national interests and Islam. If at this stage that we are in, all the various departments and agencies do not unite, we must await disaster. The army must carry out its functions with all the power it has. All the forces that are subject to the orders of the higher authorities in the set-up; those that are the non-commissioned or high-ranking officers, or those that are commanders, must obey their superiors. Obeying the orders of the superiors is a religious duty today. It is not a mere formality as it used to be in the past when there would be no problem in evading orders as much as one could. Today, the one in charge of everything is the Blessed and Exalted God who witnesses everything visible and hidden. If we are to put an end to these disturbances that exist in the country at present, there is no other course but for the armed forces to cooperate among themselves, and the Majlis to cooperate with, let me say, the government, the president and other bodies. Otherwise, we should not expect our country to attain final victory. We have not won final victory as yet. Our success in removing the power that was an obstacle in our path was because of the army, the Islamic guards, the security forces and the nation; they all shared in this victory. We must not be unappreciative of the part played by everyone. We must appreciate their endeavors. If, for instance, one hundred of the clergymen—of whom there are, for instance, so many—turned out to be SAVAK agents, we must not humiliate the clergy for it. If several SAVAK agents were discovered in the government departments, we must not say that the whole department is against us. It is obvious that in a country where a regime has ruled for fifty, sixty years, and has trained people according to its own interests, we must not expect everything to be set right quickly. The appropriate expectation at this point, however, is that all of us work together to purge the undesirable elements and to sift [all the departments, agencies and offices] to discover those who are plotting, or have plotted (against us), and to hand them over [to the authorities].

The necessity of purging the army of all dishonorable individuals

I have repeated this many times that if there are individuals in the Army who are against [Islamic] law, who are conspirators, who are of the *taghut*, who hold harmful beliefs or whose actions are corrupt, the army, itself must take responsibility to get rid of such personnel. And if the courts ask the

army to hand them over, the army must obey [and hand them in]. Of course, the judiciary or the *pasdars* must not take action themselves, for we do not want any commotion that would destroy us [altogether]. All the forces must be united and the chain of command must be observed. The armed forces must be united and the higher ranks must be obeyed. They must obey the commander-in-chief and the personnel must take orders from their commanders so that we would have an orderly country. The foreign regimes like to see disorder and savagery in Iran so that they would have an excuse [to claim that we cannot govern ourselves and thus] they would have to appoint an authority to govern our affairs. Thus, at this stage [more than any other time], our people must be vigilant and follow the government, the President, the army, gendarmerie, the Police and the *pasdars* and it is so. A country whose people support its administration and armed forces cannot be harmed. If several corrupt people are detected in an office, it does not mean that everyone is corrupt. There are corrupt individuals in the clergy but it is not right to claim that they are all corrupt. There are corrupt businessmen, but we cannot say that all of them are corrupt. There are corrupt persons, of course, in every outfit. And the army, of course, is obliged to get rid of its undesirable personnel and must not shirk in fulfilling this duty so that those who have bad intentions and try to subvert our regime do not claim that the army is not taking the appropriate measures to cleanse itself, and (by making such claims) undermine this department. The army must be purged, and you [the army authorities] must identify such people yourselves. The gendarmerie, the *pasdars* and all the others are also responsible for identifying such people [and purging their outfits]. This is a general issue. This country belongs to all of you. This country is now yours. It is not like before when you did the work but America and the Soviet Union reaped the benefits. You and your nation will now derive the benefits of your efforts.

Do not fear conspiracies as the nation supports you

Thus all the forces must unite and support each other. The Majlis must support the armed forces and all the other departments; it must support the government and the President; and the President must also support all of those organs. The army must obey the President because he is the Commander-in-Chief and the President in turn must be as a father to them. The issue is Islam; it is different from those other systems that flaunt their power and the ones who like to boast and show-off. We must all sacrifice ourselves and we must seek the progress of our religion; not our individual interests. When religion is the issue, you and I, the government organs

(officials) and everyone else must disregard ourselves and only seek the progress of the religion. We must sacrifice ourselves just like the first Muslims. The first Muslims never cared about drawing attention to themselves. Everyone sought the religion's progress, and thus they succeeded. And even though they were weak [in terms of material power] they destroyed the big powers. But now, God be praised, you are strong. You have a thirty five million population supporting you. And so is there any reason to fear? You must not fear anything. You have 35 million people supporting you. If anything happens anywhere, these 35 million will unitedly support you. Therefore, we should not be scared of any conspiracy. There will be future conspiracies; they will again be hatched. But no; none of them will work. They [i.e. the enemies] combined all their forces, but failed, thank God. They will not be able to take any action anytime soon. The only thing they think about right now is to get away. They are not thinking about regrouping; they are trying their best to find a way to flee. Do not fear the talk of further conspiracies ahead. Do not pay heed to what Bakhtiyar¹ says from abroad, for example, or what others say. They just want to demoralize us and make us dispirited so that they would be able to succeed, owing to our dispiritedness in case they decide to carry out an operation after five years, for instance. But when a whole nation is backing us there is nothing to fear. Today we are all part of the nation. You [i.e. the army] are not separate from the people. You are the same ones whom people would shower with flowers, and will do so in future when you come among them. And you do not intend to oppress the nation. You are their brothers and we are all together. All these forces must join hands. This is a religious obligation for all. It is religiously binding upon all the Majlis deputies to cooperate with the government and the President. And it is the religious duty of the President and the government to be in step with the Majlis and cooperate with it.

Everyone performing their legal duties and not interfering in one another's affairs

We will succeed if there is harmony among you. But if everybody (the forces) goes their own way and flaunts their power, and others want to take another path—if the *pasdars*, for example, want to interfere in the affairs of the gendarmerie, and the gendarmerie in those of the *pasdars*, and both of them interfere with the army, and others in other places, the committees interfere somewhere else, and other organs elsewhere—then all these affairs will be in a mess. Everyone should do their work as well as they can. If all

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar, the last prime minister in the Pahlavi regime.

the various groups and individuals in a country do their work well that country will become orderly and will progress. But if everyone interferes in one another's affairs; if I interfere in your affairs and you interfere in mine, neither will I be able to do my work properly, nor you, yours. This is a religious and divine duty that I am telling everybody. This does not only pertain to you; it concerns everyone: the *pasdars*, the police, the army, the Gendarmerie, the Majlis, the Government and the President. It's a religious issue, and everyone is religiously duty-bound to act accordingly. The matter which I am telling you about—it is essential and must be carried out—is that everyone should act according to their legal duties. The law has ordained duties for everybody. If someone neglects the law and interferes in the affairs of others, he/she has acted against his/her religious duty. Everyone must perform what they are expected according to the law: the President must perform what the law has described as his duty, his very important duty, to the best of his ability. The Majlis must perform those duties prescribed for it by law, and thus it should not interfere in the execution of the legislation. The Executive must also not interfere in the work of the Legislature and both of them must refrain from interfering in the affairs of the Judiciary. The judicial branch must perform its judicial duties, which are very important ones. The legislative branch must enact laws, which is also a very important duty. The government is the executive branch; it should perform its duties, which are also very important. The army must perform its functions within the limits of its duties, which are also very important. If every organ is to interfere in the work of another organ, the country, then, will not be a sound one. If a businessman interferes in the army's affairs it will be like a businessman interfering with religious rulings. It is not right for the army to involve itself with matters of jurisprudence and the clergy must not interfere in the affairs of the army. Such interference means that no organ is able to carry out its work. Everyone must act according to what the Blessed and Exalted Lord has ordained... that policeman there, that soldier who is serving there, are held in honor in Islam; they are all brothers.

While thanking you, I want to emphasize that you must endeavor to maintain order. The soldiers must keep order; so must the *pasdars* and the police officers. If order is not maintained, our country will, God forbid, suffer. I hope that our country will not be harmed more than it already has been, for our intention is to serve God, and thus we should all have Him in mind. He is present, He observes and witnesses your actions. You must learn a lesson from the story of those who maintained all that power and at the same time created all that corruption [i.e. the Shah] and who are now so sick

that prefer to die. Beware that there is another world and that we are responsible to God (the Blessed and the Exalted). [The positions that we hold] have been entrusted to us by God. The responsibility of Islam and this Islamic country have been entrusted to us and thus if we betray our trust, we will have to explain to Islam for our treachery. We should not degrade one another; we should not talk about the mischief and corrupt acts of one another. We should all unite to carry out the purging with all our power, and at the same time, we must be kind and friendly to one another as much as we can. God protect you all and bless you so that you could make your country progress. I hope that all of us stand guiltless in God's presence. And may God keep you healthy.

Speech

Date: July 26, 1980 [Mordad 5, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The scheme of the groupings (opposing the Islamic regime): portraying an unfavorable image of the Islamic system; purging the offices of impious individuals

Audience: The clergymen of Gonbad, Turkman Sahra, Galikesh and Kalaleh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The plot of the grouplets to undermine the Islamic system

One of the blessings of this revolution is that while we previously did not know and nor did we use to meet the gentlemen and the distinguished *ulama* living all around the country, we now meet them in person as they keep on coming here to visit us. I pray for them and ask them to pray for me. Regarding what you have written about the groups that under various designations, are present around your regions, I wish to say that, unfortunately, such groups exist all over Iran. Among them are individuals who, we feel, are not inclined towards Islam. There are even some individuals among them who intend to portray a bad picture of this Islamic movement even among the Iranians, just as some of them have worked, through writing and lecturing, to give a bad image of this Islamic movement to the world. We have now realized that among these groups that are active all over Iran that use different names and call themselves Islamic, there are un-Islamic individuals who want to implement plans so as to make the Iranian people dislike the Islamic movement. When the Majlis settles down, it must examine and discuss the activities and other issues pertaining to these groups. It must summon and question them. This problem does not pertain only to the Gonbad region; wherever such groups are active, they indulge in activities which are sometimes contrary to religious principles. The Islamic Republic must conform to Islamic principles. Just today, I met with Mr. Golpaygani's¹ son who had brought his message for me. He [Ayatollah Golpaygani] is also unhappy with the situation. All the other *ulama* of Islam are also upset about these matters.

¹ Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani, one of the leading religious reference authorities.

Preventing impious people from occupying posts

The Majlis must look into the matter and stop these individuals who intend to carry out un-Islamic activities in the name of Islam. They do certain things in the name of Islam, but which are in accordance with Marxist and communist ideologies, and have nothing to do with Islam. The members of the cabinet who are to be approved must believe in Islam, not like some individuals who were in the Ministry of Agriculture and who did not believe in Islam at all. They were communists who posed to be Muslims. Such characters should never be in the government and in the Ministry of Agriculture. In any case, these are issues that the government must address and the Majlis must deal with and if there had been any [money or property] seized from the people against the law, it should be returned. And if some individuals have acted contrary to Islamic law, they must be rebuked and punished. I am hopeful that, God willing, this Majlis, most of whose members are pious individuals, and the Council of Guardians, some of whom are of the *ulama* of Qum, plus its other members there¹, will look into these matters. The bills that the government will present, and has presented, must be examined in the Majlis and any bill which does not comply with Islam must be rejected. They should not be influenced by a few communists and Marxists so that they go and destroy the ministries and upset the people. The people are now upset and this will cause a setback to this movement. But this situation must be dealt with. And I hope that when the Majlis starts its work, it will deal with these issues and I request that they follow up appropriately. It should study all the proposals [of the previous government] and the regulations previously implemented in the ministries, for example. The Council of Guardians should make sure that nothing contradicts Islam. We want (the rule of) Islam; we want an Islamic republic. We do not want a nominal Islamic state with communist issues discussed or Marxist ideas mooted. It should not be so. And, God willing, we will constrain such activities. I hope that you all be successful during this month of Ramadan. I hope that we would not be deprived of the blessings of this month and [especially] the *Laylatul-Qadr*. May God protect all of you.

May God's peace be upon you.

¹ Six members who are jurists are appointed to the Guardian Council by the leader, and six members who are legal experts are recommended by the Judiciary and approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis).

Statements

Date: August 3, 1980 [Mordad 12, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 21, 1400 AH]

Place: Tehran, Jamaran

Subject: Criticizing the stance and Performance of the Christian clergy

Addressee: Archbishop Cappuchi [the representative of Pope John Paul II]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Pope's request to free the spies and to establish the "Andisheh School"

This is the second time that the Pope¹ has sent his emissaries to me. The last time it was in connection with the "spy den" which our dear youth found out was not actually an embassy, and the personnel not diplomats but spies who had gathered in that particular center in Iran—which was in the name of the American Embassy—to work against our nation and our country. Maybe the Pope requested their freedom unknowingly. And, at that time, I notified him in detailed about it. This time it concerns their school in the name of "Andisheh School." He has written me a letter and sent an emissary, requesting me to recommend that their school be (established) here. We have no animosity against the Christians or the Jews or other religions, and we will not hinder the construction of their schools, except if they are used for reasons other than education. There is no problem with the teachings of the Christ (*a*) or other religions. But if we realize that the program in these schools is not education as was the case of the "Spy Den" [in which espionage was the main activity instead of diplomatic affairs], we will not tolerate such schools being manipulated in our country for purposes other than education. Of course, it is the Government's responsibility to look into this issue in detail and deliberate upon it. If the schools are going to be used for education there would be no problem for starting such schools. But if, God forbid, these schools have other aims in the name of "school", then our nation will not tolerate it, and neither will we.

The silence of the Pope and the Christian world in face of all the oppressions and crimes

I must ask the Pope through you [i.e. his representative]: is he not aware of the conduct of the United States?! Is he not aware of the conduct of those

¹ Pope John Paul II, the leader of the Catholics of the world.

who consider themselves Christians?! Or is he aware but is heedless and overlooks it? Is he aware that we lost everything in the past fifty years while our country was under the influence of Britain and America? Is he aware of the damage that Britain caused us by forcing on us the tyranny of Rida Khan and the damage that Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union caused us [later on] by imposing the rule of Muhammad Rida Shah and of what they did to our land, our country? Are you ever willing to pay heed to the cry of the oppressed or is it that you only comply with the orders of the oppressor? Do you realize what the United States and its police are doing to our youth, our boys and girls? Do you know that the United States' Government cooperated with the traitors who held meetings and demonstrations against our oppressed nation, and so did what they wanted to do, but then when our Muslim students who wanted to hold demonstrations so as to let the world know about the oppression that we have been subjected to, the American police confronted them [with hostility]? Does the Pope know that our youth have been chained and shackled; some with broken ribs, others unconscious; that our daughters have also been shackled and chained and some are unconscious? Does he pay any attention to these issues? And how Prophet Jesus (a) treated the people?! And you, who claim to be representing him, do not care about such issues! I wish he [i.e. the Pope] had also sent an emissary to Carter. I wish they would send you with a letter to Carter about what they (the American Police) are doing to the youths who demand justice and want to inform the world that our nation has been a victim of oppression. They [i.e. the United States' police forces] have arrested them [i.e. the students] and have been sending them from one jail to another. They have chained their hands and feet and have broken their teeth [ruthlessly by kicking them] with their boots. They are still being harmed, locked up in chains and brutalized under the crushing boots of Carter's henchmen and American oppressors. How am I supposed to reply to the people if they see that the Christian clergy is serving the superpowers [instead of assisting the oppressed]? I am very sorry that I cannot defend the Christian clergy for if I attempt to do so, they will point to the signs and proofs of their claim [which are undeniable]. [They will ask why] the Christian clergy did not say a word on their behalf all this long time when we were under oppression, when our youth were being slaughtered on the streets of Iran with their blood flowing on the ground. Why do they discriminate like this? Did Jesus Christ teach prejudice? Was Jesus well disposed towards the wealthy class and ill-disposed towards the other class; the oppressed, unfortunate and the poor; for you to do such things?

The duty of the Pope and the Christian world in defending the oppressed

I know that this is not the religion of Christ. And whoever intends to follow him must defend the oppressed and stand up against the superpowers, just as a follower of Islam must stand up to the big powers and extricate the oppressed from their clutches. Why is it that the Pope does not mention anything about these boys and girls who, as I am speaking to you now, are being oppressed and tortured, and are chained up in bondage? Why should not these people who consider themselves Christians and church-goers, ask them (the oppressors) as to why they do such things while being Christian? How can I reply to these tormented people? Will they not ask why the [Christian] clergy do not denounce the world powers and their oppression against the people and the meek; and even the oppression in America itself?¹ Why have they not uttered a word in this regard? Why has neither message nor an emissary been sent to them? But when a “spy den” is discovered in which espionage is evident, they send envoys and letters?! And now that they have their schools, their educational centers, here, and though I am not sure of this, the people who have visited them say that they are not educational centers, but exist for other purposes. The Pope has sent a letter and has made recommendations. Are we against knowledge? Are we against education? Are we against having schools? When were we against Christian, Zoroastrian or Jewish Schools? But we cannot tolerate the existence of such schools [for non-educational purposes]. They [the authorities of the Catholic Church] must first send agents to look into the activities of these schools which our government has not been able to tolerate. This matter concerns the government, but I have a message that you must convey to the Pope. You being priests, ought to change your approach. You must ask why they (Americans) are mistreating the oppressed; the ones that are being crushed under American boots. You must ask about our youths; our girls and boys who are in American jails and, after being transferred from prison to prison, have recently been placed in solitary confinement. Why do we never hear the Pope questioning them (the America) in support of the oppressed of Iran or the people being oppressed in the United States? Give my regards to the Pope and tell him to abandon this policy. [Tell him that] he must take the side of the oppressed and the meek; the ones who have been robbed. Tell him to support our youths, our boys and girls who are under the oppression of American butchers, and to ask them who claim to follow Christianity, to set them free. We will never again go under the American yoke. The Americans will not be able to come here and see to their own interests; to suppress our

¹ It is referring to the imprisonment of Iranian Muslim students in the United States.

people by force and by applying torture. Even if all our people stand to get killed, we will persist. America must realize that it cannot return to Iran by such devilish acts. The Pope must advise the United States that it should not be so disrespectful to human rights, and should not be so cruel and oppressive to people. People are all God's servants; it should not deal in such a manner with His servants; it should not be so oppressive. I hope that the Pope would comply with his religious and Christian obligations and stop these acts (of cruelty) that the American tyrants and the American police are perpetrating. We have stood up against America and will persist to the end and will not allow it or its followers to return to our country. Our nation is prepared to defend Truth till its last breath, and will never again submit to oppression.

May God's peace be upon those who follow the path of guidance.

Radio / TV Message

Date: August 6, 1980 [Mordad 15, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Describing the difficulties that Muslims are faced with: fighting the illegitimate occupiers of Quds

Occasion: International Quds Day

Audience: The Iranian people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity for the nations to wake up and stand up against the atrocities of the world powers

Muslims must keep Quds Day alive. I have repeatedly commented regarding Israel's avarice and that it will not be content with the lands it has already occupied. You have now witnessed that it has chosen Jerusalem as its capital. All the statements that the United States and human rights organizations announce are inconsistent utterances. And thus you see that they disapprove of Israel's action, but it pays no heed. They criticize [the Israel government] and it, in turn, denounces them. This trend is such because [this discontentment] is nothing serious. America is not really against Jerusalem being Israel's capital; otherwise, it would not have been able to take such a step. This is all just a show. And human rights organizations and other such institutions are all allies [of Israel and the United States]. They have all joined hands to plunder the Muslims and others in Asia and Africa, but, unfortunately, the Muslims are still not conscious of this.

The nations must themselves stand up against such oppression for the governments are generally on their [i.e. the oppressors] side and thus you see that the Muslims; that is, the Islamic governments show no reaction to America's aggression. And if an Islamic government does say something, it is just words and nothing more. You have witnessed how savagely they treated our dear sons, daughters, and our dear university students, and how bravely they held out, holding clenched fists, against the American police and the other security forces. They bore all the blows and the atrocities of the Americans, but did not yield at all on their (principled) stand. Muslims must learn what to do from these youth who are from Iran and are living abroad, whether in Britain, Europe or America. We are disappointed with the governments, but the people are all right. But what was the reaction of the

nations to the American atrocities and, recently, also to what the British did to our zealous youth?! If there was any reaction it was from among the Iranian youth there and maybe, just in a few instances, their own people showed sympathy. But overall, the nations did not demonstrate much sympathy and this is because the Muslim nations have not yet grasped the teachings of Islam.

The discord among Muslims is the source of their difficulties

Islam compels Muslims to be united, and to eschew discord. If they have differences, they will become weakened¹ and their color and scent [i.e. their vigor] will vanish. Unfortunately, it is evident that all the woes that we have experienced from long ago up to now have been the result of our internal quarrels; of the Islamic governments—of course, I mean the governments of the Muslim countries, and not Islamic governments. These governments are in no way Islamic. How can I call Iraq's government an Islamic government? How can I call Egypt's government an Islamic government? These governments of Muslim nations are working against the Iranian Muslims who have risen up against the United States and the Soviet Union. They set up military bases for the United States to attack the Muslims. How can we consider *Sadat*² who builds bases for America and invites it to attack Iran, an Islamic country, a Muslim? And how can we consider the Iraqi government an Islamic government when it sends weapons to Iran (for the rebels) and constantly carries out incursions into our country and works for the United States?

I think that the United States has also deceived the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is aiding the Iraqi government, which is serving the Americans; not the Soviet Union. Iraq gets weapons from it in order to harm Iran and so paves the way for the United States; not for the Soviet Union. The United States has deceived the Soviet Union. They are supplying weapons that serve the (purpose of) United States. They think that supplying these weapons to Iraq is in their own interests. But it is not in the Soviet Union's interests. In any case, if Muslims had united we would not be dealing with the issues of Jerusalem, Afghanistan and the rest of the problems in other regions of the Muslim world, which have befallen us, and will be befalling us.

¹ A reference to *surah* Anfal :46.

² Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat the President of Egypt at the time.

The power and invincibility of governments that are in line with their nations

Until when must Muslim nations be in a state of negligence? Why do they not revolt against the world powers? Iran did so. It is now more than two years—or two years—that have elapsed since our Revolution, and even though all the world powers had been against us, Iran is still going strong, and is on its own feet. It does not pay the slightest attention to this entire hubbub. We have frustrated all their efforts [in undermining the Islamic Republic]. Take, for example, this recent Nojeh coup in which all the regional governments and all the world powers had a hand, but achieved nothing. Why? Because the matter concerned the nation. It would have taken place immediately, had they attempted to stage it in the Shah's regime. Had the United States intended to stage a coup, it would have surely been successful. But now the affairs concern the people. Our government is not disassociated from the people. Our government is not like the regimes of Iraq and Egypt towards which their own people are antagonistic. In this country, the people are Muslims and the government is Islamic; they are in harmony. Because of this (fact) the people themselves come to learn of the conspiracies. The soldiers themselves inform the authorities when they detect any plots in the garrisons. The *pasdars* exercise vigilance in order to neutralize any plots, and the people are in control; they are everywhere on the watch. The people everywhere gradually detect those criminals and inform the authorities. They catch these elements themselves and hand them over (to the authorities). The governments must realize that much can be achieved by treating the people well and by the people cooperating with their governments, and also if the people realize that the fear that the superpowers instilled in the governments also existed the government of Iran—and the powers still try to do so—but the present government pays no heed to such things any longer. If they realize what it means for a government to enjoy the people's support and confidence, and for the government to be of the people and formed by the people, and if their beliefs and principles are Islamic with everybody living in the refuge of Islam, and if a nation that believes in Islam cooperates with the government, they will then see that the big powers are not able to do them any harm, just as they could not do so in Iran. Up to now, they have apparently tried two or three times to subvert the regime, to hatch plots or to attack Iran, but in every case they have failed. They are constantly struggling to achieve their goal—not that they do not intend to—but I am sure myself and assure our nation that they will never succeed.

The treachery of those who claim to be nationalists

The nation must be conscious of the fact that nobody will be able to harm it as long as it keeps God and Islam in mind and serves [the cause] of Islam, and as long as it maintains its dignity. The people must hold fast to Islam. Some of these nationalists who keep on claiming for nationalism, even took part in this coup [i.e. the Nojeh Coup] against their own country and for the benefit of the outsiders. There is proof that some of them took part in this [subversive] act. These different factions and various groups who [deceitfully] claim to be defenders of the masses were also responsible in these recent affairs [pertaining to the coup]. They are the same characters—who claim to stand for the masses and such things—who go to the United States, where our dear youth are in trouble, and slander them as being “backward”. Inside Iran they do such things [trying to subvert the government] and out of Iran they do that. Our troubles will persist unless the people wake up and uproot [the sources of evil] and our government becomes committed to Islamic precepts; unless we have a government that is not Westernized, but is inclined towards Islam.

Our sole goal is to implement the Islamic doctrine

The Majlis must exert all its authority, being as it is, above all the other organs—and it is incumbent upon all the Muslims to support the government, the nation and, particularly, the Majlis—and make every effort to make sure that those who take office: the prime minister, the rest of the ministers, and all those who have important tasks to perform, be committed Muslims, aware of the world affairs, prudent, but at the same time loyal to Islam and the Islamic doctrine.

The Islamic doctrine is the greatest issue for us. No one should dare to say any critical statement regarding the doctrine. It is wrong to disparage the creed. The sole goal that we seek is the Islamic Doctrine. And our Muslims have derived their power from this doctrine and thus they have had the courage to stand up against others [the world powers]. If other Muslim nations also hold fast to the Islamic doctrine, and safeguard the creed of Islam, they will surely be unassailable. If we do not hold fast to our Islamic doctrine—one of the teachings of this doctrine is that we must be united—and if those from among the various groups and individuals denounce their partners, they have transgressed the limits of Islamic doctrine and are of no use to Iran. Each one of the (responsible) individuals and the (state) organs undermining the other—for example, the Majlis tries to weaken someone’s position or vice versa, the government tries to undermine the Majlis or vice

versa, the President wants to undermine the Majlis or vice versa—is totally against Islamic doctrine and amounts to opposing the religion of Islam.

The essential point is that the individuals, who claim to be Muslims, must make it known in their comportment, in their words, in their speeches, in their writings, in their commitments, and in their newspapers that they are Muslims. What kind of Muslims are they who slander each other in their newspapers?! How can I explain this [i.e. the authorities' disputes] to the people who keep on complaining about this issue; the Tehrani merchants have requested an appointment to come here to state their complaints regarding the present situation. They want to know why these people (in authority) are behaving like this with one another. They want to know why the President and the Majlis interact with one another in such a manner. Why should they act in such a way that people be compelled to cry out their disapproval? I advise them, speaking in terms of Islam, not to be in dispute. If you [continue your] disputes, you will open the doors to the outsiders. Do not have differences with one another. What is your dispute over anyway? Is there a patrimony being distributed that you are quarreling over? Did so many people sacrifice their children, leaving this legacy for you to quarrel and generate corruption? [I advise you to] be friends, to be brothers.

Mr. President should find and introduce individuals to office who would be useful to our Islamic society and in line with Islamic doctrine; meaning that the prime minister whom he appoints must have all the qualifications that I have mentioned. The main qualification is being concerned about the Islamic doctrine. He must try to strengthen Islam, to implement Islamic law; not to revive nationalism. Those who proclaim that they want to revive nationalism are standing up against Islam. Islam came to do away with such irrelevant things. We have no use for nationalists; only Muslims are useful to us. Islam opposes nationalism. Nationalism implies that Islam is useless; that only the nation and nationalism are significant. That little fellow¹ who asserted abroad that he is an Iranian nationalist first; an Iranian second, and a Muslim third, is really not a Muslim; he is not even thirdly a Muslim.

The Day of Quds, the day that Muslims must rise against the forces of evil

The authorities must pay heed; all Muslims must pay heed! The Day of Quds is a day that all Muslim nations must pay attention to and must keep alive. If all Muslim nations voice their concerns on the last Friday of Ramadan—which is Quds Day—and they all stand up for this cause (even

¹ Referring to Shapur Bakhtiyar the last prime minister of the Shah's regime.

mere demonstrations are effective), this will be the prelude, God willing, for us to counter these evil-doers and wipe them out of Muslim countries. [But unfortunately] we have acted indecisively; the Muslims have acted indecisively; the nations keep neutral, they do not seriously stand up and take action and do not show much concern regarding these issues. When Israel observes that Muslim nations are not united; that the Egyptian government is its ally, Iraq's government is also on its side; it is determined to move forward, achieving its goals step by step. And be sure that if we remain apathetic, they (Israel) who plan to reach the Euphrates¹, will do so. They [i.e. the Israelis] consider this entire region theirs.

You must stand firm against them. And if the Muslims and all Muslim nations stand up to them, but their (Muslim) governments oppose them (the Muslims), they must deal with their governments, just like Iranians dealt with Muhammad Rida [i.e. the last Shah]. Muhammad Rida was the head of the most powerful of the Muslim governments, and had the most support [from the West], but even so our nation revolted with Islam as its main incentive. With cries of "*Allahu Akbar*" it overpowered him and all the world powers. Even if all the world powers unite, they will never be able to harm such a nation.

It hurts our people to see conflicts and treacheries

We should not hurt the feelings of such a loyal nation with our worthless disputes. This nation has supported us in all events. It supports the President, and the Majlis. Neither God nor the nation is pleased with us for what we are doing. Our people are upset because of these conflicts. Control your newspapers. The authorities must restrain those newspapers that are related to them. To say that you do not know what the newspapers print is not a legitimate excuse. You must be aware of what they print. If they; those in or out of the Majlis, really do not have time to read the newspapers, they must assign someone else to do it for them. They must see what the newspapers write. The newspapers are up to treachery. They are causing disagreement between the President and the rest of the government; between the Majlis and the President. This is a conspiracy instigated by the newspapers and thus those responsible must take care of this issue before the nation takes the matter in its own hands, and smother all the newspapers without any consideration for anybody.

¹ A large river in Iraq. It has always been Israel's stated intention to occupy the lands stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates.

In the Majlis, too, the representatives must be friends. We are all Muslims. We must all be friends. Muslims must get consolidated. They [i.e. the representatives] must not have so many differences in the Majlis. They must pay heed to the religious and moral aspects. If they keep on slandering each other back and forth, they will be hurting the Muslims. Will the gentlemen, the Muslims not detest [our behavior] saying, “we sacrificed our children; we have filled the graveyards with our youth; the cities’ graveyards are full of youth who died for the cause of this nation and Islam! Now that they have been killed, the gentlemen from abroad and from within the country are busy quarreling” Over what legacy are you quarreling? Whose patrimony is it? Calm down a bit! Pay attention to the [real] issues! Do not reprove each other whenever you speak, for such conduct is against Muslim virtues, and against human values. This is not the way the prophets and the Imams acted. Stop doing these things! Calm down! Set aside your individuals desires, your passion for fame. All our problems are the result of our passions. The greatest enemy of the people is the passion within them. That is peoples’ worst enemy. Check it a little; tame it a bit!

Inspiring Muslims worldwide to form a coalition against Israel

May God give us the opportunity some day to pray in Jerusalem. I hope that Muslims honor the Day of Jerusalem and that demonstrations and protests be held in all Muslim countries. On the last Friday of this auspicious month (Ramadan). They should hold gatherings and meetings and the mosques must be active in protest. If a one billion population clamored against Israel, it would not be able to do anything. Just the shouting of Muslims is enough to instill fear into Israel. All the Muslims in the world—nearly one billion people—must get out in the streets on the Day of Quds and shout “Death to the United States”, “Death to Israel” and “Death to the Soviet Union”. Just shouting “Death to the Soviet Union” will result in its demise. The Muslims number are one billion; you have such huge resources that all the other governments are in need of. Nevertheless, they compel you to have differences. They create disunity among the Muslims, and usurp their resources without anyone daring to say a word.

It would be good if other (Muslim) nations would learn from our dear and noble nation. They must take the Iranian youths in the United States, Britain and other Western countries as their role models. They have protested and have resisted police [aggression] and persisted in shouting slogans pronouncing the truth, even after they were arrested and chained, we must be conscious of all this and learn from these youths who are clamoring to Islam.

The nations are not taking action; those youths are protesting for the cause of Islam, but we are occupied with our futile disputes. This is not right.

Do not say “I” but say “My Doctrine” [i.e. the important issue should not be our individual concerns; it should be Islam].

May God assist all of you and all Muslims, so that they unite. [I pray that He] especially assists Iran’s people and the organizations, the government and the Majlis so that they act in harmony in order to prevent harm to the people. If, God forbid, people be harmed [under the rule of this Islamic regime], we would stand dishonored in this world and in the hereafter.

They [the authorities] must behave themselves. [If duty necessitates] they must revolt for God’s cause and [if such necessity does not exist] keep quiet for the cause of God. For God’s sake, they must not assail one another. For God’s sake, everyone must not say that he/she is a victim of a plot; another says that there is a plot afoot against him or her. This is incorrect; the foreign conspiracy is not aimed at individuals. Individuals cannot be plotted against. The conspiracy is aimed at Islam. It is not worthwhile for the United States to plot against this individual or that individual. America has realized the main problem. It is against Islam. America has received a blow from Islam; not from individuals or an individual. It has been dealt a blow by a nation which abides by Islam; and not by me, the President, the people in the Majlis or the government. The poor people and the nation are the ones who fought America. [Thus] if it intends to carry out a conspiracy, it will be against the nation not against you, me or somebody else. No, it is not so. Do not show off so much. Such conduct is not right. One must pay attention solely to God and thus put all his/her efforts to serve the cause of Islam. One should not boast. The only thing that you must be concerned about is Islam. You should always talk about your creed. You should learn this lesson from the prophets, from the saints, who were always concerned about their creed; not themselves. They were heedless of worldly luxuries and their own desires, and they never boasted about their achievements. No, they never said such things. We must learn from them and endeavor to improve. We will be real humans when we do not view ourselves as anything worthy and thus only consider God [and nothing but Him] for whatever exists is nothing but Him; “*God is the light of the Heavens and the Earth*”¹. He is the source of all power, light and all other beings, and we are nothing. We must comprehend this truth. If all Muslims realize that we originate in God and thus must live

¹ A part of *surah an-Nur* 24:35.

for Him, they will be unassailable and hence Israel will not be able to move a step forward.

We must seriously endeavor to expel Israel from all Arab lands, and not just say that Israel must not make Jerusalem its capital. We must not be deceived by the United States and the organizations they have formed which just pretend [to be on our side] in order to exploit us. All people and all Muslims must take action themselves against them (the exploiters). They should not wait for their governments to take action. The governments will not do anything. They must do it themselves. Muslims must not seek help from one [world power] in order to be protected from the other. No, they are all [savage] wolves willing to tear you apart. You must take the matter in your own hands. Be aware of God. Pay attention to Islam and rise for the cause of God and Islam and forge forward for God and Islam. You will succeed, God willing.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Afternoon, August 9, 1980 [Mordad 18, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Governments of Muslim nations, the cause of their problems; returning to the true Islam

Audience: Members of the Congress for the Liberation of Quds, and the representatives of the liberating organizations from around the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The problem of the Muslims lies in their governments

Congratulations to all Muslims on the occasion of this blessed month of Ramadan! The most blessed time is when Muslims overcome their difficulties with their sense of duty.

Quds is not the only problem of the Muslims. It is one of the problems that Muslims have. Isn't [the situation in] Afghanistan a problem for the Muslims? Isn't Pakistan a problem of the Muslims? Isn't Turkey a problem of the Muslims? Isn't Egypt a problem? Isn't Iraq a problem of the Muslims? We must figure out what the source of the problems of all Muslims is, and how they should be resolved. Why are Muslims all over the world under pressure from governments and the superpowers? We must find the solution in order to acquire the secret of victory and free Quds, Afghanistan and all other Muslim lands.

The problems of the Muslims are because of their governments. The governments are responsible for the miseries of Muslims. The Muslims themselves are not to blame. They can solve their problems if left to their own devices; however, the problem is the governments. If you consider all the Muslim countries, you would rarely come across an instance in which the problems have not been caused by the governments. The governments have caused the problems as the result of their ties with and allegiance to the superpowers of the West and East. Thus if these governments be disposed of, the problems would be solved. And it is up to the Muslims to accomplish this.

The transformation of the nations, the basic solution to their difficulties

You saw that our problem were greater than those of the others. The Shah's demonic power was greater than that of the others. The superpowers,

the Muslim and non-Muslim governments were his supporters. You saw that there was no resource to a country, a power or the superpowers in order to solve this problem. The people, themselves, solved the problem. Our nation changed from a state of cowardice to a one of bravery, from despair to self-confidence, from thinking about itself to thinking about God and from discord to concord. This miraculous transformation caused this very big problem—one that the whole world thought it impossible to solve—to be eliminated.

Do not think that the Iranians had weapons. The Iranians' weapons were stones, sticks and fists[...] But They had the spiritual weapon which was faith in the creed, faith in the Blessed and Exalted God, dependence on the Source of Power, and the unity of expressions. The guns that you now see in the hands of the people—that is, the civilians—are the ones taken from those connected to the Shah. Otherwise, there were no guns in the beginning. The main element was faith. All people, whether in the capital or in the border regions, used to say one thing. Back then these corrupt groups were hidden, like insects that hide in holes, and the people were in control. Wherever you went—from the capital to the country's borders—all people, even the children, voiced their desire for the rule of Islam and an Islamic republic. Even the sick people in their bed and in the hospitals said the same thing. The youth, the universities and the schools, men and women, all held the same view. Before the movement started, we were in a deep sleep to which the superpowers had put us and thus we were negligent of those issues that were really important. But suddenly a flash of light from God, Almighty, woke us up by which we were able to solve this problem that everybody thought was impossible to solve.

Our problem was the Shah and his associates. And it was up to the nation to solve it. We did not import weapons, and no foreign power supported us. On the contrary, they were all against us. Iraq was against us. Kuwait severely opposed us. And Egypt's stance was obvious. The rest of the governments, as you know, were the same. So even though all the powers were arrayed against us on one side, and we were on the other, our nation, barehanded, accomplished the impossible; it demolished this barrier.

The duty of the *ulama* of Muslim nations: awakening the people

Something must be done to make the nations understand what their duty is. If you and everybody want, if the intellectuals, the *ulama* of Islamic lands and the universities of all the Islamic countries want the difficulties of Islam and Muslim countries to be removed, the people ought to be awakened.

By hundreds of years of propaganda, they had made these people believe that the United States and the Soviet Union cannot be opposed. The other nations also believe this at present. But they should be made to understand that they can be opposed.

The best proof for the possibility of something is its occurrence. And this has happened in Iran. The governments and people of other countries should not presume that Iran had more power and force. No; the weapons that the Iraqi nomads possess are probably more than what Iranians hold. The problem in these countries is that they have brainwashed the people by means of extensive propaganda, and have made them indifferent toward Islam and have made them believe that the superpowers are unassailable. They have achieved this through their propaganda and the work of their own agents in the country.

Thus, those who love their countries and believe in Islam and want to serve it must awaken the people of their own countries, so that the nation that has become alienated with itself, rediscovers itself. The nations, the countries, have become self-alienated. They believe that is impossible to stand up to the superpowers which will do this and that to them. These "impossibles" must be replaced in their minds with "possibles". It is possible. Muslims constitute a population of about one billion and possess many resources, possibilities, and vast lands. They also have Islamic and divine support. Therefore, they must not entertain the thought that it cannot be done. The Soviet Union, that big, satanic power, has been unable to suppress the Afghans in spite of its might. If a nation decides that it does not want something, there is no way to force it. The nation must be awakened so that it would want [independence]. Our nation, too, was asleep about twenty years ago; it was unconcerned. But since that time, the preachers, the *ulama* and the academics had been constantly expressing themselves. Gradually, protests began and the people started to swarm into the streets. Then the cries of "God is the greatest" gradually began. And this big, satanic power was not able to withstand [the cries of] "*Allahu Akbar*". And these things were happening while all the world powers wanted him (the ex-Shah) to remain in power. I know that all the world powers wanted to preserve their obedient servant—Muhammad Rida Pahlavi—so as to secure their interests in Iran and help themselves freely to our resources. But when a nation refuses, they cannot do anything. The people should be made to realize that they ought to want the thing which they think they should not, and that the thing which they think is impossible, is possible. The nations must ask their governments to accede to their requests, and if they refuse, the people must do what the

Iranians did so that their problems get solved. The problems will never be resolved until they remove those individuals who are obstacles to the solution of problems. Wherever you look—not just in the Muslim countries, but in the other ones as well—you will notice that the top government authorities are the ones who deprive the people of intellectual, spiritual and economic development. The authorities appoint their own relatives as university professors, and they are the ones who corrupt the youths. Thus, the governments are the obstacles to the progress of Muslims and of the youths. In this connection, they are, of course, not all exactly the same.

Nationalism, the fundamental reason for the misery of Muslims

Those regimes who have studied the Muslim countries for centuries, scrutinizing all the various factions, individuals, the different regions—even the tracts of land and jungles—have realized that, in the societies, the only element which can defeat them is Islam. Thus, their main concern is Islam, and for this, they have installed these corrupt governments as barriers against Islam. These governments are responsible. By means of these corrupt governments and their propaganda, they have spread racism and nationalism among Muslims. They have made Arabs oppose non-Arabs and Turks, and have made the non-Arabs confront the Arabs, and the Turks confront the others. They have pitted all the ethnic groups against one another.

The reason why I repeatedly emphasize that nationalism is the basic cause of misery is because of the fact that it causes conflict between Iran and the other Muslim nations. It pits Iran against all the other nations, and the other nations against one another. It is the imperialist design to keep Muslims apart. The previous Iraqi regime—of course, the present regime [Baathist] is much worse than the previous one—claimed that their goal was to revive the glory of the Umayyad¹ dynasty, vis-à-vis Islam. The Islamic religion downplays all glory as being inferior to that of God. This was not something that they themselves were smart enough to do. The world powers had inculcated it into them in order to keep the Muslims disunited and dispersed, and to make them enemies. The same trend also developed in Iran a long time ago. Thus, some individuals who were ignorant of the basic issues, even though they were supposedly not spiteful, stated the same concept of nationalism so as to uproot Islam in Iran.

The message of Islam is that all the races are equal, just like a person's ribs. They are all the same. Arabs are not superior to non-Arabs; non-

¹ Following the peace treaty between Imam Hasan Mujtaba (a) and Muawiyah, the BanU Umayyad dynasty was established as a monarchy by Muawiyah, the son of Abu Sufyan.

Arabs are not superior to Arabs; the Turks are not superior to the others. No race is superior to another. Whites are not superior to blacks, nor blacks to whites; neither of them is superior to the other. Real superiority is based on piety and dedication; dedication to Islam. Nationalism was something that the world powers propagated and wanted to brainwash our people with so that it would be easier for them to exploit us. And, unfortunately, even some good Muslims become convinced.

Many years ago (I think it was in Rida Khan's reign) they set up an assembly that was responsible for producing certain films, propagating poems and giving speeches mourning the victory of Islam and the Arabs over Persia. They recited poetry and showed films to say that it was a tragedy that Arabs conquered Taq Kasra and Madain; and they mourned this tragedy! These wicked nationalists really cried! They brought out their handkerchiefs and cried because Islam came and overthrew the rulers; the corrupt rulers. This notion has been inculcated everywhere; in a particular way in us, and in the Arab countries, Arab nationalism has been supported. This is an inculcated notion. It is contrary to the Quran. In non-Arab countries, they want their own people to be superior. This thought is against Islamic teachings. That is what the world powers wish and in accordance with which they have acted. When they defeated the Ottoman Empire in World War I, they divided it into fifteen countries and appointed their own lackeys to head those states. Unfortunately, those who were not aware of their real intentions did not, and still do not, pay attention to this aspect.

The solution to the difficulties of the world of Islam: revival of Islam

Our problems are our governments. Islam's problem lies with the Muslim governments. This should be dealt with. If the governments change their path and move towards Islam; if they turned from Pan-arabism to Islam, from Turkish nationalism (Pan-Turanism) to Islam, the problems would be solved. But if they do not make this move, the troubles will persist until the Muslim nations take action themselves as the Iranians did. Iranians solved their problems with the force of their fists, and so all other countries must follow suit.

They shouldn't just sit down, hoping that their governments would take action. These governments only think about themselves. These Muslim governments have nothing to do with Islam. And if they ever mention Islam it is merely to deceive their people. Saddam's Islam is like Muhammad Rida Khan's Islam. The Islam of that Egyptian, Sadat, is also like Saddam's Islam. They may speak of Islam, but when it comes to practice, they even establish

bases to assist them cooperatively in destroying Iran. What is Iran? It is a Muslim country. He pledges assistance to non-Muslims to destroy Muslims. This is Sadat's brand of Islam. This is what his Islam is. Saddam's Islam is also like this in that he says "Islam", "Muslim"; and what not. He says that he is with the Iranian nation [...]. In some of his speeches, he has stated that he has no animosity with the Iranians, that he is with them and with the Iranian government, but there is not a single day his army does not bombard and raid our border areas. This is their genre of Islam; imported from the United States and the Soviet Union.

Our problems will persist unless we return to Islam; the Islam of the Apostle of God. We will not be able to solve the problems of Palestine, Afghanistan and other regions, unless we revive the pure Islam of God's Messenger. Muslims must revive that faith which existed in the early period of Islam. If the governments do the same, it would be all right. But if they don't, the nations must take the matter into their own hands and deal with their governments as Iranians did with theirs so as to solve the problems. If not, just shouting that they will take Quds and gathering and voicing discontent will not stop them (the governments). Yes, of course, words are sometimes effective, but Muslims do not even take this step.

If on the Quds Day, all the people had risen and shouted, their stupid government¹ would not have been able to confront them. The problem was that only a fraction of their population protested. If all the Muslim nations revolt on the Quds Day, not just for Quds, but to free all the Muslim lands, they will win victory. We ousted Muhammad Rida Khan with the strength of our shouts. You think we had guns? No; we shouted "*Allahu Akbar*" and repeated this slogan so much, that they lost their nerve and fled from this country.

Muslims must shout; they must not perceive that shouts and slogans are useless, not at all. They are absolutely effective, but if they all shout together. If just one person, one neighborhood or even one city shout their discontent, it will not be effective. Consider Iran: it's not just the people of Tehran, Qum or Ahwaz [; all over Iran people voice the same issues]. You see when the *pasdars* ask the people to shout "*Allahu Akbar*" on the roofs of their houses on a certain night, the people obey. But this was not the case before the Revolution. It was not possible for someone to speak out and others listen to him [without being persecuted]. But now when the esteemed theologians of Qum call people to demonstrate, the people and even some of the respected

¹ The government of Egypt which did not allow the people to stage demonstrations on Quds Day.

ulama in Qum stage protest marches. Other nations must so transform themselves that when some group among them tells them to do a certain thing, they must consider it as an order issued by their superior and comply with it. We desire that all the nations become like this.

Disseminating the spirituality of the Islamic Revolution throughout the world

When we say that we want to “export” the Iranian Revolution, we mean to expand this spirituality that has developed in Iran. We want this phenomenon that has emerged in Iran to spread to the other countries. We do not intend to wage war. Iraq has been attacking us for some time now, but we do not attack them at all. They attack us and we defend ourselves. Defense is necessary. We want to disseminate the revolutionary culture and the Islamic movement in all the Muslim countries. And if this happens, all the problems will be solved wherever the revolution spreads.

You should endeavor to awaken the nations so that they would be willing to revolt and get ready for all the consequences, like Iran. Those who love their countries and Islam must awaken their nations so that this divine transition that has changed Iran, also moves those nations. Everything will turn out well wherever this change takes place. If such a transformation takes place, there will be no need to fear a few corrupt people occupying the al-Aqsa Mosque. There would be no reason to fear anymore. But if the Muslim nations split up into numerous antagonistic factions and their governments do not rule according to Islamic tenets, they should not expect to be victorious with such a mentality and such a government.

Muslims ought to follow the teachings of Islam, and just as it has commanded us, all the believers must be brothers [and sisters] wherever they are¹. They must unite and hold fast to His (providential rope)². They must neither disperse nor dispute; otherwise they will become frail.³ The only way that the Muslims can free themselves from the bondage of the world powers and their governments is by complying with this command given by God. God has invited us to follow this command. This is His command from the time of the advent of Islam and must be carried out until the very end. Just telling the people about it is of no use (unless it is followed). If Muslims do

¹ A reference to *surah* Hujurat 49:10: *The believers are naught else than brothers.*

² A reference to *surah* Al-e Imran 3:103: *And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*

³ A reference to *surah* Anfal 8:46: *And obey Allah and His Messenger, and dispute not one with another lest ye falter and your strength departs from you; but be steadfast! Lo! Allah is with the steadfast.*

not follow the Islamic teachings, they will not succeed. We will be successful only if we think according to Islam and begin complying with the Islamic injunctions and the Quran. We must follow the pristine teachings of Islam.

I am hopeful that you who have come here for the Quds Day, succeed in your cause. I further hope that all the Muslims succeed in this direction and that some day all the Muslims be brothers and sisters. I hope that some day the sources of corruption in the Muslim countries be uprooted. And I hope that this corrupt root (that is) Israel gets ousted from al-Aqsa Mosque and the Muslim lands so that, God willing, we would some day in the future visit Quds and recite the prayer of unity together in that holy city.

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

Speech

Date: August 12, 1980 [Mordad 21, 1359 AHS / Ramadan 30, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Describing the Islamic System of Iran

Occasion: The blessed *Id al-Fitr*

Audience: Sadiq Qutbzadeh (the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time); the representatives and ambassadors of Muslim countries and other groups of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Describing the characteristics of the Islamic Revolution

I congratulate all Muslims and the gentlemen that are present here, on the occasion of this blessed *Id al-Fitr*. Blessed is that day when all Muslim governments get in line with their people, when all Muslims get united and, together, revive Islam everywhere, and when all the Muslim countries unite in order to terminate the influence of the world powers from their countries.

I want to take this opportunity to explain to you some of the characteristics of this Islamic Revolution that has occurred in Iran. We like to see these attributes in other Muslim countries and this movement that has materialized in Iran, expand to take in all Muslim countries and this revolution spread to all Islamic lands so that the oppressed people of the world stand up to the arrogant powers and obtain their rights. It is important to bear in mind that rights should be taken; they cannot expect the oppressors to grant them their rights.

I want to tell you gentlemen and those who are listening about some of the features of this Revolution so that you are able to see for yourself, whether the situation here is better or in other places.

The popularity of the authorities and their willingness to guide the people

Tell me: in which Islamic or non-Islamic countries is the President so involved with the people as to take part in public gatherings every night in the month of Ramadan and guide the people without any fear? During the reign of the previous regime, whenever the deposed Shah wanted to make an

¹ The date of this speech has been given as 5/20/1359 AHS in Sahifeh-ye Nur. But the speech was delivered on the day of the blessed *Id al-Fitr*, the first day of the month of Shawwal, 1400 AH, corresponding to 5/21/1359 AHS.

appearance in one of Tehran's streets, SAVAK agents would take control of the streets and would empty all the houses in them. Policemen would be stationed there to stand guard. The reason was that he was not with the nation; he was against the nation. But now, the President¹, who is the top official, attends all the gatherings to which he is invited, and visits any city that he is requested to visit and speaks to the people without being even a bit fearful, because he considers himself one of the people and the people also accept him as one from among themselves. There is a brotherhood relationship. He considers himself the brother of even the poorest citizens and they in turn consider him their brother and thus support him. Is there any other country in which the head of the Majlis² ascends the pulpit and guides the people? Or, in the month of Ramadan, makes close to thirty speeches, giving advice and guidance to the people? In which country is the head of the Supreme Court³ a scholar who guides the people and they receive his guidance? The same case pertains to the Chief Public Prosecutor⁴ and the Minister of Interior.⁵ All the different administrative bodies carry out their tasks in full confidence and without any fear, for there is no reason to be afraid. They all support each other and are as brothers unto one another.

In which other country do you see a parliament like our Islamic Majlis? In the past, whether under the rule of the ex-Shah or the banished Rida Khan, the Majlis was full of people with high-sounding, flamboyant titles, and aristocrats, the rich and wealthy who were supporters of West and East and the lackeys of foreign countries. But in the present Majlis there is not even a single aristocrat or anybody from these "upper" classes. They are all from the ordinary people. Some of them are *ulama* and (Islamic) jurists, and others are devout Muslims. Our Islamic Consultative Majlis has no equal in any other country. Such is the case of all the other government institutions.

The military and disciplinary forces considered as part of the nation

Do you know anywhere that the army is as popular as here? Whenever the army or Gendarmerie or Islamic Guard Corps officers go among the people, they are greeted with flowers. The public supports them and that is because they are considered to be a part of the nation. Any institution in our government you see holds the same status. That is why they come among the

¹ Mr. Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr.

² Mr. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

³ Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Abdolkarim Musawi Ardebili.

⁵ Mr. Muhammad Rida Mahdawi Kanl.

people in this manner. Do you know of any place in the world where so many members of the Committees, the courts and the Islamic Guard Corps have sacrificed their lives for the country and Islam, without anybody asking them to do so? These committees, courts and Islamic guards all over the country are serving Islam and this country. Where do you witness a nation devoted to the cause of serving Islam and the Islamic government that whenever a problem surfaces, the people themselves step forward to help?

Presenting the model of a popular government in propagating the Revolution

When we say that we want the Islamic Revolution to spread to other nations; not just to Muslim nations but to all those countries where the oppressive governments are against the deprived people, we mean that we would like to bring about a situation whereby the government does not behave ruthlessly and murderously, and the like with the people, and the people are not the government's enemies. We want to reconcile the governments with their nations. If the governments study Iran's present situation and observe the nation's relations with the government, I do not think that they will remain unaffected. Of course, venomous pens of foreigners and the foreign media and press spread false propaganda against Iran's government and nation, but you who are in this country know why they are doing this. It is because the government and the people are now united. When the government and the people are together; the clergy and the university teachers and students, the army and all the other different social groups are united, and all of them think alike, the interests of the superpowers can, of course, no longer be secured. The government has not taken office to voice support for a superpower. The situation in our country now is such that if a Parliamentary representative or the Prime Minister says a word to the advantage of the superpowers, the people themselves will oppose him. We would like to see all the Muslim countries and all the oppressed countries of the world have societies in which the people and the government are united. We would like to see their prime ministers, presidents, parliamentary representatives and other officials being elected by the people so that they would be unassailable.

Some clergymen serving the superpowers

Other than America and the Soviet Union with whom we have problems, some of the top clerics of some Muslim countries and those people who claim to be Islamic, also oppose us. They interpret our intentions wrongly

and then blame us with heresy. If they are actually in the wrong, it would be better for them to study and realize what they are doing and to whose benefit they are doing it. And if they are intentionally working against a Muslim country which endeavors to unite all Muslims, and reconcile them with one another—we have been aiming for this since more than twenty years ago; to unite all the Muslim countries so that they do not accuse one another of heresy—and are spreading poisonous propaganda while being, unfortunately, dressed in the robes of a “mufti” (expounder of Islamic law) or in those of the Grand Mufti, are they, then, not aware that such activities are against Islam and in accordance with the wishes of the superpowers? Are they not aware that they are, knowingly or knowingly, serving the (interests of) the superpowers? Do they not know they are assisting the superpowers?! Why don't they denounce [Anwar] Sadat who has committed all those atrocities?! Have we not heard that they have excommunicated him?

I stated [some time ago] that Imam Mahdi is the ultimate Islamic executive and that justice will prevail under his rule. This fact has also been reported in their sources: “Justice and liberty will prevail on Earth after it has been corrupted by tyranny and injustice.¹” I explained that the prophets did not fully accomplish their mission and thus he will come to finish their work [i.e. implementing justice worldwide]. They [i.e. those clerics] wrongly interpreted my saying to mean that Imam Mahdi will complete the religion of Islam [which contradicts Islamic belief] thus serving the non-Muslim [world powers] whether intentionally or not. This is horrendous. Mahdi obeys Islam and follows the Prophet of Islam. But he is a follower whom the Prophet loved. He will implement his (peace be upon him and his progeny) directions.

(Those clergymen) causing disunity by giving a wrong interpretation of what we say

Why should these clerics, in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, so erroneously interpret the message of a nation, which struggles to unify all Muslims and to bring an end to the world powers exploitation of Muslim countries. Whether they know it or not, they are assisting the imperialists in creating disunity among Muslims. Do they not know that it is not right to hinder the unity of Muslims and that the Holy Quran explicitly prohibits such actions? They are either ignorant, or they are, God forbid, intentionally assisting the imperialists.

¹ Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 51, p. 74. This topic also appears in various phrasings in the Sunni sources. The Shlahs and Sunnis believe in the Expected and Promised Advent.

What we would like to see in the Muslim countries is that, firstly, there be no gap between the governments and the people in accordance with Islamic commandments. We favor the unity of all Muslim countries to prevent any harm [that the world powers would want to inflict on us]. You saw how our unity overthrew that big power. We would like to see the entire one billion Muslim populations in the world become united in the same way. If we unite, the issues of Quds, Afghanistan and all the other problems will end. And if these clerics of the kings do not disrupt our unity, we will triumph, God willing. And the Islamic governments and Muslim countries will emerge victorious.

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims and for their unity of expression. And I once again wish to greet all Muslims and Muslim countries on the auspicious occasion of this blessed *Id*.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: 6:30 pm, August 12, 1980 [Mordad 21, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Recommending that problems be resolved through peaceful negotiations and mutual understanding

Audience: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Majlis) and the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Comparing the Islamic Consultative Majlis with the previous ones

May God make this *Id* a blessed one for all Muslims especially Iranian Muslims. This is our Majlis. None of the Parliamentary representatives since the start of the Constitutional Movement (except maybe in the first term) have been so humble as to sit in such a manner. They were all rich aristocrats who could not have possibly acted so modestly. They were not prepared to sit together in a gathering in this mosque-like fashion (that is, sitting on carpets on the floor). They all lived in mansions, with a few exceptions that were of your profession. No one like me, a regular student, could have ever expected to meet them much less to have the opportunity to talk to them, for they were from the privileged and upper classes. This [the modesty of the government officials] is one of the blessings of this Islamic Movement, and of the blessings of Islam in that all the government bodies are popular. This is popularly-elected Majlis. This Majlis' previous name was the "National Majlis"! Did the people have any say in it?! Was it possible for any of the normal citizens to become a representative? Especially in the recent decades not one of you was a member; it was not the place for you, morally speaking, as it was not a godly one. You could not have attended that Majlis because of your lofty (religious) status and their evilness.

Today we have Muslim figures in the Majlis who have no other intention but to serve Islam and their country. And I am hopeful about this Majlis which consists of the humane people from among our nation, whether those who are Muslims or those who are not but are even so are our brothers from among the minorities. These individuals are all from the people. Today the people are in control of the Majlis. In the previous regime, people were entirely unaware of what went on inside the Majlis and did not have any

influence in the legislation. We must be very grateful to God for this blessing.

It is not only the Majlis that has been transformed from evilness to Islam and morality, but all the governmental institutions; the armed forces, the ministers, they are all from the people (and for the people). Our people can now claim to supervise all the affairs. I can recall many of the previous Parliamentary terms. I did visit the Majlis a few times, just as an observer; there was not one single person who was like you. The only terms that were exceptions were the terms in which Mudarris was also a representative and during those first terms which I did not see. Only in the first few terms were there individuals who were of your type. My intention in saying this is that now that you have such a favorable status, it is a pity if something occurs that is contrary to it.

Advising the representatives to solve problems by mutual understanding and peaceful negotiations

I apologize in advance for the advice that I want to give you, for you are not really in need of any advice, but in any case brothers, giving a reminder is in itself useful. One of the punishments in Hell is that its inhabitants are occupied in constant quarrel.¹ And on the other hand, one of the blessings in Heaven is that its inhabitants enjoy brotherhood and affection.² It is one of the great blessings of God, while the quarrels in Hell constitute one of the punishments for its inhabitants that quarrel constantly surges with one another.

Learned people say that whatever punishments or rewards people receive in Hell or Heaven are the consequences of their deeds. It has been narrated in a tradition that Heaven and Hell are empty [they are composed of our own deeds]. And also there is another tradition—which I read long ago and whose meaning I do not exactly know—about angles that would sometimes construct buildings, and, at other times, stop doing so. Apparently the Noble Messenger saw this on the Night of Miraj [i.e. the night he visited the Heavens]. He asked Gabriel as to why they worked sometimes and stopped at other times. Gabriel replied that these are the peoples' actions. As long as they are busy in doing good deeds, their (the angles') interests are realized and they become occupied in the construction work. When they cease doing

¹ A reference to *surah* Sad 38:64: *Lo! That is very truth: the wrangling of the dwellers in the Fire.*

² A reference to *surah* al-Hijr 15:47: *And we remove whatever rancor may be in their breasts. As brethren face to face, (they rest) on couches raised.*

good deeds, the angles, too, cease construction. In any case it is a truth as far as the mystics are concerned that whatever we receive in the hereafter is the outcome of what we do. It is not that the Blessed and Exalted God has made fire to burn us; we generate the fire ourselves. And it has also been stated in the Quran that we will receive what we have done in this world.

Based on these two Holy verses [v. 64 of Sad and v. 47 of Hijr] we can figure out whether we are people of hell or heaven. If we are the inimical sort, our place is in hell. There are some instances when people discuss matters. This is very common among theology students who sometimes go so far as hollering, but when the discussion is over, they are still friends. The hot discussion does not result in animosity. There are two friends that discuss a topic and each one has his own opinion. And this is actually a good intellectual exercise which strengthens the students' academic abilities. Such an exercise does not perhaps exist in other academic circles. Of course, in some instances their arguments really become very intense and serious. Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani (may God bless his soul) once told me that one of the issues of "Mulla Nasriddin" newspaper, which was printed in the Caucasus¹ featured a caricature that depicted two clergymen arguing; one had knocked out the other's tooth and the latter had struck the former with his shoe. He had depicted this caricature in criticizing the clergy, ignorant of the fact that even though it sometimes happens that their discussions are very heated, but after their discussions, they are still friends.

If our difference of opinions regarding the problems we face in various situations does not elicit animosity, as is the case among the theology students [we are on the right track]. There are many issues being dealt with in the Majlis, and there will certainly be many more ahead in the future pertaining to the problems of our people; and on every issue, every individual has his/her own opinion. If this diversity of opinions is really based on hostility, God forbid, we should realize that we will burn in hellfire, for hostility in this world entails hostility in the next world. If our activities are based on faith, brotherhood and cordiality, then everyone is duty-bound to give his/her opinions [without any kind of hostile confrontation]. It is not permissible for anyone to neglect and hesitate in giving his/her opinion if they think they are correct. When they realize something, they should make it known, regardless of who agrees or opposes, for you are the peoples'

¹ A comic weekly in the Turkish language that used to be circulated in Tabriz, Nakhichevan, etc. It had a critical style and the cartoons that usually appeared on the cover were very popular. Mulla Nasriddin focused on the problems of Iranian society in a comic style featuring caricatures.

representatives; they have faith in you. Thus you should pronounce your views regarding the issues pertaining to the people to the extent that you can and understand. However, this should not lead to defiance and hostility. Try to keep calm [when discussing your views] and it's no problem if you raise your voice. But this should not create hostility. Just like the arguments among the theology students which never lead to animosity. Sometimes, two friends burst into very furious arguments, over some topics pertaining to their studies. They even shout at each other, but after the discussion is done they are still friends; they are still brothers. They do not continue arguing about what he said and what the other said. They are friends with different opinions. The issues are in conflict. Thus, when different issues are dealt with, it is all right if you hold opposing views; just make sure you don't oppose each other's personalities. You should be friends and brothers, and at the same time pronounce your opposing views that deal with the progress of Islam and the country. They [the representatives in the Majlis] should examine such subjects and make known their views as best as they can, and to the extent of their ability. But after the session ends, they should be friends just like the theology students who sit down after their discussions and drink tea together.

Taking into consideration the interests of Islam and the country

People holding different opinions do not have to be enemies. You [i.e. the representative in the Majlis] are all Muslims and believers. You all belong to this country and thus follow the interests of this nation. We all want to seek the interests of Islam and of those who live in this land of Islam under its protection, and also the interests of all those who are here as representatives of the minorities. Islam calls for recognizing the interests of all people and on an equal basis. The people being represented are all citizens of this country and thus have rights in this country. And you are the representatives of these people and hence you should serve them. Every one of you is the representative of all the entire population and thus should keep in mind the interests of all the people. So the best discussions are the friendly ones. If friends come up with different opinions, they solve their problems congenially, not with hostility.

Of course, I know that many of you are pious, that is, I'm sure that most of you are such. Hopefully you are all virtuous. I am not familiar with everybody. But I can see from your faces: that you are from among the people of this country. We do not have representatives from among the wealthy classes who would have goals other than the interests of the nation

and Islam. Thus, I have faith that this Majlis will surely do great things, and God willing, will be able to move on smoothly and in cooperation with the government, the President and the other institutions. You all have one goal. Neither the President—who is in charge of the affairs of the nation—wants a chaotic country, nor do the Majlis deputies want a chaotic Majlis, because you are part of the nation, and the country is yours. Nobody will propose anything that is to the contrary. The same case pertains to the ministers in the government, they also do not want to disturb the country, none of the ministers, whether in the past or present or, God willing, the future. They all want to strengthen Islam, to implement the law of Islam and to serve the nation. Thus, when they all hold the same beliefs, the same goals—to serve the people and to improve the country and to uproot the kernel of corruption in the country—there will not be any hostility.

But supposing that the representatives were from a certain group who sought their wicked goals or if they were servants for the superpowers, in that case, yes; there would be animosity. Only then would animosity really make sense, for if there were such evil people in the Majlis who were conspirators and wanted to create disorder in the Majlis and the country, and who would not correct themselves and you had no hope that they would be guided, then you would have been duty-bound to respond and that would have created animosity. But none among you have such aims.

I am sure that none of you have the [evil] intention of creating disturbances in the country. Your intention is to keep the country calm so that your brothers [and sisters] would have a comfortable and easy life in this country. You all want to keep the outsiders away from the nation—and God willing it will be done. You all want to serve your nation. You are from among the common people, not from the upper classes which have no idea what is going on among the other people, and are not aware of their situation. You have come from among the commoners and thus are aware of what goes on among them and among the poor who live in this country. You have the same type of life with just a little difference. What is necessary for us, for you and for all the people and for all of those who are responsible in the governance of this country is cooperation. If they have different opinions over some matter, they should sit down and solve the problem through (peaceful) dialogue. If the representatives sense something wrong occurring in the Majlis, they should confer and consult their friends. And, God willing, this will be the dawn of the final victory.

The vulnerability of the world powers lies in the unity of nations

We have no fear of the superpowers. Even though, we lack all that murderous weaponry, our faith compels us not to fear, and not be apprehensive. When all the people unitedly decide to do something, they cannot be forced otherwise. Force is effective only when people are not united. When they split up, there is the chance for one group to impose something upon another. But if they unite, there will be no room for oppression neither from within nor from without. The world powers, no matter how mighty they be, are weak when confronting a [united] people.

I may have said this once before that the Soviet Union's ambassador met me some time ago and told me that the Afghan government has requested that they [i.e. the Soviets] interfere in their affairs. When he told me that, I did not know that they had already entered Afghanistan and that he was telling me after they had taken action—[I realized later on that] there was no Afghan government to ask the Soviets to intervene; they set up a government afterwards. But I told him that it was a mistake on their part. I told him that it may be easy for them to take the country because of their strength and the large force they have. But they cannot control a whole nation. I told him that they will not have any progress after they enter and that the Afghans will surely oppose them to the point that they will be weakened. But they had already taken action. They were not informing me to please me or to get my permission to go and take over a Muslim country.

The truth is that when a nation is united and the people are like brothers and support one another, the superpowers dissolve into the masses no matter how heavy their weaponry, the nation will swallow them. We do not fear such conspiracies at all. Moreover, I believe that the conception that some have regarding the recent action taken by the Soviet Union—that it is a terrible threat to us—is not correct. It is not a real threat; however, we must be careful. Our army, our gendarmerie, the Islamic Guard Corps, and all the people must be ready. Of course, all of our people are soldiers of Islam and thus must be careful. People must be attentive of what goes on around them and as soon as they notice some suspicious movements, they must inform the authorities. If they notice some unusual movements in and out of a house, they must let the authorities know at once. And the authorities must immediately take control of the matter. Even though all these precautions must be carried out, I assure you that they will not be successful and they will not be able to do any harm to this country.

Even after presuming such things, let us suppose that they come and, in their own words, kill all the priests and the believers. Is that any reason for us

to be frightened? [If we die] we will just be moving to a better life. Why should we fear? I am not saying that we can overpower them; we are stronger in faith. We follow the same logic that the first Muslims went by: if we kill them, we will go to heaven and if we are killed by them, we will also go to heaven. This is the logic of the faithful. Those who believe in the Blessed and Exalted God and the Quran, believe that there is no way they can lose. Neither aspect of the matter is to our detriment. If we get killed, we are actually changing outfits—we are putting on a better dress—and if we kill, we are expelling inhumane beings. Thus, we have nothing to fear, but again I assure you that they will not succeed. The nation is an Islamic one; you are working for God. It is for the sake of God that our people are striving. They sacrificed their youth only for God's sake; they had no other purpose in mind. It doesn't make any sense for people to sacrifice their children in order to have better homes or, for example, to eat better food. They started off for God's sake and only had His rewards in mind. No one owes anyone else anything. We would have all done it for His sake, God willing, and will be rewarded by Him, either in this world or in the next.

May God give you success. I am truly your servant and will serve you for the remainder of my life. May God elevate you to the highest peak of knowledge. And may God deal with the enemies of this country and Islam, either by guiding them or by punishing them.

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

Message

Date: August 13, 1980 [Mordad 22, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Honoring the martyrs

Addressees: The families of the martyrs of Kurdistan (Paveh)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Blessed be the martyrs of the *pasdars* of the Islamic Revolution and all the armed forces committed to Islam. Blessed be their dear families, those who brought up our heroes. May God bless the families of the martyrs who created, and are creating, the greatest epic of recent history by their patience, endeavor and by offering their loved ones in the way of God and Islam. Blessed be all the soldiers of Islam who made the Revolution victorious with their blood and the blow of their strong fists. And blessed be all the committed Islamic armed forces that brought down the castle of oppression by their affinity for sacred Iranian revolution and by the support of the dear people. The noble people of Iran appreciate the dear families of the martyred *pasdars*. But above this, is the reward that you and all the martyrs of Islam, including their relations, will receive from the sacred Hand of God the Almighty. The martyrs of this great revolution, just like the martyrs of early Islam, have an esteemed place in the sacred divine Sight and are looked upon with favor by the Almighty and the saints of Islam. And it will be so for ever. I, as a humble servant and one who prays, believe that the nation and I owe everything to these dear ones. I ask God for His blessings and forgiveness to be granted to all. History will never forget the sacrifice that these brave and committed youths made. The glorious name of the great nation of Iran and all those who sacrificed themselves for the sake of Islam is stamped and secured for all time on the pages of history. May God's peace be upon you and His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 16, 1980 [Mordad 25, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Surviving the air crash

Addressee: Bani Sadr, Abul-Hasan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable President Bani Sadr—may God Almighty protect him:

The fact that you and your esteemed fellow travelers survived the (air) accident which, according to what is usual in such cases, ought to have had tragic consequences, is an indication of divine grace in securing the progress of the revolution. We have seen the signs of His grace, in protecting this country and nation in all respects, many times in the past, and, God willing, it will continue in the future. We thank God from the bottom of our hearts. We are all from God and should work for His sake. This miraculous occurrence shows that you and your companions have been sincere in serving this Muslim country and will be so in future. In return for this great bounty, you must try harder in the future to devote more of your life in serving Islam and this Muslim country. By witnessing these repeated favors, our great nation ought to be absolutely sure that it will be invulnerable as long as it is in the service of Islam. The enemies of the country, who cannot see the truth, must realize that they cannot harm this country by means of their conspiracies and devilish acts. Our people are prepared to die in serving Islam and are determined to support the Islamic institutions. I pray to the Almighty God for the glory of Islam, the Muslims and the Muslim country of Iran.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 25, 1359 AHS

Speech

Date: 9:30 am, August 16, 1980 [Mordad 25, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The importance of the matter of (issuing) judgments and the necessity of maintaining order and discipline therein

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (the head of the Supreme Court), Sayyid Abdulkarim Musawi Ardebili (the Chief Public Prosecutor), and Ali Quddusi, the country's religious law judges and the public prosecutors of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Comparing the three past and present branches (before and after the Revolution)

I must congratulate our people on the fact that the authorities of the three branches, which constitute the basis of a country, are, praise be to God, from among the common people, and are not corrupt *taghuti* individuals. I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to help us all in serving Islam and in working harder so as to achieve success for this Revolution and to establish a government of divine justice in place of the *taghuti* one.

All of you and all our people are aware that prior to the Revolution, it could not be said which one of the three branches was worse than others. The legislative branch, according to the Shah's own admission, had fallen into the hands of individuals who used to be appointed by the embassies (in Tehran). And they were obliged to it make only such people perform the work. Thus, the nature of the legislature (of the period) is clear to our people. America would give a list of names and its servant acted on it. There can be no better Majlis and Senate than the ones we had; I mean the ones they had (before the Revolution)!! They would never take a single step for God during the time they were in charge. If they had been the type that worked for God, neither would America have recommended them, nor would the ex-Shah have appointed them. The Shah's own admission is enough proof for us as to the kind of people the legislature had. As for the executive branch, everybody knows what crimes it committed in this country. The Shah himself—a person, in their own words with no (clear-cut) responsibility—was the head of all the criminals. He and America inspired all the other criminals in the country.

As for the judiciary, Islam is very particular about it. It is ordained that either a prophet or his successor be in charge of it. Anyone other than a prophet or his successor—as recommended by the Noble Messenger—as the head will become a wretched person. The control of our judicial branch had fallen into the hands of people among whom, I think, there was not a single person competent enough to have been the head of the judiciary. Some may say that there were some religious individuals in the judiciary. But merely being religious is not enough for a judge. The judiciary is one of those issues that Islam is very particular about. Perhaps there is nothing that is so important. And the reason for this is clear. All that belongs to the people lies in the domain of the judiciary: the people's lives, possessions and honor. All these lie within the jurisdiction of the judicial branch. This being the case, if a judge is incompetent or dishonest, God forbid, and if it affects the people and makes them disregard the judiciary, it is clear as to what will happen.

For this reason, I congratulate the people on the fact that our legislative branch is now elected from among the people without anybody imposing the members upon them. Nobody has given the authorities a list of names of the people that have been appointed from abroad. And the Majlis, itself, expels the members that are incompetent. Therefore, our legislature is a body that is competent with most of its members being committed individuals, and all of them being from among this nation. They have not come from among the rich. The case of the judicial branch is also evident; there is nobody in it who is of the *taghuti* type. All the responsible authorities in this institution are Muslim scholars who have led humble, intellectual lives and are aware of the problems of society, for they are part of the common community, and had experienced difficulties themselves. Thus they are in a position to solve the problems of the poor.

The executive branch consists of the President, the Prime Minister and the ministers who will, God willing, be appointed later. All of them are people that the nation itself has appointed; none of them has been imposed upon the nation. The Majlis representatives, who have also been elected by the people, will vote later on the capability of the cabinet ministers in order to confirm them. Any minister-designate who is not committed (to Islam), who acts contrary to Islamic principles and is unaware of the condition of the poor will not be given a vote of confidence by the Majlis.

The importance of judging and maintaining order

I must say that pronouncing judgments is a matter that is very important in Islam. It is also a perilous one. The importance lies in the judges

administering justice to the people, eradicating injustice, setting disputes, differentiating between the oppressor and the oppressed and implementing justice. The danger lies in the fact that if a verdict is against God's commandment, God forbid, and against the limits set by Him, even to an infinitesimal extent¹, the judge in question will have to face severe consequences². Though the responsibility (of the office) is extremely heavy, it, nevertheless, is a necessary one that has to be undertaken. Those who fulfill all the requirements and are "*mujtahids*" [Islamic jurist] must take the office and if there are not enough of them, those appointed by the *mujtahids* must fill the ranks. Important duties must be shirked. Matters that are important from the aspect of religious law cannot be overlooked; it is essential that they be attended to. Shirking them entails admonishment. They ought to be taken care of. Even in some of the previous governments (like the Abbasids and the Bani-Umayyads), some very righteous individuals apparently accepted such offices in order to prevent at least some of the inequities. It is not that one who knows that he is capable of eliminating the inequities done to the people, and steering the right course, can shirk his responsibilities, even though the ruling system be oppressive. But now that we have, thank God, an Islamic country with Islamic institutions, we cannot say that we will not undertake any responsibilities in the government or serve it. This was the attitude in the days of the *taghut*. There was a government even in the days of the Apostle of God, and the Commander of the Faithful. Could we have refused to serve in those governments? The government is an institution that must exist in a country. It is one of the necessary things in society that must essentially exist so as to maintain order. Working for a government that is not a bona fide one is not permissible unless it is for the purpose of administering justice in some case. Such problems existed even in the early period of Islam. But one cannot refuse to work in a government that is a true, bona fide one. People should not say that they will not work in the government that is right and genuine, because its name is "government".

All the Muslim governments were Islamic and were the administrators of the people's affairs. The important thing is what kind of government it is. If it is like the present one in which all the institutions are Islamic and all the people working for it want to serve Islam, nobody should keep himself out of it saying that he does not want to enter it and be employed in it. One must work for it. Even in the days of the Commander of the Faithful, there were people who were policemen, governors and government officials. There were

¹ Wasail ash-Shlah; vol. 18, al-Qada book, Chapter 5, Narration 2.

² Majma az-Zawaid; HaythamI, vol. 4, p.193.

pious people who were employers in certain places. Generally speaking, one would say in the days of the *taghut* that one did want to work for the government as it was *taghuti*. But now as it is a divine government, not working for it, is not right. If the judiciary has a shortage of judges, for example, and it asks somebody to work for it because it lacks people, the person asked is obliged to officiate as a judge. Nobody should say that now that he has to work as a judge, he will not work for the government. Working for the government is tantamount to working for God. The government now is a government of God and it is serving God. It is not serving *taghut*. Therefore, there is no excuse for one to say that he will not enter government service. It is the same as working for Islam as the government itself is Islamic. It does not work independently of Islam. It is serving Islam; all of us are serving Islam.

All the affairs should, of course, be systematic and orderly. When all the affairs are based on an orderly system—maintaining order is one of the divine obligations—such order must also exist in the judiciary, meaning that, for example, it should not be that a judge decides to report for work one day and not on another. When you accept the office, you have accepted to work for God. You should, therefore, think of it as a divine duty to act according to the rules and to work as described during the office days and hours, even if you do not wish to accept the word “employment” as such or to take charge. But you must maintain discipline if you think it your religious duty to do so. If one joins work and then cannot work in an orderly manner—for example, he does not come to work for a week as he feels that he is not obliged to do so—he should not take office in the first place. If one can work in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the judicial council, he must do so and abide by them till the end. But if he finds himself, day after day, unequal to the task, he ought to submit his resignation to the judicial council. Holding a position and not working properly is not right. All the affairs of the country must be run on a systematic basis, just as it is in the police department where the policemen cannot say that they do not want to report for work on some day; that they wish to remain at home, in which case neither can they call themselves policemen, nor is the department a police department. And this also applies to all the government offices: nobody can work according to his own whims. Anybody who undertakes to do something must abide by the pertinent rules.

The gentlemen (of the judiciary) whose work is more important than that of the others, ought to safeguard the system. The other institutions everywhere must also maintain order as, without it, nothing proper will

materialize and disorganization will be the result. The gentlemen should carry out whatever they have accepted to do in a systematic, orderly manner.

The necessity of being absolutely impartial in passing judgments

One of the important things that I wish to say concerns the care that must be exercised in passing judgments. You must not be negligent when people's lives, their honor and possessions depend on you. It should, God forbid, not be so that an innocent person is condemned as a criminal while a guilty person, who must receive punishments ordained by God, is acquitted. One should be very careful and precise in passing judgments and in their execution, so that, God forbid, no injustice is done. You should be very careful not to judge a guilty person as being innocent or convict an innocent one. It is oppression in either case. You must act with the greatest of care, caution and diligence; lest the death sentence, God forbid, be passed on someone who does not deserve it; or one is sent to long-term imprisonment when his offense does not warrant it. On the other hand, a murderer must not be allowed to escape the retaliatory punishment out of pity on the part of the judge.

No; a judge ought to be very particular about the verdicts he gives. I say very bluntly that a judge should be hard-hearted. Nothing should influence him. He should not allow himself to be affected by the tears of a criminal or his wailing and begging (for mercy). Otherwise, he cannot be a real judge; and nor can he be a judge if he harbors feelings of revenge, for instance. A judge is one who is impartial in issuing verdict: he should behave in the same way whether the criminal is his brother or enemy. I mean that this should not influence him in judging the case. In issuing his verdicts, he must not differentiate between brother and enemy. I am speaking from the aspect of judgment; not the personal aspect. That is, just as he ought to pass the sentence that his own brother may deserve, so also should it be in the case of his enemy. He should treat everybody equally.

You have heard about Hadrat Amir appearing with that person, who was apparently a Jew, in the presence of the judge. Hadrat Amir was the head of the government. Upon being summoned, he went to the judge who addressed him as Abul-Hasan. Hadrat Amir objected; he told the judge to address him in the same way that he addressed the other person.¹ This is an order to those of us who occupy the position of a judge to treat everybody impartially. A judge's sole aim must be to deliver justice. It should make no difference to a

¹ Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, Ibn AbI al-HadId, vol. 17, p. 65.

judge whether the accused is his friend or foe; he should be neither lenient in one case nor sever in the other.

In short, this important matter rests in the hands of you gentlemen. Whenever you are, you must judge every case brought up before you in a just and correct manner, without paying regard to who either party is. You must judge a person, accused of even the most serious offense, on the basis of rightfulness, regardless of his past record. You ought to examine the case in a just and right manner. Your verdict ought to be just so that when you are standing in the Presence of the Almighty Truth, you will feel proud that you have not been guilty of any wrongdoing.

I hope that the Blessed and Exalted God will give you success in the religious law affairs which I have mentioned—the other things also concern religious law, but God's command concerning justice is a very grave matter—and may you also succeed, God willing, in matters related to order that ought to be based on certain criteria. If the Judicial authorities set certain rules, you cannot act otherwise saying that you are independent. This is not maintaining order; it is disorder. It is not permissible for anybody to occupy this position (of a judge) when he finds himself unable to abide by the rules that have been laid down for maintaining discipline; he should leave. It is not necessary for one who abides by the principles and acts according to the rules to accept whatever judicial council says. May such a person be rewarded by the Blessed and Exalted Lord. You who belong to the judicial branch and pass judgments, should consider this as an act of worship. To administer justice is to worship the Deity.

May you be successful and triumphant. May we all succeed in serving our country. There is a pressing need to serve the country and to maintain discipline. A revolution gives rise to certain problems, no doubt. After all the matters have been settled in this post-revolutionary period, we should all cooperate with one another to take this movement to a successful conclusion, God willing. Let it not be said abroad that Iran is ridden with chaos and that it is no place to live anymore, and so on and so forth. Let us, at least, not give them the excuse to say such things.

Everybody should do his job properly. Do not worry about what a judge has done in Balkh, for example, or in any other place. You must confine yourself to performing your own job properly. If everybody in the country is determined to carry out the work entrusted to him in the best manner, this country will become a divine, sublime one. But interfering in one another's affairs—the judicial branch interfering in executive affairs, and the executive branch interfering in the affairs of the judiciary—will lead to chaos. These

three basic branches are separate and independent of one another. Each one of them must attend to its own work. A judge interfering in executive matters has overstepped his bounds, thus, marring his own work and leading the country to corruption. If everyone does his own work well, he will be successful, God willing, in helping the system to be maintained properly. May you be rewarded by the Blessed and Exalted Lord, and your deeds registered as those of judges who have given rulings as commanded by God.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: August 16, 1980 [Mordad 25 1359 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: People's control over their own future

Audience: The people of Urumiyyah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Even though I am not feeling well, I would like to say a few words to you. At the outset, I wish to thank you for having come here from afar, and, secondly, for the difficulties you, the border-dwellers are putting up with for the sake of Islam and your country. You should bear in mind that the country is now yours and you are not working anymore for the benefit of the foreigners as it used to be in the days of the ex-Shah. Thank God that the influence of the foreigners over this country was removed by the great efforts of the nation; especially you, the border-dwellers. The country is yours and the government, the Majlis and the President are all from among the common people whom they are serving. I, myself, am here to serve you in the few remaining days of my life. May God bless you with good health and give you honor. There is one factor that makes all hardships easy to bear, and that is working for God. Whatever we have, has been given to us by God, and we should do all we can for Him. The strength we have, has been given to us by God, and whatever He has given us must be submitted to Him. I hope that God gives you and the nation the same reward that He gave the first soldiers of Islam. May He protect your country from evilness of the aliens. You the ladies, the men and the youths will remain invulnerable as long as you remain together without having any differences among you, and as long as you disregard your own personal matters and think about Islam as being the (real) aim. May God protect you and bless you with prosperity in this world and the next.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: August 16, 1980 [Mordad 25, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The attention of people all over the world turning to Iran

Audience: The inhabitants of Urumiyyah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My warmest greetings to the great nation of Iran, the dear people of Azarbayjan, the dear youths from the border regions who are defending, and have defended, the country with your great and sincere efforts.

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord for the well-being and glory of the entire nation. I am one of those that are always ready to serve you dear ones, and I hope that I will be of service to you in this last period of my life. I thank the Almighty God for having brought us face to face with all the people because of this movement and this revolution. We are now sitting face to face with you gentlemen—the *ulama* of the border regions and these dear youths of ours, as well as all the people present here—and are talking to you in person. Such an occasion was not possible in the past when the treacherous hands had distanced the *ulama* from the people and had separated us from you. The Blessed and Exalted God wanted us to gather together and collectively serve Islam and to bring honor to our nation.

You and all the other Iranians have succeeded in making the illustrious name of this country known to the world over. All the Muslim and non-Muslim countries are now paying attention to you and our dear people. I hope that this movement and this revolution leads to the appearance of the Master of the Age (s). I also hope that the message of this revolution spreads everywhere so that the oppressed (of the world) deliver themselves by taking your path that enabled you to overthrow the enemies of Islam and of the nation, and which will also enable them to prevail over the forces of arrogance.

May God give you health, prosperity, honor and greatness. I thank you for taking the trouble of coming here from afar and sitting here in this small, hot place. What I can sincerely offer you is my prayer, and also my service to the extent of my ability.

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

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date of this speech is given as 5/26/1359 AHS.

Speech

Date: August 16, 1980 [Mordad 25, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The great debt the nation owes to the border-dwellers

Audience: The ladies of Urumiyyah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My warmest greetings to the people of Azarbayjan, and to the men and women of the border regions of Urumiyyah. Dear brothers and sisters; you are aware that our country at present, in this post-revolutionary period, needs assistance. It was the nation's efforts that made this revolution succeed and it also must continue its efforts from now onwards. The people of Iran owe a lot to you who reside on the borders, and we are indebted to you for your efforts. I hope that you will preserve your independence to the very end through your efforts and those of all the other brothers and sisters. I also hope that you will be among the army of the Master of the Age (s), and that you will safeguard your country by your sincere endeavors. Today, whatever you do is to your own and your nation's benefit. It is not that you are working for the benefit of the aliens. It is hoped that you will, God willing, maintain Iran's glory and honor while enjoying well-being and prosperity. May God make you fortunate and protect your country from all harm. I hope that with God's grace, your unity of expression and the endeavors of all the strata of the nation, these corrupt elements that still remain in this country and are stalling its progress, will also be destroyed, God willing. May your efforts be rewarded—and are being rewarded—by the Blessed and Exalted Lord.

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

¹ The date of this speech is mentioned as 5/26/1359 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

Decree

Date: August 17, 1980 [Mordad 26, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a representative in the Central Endowments Organization

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Imam Jamarani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Mahdi Imam Jamarani—may his gracing last long:

Following the decision of the Revolutionary Council that two clerics have to be appointed to the Central Endowments Organization, in order to supervise the work of all the other members of this Organization, I hereby, appoint you as my representative as one of the two clerics for this job. I hope that you will leave no stone unturned in performing your duties in this important task, and that you will look after the endowments in the best manner possible, in cooperation and coordination with all the other brother members and employees of the Organization. I beseech the Almighty to assist you and give you success in making the Organization Islamic to the greatest extent possible. Meanwhile, it is necessary for the abovementioned members and the other esteemed employees to submit a monthly report to you on the work of the Endowments Organization, under intimation to me.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 17, 1980 [Mordad 26, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a representative in the Central Endowments Organization

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Nizamzadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shawwal 6, 1400

AH

Mordad 26, 1359 AHS

The honorable Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Ali Nizamzadeh—may his gracing last long:

Following the decision of the Revolutionary Council that two clerics have to be appointed to the Central Endowments Organization in order to supervise the work of all the other members of this organization, I, hereby, appoint you as my representative as one of the two clerics for this job. I hope that you will leave no stone unturned in performing your duties in this important task, and that you will look after the endowments in the best manner possible, in cooperation and coordination with all the other brother members and employees of the Organization. I beseech the Almighty to assist you and give you success in making the Organization Islamic to the greatest extent possible. Meanwhile, it is necessary for the abovementioned members and the other esteemed employees to submit a monthly report to you on the work of the Endowments Organization, under intimation to me.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, August 17, 1980 [Mordad 26, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The efforts of the enemies in making people despondent about the Revolution

Audience: The people of Ardebil and Dasht-e Moghan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The durability of the movement for the sake of God and Islam

I pray to God for the greatness of Islam and the well-being of all Muslims especially you, the dear brothers from Azarbayjan, the city of Ardebil and the surrounding areas. Some of the people who do not want this Islamic movement and this divine revolution to bear fruit, sometimes say that the enthusiasm of the people has diminished. They say that the people were very enthusiastic at the beginning of the revolution, but it is not so now. Such is the rumor they are spreading among the people. Was the revolution, at the beginning, for God for the ardor of the people to have been great, and it is now not for God for it to be less?! Whatever has happened from the beginning of the revolution until now has been for the sake of God the Blessed and Exalted. The country was heading towards paganism and was trying to consign the commandments of the Quran and Islam to oblivion, and, disregarding its own interests, was giving away its resources to the foreigners. The nation rose for the sake of God and for the revival of His commandments. It entered the fray with great zeal and enthusiasm, and, by making great sacrifices and offering a number of martyrs, it prevailed over blasphemy and discord, and did away with the hold of the superpowers on this country. This was done for the sake of Islam and God. A country that rose for God will also be steadfast in His cause and will continue to do so. Hence, these people who are futilely thinking of preventing the progress of this country and the revolution from remaining vibrant and lively, are spreading certain rumors. What has happened as to draw you dear youths to this humble house from distant places?

¹ The date of this speech is mentioned as 5/27/1359 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

The control of the people over their own fate

What sentiments are these that have brought the respected ladies and the dear youths from around the country to such a place for us to meet face to face and talk about the problems they and we have? Is it anything other than Islamic zeal? Is there anything important to me except Islam? Have you come here for gain? Have you come to derive material benefits? You know that there is nothing of the sort in this place. It is for God and His pleasure; it is for the advancement of Islam that you wish to show the evil-wishers that the same enthusiasm that was there at the outset of the revolution, and which drew us into the fray and drove out Islam's enemies from Iran, is still there. The reason is that it is the same Islam and the same Islamic revolution as before. And thank God that this Islamic issue—that is, the basis of the Islamic government—has been so far taking effect in the best possible way, and the nation's destiny lies in the hands of the people themselves. It is not that our people are unaware of everything and that their fate is being determined in the White House or the Kremlin. The nation itself appoints the President by its vote. It voted for the Islamic Republic and will appoint the cabinet ministers by means of its vote centered in the Majlis. All the affairs of the country are in the hands of the people themselves. It is now unlike the days of the *taghut* when the nation was of no consequence, with all the power in the hands of one or some persons. The nation is everything and everything is based on its vote. Everything is for the benefits of the nation, God willing.

The people are not getting disenchanted with the revolution

These people are the leftovers of the previous regime or the supporters of America and the Soviet Union. Some of these decayed remnants that are still here are trying to raise matters in such a way as to make the people despair over this revolution. Was this revolution for the purpose of giving houses to the people? Was it staged for the purpose of creating jobs for the people? It was for the sake of God and Islam.

Our people saw that Islam was getting destroyed by the various groups who were coveting this country and its resources. They revolted for the sake of Islam by offering the blood of their youths and by sustaining heavy losses. If they had risen for material gain, they would have undoubtedly been disappointed now that they have not gained any material benefits, for example. But those who rise for God know that God is always there and the precepts of Islam are always there. You the youths, you the dear ones from around the country, will always exist for the sake of Islam. Azarbayjan has

always been the stronghold of this country; it is so even now and will be to the very end.

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord to protect you dear ones who have come here from afar and to keep you for us. You must realize that the country is your very own. Whatever trouble you take in this country is for yourselves and your brothers. It is not that others will pocket the benefits of your toil. Thank God that Islam has gained strength here at this time and, God willing, Islamic principles will also take effect. The strength of the Islamic government lies in your support for it. We are not afraid of any of these powers that exist in the world and are intimidating our people, because of God. Our nation has revolted for God, and a nation that rises for His sake does not fear anything; it is invulnerable. God is with you; He is your Protector.

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

Letter

Date: 1980 [1359 AHS / 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The functioning of the Housing Foundation under the supervision of the Ministry of Housing in accordance with coordinated policies

Addressee: Muhammad Shahab Gonabadi (the Minister of Housing and Urban Reconstruction)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Hadrat Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure:

Considering the pressing need of the poor, deprived people for housing, and the various and numerous policies that have been adopted for solving the matter, and that have contributed to the aggravation of the crisis causing the people to swarm into Tehran in order to obtain houses, it is essential that a clear, coordinated policy be adopted by the government in order to solve the problem. Therefore, it is advisable that the Housing Foundation, an Islamic service organization, and, likewise, the Housing Transactions Bureau which carries out its work under the supervision of the Housing Foundation's board of trustees, function under the direction of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Reconstruction within the framework of policies coordinated with the Housing Ministry and act as a strong executive arm, from the financial-executive aspect, in the service of the poor and deprived people in the manner of the Reconstruction Jihad (Crusade). It is, therefore, requested that, in this connection, the necessary guidelines and instructions be issued.]

In His Most Exalted Name

Approval is hereby given.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: August 17, 1980 [Mordad 26, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The importance and positive effects of the presence of the Ladies in the vanguard of the movement

Audience: A group of ladies from Ardebil

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The women's struggle for the attainment of Islamic goals

Welcome, esteemed ladies who have come here from afar. May God grant you prosperity. A nation whose ladies are in the forefront for the attainment of Islamic goals, will remain unassailable. The nation whose ladies appeared on the scene earlier than the men in the struggle against the superpowers, and confronted the satanic power, will be triumphant. That nation whose ladies and men have given martyrs in the cause of Islam, and both of whom desire martyrdom for themselves is invulnerable.

We are hopeful about this roaring torrent of the nation in the forefront of which are the esteemed ladies that constitute the most valuable layer of the people and who are crusading for the realization of Islamic aspirations. I congratulate the Iranian nation on this score. We do not fear any power because no power can confront a nation that is prepared to sacrifice itself and seeks martyrdom.

Your power is a divine one. You esteemed ladies revolted for the sake of God and remain steadfast in His cause; you will not be harmed.

Close your ranks as much as you can and safeguard the Revolution. Advance and pay no heed to the words of the seditionists who seek to sow discord among you or make you despondent over this revolution. These people are the mouth pieces of Satan; they will be crushed by the Blessed and Exalted God.

I appreciate the efforts of you the esteemed ladies, and thank you for having come here from places far away. May God honor you and give you greatness and a high status. May He keep you for the Muslims and Islam.

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

¹ The date of this speech is given as 5/27/1359 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

Speech

Date: Before noon, August 18, 1980 [Mordad 27, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 7, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The unity and brotherhood of all Muslims; maintaining order and solidarity in the armed forces

Audience: Various classes of the people; the employees of the Reconstruction Crusade of Sistan Baluchestan, Jiroft and Dazakabad, Yazd

The superpowers' principle strategy is to divide the people

We are thankful to the Blessed and Exalted God that all the communities of Iran; the brothers of the Shiah sect and the Sunnis, are striving side by side in brotherliness to implement Islamic precepts. Brothers and sisters: we are now living in an age when the whole world, all the countries, from here to the farthest reaches of the world, have become like one house. Something occurring in a town in the past would not concern any other town; the other town would not be aware of it. And even if it did come to know of it, the matter would not concern the other town. But the situation in our age is such that anything happening in a country is reflected in all the countries of the world; even the farthest ones, and become their concern. It is not that any differences arising among us are confined to one city or country such as Iran. The matter is reflected in all the countries of the world, and the repercussions felt everywhere. The current political situation of the world is such that all countries are under the political observation of the superpowers. They are watching every place and have plans in place to subjugate all other entities. One of their important designs is to create divisions between brotherly groups. Their basic political ploy is to sow discord under various names and in numerous forms between brothers.

The moral precepts of Islam being political

The moral precepts of Islam are also political in nature. This Quranic precept of all the believers being brothers¹ is an ethical, social and political one. If the believers—the various sects in Islam that believe in God and the Prophet of Islam—be as brothers unto one another, and have affection for one another just like brothers, then apart from this being a great Islamic moral precept entailing the best ethical behavior, it is also a great societal precept entailing the best social behavior. You can see that this period of

¹ A reference to a part of *surah* Hujurat 49:10: “*The believers are naught else than brothers*”.

time in which Islam has cast a faint shadow here, what blessed effects this brotherhood, that has developed in Iran, has had and what repercussions of divine compassion are felt in this country. This Reconstruction Crusade (Jihad-e Sazandegi) which has taken in all the different classes of the people under its aegis, and in which all our youths, from all the segments of the nation, are entering, has resulted in Islamic brotherhood developing among the youths. They are all brothers; they are like brothers in this country and, therefore, they look upon one another as brothers. Islamic brotherhood necessitates mutual assistance in this social sphere, and the development of this country that belongs to them, as well as cleansings (of undesirable elements) and reconstructing it.

Unity and fraternity; the source of victories

This (unity and fraternity) is a moral obligation that also encompasses social obligations. Apart from these, it also includes the political dimension. And the political dimension was the very thing that, as you all saw when the Iranians became united and were by one another's side in a brotherly manner, with all their thoughts on Islamic fraternity, the big powers were not able to withstand nor resist the brothers that had coalesced together. They just departed and went their way, although some of the rotten remnants are lying low among the people in the country. But these rotten remnants cannot break up this brotherhood in faith that is among you.

This bond of faith that the Blessed and Exalted Lord has commanded and contracted among the believers is not confined to the believers of Iran. It is not limited to a particular country. This bond of brotherhood exists among all the believers of the world. All the Muslim countries ought to be like brothers unto one another. If they are so, and if all the masses living in a country consider those living in other countries as their brothers, they will predominate over all the powers of the world. Do not think that if, today, something occurs in some corner of the world, the other countries will not become aware of it. The world of today is like one family. It is now a place in which every part of it is aware of what goes on in another. You see that whatever happens in a corner of the world is broadcast by this radio and television to other places. This bond of faith should be such that the (Muslim) countries do not have differences of opinion with one another. The Islamic countries ought to be friendly with one another. Our opponents are making many efforts in trying to create discord and differences in the countries—whether Muslim or non-Muslim—where the oppressed live. They want to separate them; they want to distance these countries from one

another and to drive the Muslim countries apart. They want to separate the Islamic nations from one another. You thus see that their orators—those who profess Islam—while being in league with the Jews; I mean with the Zionists are making serious efforts, in whatever way they can, to sow discord among the Muslim brothers and separate them from one another. These are some political plots that the powerful countries want to carry out by means of their agents in the Islamic countries.

The bad impression created by the differences among the Muslims

The Muslims must wake up. They must be alert; today is not like yesterday. This age in which we live is unlike the past periods for each group of people to derive benefits only for themselves in the places they live. The interests of all the Muslim countries, today, are interrelated. The interests of Islamic Iran is closely tied to those of all the other Islamic countries. In case differences arise between the Iranians and the other nations; between our Shiah and Sunni brothers, it will be detrimental for all of us. The ones who sow discord are neither Sunnis nor Shiahs. They are the agents of the superpowers and are in their service. They who are trying to divide our Sunni and Shiah brothers are the ones that are busy in hatching plots for the sake of the enemies of Islam. They want the enemies of Islam to prevail over the Muslims. They are the supporters of the United States; some of them support the Soviet Union. The Muslims, wherever they be, ought to keep in mind that any discord today between countries—even the farthest ones, as distant as East and West—is not like what it was in the past. A problem arising in any corner of the world concerns the whole world; it is not confined to that place only. In case any discord arises among you brothers in Iran, it will concern the whole world. And were differences to arise between Iranian brothers and the Iraqi ones; I mean, the Iraqi nation, it would not only concern Iran and Iraq, but the whole world. The world will pay attention to the matter, and those powers that intend to plunder the world's resources and dominate other countries will exploit the situation. They will exploit the differences that—let us suppose—arise between our Shiah and Sunni brothers in Iran, and likewise, between our Iranian and Pakistani brothers. We must be awake; we must be aware that the divine precept: “The believers are naught else than brothers¹” means that they are brothers and nothing else but brothers, and are duty-bound to behave as brothers with one another. This is a political precept which signifies the fact that if the Muslim nations, comprising approximately one billion people, be as brothers and behave like brothers with one another,

¹ *Surah Hujurat* 49:10.

they will remain unassailable, and the likelihood of any of the superpowers committing aggression against them will not exist. Our brothers must bear this in mind.

The need for the Reconstruction Jihad to be in tandem with the Jihad against the self

With regard to this Jihad-e Sazandegi (Crusade for Reconstruction) for which you brothers are working and are rendering valuable service, should bear in mind your inner crusade apart from your reconstruction activities. If, God forbid, something is done in this Reconstruction Crusade that goes against the good of Islam and the Revolution, it will give rise to despondency among the people. If some negligent people, God forbid, do something in contravention of the regulations laid down by the Islamic government, and create disturbances, it means that they have not carried out the inner crusade without which their reconstruction efforts are of no avail. You gentlemen who have undertaken such a noble task; one that is highly regarded in Islam, should not forget to observe that Islamic moral precept of Islamic fraternity, brotherliness and equality. At no time and nowhere should you act against the rules and established order. This is a directive to the whole country and its organs to comprehend fully the matter of law and order, and the rules and regulations of the Islamic Republic and the Islamic government, and to act upon them to the letter. They should in no way act contrary to the rules. This is an Islamic issue. The current administration is not like the one in the deposed Shah when offences were considered as virtues. But now, contravening the rules of the Islamic government is a vice. Such acts are wicked and are not approved of by God. Islam calls for order to be maintained.

Maintaining order and observing the chain of command in the armed forces

I am telling this to all Muslims, wherever they be, and particularly to the noble people of Iran of whatever class they belong to, that there is to be no order in the disciplinary forces, the armed forces and the army, and if everybody wants to act on his own without observing the chain of command, it will be against the established Islamic practice. Islam has ordained that this order be maintained, and seniority of ranks to be respected. Nobody should do whatever he likes and thus weaken the disciplinary forces, the army, the gendarmerie, and all the other forces such as the Islamic guards. Just as the people are duty-bound to support the various forces, to cooperate with them,

to observe order and not interfere in military affairs, the military personnel and those in the police force must also abide by the rules obey their commanders. The people in the Reconstruction Jihad must also abide by the rules, as well as those carrying out their tasks in other places. The Reconstruction Jihad should not interfere in any matter that is not a part of their duties. The *pasdars* must also not interfere in matters that do not concern them. And the army personnel must not interfere as well. And nor should others interfere in the work of the gendarmerie. Every institution must act according to the regulations relevant to it; this is an Islamic necessity now. Do not think that we have a government at present which has nothing to do with the Muslims and with Islamic objectives. All the individuals that are involved in the affairs of this country and are engaged in managing it, all belong to the “army of God”. All of them are serving Islam; they should not be undermined.

The people ought to support all these organs. And all the organs should act according to the regulations that have been laid down for them. They should not act contrary to the regulations as it amounts to contravening religious law. No government bodies and no entity must interfere in the affairs of the others. The committees, for example, must not interfere in the affairs of the army; nor must the army interfere in the affairs of the committees. The executive branch of the country should not interfere in the work of the legislation, and the other bodies should not interfere in the affairs of the judiciary. They should act just as the Islamic Constitution has stipulated and for which the nation has voted. There should be no reason for every organ to work according to its own wishes and do things against the rules.

The country’s progress tied to the unity and observance of regulations

If you want Islam to progress; if you want to save your country from the clutches of the superpowers and the international plunders, you must observe all the regulations relevant to every organization. No institution must have any dispute with another one; they must be as brothers and behave in a brotherly manner. I hope that all our brothers—whether Shiah or Sunni—everywhere in Iran and all the minorities that are a part of this nation, remain united and behave like brothers with one another so that the country advances and Islamic precepts take effect in it, resulting in the welfare of all the Muslims and everybody else who reside in this Islamic country. I hope that the other Islamic nations do not think that we are living in one corner (of the world) and they in another. The Quran looks upon you as brothers, and

has forged the links of brotherhood among you. The one who is a Muslim, a believer living in the farthest spot of the world is not different from the one living in the nearest spot although the distance between East and West separates them. They are brothers and should have fraternal ties in accordance with the Quranic precept. They should not disperse nor be driven apart. They should consider their interests to be those of Islam and of all the (Muslim) nations. Every nation should consider the interests of another as its own. The believers, wherever they be, ought to be brothers to one another and behave in a brotherly way. They should consider any aggression by an oppressor against an Islamic country, as aggression against themselves. I hope that by observing this Islamic precept—that all people, all Muslims, are brothers—this country secures its interests, and all the Islamic countries prevail over the superpowers, and succeed in practicing Islamic precepts to the very end.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, August 19, 1980 [Mordad 28, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The features and essence of the uprising for God and its differences with non-divine revolutions

Audience: Clergymen and various groups of people of Bakhtaran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If a revolution is for God, He will support it

“Say (unto them, O Muhammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake for Allah’s sake, by twos and singly, and then reflect...”¹ There have been many movements in the world and many revolutions, but most have been of one tyrant rising against another tyrant, and one oppressor against another oppressor. All of them have not been genuine movements. In fact, most of the movements have concerned an oppressive regime emerging to eliminate and replace another oppressive one, only to continue the oppression.

With regard to uprising, the command of the Holy Quran, mentioned in a few words, about the type of a movement that ought to be staged, is this noble verse: *I exhort you unto one thing only...* He has commanded the Noble Messenger to tell the Ummah that He has one exhortation to make; and that is to rise for His sake. If there is only one individual, he must rise for God, and if there are many, they must rise for Him. That is, rising for the sake of God as against all the movements that are *taghuti*. And if the uprising is not for God, it is then of a satanic nature. It is *taghut* against God. The rising, too, is either for God or for entities that are not for God. In such a case, the uprising is a *taghuti* one; an oppressor overcoming another, a plunderer overthrowing another one. The uprising that the Blessed and Exalted God has commanded is a divine one. We should realize that the uprising for the sake of God is supported by God. If you undertake a movement for the sake of God, it means that you have risen for Him; you have risen to eradicate oppression and to implement the commands of the Blessed and Exalted one. In such a case, God the Almighty is with you.

¹ *Surah Saba* 34:46.

Divine assistance in the victory of the Iranians

You have seen the Invisible signs (of assistance) from the outset of the movement until now, and the divine guidance you have received in the course of it. The reason for this is that your movement has been a divine one. Since the time your movement got underway, nobody thought that a people who were not militaristic and had no (proper) military training, no weapons and no implements of war overthrow a power that had everything. Nobody in the world thought it likely for such a thing to happen. There were many people, politicians and thinkers, from among our own people and the nation, who used to say that this (overthrowing the regime) was not feasible, and that it was not possible to rise empty handed against such a power. They said that it would have no effect and bring no result other than leaving many people dead.

They were exercising prudence. But I told those people who spoke to me that we have a duty which we will carry out. I said that we were not going to stage an uprising on the condition of gaining victory and that it was a duty that we would discharge. In case we emerged victorious, we would have got the (desired) result. But in case we were defeated and killed, it would not matter as even many of the prophets and saints failed in attaining their objectives in the uprisings they used to stage. I said that we were obliged to take action, regardless of gaining victory or not, against such tyranny that is on the verge of overturning Islam and against the faulty understanding of Islam that is harming it. We had to make a stand against such heresy.

Even some of the world's thinkers—those who knew all the aspects of revolutions—were of the same opinion; that such a task could not be accomplished. But they overlooked one point: there is a difference between rising for God and the movements that are not for Him, but are carried out for material gain or to enable one entity or power to prevail over another. They were unaware of the difference between the essence and nature of a divine uprising and the other ones—whatever they be—that are not carried out for His sake. A divine movement is backed by God. It is not backed up with guns or machine-guns; it has the power of God behind it. No power can assert itself when faced with God's power. It was a divine movement in that the people, all over the country, clamored for Islam and revolted in order to uproot impiety, discord and oppression and replace them with justice and an Islamic republic.

The proof of this being a divine uprising lies in the people readily sacrificing themselves. They entered the fray and smilingly offered the lives of their children. Another pointer is by what means we prevailed over them!

What did we have? They had everything! They had (the support of) America, the Soviet Union and a few Muslim countries. And their army was so modern that, it is said, there was no such power this side of the East. Though we possessed nothing, we had God with us. You ought to realize that if it was not for heavenly assistance, they could have destroyed Iran within one night. The deposed Shah had stated that if he was to go, he would leave behind a ruined country and then go. But God, the Blessed and Exalted, instilled such fear and terror into their hearts that they were not able to do anything. God dissuaded them from committing such a great atrocity. He made them change their minds about bombing Iran and Tehran. They could have done so, but the Blessed and Exalted God turned their attention to another thing. He instilled such fear into them that they fled the country. It was all because of this being an Islamic movement. But this question of fear and gaining victory by instilling fear, has also existed in early Islam. In those days, a small number of people faced large hordes equipped with the modern weapons of the time. But sometimes they (the latter) would be overtaken by such fear as to result in victory for Islam.¹ And you subsequently saw that within a year and a few months, our people voted for and realized everything necessary for a governing system.

You should know that some countries, where revolutions—satanic revolutions—have taken place, have no constitution even after a lapse of twenty, thirty years. This Iraq in our proximity that has a despotic government and where one despotic government has overthrown another despotic one, has not as yet been able to frame a constitution for itself though it is crushing its people with all its might. Some godless people are now ruling over the country; (it is) a despotic government worse than any other dictatorship. There is no precedent, none at all, for a country whose people revolted and did away with that corrupt regime, to have established all the institutions that a government ought to have, after, for example, a year and a half. The Constitution has been written and the Islamic Republic, the president, the Assembly of Experts members and the Islamic Consultative Majlis representatives voted on and elected. And after a few days, the prime minister will present his cabinet ministers. Thus, everything will be fully realized. This sort of thing has no precedent in the world.

¹ A reference to *surah al-Ahzab* 33:26: “And He brought those of the people of the Scripture who supported them down from their strongholds, and cast panic into their hearts. Some ye slew, and ye made captive some.”

The government being of the people in the Islamic republic system

Other countries where revolutions have not taken place are under military rule as the people are not in agreement with the government. Many cities of Turkey, a country near ours, are under martial law, and it is several months that martial law has been extended because the people are not in concord with the government. Why is there no concord? The reason is that the people are Muslims and the government does not act in an Islamic manner. In Iraq, the people do not agree with the usurper government which is, therefore, not able to maintain calm in the country. It always has to persecute the people, and is not able to set up the proper institutions that a government ought to have.

Our own government is of the people; it is not one that has been imposed on us from abroad. Rida Khan was imposed upon us by the British, while Muhammad Rida was imposed by the British, the Americans and the Soviets. It was so from the beginning. Perhaps few of you remember that when he fled, the people thought they were preoccupied with the allies and the aliens rejoiced that the coming of the allies had, at least, resulted in his departing the country. When Muhammad Rida left as well, you, yourselves, saw that there was rejoicing and jubilation everywhere. And the people were happy also when he died.

But when a country's government is with the people and of the people, the people of such a country become anxious when their president is involved in a mishap. That accident was really one of the miracles¹, because, as you may have seen it on Television, the pieces of the (crashed) helicopter were strewn all over the ground, but none of those on board who are our leading figures—the President, the Commander of the Ground Forces and other chiefs—were harmed. Subsequently, the people throughout Iran held thanksgiving services, sent telegrams, held (joyous) demonstrations and paraded (in the avenues). Where can such things happen? (They happened here) because Mr. Bani Sadr did not come from abroad to be forced on you. He did not have the power to impose on you. He was a person like the rest, without any power. But he spoke, he expressed himself and made the people pay attention (to what he was saying). The people cast their vote in his favor; he is their choice. When something happens by the wish of the people, the whole nation support it.

¹ Referring to the helicopter carrying Abul-Hasan BanI Sadr and a group of military commanders that crashed. All of those on board remained unscathed in the crash although the helicopter itself was turned into scrap.

In case Saddam Husayn in Iraq or Anwar Sadat in Egypt are to meet with an accident now, the people will mourn if they emerge unscathed! But if they get killed, the people will rejoice! This is because the people of our country are not divided; the Prime minister is not apart from the people. He¹ is from among those who were in jail under that government, that despotic government, and had undergone persecution and suffering. He is from among you; no (foreign) power has imposed him upon you. You, yourselves, appointed the President and the Majlis; nobody forced them on you.

Safeguarding the movement by Islamic conduct and (adhering to) Islamic ethics

You ought to appreciate this Islamic government and this Islamic movement. You should know that everything has been given by God. Do not think that I, you and whoever, have prevailed. we had nothing, did we? Let it not enter your minds that we Iranians accomplished everything ourselves. Not at all! As it was a divine movement and a divine revolution, the thing that supported you was the absolute power of God. It was your supporter and helper. Always keep this fact in mind, and always be thankful to the Blessed and Exalted Lord because He transformed a nation from what it was in the past to an Islamic reality blessed with Islamic morality and Islamic behavior!

Brothers, keep up your Islamic practices. By conducting yourself in an Islamic manner and by safeguarding this movement and taking it to success, by bearing in mind that the Blessed and Exalted Lord is supporting us and by adhering to Islamic ethics and practices, you must safeguard this power that has brought you victory. Maintain this divine power, this everlasting power that He has so lavishly bestowed upon you up to now, by means of your sincerity of purpose and the determination to take the movement forward for His sake. God will be with you as long as you keep all this in mind.

I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted for the health and prosperity of those of you who live in the border regions or near them. And I wish to thank the *ulama* of Kermanshah, the honorable Aqa Bozorg and Aqa Isfahani², as well as the other honorable *ulama* who have taken the trouble of coming from there. I also thank all of you who are brothers, and are our brothers—all of us want to take this movement forward in a brotherly manner—and pray for your well-being.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Mr. Muhammad Ali RajaI.

² Mr. Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani.

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, August 19, 1980 [Mordad 28, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 8, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The nation being determined to counter conspiracies and sabotage

Occasion: The second anniversary of the tragic fire of Cinema Rex in Abadan

Audience: A group of ladies from Bakhtaran, members of the Foundation for the Deprived and the Imam Khomeini Cultural Foundation of Shiraz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The hardships suffered by the Iranians before and after the Revolution

I wish to thank you the respected ladies who have come from the faraway borders. I hope that just as you have shown determination so far to take the Islamic Revolution to success, and that, with your ranks closed, you will be the spearhead in campaigning to advance the cause of Islam.

My dear ladies and *pasdar* brothers: we have gained victory, but have also suffered heavy losses. This was the day when the Rex Cinema¹ was set on fire during the time of the defunct, treacherous Shah. There were many people who witnessed the incident, deposed Shah's agents purposely set the place on fire. Perhaps they wanted to make the people change their minds about the movement and to divert their attention to this calamity. We can understand the criminal background of this regime in that it shuts in some strangers in a certain place and sets fire to it so as to divert the people's attention away from themselves and towards that tragedy. He was duly punished for his misdeeds, and God knows what will happen to him in the presence of the Blessed and Exalted Lord. I condole the people of Iran on this tragedy and hope that those martyrs will stand honored before the Almighty. We have undergone heavy losses including the ones in Kurdistan. Today, is the martyrdom anniversary of some of the Muslims of that place, and we are expecting further destructive acts to occur.

¹ The conflagration in Cinema Rex, Abadan, on Mordad 28, 1357 AHS occurred when hundreds of people of the city were watching a film. In this tragedy, 477 people died by being burnt or crushed in the stampede.

The nation's resolve in countering conspiracies and acts of destruction

The saboteurs must know that the people of Iran are ready to endure every adversity in the way of God. We who rose for God and want Islamic precepts to take effect in our Islamic land, are not intimidated by these calamities. The saboteurs and the ones who cause explosions in various places ought to realize that the people of Iran will not forsake their path because of these acts of sabotage. Iran and our dear people are ready to resist the superpowers and the fiends to the very end, and not allow them to get a foothold in our country in order to plunder and destroy their resources. The nation owes you ladies a large debt of gratitude, just as it owes these dear *pasdars* who are now in His presence up there. You are the soldiers of Islam as well, and the Blessed and Exalted God will profusely reward all those who strive for His sake, and will protect and bless you with health and prosperity. I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and for success in attaining the goals of Islam.

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

Message

Date: August 24, 1980 [Shahrivar 2, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The heart-rending calamity of the Gachsaran region¹

Addressee: Leonid Brezhnev (the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (of the USSR)—Moscow:

We received your telegram of sympathy regarding the recent calamity in Gachsaran. I hereby thank you for your expression of sympathy and pray to the Almighty God for the success of all the deprived people of the world in gaining their rights.

Ruhullah al Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 13, 1400 AH
Shahrivar 2, 1359 AHS

¹ A contractor had stored dynamite and gunpowder in a road construction company's warehouse, in the village Dehbozorg village, without a legal permit and in contravention of safety regulations. Negligence while welding the lock of the warehouse caused a huge explosion to occur killing some of the local inhabitants and laborers. *Ittilaat* daily of 5/30/1359 AHS, p. 5.

Message

Date: August 24, 1980 [Shahrivar 2, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The shutting down of the educational centers of Christians

Addressee: Pope John Paul II (the leader of the world's Catholics)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Pope John Paul II, the spiritual leader of the Catholics of the world:

I received your message regarding the Christian education centers from Bishop Cappuchi. I hereby inform you that according to the investigations and the reports received, the above mentioned centers, under the guise of teaching and training, were unfortunately engaged in other activities, and were places for political indoctrination and conspiracies against the Islamic Republic and the country's general interests. And therefore, the government decided to shut them down. It is hoped that by virtue of the direct contact you are to establish with the government over the matter, you will receive sufficient explanations and that appropriate action will be taken.

Ruhullah al Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 13, 1400 AH
Shahrivar 2, 1359 AHS

Speech

Date/Time: 10:00 am of August 26, 1980 [Shahrivar 4, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The continuation of the path of the revolution; the need to maintain order and discipline in the armed forces

Audience: Members of the “Basij Mostazafin” (the Volunteer Corps of the Foundation for the Deprived)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Revolution not being dependent on any (particular) individuals

As I have been told, you have come from different regions of this country. I thank all of you gentlemen for coming here and pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for everyone's health. I have a particular, personal problem. It is that my doctors object to my speaking everyday or twice a day. They collect here and tell me not to speak too much. In case I do not give speeches for two or three days, the foreign radios start broadcasting that this and that has happened to so-and-so, and conclude that the end will come for him within two or three days, within a short time, and such things. I remember the story of a child who used to pray for his teacher to die. The teacher died, whereupon the child's father took the child to another school; the supposedly old type. The child again prayed for the teacher to die; and the teacher did die. His father took him to yet another place; to another school. There they told the boy to pray for his father to die as even if this (latest) teacher dies, there is (always) another one. Now these foreigners and those subservient to them should pray for the weapon of “Allahu Akbar” to be taken away from the nation. But this prayer will also not be granted, because even if I am not to be alive, the nation itself will exist.

Our nation, today, is not at a standstill. Its campaign and progress are not concerned with my presence or that of anybody else. Our people, today, have found the way and know what to do. They will advance along the same path they have found and in the same manner that they have come so far. It is not a question of what will happen if I am not around. Their (foreign) radios should not unnecessarily broadcast these things as they have no effect on our people. They have found their way and they will take that path only to final victory, God willing. All our government institutions are taking shape and will all come into existence soon. And, God willing, our nation will not be

entangled with questions about the course its economy should take and how its other affairs ought to be handled. The people are following Islam and our weapon is “Allahu Akbar”, just as that slogan you gentlemen raised; and what a good slogan it was. One whose weapon is “Allahu Akbar”, and whose supporter is the Blessed and Exalted Lord, is not concerned whether or not somebody should necessarily be present (on the scene). The presence or absence of a person makes no difference whatsoever to our nation’s Islamic movement.

Relying on God and not fearing conspiracies

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted to endow you with strength and power, and I ask you not to fear anybody but God and to pin your hopes on nobody else except Him. If we set all your hope on the Blessed and Exalted Lord, in the sense that your hope ends in Him, and this hope of yours gives you assurance, I can assure you that this country will see no harm. Always keep this point in mind. All the people, whether the government officials or the non-government ones, the military authorities or the civil ones—the whole nation—ought to set hope on the Blessed and Exalted Lord, the Source of all power and light, without fearing any conspiracy. Those people that are supported by God should not fear the conspiracies that are constantly rumored to occur in various places. Of course, our army, our police force, gendarmerie, Islamic guards, our national volunteer corps (Basij) and the Islamic volunteer Corps should always remain watchful. They should keep an eye on suspicious movements and report anything they find to the relevant authorities. While exercising maximum caution, and maintaining surveillance over suspicious movements, they should rest assured that they will remain invulnerable as long as they keep God in mind.

Recommending order and coordination in the armed forces

This is the umpteenth time that I am recommending to the armed forces that order be maintained in each and every force. It is their duty to remain orderly. If the system lacks order, it is not a system; it is chaos that cannot accomplish anything. The *pasdars* should observe discipline; the subordinate ranks ought to obey their superiors. The army should observe discipline and the chain of command. There should be coordination and fraternity among all the armed services. None of the services should detach themselves from the mainstream. They should have relations with one another, and their heads, too, should work in close relationship with one another. In case problems arise, they ought to sit down together and sort them out. Disorder in any one

of the services or disharmony among them should not exist. There should be concord and unity among them because, today, this country belongs to everybody and, therefore, all of you must endeavor to protect it; especially so the armed forces. In case disturbances arise in any part of the country, they (the armed forces) should go there and quell those disturbances. They must not wait for the disturbances to subside or for the people to restore calm. In case there is anything amiss in any part of the country or any offenses are committed, or, supposing, some thieves do something or hatch conspiracies, the armed forces are duty-bound to go to that place and eliminate the offenders and so take care of the problem. I hope that God the Blessed and Exalted will keep this nation, that was kept suppressed and repressed for many long years, safe and sound from now on, and that our country will enjoy absolute independence. I hope that those that had previously oppressed this nation and had been cruel to it, will be frustrated by it. My God endow you with strength and might.

The peace and mercy of God be on you.

Speech

Date/Time: 1 pm, August 26, 1980 [Shahrivar 4, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The necessity of being united against the world powers; attending to the deprived regions of the country

Addressees: A group of clerics and *ulama* from Kurdistan province.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Oppression: The essence and basis of the *taghuti* monarchy

Although my doctors have told me not to speak too much, and though I have spoken all at once to various groups just today, yet I find myself unable to listen to the doctors and not mention certain things to our brothers and the distinguished clergymen of Kurdistan—a place where they underwent much hardship—considering that they have come here. You know that just as there was oppression in Kurdistan—where you used to experience it during the *taghuti* era—there was oppression everywhere as well; it was not exclusive to Kurdistan. There was oppression also in Baluchistan, Kerman, Fars and Khorasan. It was the same all over the country. The basis of the *taghuti* monarchy was oppressing the people, plundering the country's resources and handing them over to the enemies of Islam and Iran. Thank God that the oppression and oppressors were rooted out by the magnificent efforts of all the people, from Kurdistan to every other place in the country. Any oppression existing today is the legacy of that same oppression. It does exist in certain regions, especially in those of our Kurdistani brothers. We are not unaware of certain intrigues that are developing even now. I wish to ask the people who claim to profess Islam but are busy in hatching plots against it, who tell the people—the Kurds, the Kurdistanis—that they profess Islam and such things while they are actually busy in plotting against these deprived people of Kurdistan and the non-Kurdistanis, as to how they can make such a claim. This (kind of) Islam that causes them to hatch plots in league with the enemies of Islam, and to act against it, the Muslims and the Islamic nation, is not the Islam of the Noble Messenger. It is not the Islam of the Quran that was revealed to him and which came for him. The basic principle of the Prophet of Islam who brought the Quran which, together with his *Sunnah* (Traditions), forms the basis of Islam, is brotherhood and fraternity. A believer must be like a brother to another believer. This is a Quranic

command¹, which tells you to desire for your whole nation whatever that is good and of benefit to your brother. The believers in every country are brothers. Just like a person does not sit by watching when danger threatens his brother; if any brother, any brother-in-faith, in any corner of the world faces some danger, another brother who is in that part of the world must not remain indifferent. He should act if he is able to do so. But in case he cannot, he should prepare the grounds for eliminating the oppression at some time. How can one who professes Islam, who says that he is a Muslim and claims to be concerned about the nation, sit in some place with some people—the deviationists and the ones who do not believe at all in Islam—around him, and associate with them and arrange with them to bring the foreigners to Iran and make them dominate these Muslims, whether the Kurds or non-Kurds, that live here?

The necessity of the Muslims to be united against the satanic powers

The ones that are thinking about doing this ought to realize that even if they muster all their forces, they cannot resist a people that collectively cry out “*Allahu Akbar*”. They are futilely thinking about creating dissension. The Muslims are brothers. They will not allow the malicious propaganda of certain corrupt elements to divide them. The notion that Shiahs and Sunnis are different has arisen from ignorance and the propaganda of the foreigners, just as they cause various people among the Shiahs themselves to oppose one another, and also place one group of the Sunnis against another group.

This is the day when all the Muslim groups are confronting the satanic powers that wish to destroy the very basis of Islam; the powers that have realized that it is Islam that poses a threat to their interests; that the thing that spells danger for them is the unity of the Islamic peoples. This is the day for all the command of Islam and the Holy Quran. Engaging in dispute in any form is prohibited by the Holy Quran. Otherwise, disputing gives rise to lassitude and drains a person and the nation of vigor and energy. This is the command of the Generous Lord. Those who want to sow discord and cause disputes and such things while professing Islam, have not discovered that (real) Islam; they do not believe in the Islam whose Book is the Holy Quran and whose heart is the Kabah. The ones who believe in Islam accept the Holy Quran and its contents; the one that states that all believers are brothers. They ought to perform all that brotherhood demands. Brotherhood demands that in case some misfortune befalls you, all the brothers, wherever they be, should feel sympathy for you. Everybody should be happy when you

¹ A part of *surah al-Hujurat* 49:10: *The believers are naught else than brothers.*

are happy. Brothers, be careful. They want to divide the brothers by means of various designations and the things that they are spreading and propagating. This creation of divisions among the brothers will result in the foreigners dominating everybody and the emergence of the previous situation in which all of you, all of us, from the capital to wherever you went, were subjected to oppression and persecution.

Brothers, be vigilant. In their mosques, at the Friday prayers and among their congregations, the respected clergymen of Kurdistan should be mindful of alerting the people of their locality so that they are not deceived by the alien-worshippers who want to sow discord, and after doing so, to make us go back to that previous state of affairs, and for the domination by the foreigners to be re-established. Everybody must be conscious about this.

Giving further consideration and attention to the deprived regions

You know that many of these difficulties that our country and our government have, were created by the same people that were in Kurdistan, Baluchestan or other places. They did not give the government an opportunity to do its utmost attention to the country's affairs. Rest assured that today there is no law in our country, the Islamic government and the Islamic Majlis that discriminates between one and another. Just as the Quran has stated that all the believers are brothers, our Islamic government, Islamic Republic and Islamic Majlis are all following this same command now. Do not think that one region is given preference over another. Yes, the places where the people are poorer are given priority. All these problems that this respected gentleman has mentioned are acknowledged. And we also know that these difficulties have not been removed in the way they should have. But they did not give us the opportunity to do so. Eliminating problems necessitates an area becoming safe enough. They can become busy with their work only after security has been established. They did not give any region the opportunity to enjoy security. We now see that though Kurdistan is a bit calm, certain people, some groups and troublemakers are still carrying out their (mischievous) activities and are killing people. You know that the prime consideration is that security prevail throughout the country, especially at the borders where security ought to be greater. Greater attention must also be paid to places where the troublemakers are more in number. Security will prevail, God willing, after which all these issues that the gentleman has mentioned will be considered and effectuated. That no distinction be made whatsoever between one sect and another is just what is expected of the Islamic country and Islamic law. All (the believers) are brothers and are

partners in everything: they share in one another's grief and also in one another's happiness.

I hope that the *ulama* of those regions, of Sanandaj and the whole of Kurdistan, and also all our other brothers, the distinguished *ulama* of all the other regions, make the people aware of the fact that our unity of expression and reliance on Islam brought us victory, that our cries of "Allahu Akbar" made us victorious. And the same "Allahu Akbar" is our weapon even now. The unity of expression brought us victory, and the same unity of expression is our weapon even now. I am your servant and I pray for all of you. I hope that God the Blessed and Exalted will grant prosperity to you and the deprived people of the world.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Afternoon, August 27, 1980 [Shahrivar 5, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The duty of the press in the Islamic system

Audience: Sayyid Mahmud Duai (thje Imam's Representative and the head of the *Ittilaat* Institute), the correspondents and employees of *Ittilaat* Institute and the employees of Iranchap Company together with their family members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The duty of the press: the edification of society

The press caused one of our biggest problems during the *taghuti* era. The *taghuti* regime used to choose the pawns; the elite ones, that were working for it and for the foreigners, to have control over the newspapers and to make propaganda against Islam and the country, under an Islamic-nationalist guise. I do not know whether more harm was done to our country and Islam by the press or by the other *taghuti* institutions during that period!

The print media that ought to be the bearer of the message of Islam, the disseminator and enforcer of Islamic precepts, the edifier of society and the promoter of morality—divine morality—among the people, acted contrary to all these values during the *taghuti* era. The newspapers with the help of their widespread propaganda, were commissioned to direct the country, and the issues concerning it and Islam, towards *taghuti* interests. More harm was done to Islam by the newspapers and the *taghuti* media than the other organs. Nobody knows whether the centers of corruption drove our youths to immorality to the extent these corrupt newspapers and the yet more corrupt magazines, radio and television did. It was these magazines, newspapers, radio, television and the mass media that drew our youth into corruption instead of attracting them to the university and towards knowledge and culture.

Young people are quickly influenced by events. They are tender saplings that are easily damaged and also easily nourished [trained]. In the time of *taghut*, these youths would see [the forms of] corruption wherever they went. The magazines they would buy would be full of depravity and obscenity. The newspapers they would buy would be replete with propaganda against human

¹ The date has been given as 6/4/1359 in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

values and Islam. They would find a profusion of centers of corruption wherever they went in the country. It was not possible for them to develop into proper human beings in such centers of corruption and in such a country where everything had turned corrupt.

The people who schemed to plunder this country were professors and thinkers, they had found the way of rendering the country apathetic and of depriving our youths of the Islamic and human qualities one should have. Thus, they facilitated the plunder of our country and the exploitation of all its resources. They did this and that, so much so that within the last fifty-odd years in particular, they did not let anyone develop properly in this country. Their depraved plans led all our institutions into corruption: the university that ought to have been the seat of learning and culture; the print media that ought to have been the people's instructor; the radio and television that ought to have trained society, and the offices that, in themselves, ought to have been training centers staffed by proper human beings. On stepping into such a society, our tender youths would perforce be pushed backwards and corrupted by them.

The Blessed and Exalted God has put the dear people and us under His obligation by rescuing us from this quagmire that had engulfed the entire country. He transformed our newspapers, also the things that you are better aware of, into centers which—in view of the training they are imparting and the propagation they are doing—will hopefully deliver our country from the corruption that was previously rampant in it.

Heavenly assistance in the transformation of the nation

Our sisters and brothers must be aware of the responsibility they hold. Society can be reformed if reforms are instituted in the mass media and the newspapers. The centers of prostitution will be uprooted if the youths are not drawn towards them and are led towards the Straight Path [*Sirat al-Mustaqim*] instead. As you are aware, many were the centers of vice, especially in Tehran, instead of centers of virtuous and humane activities. There were plenty of prostitution centers and other places that used to rob our youths of their personalities and divert their minds towards vice!

When the print media turns into an institution—it will, God willing, and it has—that propagates piety in society, the newspapers and magazines that our youths and adolescents will start reading, the radio they will listen to and the television they will watch must all serve as their instructors. A youth will be brought up in a sound manner when he sees and hears only instructive things wherever he turns his attention to. If left free [to do whatever he likes]

he will grow up to be a dissolute person. He will tend towards vice if driven to it, and towards piety if drawn to it.

All the activities in Iran and the means they had provided over many years were for the purpose of driving our youths into vice. Their actual aim was to have a society here that would be oblivious to whatever they did to it. The country going to rack and ruin or the religion dying out was inconsequential as long as the people indulged in debauchery and made merry. It did not matter to them if there was oppression in the country as long as prostitution was not suppressed. They wanted the people to remain indifferent to whatever was done to them. The type of country they wanted was one in which a large member of these youths be drawn to heroin, another group to alcohol, and yet another to prostitution and centers of vice. And whatever the youths listened to, they wanted it to be corrupt instruction, songs and such things that spoil the mind. And whatever be the community, they wanted its leader to be one that led the youths into vice and corrupted their minds.

This matter was not one that had happened by chance. It was one that had taken place with great care and planning. And you saw how it happened. What happened that the Blessed and Exalted God favored to this nation by which it underwent a sudden transformation? This youth who was supposed to visit the dens of vice came into the street and began to fight. The youths that had to have those vices and [corrupt] minds in line with their [the ex-regime's] plans, suddenly became transformed into ones with bright, Islamic and humane minds. If it [the transformation] had not taken place, this nation would not have been able to defeat this powerful entity and these satanic powers. This change first emerged among the people and then developed. But it did not develop in accordance with the usual criteria. When youths have been lured into vice, it should take at least twenty years to transform their minds devoid of Islamic and human values, into humane ones. What was it that brought about this change in one night, and transformed this nation, within a year, or a year and a half, into a different kind altogether? How did the youths whose thoughts were only on debauchery, merry-making and vice, and their whole attention was focused on the intense propaganda against Islam and the clergy, suddenly changed into something else? This is not in conformity with conventional criteria. It was the Hand of God that supported this nation. This transformation caused all the youths to desert those houses of pleasure in Shemiranat and between Tehran and Shemiran, which they used to frequent, and come into the arena to sacrifice their lives. Lust turned into self-sacrifice for the cause of Islam and the Muslim country.

The need for an overall purging to be carried out in the country

The dear brothers and esteemed sisters that are working in this institute, and those notorious ringleaders that changed into people of the type of Mr. Duai and the other clean employees, ought to be mindful of taking the right path and to be straightforward and united, and also be determined to serve the country. Do not let the people who want to create mischief and take the country back to its former state, have a free hand to do such things. Do not allow these plots, these treacherous plots to develop once again. By means of your speech, your pens, your moves and acts, you must nip these plots in the bud so that your country, God willing, be cleansed; a cleansing that is general and not confined to the offices only. It should be a general cleansing in all spheres of the affairs of the country. The bazaar must be cleansed spiritually. It should no longer be a *taghuti* one. It should be a bazaar run according to Islamic precepts. All the offices, factories and farms ought to be changed into such places that on entering them, you will be able to feel the presence of God and [the effect of] His teachings.

If you establish such a country, and you who are in responsible positions in newspapers like *Ittilaat*, and all the others working for the rest of the country's newspapers and periodicals, bear this in mind that everybody ought to aim at cleansing the country of everything that is against human values—everybody should think about cleansing and edifying [the people] and it is hoped that, God willing, it will so happen—rest assured that your country will not be harmed again.

A country is harmed when its people are unconcerned about the harmful acts [that are done]. The time they used to come to your country and do all these things against your interests, was because of the fact that they had lulled the nation into a stupor. They had made it inert and drained it of its spirit. The people were not able to recognize their own intrinsicity. They saw western values in everything. Whatever entities they saw were the powerful ones; they had forgotten their own power. You have now discovered yourselves. You have understood what power you have. It is the power that confronted the big world powers; all world powers in their totality, and prevailed over all of them. And now you have realized that you yourselves are powerful and [always] rely on God. Whoever relies on the Seat of Power is powerful.

Safeguard these realities. Maintain your guidelines. Keep to it in practice and act according to God's commands. Safeguard divine morality and abide by moral principles. Safeguard your beliefs and learn and pay heed to humane tenets. If all this happens everywhere, God willing, rest assured that

nobody will be able to harm such a country; neither these groups that occasionally emerge under various names in the country and try to harm you, nor those that plot and hatch conspiracies. Neither of them will be able to do anything again. On reforming yourselves, the country will be reformed and will also remain unassailable.

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God for the health of all the individuals that are engaged in serving Islam, and also for the welfare of everyone. I apologize to you gentlemen who have come here and are present here in this hot and cramped place. I hope that the Blessed and Exalted God will grant you prosperity, and that all of you will serve Him.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: 9:30 am, August 28, 1980 [Shahrivar 6, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The duty of the nations: to strive to uphold truth

Audience: Different groups of people, including some Iranian students studying in India

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity to struggle for upholding truth

Even though my doctors had advised me not to speak, as you have come from India and have given your attention to the situation abroad, I decided to have a few words with you.

Do not expect the big powers that have forfeited their interests in Iran, and are apprehensive about losing them in the other countries, to be idle spectators [of the situation]. They are lurking by and are trying with all their might to misrepresent Iran's Islamic movement abroad. This matter is vitally important to them; to the ones that want to devour the whole world and extend their power to all the countries of the world. Now that they find their interests imperiled, we should not expect that they will remain idle. They have forfeited their interests in Iran. Moreover, the people in the other countries as well are gradually awakening; they want to gradually link up with this Islamic movement in Iran. But, of course, they should make efforts, just as you have read in the noble verse: "*Truth hath come and falsehood hath vanished away. Lo! Falsehood is ever bound to vanish.*"¹ The ones in the wrong now find themselves helpless vis-à-vis those in the right. Gaining victory over the latter is worth a lot to them. It is the wrong they have done that has kept all the Muslim countries of the world backward. It was their wrongs which enabled them to penetrate the whole country, including the universities. They used to succeed in their false causes, but now they see their interests on the verge of being destroyed. We should not think that they have given up, that they are going to leave Iran to its own devices or all the other countries where they feel their interests are probably about to vanish. We should not think that they will not oppose the truth.

¹ A part of *surah* BanI Isra'Il 17:81.

We should all strive to make this noble verse take effect. All the Muslims countries must endeavor to implement what is right in their societies so that the meanings of “*Truth hath come*” becomes a reality. Falsehood will automatically vanish if truth appears. All of us—we ourselves, our brothers—in-faith, our brothers-in-Islam—in all the Muslim countries must attempt to keep truth in mind and implement it. Mere words are not enough in that we just raise slogans that truth has come and falsehood has disappeared. Truth cannot come through slogans; it is realized by acting according to it. The advent of truth means the demonstration of beliefs, ethics and [pious] deeds, as well as the implementation of God’s commands. Acting in accordance with them rids a nation of falsehood. And if all the Islamic nations act in line with divine commandments, divinely-ordained human morals and religious convictions, falsehood will vanish automatically. You brothers studying in India who have come here, as well as the rest of the brothers—whether Iranians or non-Iranians, but brothers nonetheless—should concentrate on actualizing this noble verse, “*Truth hath come...*”, so that falsehood disappears by itself.

Unity and constancy by clinging to truth

However, as you pointed out, a group of people who are their agents in the Islamic and non-Islamic countries, intend to show this Islamic movement in Iran in a bad light. If seen as it [really] is, the world’s believers will become firm in their resolve and actions. Moreover, the false powers, together with those [other] false powers that have trampled upon all that is true, will forfeit their interests. We ought to wake up and prevent those people abroad from carrying out the plans that have been dictated and given to them. And if some deviated individuals, for instance, in India, Pakistan and the other Islamic lands want to do something to show an ugly image of Iran’s Islamic movement to the inhabitants of those countries, you brothers-in-Islam who reside there must stand up to them. Truth will prevail. They are false and will be destroyed. Mention the truthfulness of your stand and disseminate it. Resist those people who are presenting a wrong picture of Iran’s Islamic movement. Propagate truth as it is so that it takes effect, God willing, in all the Islamic lands and falsehood disappears automatically from all the Muslim countries; rather from all the countries of the world, God willing.

The essential condition, however, is to remain constant about truth. We must persevere in our faith. It should not happen that the false people become consolidated in their falsehood and we move away from one another in so far

as the righteousness of our cause is concerned. We claim to be the followers of the true path. The Quran is the Book and the Kabah, the “*Qiblah*” [the place in Mecca which the Muslims face while praying] of the Muslims who follow the path of truth. Those who believe in Islam and the path of truth should muster for the cause of their truth. They must not allow the false people who want to come together in their falsehood, to gain victory. Our duty is to have rapport with one another—whether the people of one country or those of all the Muslim countries—in the righteousness of stand. I hope that all the nations will rapidly proceed towards truth, unity and togetherness so that they rapidly drive falsehood backwards. May God give you and us determination in following the path of the truth and may all the Muslims and the deprived people of the world emerge triumphant.

May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, August 28, 1980 [Shahrivar 6, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Qum: The center of knowledge, piety, martyrdom and courage

Audience: A group of people from Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Taking pride in being from Qum

Qum is the sanctuary of the Household. It is the center of knowledge, piety, martyrdom and valor. Knowledge and valor have been emanating from Qum. Qum is the city where faith, knowledge and piety have developed. During the course of its existence, Qum has been the object of Islam's attention from the time of the virtuous Imams. Piety, bravery, courage and all other virtues issue forth come from Qum—and will continue to do so—and spread everywhere. I have perceived the *ulama* of Qum to be the embodiment of knowledge and piety in the world. I hope that knowledge and piety will continue to flourish in your city until the advent of the Master of the Age (s). Wherever I am, I am a Qumi. I am proud of Qum. Qum and Qumi is near to my heart. And all the pious people and the ones who serve Islam are close to my heart. Though I am, unfortunately, a bit far from Qum, yet I am close to it in heart and soul. I thank you dear youths for coming here and are seated in this dark, cramped place. I do not wish to inconvenience you further, and solicit your prayers, just as I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted, for everybody and for the health and prosperity of all the Muslims of the world and you my dear brothers. Convey my regards to the people of Qum. I am hopeful that all of you will take this movement to a successful conclusion and that you will implement Islam in all respects everywhere, God willing.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Afternoon, August 28, 1980 [Shahrivar 6, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Struggling and bearing the difficulties in seeking our goal; nationalism is meaningless in the context of Islam

Occasion: The second anniversary of Imam Musa Sadr's disappearance

Audience: Members of Imam Musa Sadr's Family

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Struggling and bearing difficulties in seeking our goals

The thing that makes all matters easy to bear is that we, our nation and Mr. Sadr¹—May God give him health—have encountered difficulties for the sake of our creed. When it is a question of service, it is our duty to serve Islam. The felicity that lies in whatever measure of success we have in accomplishing the task in view is above that inherent in the act itself. And even if we are not successful, the goodness of the act; that is, serving Islam and the creed, will remain. I have known Mr. Sadr for many years. In fact, I ought to say that I had brought him up. I am aware of his virtues. I am aware of the service he rendered after going to Lebanon, and also of the fact that Lebanon needs him. I hope that, God willing, he will return to his own place and the Muslims will benefit by his presence. Even now that this person says that there is evidence to the effect of his presence in Libya is, itself, an act of service to Islam and the creed. It will be recorded as an act of worship on his part. These things that take place should also be easy to bear because it is for the cause of Islam.

We are aware of the pains the saints of Islam took. At their head was the Apostle of God who toiled and underwent a lot of trouble all his life. After him, our Imams took a lot of trouble also. They did not see a “single happy day” as per the terminology of the materialists, although they were “happy in pursuing a certain path” in the terminology of the mystics and the experts on Islam. In any case, this was a practice that the saints of Islam had from the outset. They were imprisoned, persecuted and killed in the pursuit of their aim. It is now two years that Mr. Sadr has been in prison. But his forebear is

¹ Mr Musa Sadr, the leader of Lebanon's ShIahs who disappeared mysteriously after his trip to Lebanon.

definitely said to have been imprisoned for seven years, and probably for even fourteen years.¹

This was the “way” of all the saints of God; not only those of the Islamic era, but also the prophets and saints of the pre-Islamic period. It was not that they lived in material comfort and were engaged in ungodly pursuits. When you study the history of the prophets, you will see that it is replete with struggle, toil and trouble. But they were content inasmuch as they were pursuing their goals. And this is a matter of pride to you and to the Mr. Sadr’s family that a competent, pious individual who had been serving [the faith] in undergoing this ordeal for the sake of this service. I hope that this final adversity will soon end. I pray for him and will continue to do so, and hope that, God willing, he will be released soon and return [home].

Nationality is of no importance in Islam

You know that the problems of Lebanon and Iran are not different problems. The Muslims, wherever they are, ought to be united. The pains and problems of one group should also be those of another group. Their problems should not be separate. The fact that we are Iranians and they are Lebanese, living elsewhere, is not at issue in Islam. It considers all those who believe in God to be brothers. It does not view them as separate entities. Islam does not make distinctions between the people of Arab countries, non-Arab ones, Iran and elsewhere. Such considerations concern materialistic-minded people who say that we are Iranians and ought to do this and that for Iran, and those who are Iraqis say that they are Iraqis and such things. There are no such considerations in Islam. Islam wants the whole world to be one family. It wants a single government to be established for the entire world; a government of justice. It wants all the people to be like one family. We have, therefore, repeatedly spoken about this matter. It is being mentioned everywhere that the Iranians and Iraqis are separate nations intolerant of one another. It is said that they have nothing to do even with Islam, but are concerned with “nation” and “nationalism”. This is a baseless issue of no consequence in Islam; rather, it is contrary to Islam.

While Islam respects one’s country inasmuch as it is one’s birthplace, it does not place it together with Islam. Islam constitutes the basis. All the rest are secondary issues. And the main point about the people who are orthodox

¹ Hadrat Imam Musa Kazim (a) who was imprisoned for seven years—and according to other sources for fourteen years—by the conspiracy of Harun al-Rashid, the politically astute and powerful caliph of the Abbasid period. According to these sources, the Imam was poisoned and martyred while in prison.

is service to Islam. It makes no difference whether this service is in Lebanon or Iran. It is service wherever it is performed; whether in prison or outside it. He [Mr. Sadr] is rendering service [to Islam] even now, the reason being that when one undergoes hardships—it cannot be called hardship—for the sake of Islam, everything becomes trouble-free and easy.

You can see the [high] morale of these youths who are serving Islam here and in Lebanon, etc. A youth had come here just the other day. He wanted to marry some lady. After the dowry had been discussed, that lady said that she wanted him to take her to Mecca as her dowry. The youth replied that he would not live to take her to Mecca as he would be martyred. Finally, after talking to him for a length of time, we persuaded him that he would live, God willing, and continue serving. Such a spirit engendered in the youths is a very good one. I hope that this spirit develops in all of us; the spirit of adhering to the faith and paying attention to the faith; not to other matters.

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God to make all of us optimistic that Mr. Sadr will return and continue his service [to the Muslims]. May God grant patience to all his family members in this separation. May the day arrive when the waiting ends so that all of us see him and he achieves success in serving the creed, and the Shiahs of Lebanon; in fact all Muslims benefit by his presence, God willing.

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

Letter

Date: August 28, 1980 [Shahrivar 8, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 19, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Membership in the Guardian Council being more advisable

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani

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

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Hadrat Imam Khomeini—may his blessings last:

As you are aware, the position of the Minister of Interior in the new cabinet has been offered to me. But considering that, in accordance with your instruction, I had already been appointed as one of the jurists of the Guardian Council of the Constitution, and am engaged in my work in it, and also considering that it is not possible for me to occupy both these sensitive posts, I request you to instruct and guide me on the matter. May God's shadow endure over you.

Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani
6/8/1359 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

I think it is better if you remain in the Guardian Council, unless you do not find anybody qualified to head the Interior Ministry. May you be successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, August 29, 1980 [Shahrivar 9, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 20, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Training and educating people according to the teachings of the prophets

Addressees: Pakistani students and Iranian teachers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All the prophets are teachers and all human beings are students

Though the gentlemen were not to have taken the trouble of coming here, and the doctors have also been cautious and have not allowed me to speak too much, nevertheless the esteemed students from Pakistan, some other gentlemen and Iranian teachers have come here today. And hence this gathering now is a teachers and students forum. If these two groups are reformed, they will be able to reform a country. If, God forbid, they be anything other than this, the country will be led to rack and ruin.

Teachers and students ought to constitute the country's intelligentsia. Their position is a matter to which great attention must be paid. Their responsibilities must be made clear so that, God willing, they proceed along the path Islam has laid out and the status of humanity demands, and after passing the [various] stages, reach the place where they become [proper] human beings.

All the troubles and pains the prophets and the saints of God have taken from the beginning of creation up to now, and will continue to do so until the very end, constitute the prelude to this entity, outwardly known as a human being, becoming a real one. All the Heavenly Books, that were revealed to the prophets, were for the purpose of subjecting this creature—that left to itself is the most dangerous of the world's creatures—to divine training and instructions, thereby turning him into the best and most virtuous of all creatures. All the Islamic and monotheistic movements took place for the same purpose. All Islamic issues are the basics that lead to man's development. If this two-legged creature is given free rein, it will destroy the whole world. The prophets came to prevent all this big mischief, these devastating wars and grossly unjustifiable acts in which the countries are embroiled, and to guide the people to the [true] path, for them to take and

¹ The date mentioned in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* is 6/8/1359 AHS.

become true and perfect human beings. If this two-legged creature be trained, all the needs of the world and the hereafter will be fulfilled. But if it is left free [to do whatever it likes], or if it acts in a manner that is against its own intrinsic nature, the whole world will be destroyed.

All the prophets are teacher in this respect, and all the people, students. The prophets have a school in which they want to train this two-legged creature which is the worst and which will prove to be the most dangerous of creatures of the world if left to itself. They wish to guide this creature to the straight path; the right way, and it is their duty to carry out this task.

For this reason, the teachers are not limited to the people who go to the universities, the secondary schools or all the other places [of instruction]. And the students, too, are not limited to those who go to the universities. The whole world is a university in which the prophets, the saints and those trained by them are the teachers, while the rest of humanity comprises the students; and it ought to be so. The world; the entire world should consist of two classes: one class, the teachers and professors; and the other class, the students and learners. The teachers' duty is to guide society towards God while the students' duty is to learn.

Man being either divine or *taghuti*

This means that a society ought to emerge in which everybody is conscious of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and strives for His sake. If everybody follows His path, the economy [of that society] will also become divine and so will its education [system], army, gendarmerie, students and teachers. There is God and *taghut*; just the two. There is nothing else apart from them. It is either the path of God or that of *taghut*. The way of God is that which guides man in all his dimensions—the intellectual dimension, the middle dimension which is the one of imagination and the lower dimension that is the one of action—to the path he ought to traverse. They are divine if set on the straight path; the path of God. Anybody taking it is divine until the stage when everything of his—his deeds, conduct, imagination, and intellection—becomes divine. It is either this path or the path of left and right. These are contrary to the straight path; they are deviations leading towards the *taghut*. *“Allah is the Protecting Friend of those who believe. He bringth them out of darkness into light...”*¹

Darkness is all the world that is not heedful of God, and light is the Absolute Light of the Exalted Lord to which the whole world should pay

¹ *Surah* Baqarah 2:257.

attention. “As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities.”¹ These are the only two paths: either [the path of] faith and Islam, and the observance of the divine creed whose Lord is the One that guides the believers following this path and makes all the human dimensions divine, or the path of heresy; the one that diverges from monotheism, whether to the left or right, and ends in hell.

All the mischief, all the wars waged in the world by the superpowers are satanic and *taghuti* in nature. There are *taghuti* wars and monotheistic ones. The prophets, the saints and the believers made wars to correct the refractory elements and made them desist from their arrogant ways. Such a struggle is a divine one, but the struggles to occupy positions and acquire power, or to impose upon society; or the wars that take place because of the treachery of the superpowers, or any other power, are satanic and *taghuti* by their very nature. These two are the only [kinds of] wars in the world.

Whatever man does—whether physical, emotional or mental in nature—falls within these two categories: it either follows the straight path or follows *taghut* and is deviated towards the left or right. “Show us the straight path”.²

One end of straight path lies and the other end connects us to the Other World: the source of light: “The path of those whom thou hast favored”.³ The place from where the teachings of the prophets came. God has favored us by guiding us towards this path, the divine one, so that all the people of the world acquire proper training and live in prosperity and tranquility, and change all the aspects of this world into the divine, monotheist one. All other acts, whether emotional, mental or physical, that are contrary to this path are *taghuti*. There are only two paths: the *taghuti* or the divine; nothing more.

You the teachers and the students: follow this path laid out by the prophets. This is the path of God; the one laid out for humanity by the prophets and the saints of God. This is the divine path along which all of us must proceed. Those who invite the people to a path other than this, are [the followers of] the *taghut*. And those who guide the people to a path contrary to their own nature one; the one that concerns their own essence, are leading them astray. I hope that the teachers, wherever they be; the sisters and brothers who are teachers, the ones who are students or *alims* [scholars], consider themselves as students and teachers. The teachers should guide them [the students] to the right way of the prophets, and the others, in turn, follow the straight path shown to them by the prophets.

¹ The continuation of the aforesaid verse.

² *Surah* Fatihah 1:5.

³ *Surah* Fatihah 1:6.

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

Letter

Date: September 2, 1980 [Shahrivar 11, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The List of the Cabinet Ministers Proposed by Mr. Rajai

Addressee: Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr (the President)

[In His Most Exalted Name

I wish to say that Mr. Rajaie brought me the list of ministers this afternoon which is the same as the previous one except for a couple of minor changes. He has even included two people as the commerce and interior ministers for the Majlis' approval. I am sending you the letter that he has written to the Majlis about that same list. The two names that I had marked on the list are those of the persons whose competence I am not certain about. By way of example, the same person who had given you a false report about my associates has been presented as a minister. I had persistently requested this matter to be investigated and the veracity or falseness of it made known. I have spoken a lot to Mr. Rajai and told him about the instructions you gave this morning that there should be rapport between us, that all of us are in the service of Islam and that undermining any institution, whether the office of the president or the Majlis is not to the country's good. It looks like the ministers like the prime minister himself, cannot be changed. We agreed in the attached letter to write to the Majlis. I am sending it to you and will act according to your instructions. I consider that the good of the country and its stability lie in the total implementation of the provisions of the Constitution. However, just as I stated this morning and have always demonstrated, I will abide by any decision of yours.

Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr]

In the Name of the Most High

I do not interfere in these matters. The criteria [to be applied] are the ones that I have repeatedly mentioned. I recommend that the gentlemen come to an understanding and select individuals who are loyal to the Revolution and are competent, active administrators.

¹ The date 6/10/1359 AHS has been mentioned in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 2, 1980 [Shahrivar 11, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Rida Khan's missions in Iran; the duties of the armed forces

Audience: The personnel of the Gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rida Khan's mission to crush the tribes and destroy the clerical establishment

Rida Khan attacked Tehran and took control of the government with the help of the Britain. And after a while he ousted Ahmad Shah¹ and took his place. Then he gradually began to carry out his mission. He had many duties to carry out. Through him, the big powers wanted to crush or destroy anything that they considered to be against their wishes or their interests. At the outset, he restored to pretence and hypocrisy, visiting as it used to be said, the "*takiyehs*" [the places where passion plays representing the Karbala Tragedy are performed] in Tehran that would be set up for the mourning month of Muharram. It used to be said that he would go there barefooted, candle in hand. This was the image of Rida Khan that emerged in Islam. He later confronted the tribes of Iran in the name of restoring security to Iran. He started crushing, one after another, the tribes that constituted one of the important bastions of the country, and though they had their shortcomings, they used to serve the country. He made some of them migrate from their [traditional] places to other areas and almost destroyed them.

Meanwhile, and sometimes simultaneously with these operations, he started opposing the clergy on the excuse of purging them [of the undesirable ones] and so destroyed this great stronghold of Islam that was of great service to Iran and Islam, though they [the clergy] did not impose the slightest strain on the governmental budget. On the contrary, one of the great services rendered by the clergy was that they used to train the people. If you look at the files that are—and had been—in the courts and other places, you will see that those people trained by the clergy do not have any criminal records. They were an effective factor in the country's tranquility and important guides in leading the people along the right path and in leading them to perform moral and good deeds.

¹ The last king of the Qajar dynasty.

The fact that I mention the clergy in many of my speeches does not mean that I support any and everybody who has a turban. It is quite often that a man wearing a sack robe burns in the fire of hell. We had seen that the plan of the British in bringing Rida Khan—perhaps it was their main plan—was to do away with this [clerical] class of the people. To this end, they employed to the utmost all the means they had. They used the magazines, newspapers and orators to make propaganda and mobilized the intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals wherever they were against the clergy. He started gradually to show the other side [of the plan]. He began to show that other aspect bit by bit. In the time of this incompetent person who took our country to rack and ruin, they [his regime] cursed the Noble Messenger in the newspapers. They used the newspapers to curse the Prophet; and it was because of the hypocrisy and outlook of this government and other officials. They set up a parliament and used it to criticize the victory of Islam over paganism. These intellectuals brought out their handkerchiefs and wept, because Islam had prevailed over the Shah of Iran of the time.¹ Their poets recited poetry, their writers wrote and their orators made speeches [about the event]. We can understand by Britain's great insistence on eliminating the clerical class that they really suffered because of it and so wanted to crush it.

The nation's bitter experience of the armed forces during the Pahlavi era

In those days, they had set up an army, gendarmerie and a police force whose actions, unfortunately, left a bitter taste in the people's mouths, and have now created difficulties for you who are serving. You dear brothers who are now serving the country are up against a poor image [of the armed forces] arising from the bitter experience the people had of the armed forces in the time of Rida Khan and after him; particularly in his time. It will take much effort on your part to offset this bitterness. You will have to really devote yourselves to the task. You must behave exceedingly well with the people. Your garrisons ought to be Islamic bases, assisting the deprived and disregarding the arrogant. You must strive for a long time to rid the nation of this bitterness it has towards these people. You did not exist at that time; I do not think that any of you were around. But the name of the armed forces was so bad in those days as to leave a bad taste in the people's mouths whenever it would be mentioned. In that period, this same person—Rida Khan—on a visit to a gendarmerie garrison, placed his hands on his pockets and so

¹ The invasion of Iran by the Arabs and the Muslim army, and the defeat inflicted on the Sassanid army by the Army of Islam.

showed the gendarmes to be thieves! While they would stealthily steal a coat, a pair of trousers, or a copper bowl, he openly usurped the sole properties of people in the vast province of Mazandaran, and registered them in his own name.

He would thus show society as being like this, or he may have wanted to teach them this duty [of stealing]

Endeavoring to make the people optimistic about the armed forces

In case, you gentlemen who belong to the gendarmerie and have come here, should strive for a long time so as to prove that the gendarmerie was not like this [as portrayed by Rida Khan]. When the gendarmerie was in the service of *taghut* and its personnel used to observe that the person who headed everything was also the leader of thieves, they would naturally feel the urge [to steal], thinking to themselves that “the people follow in the footsteps of their kings”.¹ It was not only you; the police force and the policemen, who were in the towns and cities, had been so portrayed to the public that the people would start trembling whenever they were seen or the name [police] mentioned. The people were against the police to such an extent. The police must also make efforts for a long time to dispel this image from the people’s minds. The same applies to the rest of the security forces. They had also done a lot of mischief in this country and used to crush the people who served it, so much so that the people would feel a deep sense of revulsion whenever they [the police] were mentioned. Therefore you gentlemen, whether you or the other branches of the armed forces such as the army and the police, have to make prolonged efforts in serving the people sincerely and in behaving nicely with them so that these misapprehensions are banished from the people’s minds, although we know that none of you were there at that time; not a single one among you.

The foreigners’ hegemony over Iran through the agency of the Pahlavi regime

I remember, and I have witnessed all the events from the beginning when Rida Khan came to Iran or Tehran, until the present. He had arranged in any way he could—and his successor son subsequently did the same thing—to so orientate the people that there be nobody to say anything against the foreigners—the British and, later, the Americans—for taking away everything of ours; all our resources. And if anybody said something, he would be crushed; the people opposing them would be punished. There was

¹ This is a proverb; it is not a part of the Narrations and Traditions.

opposition from the clergy several times but they were suppressed either by deceptive means or by force. And you later observed the form into which they had changed our university and high schools. From the primary school stage itself, they had begun to westernize the pupils, turning them into people with belief in the West and opposed to Islam. They started with that little child and continued until they made a large number of people opposed to everything; to all the splendid achievements of Islam and the country. It was a university that used to produce people like Nasiri¹ and Sharif-Emami²; people who were totally aligned with Britain and, recently, with America. They had made such a kind of country on the orders of Britain in the time of Rida Khan, and on the orders of America in the time of Muhammad Rida. And now that they are no longer here, everything needs to be changed as you can see. Much has changed no doubt, but to whichever place you go, that place will need to be set right from scratch. The offices are the same as they were in the days of the *taghut*. They have to be cleansed and turned into offices that are of use to the people.

The duty of the armed forces in serving the people

The disciplinary forces and the armed forces must place themselves at the disposal of the public in accordance with what their designations necessitate. The gendarmerie, the police, the army, etc. ought to protect this country. They are meant to protect the nation and the country; they have been formed to police their own country. All of them should be heedful of this point that all these armed forces ought to serve the people. The budget that has been set aside for them comes from the people's pockets. It should not be that the people provide the budget for them to function, but, in turn, be imposed upon, presented and troubled as was the case in the days of those two inhuman persons.

You ought to think about serving this country and this nation. If, God forbid, somebody in a garrison is found to act in a way that is contrary to Islamic and human conventions, the authorities must be aware of the matter and stop him. The previous problems that once existed in the gendarmerie garrisons and the other centers of the armed forces must not be allowed to recur. The authorities must be very careful; they must send supervisors everywhere to exercise surveillance. The reason is that if a few individuals break the rules, like it used to happen in the past, and if things like colluding

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri, the head of SAVAK in the (ex) Shah's regime.

² Jafar Sharif Imami, the Senate Leader, who became the prime minister after Jamshid Amuzegar when the Revolution was at its height.

with the khans and troubling the people occur now in any place, all of you will stand disgraced as the people possess a negative attitude towards you. Thus if they now observe any mischief and any of the previous wrongs being repeated, they will condemn the whole lot of you.

Therefore it is the duty of all of you to protect yourselves and the others from anything that is against the rules. If anybody does anything wrong, you must notify the gendarmerie authorities for them to take preventive measures so that the people change their attitude towards you. Of course, it has changed a lot; I mean that this change [in the people's feelings] has been great. And that is why the people raise [favorable] slogans when you mingle with them. When was it like this in the past? The people used to turn their backs on them [the armed forces of the ex-regime]. Even when they used to be taken forcibly to some place where some [important] persons were present for instance, it would be through coercion and without the presence of all the [other] people. In any case, you, we and the rest of the people are now the servants of Islam and the country. All of us should serve this country collectively and unitedly so that this country, God willing, proceeds towards the Absolute Divine Power and you and our country stand with heads held high.

The protection of the country lies in the discipline and solidarity of the armed forces

I would like to mention a point which does not only concern you; it is a general matter pertaining to all the branches of the armed forces. You should not imagine that now that you are free and have gained your independence, and now that all those collusions and conflicts are no more, and those beatings, imprisonments and executions no longer exist, there is no need for you to maintain discipline. The solidarity of the armed forces will be undermined, if there is no discipline in any of its branches; that is, if the orders of a commander are not obeyed, if the higher echelons, who are the ranking officers, issue orders that are not carried out by their subordinates and such things. In such a case, you will, God forbid, be unable to confront any eventuality that may arise. In case you people of the armed forces, including the gendarmerie, the army, the police and *Pasdars*, do not observe discipline and the chain of command, disunity will ensue and every man will be for himself. Only when there is unity can the gendarmerie and the army serve the country. The people individually cannot accomplish anything. These individuals can perform their duties when they unite and become disciplined. But if every person is for himself and there is neither solidarity

nor discipline, then apart from not being able to accomplish anything, they will also create disorders.

You must be conscious of the fact that you are now the servants of Islam, and that you must work for the sake of God. It is God's command that you pay meticulous attention to these matters and maintain discipline and observe the chain of command. This is something that does not concern only you; it concerns all the armed forces, just as being watchful to prevent anybody from committing an offense is not only confined to you but concerns all the armed forces. It is the bounden duty of the whole nation to enjoin the good and forbid evil. If anybody is doing something wrong, he ought to be stopped; he must be prevented from doing such a thing. If somebody in a garrison intends to act against his line of duty, the matter must be reported and the offender stopped from committing the offense.

I must tell the people once again that being a soldier of the nation is one of the duties at the present time. The nation must not let these army garrisons become empty. The soldier now is one in the line of duty. In the previous regime, he was a soldier under compulsion [to serve]. They [the youths] would be taken forcibly; and they would call it conscription. Force is not used now; it is a divine command. Defending the country and the honor of the Muslims is one of the divine religious obligations that is binding on the military personnel being disciplined and united, and also observing the chain of command. Moreover, the people who can enlist in the army should introduce themselves and fill these garrisons. According to some of the military authorities, the garrisons are not full at present as not much attention is being paid to military service. It is not necessary for the authorities to draft you forcibly. Your intention is to protect the country. The nation wants to stall these powers that are around our country and have consolidated their forces. This cannot be done unless we have a proper, well-formed army and the garrisons are full. It is not possible [to stall the power] unless we have a large army. You will have an army of twenty million, God willing, to enable you to thwart the conspiracies against our country. May God be your support and the country's support, and may you emerge victorious, God willing, and successfully take Islam to victory.

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

Message

Date: September 6, 1980 [Shahrivar 15, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 26, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Honoring the Memory of Mr. Taliqani

Occasion: Anniversary of Mr. Taliqani's Demise

Addressees: The Muslims of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shahrivar 15, 1359 AHS

Shawwal 26, 1400 AH

One year has passed since the demise of this worthy character; this dear, valuable person. One year has passed since the death of a man who could have done great services to the Islamic Revolution and advance of the holy goals of Islam. He could have been a source of relief and peace to the agitated society by his speech and conduct. That great warrior and wise scholar spent his life, from the beginning of his youth until his last days, in the cause of Islam and the struggle for the Muslim countries because of which he was made to suffer, imprisoned and subjected to pressure, but, nonetheless, did not cease his valuable efforts and useful service. He continued his endeavors for his aims and the Revolution. The beloved Taliqani, the dedicated crusader and illustrious campaigner, hastened to the abode of his noble ancestors. God willing, we too will go the same way. At this time when the world powers have mobilized themselves to fight Islam and our country, and the "muftis" (Expounders of Muslim Law) who are serving them have risen and, with the assistance of world Zionism and the satanic powers, are sowing discord among the Muslims, the dear people, by relying on the Omnipotent God and exercising vigilance, ought to maintain their unity and advance with revolutionary zeal. With their unity of expression and the powerful rallying cry of "Allahu Akbar", they must deliver the honorable religion of Islam from the clutches of these satanic powers. They must not fear the army of Satan. The Almighty God is with us

¹ 6/18/1359 AHS is the date mentioned in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*. However, the date of this message, according to the solar and lunar dates, given in the handwritten copy which has been reproduced in the *Ittilaat* daily of 6/18/1359 AHS, page 16, is the 15th of Shahrivar 1359 AHS, corresponding to 26th Shawwal, 1400 AH.

as long as we succeed in taking this movement forward for His sake. I ask God to bestow mercy on this honorable crusader and give patience to his esteemed family. It is hoped that the great nation of Iran will appreciate those who serve Islam and the people, and honor the [death] anniversary of this great person. May god's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Order

Date: September 7, 1980 [Shahrivar 16, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The most important duties of the military courts

Addressees: The revolutionary military courts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am, hereby, notifying the military courts of the following:

1. Prosecution of the army personnel must be done with the permission of the defendant's superior officer, and thus the courts must not act on their own. If the accused is one of the army commanders, he must be summoned by the commander-in-chief.
2. The commanding officer of the accused is duty-bound to hand him over to the court within the period stipulated by the military courts.
3. In case the accused does not show up within the specified time, the court will take action directly.
4. In order not to compromise the dignity of the accused before his guilt has been proved, the court hearings must be in camera, and the publication and dissemination thereof by the court and others is forbidden.
5. The civil courts generally and unauthorized individuals have no right whatsoever to interfere in these matters. Those who do so will be prosecuted.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 16, 1359 AHS
Shawwal 27, 1400 AH

Message

Date: September 7, 1980 [Shahrivar 16, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The people being accustomed to martyrdom, the neutralizer of the enemies' plots

Occasion: The anniversary of the bloody event of 17th of Shahrivar

Addressees: The people of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The 17th of Shahrivar 1357 (AHS) is one of those "days of God", the memory of which will always remain alive in the hearts of the noble people of Iran. The great nation of Iran has seen days like the 17th of Shahrivar in the course of this movement. And, praise be to God, by overcoming all difficulties, by offering worthy martyrs to the cause of dear Islam and the country and by means of its exhausting devotion, it emerged honorably and triumphantly from the field of conflict. That feat [it accomplished] has attracted the attention of the people worldwide. Our enemies were under the impression that with the help of their harassing plots, they would be able to lead this Islamic movement and the glorious Revolution of this martyr-nurturing nation towards a state of indifference and inertness, heedless of the fact that an uprising staged for the sake of God and based upon faith and spirituality will never lose ground. Our people have now become accustomed to martyrdom and sacrifice. They do not fear any enemy, any power or any plot. The people whose doctrine is devoid of martyrdom are the ones who are afraid.

What should a nation fear when its newly-wed couples volunteer to meet martyrdom and have prepared themselves for all eventualities for the cause of God? A nation that considers martyrdom a blessing is victorious. A nation that devotes itself and everything belonging to it to [the cause of] Islam, is victorious. We are victorious whether we kill or get killed. The enemies of the deprived nations and those that follow the powerful tyrants who have summoned their devilish henchmen to sow discord among the Muslims will become aware of their blunder when millions of Muslims inflict a disgraceful defeat on them and nullify their treacherous plots. Let these dregs of history rise against Islam in the name of Islam, and be treacherous to the Quran in the name of the Holy Quran. It is not something new.

The honorable religion of Islam has seen many such traitors and has sent them all to the realm of the Satans. Those days when our people had nothing except their empty hands and pure spirit, they were able to prevail over the great satanic powers with the cries of: “*Allahu Akbar*”. And now, thanks to the Almighty, our combatant youths; our sisters and brothers throughout the country, who with their military training have deprived the enemies of Islam and Iran of their ability to think, will overcome all difficulties and all the satanic forces by relying on divine power and devoting themselves to the Islamic cause. A nation that has successfully and honorably gone through 15th Khordad, the “bloody day”; the 17th of Shahrivar, the day of the “victory of blood [over the sword], and Black Friday, the day when it jolted the regime, dose not fear these economic and military embargoes. Those who fear [such things] are the ones to whom economic considerations mean everything, whose appetites are their central concern and the [material] world their end purpose.

O, warrior nation of Iran! Muster your great power to confront the military powers. O, [the personnel of] the armed forces who are the soldiers of Islam, the self-sacrifiers for the cause and the sentinels of the country: equip yourselves with both virtues and weapons; do not give way to fear and apprehension as the Almighty is your Supporter and the great nation, your votary. You must help God’s creed and the monotheist country so that the Omnipotent Lord gives you victory. I pray to the Almighty for the glory of Islam and the crusading nation. May He shower His mercies on the martyrs of the Revolution, especially those of Shahrivar 17th, and give patience and His blessings to the bereaved families of the martyrs of the Revolution; particularly the martyrs of the 17th of Shahrivar. I pray that He cast aside and destroy the enemies of Islam, especially the ones that sow discord among the ranks of the Muslims. May God’s peace and mercy be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 16, 1359 AHS

Statements

Date: September 8, 1980 [Shahrivar 17, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Clarifying the truth regarding the Revolution for Islamic nations

Occasion: The convening of the Islamic Congress in India

Addressee: Nuri

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

You have been delegated to talk about and inform all the Muslim nations that take part in these Congresses, and all the people of the world, about the virtues of the Islamic Revolution and the other realities. You must throw light on the misrepresentation of the facts of the Islamic Revolution that are being done, especially by the oil-producing countries. These issues must be explained so that the world may possibly come to know and accept the call of Islam and the message of the Revolution.

Speech

Date: September 10, 1980 [Shahrivar 19, 1359 AHS / Shawwal 30, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The ban on the *hijab*, a British plot

Audience: The Iranian participants in the Women's Decade Conference in Copenhagen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The United Nations serving the superpowers

The truth is that whatever institution with which the superpowers are involved, is for the purpose of serving their own interests. The United Nations, the very sessions which are held abroad, and the Security Council are there to serve their interests and to mislead all the other countries. That is why they have given the right of veto¹ for themselves in order to set aside whatever issue they oppose, and in reality, they themselves are basically in the service of the superpowers. They use the organizations that they set up, under whatever name, to their benefit. Our mistrust toward them is to such an extent that even if they say something right, we believe that they have said it in order to deceive the people.

The Imperialist plot to remove the *hijab*

What you have done is very valuable. May you be very successful, God willing. You know that all of them have portrayed our Revolution abroad contrary to what it is. Thus we must gradually try to present our Revolution abroad in the way it is; we have to reflect it in the way it is. The issue is not only about women who have some freedom now in Iran and have gained their rightful status. They are human beings that are committed [to the Revolution]; perhaps more so than the men. But they have been portrayed abroad as just being a part of the people? How do they say such a thing? These issues were raised in Rida Khan's time. The matter of having the women discard their "hijab" [headscarves] was not for the sake of giving

¹ It is the privilege given to the five permanent members of the Security Council (USA, Britain, France, China and Russia) so that they can veto any resolution presented in that Council, which is against their wishes, without the consent of the other countries, and thereby prevent such resolutions from being implemented.

them, say, ten million women, a presence in society. They were carrying out the orders received from abroad so as to place us in bondage.

Perhaps, none of you remember what they used to do in those days. You were small; but I still feel the bitterness over this [forcible] removal of the “*hijab*” on their part that was later labeled as [a sign of] “free women and free men” by Rida Khan’s son. You are not aware of what they did to these respectable ladies and the other segments of the people. They used to oblige the businessmen, the petty merchants, the clergymen and on whomever they could exert force, to have gatherings and bring their womenfolk to these gatherings and public functions. Anyone found to disobey would be beaten, chided, etc. They wanted to turn the women into means of equipment for our youths so as to keep the latter away from essential activities. They had various ways of preventing our youths, our university professors and all such classes from thinking about themselves and their country. Moreover, their disgraceful enforcement of the ban on the “*hijab*” and the way they behaved with respectable women and the clergy, extended to even Mr. Kashani’s¹ family. They obliged him to take part in these functions and have gatherings. He had said.... whereupon the policemen stated that the orders had been issued from the top authorities. He said that he had meant the same one. They had even recommended this to him. It was the same in the provinces, the villages and everywhere; even in Qum. Their conduct in Qum was so disgraceful as to be unmentionable. It was all for the sake of making our youths; our thoughtless youths and the men and women enter the arena [of vice] and become occupied with one another so that they would remain negligent of basic considerations. They set up hundreds of prostitution centers from Tehran to the extremities of Tajrish (an area in the north of Tehran) and houses of pleasure and such things. You saw that all these things concerned women. Thus, our youths and our people did not pay any attention at all, that they ought to have done, to essential matters. Neither man nor woman; neither the men nor the women were free. But they called them “free men” and “free women”! This was the basic aim from the beginning for which the British—God’s curse be upon them—installed Rida Khan in Iran and compelled him to do these things. And, subsequently, their poets, writers and mass media were harnessed to deprive this nation of the things it had by diverting their attention to these pleasures and means of debauchery. There were no restrictions on these centers of vice. But it was not known whether there was perhaps a single center in Tehran that offered religious teachings...

¹ Aqa Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani, the combative cleric, who had cooperated with Muhammad Musaddiq in the nationalisation of the oil industry.

neither for men nor for the women that they be free to learn. In any case, these were the things that the superpowers did, and the functions they arranged, based on the meticulous planning done by their experts.

The involvement of the women in socio-political affairs while observing public decency

Everybody ought to exercise vigilance. All the people of Iran should exercise vigilance so as to avoid being ensnared by them. Wherever the people go—to those meetings, for instance—they ought to maintain their dignity. They should not fall under the influence of the men and women who are present there. It should be just like what you say you have done, so that their participation [in the meetings] does not turn out to be to the benefit of those people. But it does turn out like this as they are usually negligent. Hence, the things you have mentioned are very valuable. If any further meetings are to be held, the men may also attend them, but only the dedicated ones; not those who go there and act against their own and their country's interests. May all of you succeed, God willing. The present period is different from that of the past. The ladies must carry out their social and religious duties now. They ought to maintain public decency. They ought to perform their social and religious tasks while observing public morality. It should not be like what it was in the past when a woman would be brought into the Majlis. But what kind of woman was she and what did she want to do [in the Majlis]? Some ladies have also entered the Majlis now, but their presence is different from that of the women in those days. That was one kind of presence whereas this one is of another kind. They [in those days] held functions; they had a "Women's Day" that marked the removal of the "hijab".

In the last years of my stay in Qum—perhaps the last year before the events of 15th Khordad—I had heard that the women intended to go to Rida Shah's tomb and demonstrate to commemorate the removal of the "hijab". The [government] department heads who were in Qum had come to see me. I told them to inform their respective ministers that in case such a thing took place, I would tell the nation to observe a day of mourning for the massacre that the regime had carried out in Gowharshad Mosque [Mashhad]. They duly conveyed the message whereupon the authorities changed their minds [about holding the women's demonstration].

In any case, the situation that they had created was directly contrary to the principles that our people had to act upon, and the ladies also had to observe. Thank God that all those problems are over now, and now all the

women and the men ought to involve themselves in the social and political affairs of the country. They must keep an eye on the Majlis and the government, and must express their views. The nation now ought to oversee the affairs and express their opinions on social and political issues and other governmental affairs, and exert their weight in case they see something amiss. I hope that this movement ends in success, God willing, and that all of you be successful and victorious. I also hope that you will be able to increase your functions everywhere in the most splendid manner so that the women wake up and there be no more of these issues: those playthings; those makeups and the other things which, as you are aware, used to harm our economy greatly and hurt public morality. Just like the men—that is, the upright ones that... saw—that are well-informed, the ladies should also be well-informed about the issues, and be properly educated. They ought to involve themselves in a positive way in the [country's] affairs. May you all be successful and triumphant, God willing.

Speech

Date/Time: 10:30 am, September 11, 1980 [Shahrivar 20, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: What our people expect from the government and government offices and the necessity of fulfilling their expectations

Audience: The cabinet ministers: Messrs Muhammad Ali Rajai (Prime Minister); Arifi (Minister of Higher Education), Duzduzani (Minister of National Guidance), Manafi (Minister of Health), Abbaspur (Minister of Energy), Qandi (Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone), Behzad Nabawi (Consulting Minister in Executive Affairs), Nematzadeh (Minister of Industries and Mines), Shahab Gonabadi (Minister of Housing and Urban Development), Fayyadbakhsh (Minister of Social Welfare), Salamati (Minister of Agriculture)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The danger of being self-centered and neglecting God

I will first pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord not to deny you His benevolence, and to guide you to the path that pleases Him. I also pray that you attain your ends that are [the implementation of] Islam and the freedom of the nation. The most serious danger faced by everybody and all the authorities is selfishness. Man's greatest drawback lies in his self-centeredness. Every problem that befalls a person or the society because of [the actions of] the powerful entities stems from selfishness and egoism. This is what our Imams have mentioned according to the *hadith*.¹ That is, all the faults of human beings arise from this self-centeredness and neglect of God. Though we cannot completely get rid of this selfishness, we can, at least, lesson it. The matter is, of course, very difficult, requiring, as it does, one to be self-disciplined; but it is not impossible. It is difficult but not unattainable. If a person abstains from selfishness in whatever he does, if he pays attention to the larger interests and keeps God in mind, he will be successful besides keeping himself safe from the dangers arising from selfishness.

Now that you have become ministers and this Islamic country has been entrusted to you and your responsibilities demand that you perform to the best of your abilities, you should firstly, not think that management, whatever the level, is a great thing [per se] or that it is a status symbol. Nor is

¹ A reference to Imam Sadiq's saying: "The source of all wrongdoing is the lust for this world." Usul-e Kafi, vol. 2, pp. 135, 315, Narration 1.

it for a group of people to gather together and order somebody to carry out the work [of the country]. Keep in mind the position held by Hadrat Amir (a) who, in accordance with the understanding of the people, ruled a vast realm stretching from the Hijaz to Egypt and also including Iran and Iraq. See how he behaved with the people and what his instructions to his representatives, and the governments that ruled on his behalf, were. How valuable were the directions that he had given them! We, of course, cannot be like him; but we can be his partisans and followers. We must follow him to the extent we can. His whole aim was to earn the satisfaction of God. The fact is that the world and these worldly positions were not important to him except to enable him to establish peace on earth. Otherwise, he did not consider position and the caliphate to be of importance, except as a means of implementing justice and imposing constraints [on society]. We must learn as much as possible. We must thus avoid falling into Satan's trap, the biggest one being selfishness. We ought to tread the divine path of righteousness and thus reform ourselves and our society.

You have to see what [kind of] government it is that has come into your hands and how, and who has entrusted it to you. Recall the time five or ten years prior to this period and the situation that existed then. Bring to mind the government of those days, the people's attitude to it and vice-versa, and also the tortures, imprisonments and killings that used to take place under that regime; then ask yourselves how the present situation has arisen. What has happened for there to have been such atrocities and repression; those problems and misfortunes, in our country at that time? And what has happened now in that we are sitting here freely, and you are freely discussing the affairs of government with the people and with them, in turn, criticizing or praising you in all freedom? Who has given us this freedom except these barefooted people, these people who live in slums, these deprived university students and those ordinary people who had risen unitedly in the cause of God, who campaigned for Him and brought us victory and, by demolishing that big barrier, achieved the unthinkable because of which you have become ministers, president, deputies and such things? It is all because of [the efforts of] this nation. Whatever we have is because of this nation; of course the Islamic nation that accomplished this by its cries of "*Allahu Akbar*".

What the people expect from the authorities

We have to consider what our people, who have given us these positions, want from us, and what we have to do for them. They expect all these entities: the [departmental] heads; the president; the prime minister; the

ministers; the deputies and, I should say, the ministries and everything under their control, to be at the service of Islam. The nation had demanded Islam. Everybody strove for its sake and succeeded because of it. They [the people] want these [government] establishments to function in an Islamic manner as well.

The path of Islam is to support the deprived; to be more attentive to them. The governments have been supported by tyrants throughout history. If you consider any government during this 2500-year period of darkness, and even any just ruler; any [good] ruler, whose place is now in heaven, and then consider what class of ministers they consisted of, and also see what kind of people were the ones who used to derive benefits from these poor people, you will not be able to find a single government that served the deprived; these ordinary people, these barefooted ones. All of them [the governments] served the landowners, the powerful people, the capitalists, the chiefs and the “*khans*” [tribal chiefs]. Whatever was done was for their sake.

There was a time when some of the governments used to practise “*tuyul*”.¹ They would hand over Khorasan to some “*tuyul*”. How much would he pay for it? Suppose it was 50,000 tumans—fifty thousand tumans at that time was more than 50 million at the present time—that he would pay for Khorasan. Then, whatever happened in Khorasan and whatever oppression occurred would not be heeded by the government. Khorasan belonged to the “*tuyul*”; it was his. Its people, the land and the income thereof belonged to him. The recipient had to recover the 50,000 tumans that he had paid to the prime minister or the grand vizier, and also make 50,000 tumans many times over for himself. The reason was that it was a business; they had sold the place. He had to pay the amount and also make a profit. How would he deal with the people? He would either collude with the village headman to rob the village, or if the village headman did something wrong, he would be dealt with in the way the defunct Shah used to deal with the people! Such are the doings of the despotic governments.

You who claim to be the prime minister of the Islamic government, the gentlemen who are Islamic ministers, the president and the deputies of the Islamic country should forget the past practices; you must bury them. You ought to bury dictatorships, plunder, selfishness and egoism and get involved

¹ A Turkish word meaning the water, property and land that, in the past, the government or king would sell to somebody so that he could live on the income derived therefrom and also give a part of it to the government or king. But it was, so to speak, the ceding of absolute control of a region to somebody by the king or prime minister in return for a fixed yearly sum of money. The overlord had the absolute authority to get from the people by whatever means—even by force—many times the sum he paid.

in the affairs of a new country that has no parallel except for the early Islamic period. And the governments of that period were not there for the sake of Iran. Even when they had conquered Iran, they had entered [the affairs of] the country to those same people who had been ruling over it and who continued with their atrocities. They were not able to manage it [in an Islamic manner].

Lust and the satanic ruses

You ought to realize now that these people have saved you from a deep pit. You witnessed the imprisonments and the persecution; now you are experiencing freedom and tasting its nectar. You have to serve in order to show your gratitude for this blessing. You must all follow the same path in order to show your thanks. I have repeatedly said that if all the prophets were to collect in Tehran and work, and occupy themselves with the country's affairs, they will do so without any differences occurring among them. It is not possible for them to differ; why? Because they had killed their ego which is the source of all disputes and differences that arise. A person may think that what he is doing is for the good of the people. A person does not realize that his age is passing; he does not understand his own condition. If you who say that you are doing a certain thing for the good of the Muslims, wish to make a comparison with anybody else, you should think to yourselves whether you will be prepared to make way for that person in case he is able to serve the Muslims better than you can. Will you want him to replace you? Or will you yourselves want to do what is, as you say, to the benefit of the Muslims? "It is me who is creating this benefit." This is the same satan; the same one, that is misleading the people. Most of these acts of his are for the purpose of deceiving the people and tempting them. The temptations are many. He induces a person to think that he is powerful, that he possesses this and that, and that the others are nothing. He inveigles you into thinking that you are now a minister whom the others should obey, and obey blindly, or that you are a [Majlis] deputy whom others ought to obey, and blindly at that! This attitude stems from the fact that man has failed to build up his character. If man had developed his character, he would not have minded the criticism of even a peasant; not at all. He would not mind being criticized.

Suppose that criticism is leveled against two people, yourself and another sharing a similar [bad] characteristic. If that person is criticized because of it, you will be pleased as you consider him to be your rival. And he, on the other hand, will be displeased. But he will be pleased to see you being faulted for the same reason, but displeased if he is faulted. All these are the

ruses of Satan, and the worst satan—even worse than this well-known Great Satan—is man's own ego. An Islamic country has now entrusted to us; that is, the people smashed all the barriers with their shouts and voted for all of you, for the [Majlis] deputies, and, I should say, for the president. And, subsequently, their [the people's] representatives voted you into office. The people underwent a lot of trouble and voted for you, thereby giving you [high] positions. But you who are inclined to dispute over your positions, ought to see how God would feel about it. The people made great efforts; they sacrificed their youths. You are aware of the present situation in Kurdistan. These *pasdars* and soldiers are being killed on a daily basis; they are giving their lives with every day that passes. The people there are being bombed, and the enemies, for their part, are intensely active. While all the currents and the powers, great and small, are against us, and while these people, having endured so much trouble, have placed the country in your hands, you are only concerned about yourselves. All these things are Satan's doings. Do not ever doubt that when one says "I", this "I" is the Satan, and that whoever says that he must be obeyed, says so because of Satan. Is it right for us to be only concerned with ourselves, for each one of us to think only about himself and to sit at the devil's table trying to outdo one another, thereby strengthening the devil's bait which is selfishness? You should consider how such things would appear to God, and to the people when they hear about such things and the existence of such problems. Well, even if the people do not say anything, what will these bereaved women who have given their children to the cause of this Republic and Islam, think? How will the grief-stricken mothers and fathers of the youths cut off in their prime, feel? Though they are saying nothing nor taking any countermeasures out of love of God, yet you ought to consider the condition of the bereaved when they see that while they have sacrificed their youths for the sake of the Islamic Republic, there is a row going on in the country over who should have a higher position. See what is written in the newspapers which I read today and yesterday, and see what the people will have to say when they read them. Those who are in positions of authority, ought to pay some attention to these matters.

The authorities should not feel that they can do anything they like just because they constitute the government and head the [country's] affairs, or because they are ministers, the prime minister and the president. No; this is an Islamic country and not a *taghuti* one. Do not lead this Islamic country into evil. If, God forbid, there is an aggravation of this situation, I am afraid that the people will deal with you just like they dealt with the *taghut*. The

evilness of that regime did not lie in family ties; rather, it lay in its own misdeeds. It would be the same *taghut*, but in another form, if our own practices turn out to be evil; if we just think about ourselves and not the nation; if we squabble over power and position and not bother about the nation's interests. There are varieties of *taghut*; like Rida Khan's and our Muhammad Rida Khan's type, another like Carter's, etc. We are one kind of *taghut*. We will all join Satan's army [if we continue like this]. You should think about this nation, these slammers, these people who gave all they had and brought you to power. On retiring at night, think whether your actions, your utterances of the day were in your own or the people's interests.

All groups and factions must eschew differences

If you reflect on these issues and pay attention to the dangers that our country now faces and the ones that lie ahead, and to the threats, internal and foreign, that are emerging, and also consider the fact that the nation has entrusted this country to you to protect, to work for its good and realize its potential, it would be ridiculous on your part to start squabbling and contending with one another; and that, too, not over what is good or not for the country. All of us are just thinking about ourselves. Suppose that I tell you to do something for the good [of the country], and then I criticize you for doing it, it would be out of the selfishness that arises. The way to test ourselves is to see whether it would bother us if the same person whom we are complaining about criticizes us. We would object to his criticism. These acts of selfishness and the satanic ploys are very subtle, and also very difficult to detect for us to understand them. But, in any case, the more evident things can be understood.

Well, is it fair that you bicker and quarrel over posts considering that it was the nation that had its blood shed in bringing you to power? Is it fair that you talk about these matters every day; that you and the newspapers criticize constantly? Is it right on your part to assail, accuse and malign one another? Is this fair? How will God feel about it? What will be the repercussions of all this among the people? What benefits will the foreigners derive? They want you to assail one another and neglect the country's affairs to enable them to strike at us and do what they want to do. They had been trying over a long period in history—especially during these last fifty years—to make our youths and our people indifferent [to the country's affairs], and to make them quarrel with one another from time to time. But it was God's will to put an end to their ruses and to get rid of them; and thus they departed. If we repeat those past mistakes because of the conditions that America had created for us

and which made us neglect our main concerns and turn our attention to other things: to heroin and debauchery, we will stray from the path, which humans ought to take, and, instead, head for the houses of [sinful] pleasure.

America or the other superpowers, the ones that aimed to rob us, had been trying throughout—especially these last fifty-odd years—to make our youths grow up in an unconcerned manner. They were pursuing such a policy in those days. But now you are in control. If, at this time, you do something to divert the people's and your own attention from the country's affairs to other matters, and, instead of attending to these poor, barefooted people, who underwent a lot of trouble in bringing you up to here and who now expect nothing much from you except some bread, water, electricity and the bare necessities of life, you neglect them and be occupied with your war of nerves and your own affairs, you will then be doing the same things that America used to do at that time. At that time, it was *taghut* that used to do such things, but now it is you. [In such a case] you are *taghut*, too, and they were *taghut* as well. There is no difference; one is Satan and the other, a smaller one.

Instead of improving the peoples' economic condition and surveying the country to see what areas are in a state of decay and the people there deprived of everything; if, instead of [attending to] such things, you are to sit in your seats of power and indulge in talking and abusing one another and thereby neglecting these issues, it would be precisely what the big powers want so that this country remains in a ruined state and the people raise a hue and cry. It is the very thing they [the big powers] want. You will be acting as American agents without knowing it! There are agents who take orders directly from the US embassy and there are others who work for it without realizing what they are doing. The person himself does not know who he is working for. If you are not concerned about the people, and their and the country's affairs, but are only interested in yourself and your own affairs, if your solely concerned about the people supporting you or someone else, it would be just what America wants. In such a case, you would be American agents and would have taken part in the persecution of the people along with the ones who were its active agents.

Maintaining the spirit of serving the nation

You who have now entered the government should understand that this does not mean that you are ruling the people; you are serving them. There are no rulers in that sense in Islam; only servants. It, however, has disciplinary forces as well for the purpose of crushing the traitors. But it is not that they

have nothing to do if there are no traitors. They do not want to rule over the people, or to overawe them and thus make the people fear them.

Do you think that Hadrat Amir would appear in the streets like Muhammad Rida used to do, though he ruled a realm ten times more extensive than Muhammad Rida's? He used to appear in the streets like an ordinary person so much so that some people did not even recognize him. Do you think that Malik Ashtar who was one of the great commanders of Islam was like one of these high-ranking officers of the *taghuti* period? The people did not recognize who he was when he used to appear among them. Once when somebody abused him—now observe his magnanimity—he went to the mosque and prayed for the person! Such ethical conduct and the history of Islam ought to be studied, especially the governments that existed in the Islamic period ought to be studied and guidance obtained from them.

Do not think that you are people's rulers; you must think that you are their servants. It is more meritorious in the sight of God than looking upon yourselves as rulers. Governing is the same as serving. The army, too, should be at the service of the people. How delighted the people will be if you consider yourselves as their servants, if you do not expect them to extol, eulogize and, I should say, acclaim you at the top of their voices, if you do not quarrel among yourselves, if you refrain from such things and come to an understanding and be friendly with one another! Those who have seen their children killed will be pleased to see that this government has appeared whose members are like brothers unto one another and who are all trying to their utmost to work for the people and do something for them. Instead of this, if the people see that these officials, having gained positions, are fighting among themselves as to this one or that should have higher post, you can then imagine how bitter it will be for Islam and the nation, and what God, the Blessed and Exalted, will have to say to us!

We gained this freedom and independence, and these positions by the grace of God. We ought to thank Him for His favors by striving for His sake and working for the people. We have to do our utmost to bring these deprived people out of slums in which they are still living. We must provide housing for them. We have to set right the country's water and electricity which, as you know, some parts of the country do not have; none at all. One of the gentlemen who had come here yesterday from Bakhtiyari region said that all the people are devoted [to the Islamic Republic], but have nothing. There are certain regions that lack everything. You ought to think about these deprived people. Just do not sit by and squabble among yourselves. Do not expend all your efforts on beautifying and enlarging the cities as they used to

do in the days of the *taghuti* regime. The government should not expend its efforts and the country's budget for the cities and their affluent areas for those same *taghuti* people to derive the benefits. Think about these poor people in the depressed areas. Islam came to support them, and we are administering an Islamic government. Direct your efforts to these matters; do not waste your energy in quarreling with one another. When time is spent on quarrels, one is notable to attend to anything; one lacks the opportunity to do something [constructive], to make plans for this nation and these deprived people.

I request all the gentlemen who are in charge of certain affairs—whether the lower echelons of the ministries or the ministers themselves, the prime minister, the president, the others in the government, and also the ones who were in the Revolutionary Council but are now in other places—to desist from doing these things that are against the pleasure of God, the saints of Islam and the nation. A few days of this world remain for you. Use them to serve the people so that you stand honored before God. Do not spend this period in quarreling; go in peace and serve the people. If you serve the people, there will be no quarrels because there will be no time left to quarrel. But it is very regrettable that you are busy quarreling and are neglecting the people. You have not been able to reform the economy, to establish security nor do anything! You only keep quarreling with one another. All of them are sitting in Tehran squabbling among themselves. This is not right; it is against Islam and Islamic ethics.

Constructive criticism; refraining from seeking vengeance

I am telling all the gentlemen not to quarrel with one another. Do not again fill the newspapers with vilification and criticism of one another. Criticism should not be done to take revenge. It ought to be constructive. Everybody can rightly criticize another. But it is Satan's pen that is used to criticize one for the sake of seeking vengeance. If one criticizes another for the common good, and if he is removed and replaced by another person, he must not be upset if the same criticism is leveled against him. He must know whether the criticism is for the sake of Satan or for that of God, and whether it is inspired by Satan or God.

One has to realize that these few days will pass and these positions of authority will end. No matter how much authority you have, you cannot surpass Muhammad Rida. No matter how hard you try to gain that kind of authority, you will not find it and, God willing, will not want to find it. It is all over; he has gone and is now before God. God alone knows what is going

to happen. That day will also come for us as well. Tomorrow, we as well; one like me, will have to go sooner or later. And even that is not known as to who will go sooner. But we are nearing the end and we have to go.

You who are young should think about reforming yourselves, you ought to think about serving this country. Do not just sit around in your ministries and indulge in the same old practices and the same bureaucracy whereby a budget wanted for some place is referred so much to this and that department as to be forgotten. Take prompt action on these matters. Work for the people.

As for the disturbances in Kurdistan, all of you should get together and come up with a plan. You must work to end these disturbances; not that you not even provide a helicopter for some youths, for instance, who are prepared to risk their lives in Kurdistan. Supervision is the need of the day; this must be done. Those who prevent the tasks from being accomplished should be prosecuted and reprimanded.

In any case, I request all of you to maintain this brotherhood that has been ordered by the Blessed and Exalted Lord. God has established the bonds of brotherhood among you; among the believers, and so you must be brothers unto one another. You must have equality; you must work together for this country. You must give top priority in your plans to giving assistance to these poor, deprived people, and to establishing security in the country.

May God give you success, health and prosperity for you to serve this nation and thus stand honored in His Blessed and Exalted Presence.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: September 12, 1980 [Shahrivar 21, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The policy of the United States and its supporters: To sow discord among Muslim nations

Occasion: The arrival of the *hajj* season

Addressees: The Muslims of the world and the pilgrims to the House of God

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the pilgrims to the House of God. Greetings to the pilgrims who have gathered in the location which received God's Revelation and the place where His angels descend. My regards to the Muslims who have traveled from their houses to the House of God.

Greetings to all Muslims whose prophet is the Great Messenger, the last of the prophets, whose Book is the Glorious Quran and whose *Qiblah* [the direction which Muslims face while praying] is the Kabah Muazzamah. My regards to those who have put behind them all forms of polytheism, and have turned to the purist form of *tawhid* [monotheism]; those who have released themselves from serving and obeying the idols in the world, the centers of arrogance and colonialism and the satanic powers, and have attached themselves to the Absolute Power of God and the cord of monotheism. Greetings to those who received God's message inviting them to His House and answered His call.

It is now necessary to point out certain things to you the liberated Muslims, who have gathered at the site of the Revelation in order to perform this political-devotional duty, so that you may know what is occurring in the Muslim countries and what schemes are afoot to colonize, exploit and subjugate the Muslims, and who the evil instigators are.

1. The Muslims of the world are on the verge of drawing closer to one another, and all the Islamic denominations are coming to an understanding to liberate their countries from the evil clutches of the superpowers. The international plunders have sensed the danger that they are in. The links to Iran of the supporters of the tyrants of East and West are on the point of being severed because of the people's faith in the Supreme Being, their unity of expression and their congregating under the standard of Islam and monotheism. While these developments are taking place, the Great Satan has summoned its supporters to sow discord among the Muslims by means of

every ruse imaginable, and to create disputes and enmity among the adherents of monotheism and the brothers-in-faith so that its path to plunder and domination will lie open to the greatest extent. Fearing that Iran's Islamic Revolution might spread to all the other countries, Islamic and non-Islamic, and thereby cut off its evil links to the countries it dominates, the Great Satan, while not having gained anything from its economic embargo and armed invasion of Iran, has resorted to another ruse so as to discredit our Islamic Revolution in the eyes of the world's Muslims and to pit them against one another so that it can continue its oppression and plunder of the Muslim countries. And the ruse is that while Iran is trying relentlessly to foster unity of expression among all the world's Muslims and make them adhere to the great religion of Islam and to monotheism, one of America's wicked pawns, who was a friend of the defunct, non-existent Shah, has been ordered to get a decree from the Sunni muftis and jurisprudents to the effect that the dear Iranians are infidels. Some of these pawns have stated that the Islam professed by the Iranians is not the Islam that they believe in. Yes; Iran's Islam is not the same as that of these people who support America's pawns such as Sadat¹ and Begin² and, contrary to God's command, extend the hand of friendship to Islam's enemies, and also spare no effort nor refrain from calumny in sowing discord among Muslims.

The Muslims of the world must recognize these people who are creating disunity and must undo their plots.

2. The superpowers have launched an onslaught against the Islamic countries such as Afghanistan where the Afghans, who do not want the foreign powers to tamper with their destiny, are being mercilessly and brutally killed. America, too, has a hand in every mischief. Simultaneous with the criminal Israel's all-out assault on the Muslims in Palestine and dear Lebanon, its nefarious plan to move its capital to Jerusalem and the escalation in the atrocities and the savage slaughter of the Muslims refugees driven away from their country, and at a time when Muslims need unity of expression more than ever before, the traitor Sadat, America's servant, and Begin's and the defunct, non-existent Shah's friend and brother, and Saddam, America's devoted servant, have started creating discord among the Muslims. To this end, they do not refrain from committing any atrocity that their criminal master orders. America—which is repeatedly assailing Iran, dispatching spies to wreck our Islamic Revolution, conniving with Sadat to create differences, making malicious propaganda, spreading lies and

¹ Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat, the President of Egypt's ruling regime.

² Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of the Quds-Occupying regime.

defaming the authorities of the Islamic government by way of Iraq—is of that type. Muslims ought to be wary of the treacherous acts of these loyal servants of America against Islam and the Muslims.

3. One of the issues that the plotters have raised for the sake of fomenting discord among Muslims, and about which the agents of the oppressors have stated making propaganda, is that of nationalism, an issue which the Iraqi government has been making much of for many years. In Iran, too, a limited number of groups, are knowingly or unknowingly promoting and endorsing it. Turks, Kurds, and other places are following the same trend, pitting the Muslims against one another even to the point of enmity, heedless of the fact that love of country and its people and safeguarding it and its laws are matters that are beyond question. Moreover, nationalism in confrontation with other Muslims nations is another matter to which Islam, the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Noble Prophet are opposed. The type of nationalism that results in antagonism among the Muslims and creates a schism among the ranks of the believers, is against Islam and the good of the Muslims, being, as it is, one of the ruses employed by the foreigners who are smarting because of Islam and its expansion.

4. More dangerous and painful than nationalism is the creation of differences between Sunnis and Shiahs, and making seditious and inimical propaganda among the brothers-in-Islam and the brothers-in-faith. Thank God that no differences exist between these two sects in Iran's Islamic Revolution. Both of them are living side by side in all friendship and fraternity. There are many Sunnis living around the country, many of whom are scholars and shaykhs. There is brotherhood and equality between us. They are also against the discordant tunes being played by the criminals and those connected to America and Zionism. The Sunni brothers in the Muslim countries ought to realize that these agents affiliated to the big satanic powers are not the well-wishers of Islam and the Muslims. It is necessary that the Muslims renounce them and pay no heed to their contentious propaganda. I extend the hand of brotherhood to all the committed Muslims of the world and request them to look upon the Shiahs with brotherly affection and thereby neutralize, as always, the sinister designs of the foreign powers.

5. A part of the widespread propaganda that is being done apparently against Iran, but in reality against Islam, is that "Iran's Revolutionary movement is incapable of governing our country", or that "the government of Iran is very about to fall as the country lacks a sound economy, proper educational facilities, a disciplined army and an armed force in a state of preparedness". Such propaganda is being disseminated by the American

mass media and its allies, and is a matter of glee for the enemies of Iran and Islam. This propaganda is actually against Islam. They want to make it appear that Islam, these days, is not equal to the task of administering countries. The Muslims must now carefully examine the issues and compare the non-Islamic revolutions with Iran's Islamic Revolution. Our Islamic movement inherited a country that was a hundred percent dependent, a country that was in a ruined state and pushed backward in all respects. The subordinate Pahlavi regime had brought about the all-round collapse of the country over a period of fifty years. They had given away the country's abundant resources and assets to the foreigners, particularly England and America, taking for themselves, their relatives and servants whatever had remained and thereby causing us many difficulties. But with the blessings of Islam and the help of the Muslim nation, we were able to approve of and execute within two years everything that had to do with the country's administration. Notwithstanding the difficulties, arising from the economic sanctions, military intervention and the comprehensive coup d'etat, that America and its satellites had created for us, our combative nation has been able to increase our food stocks to near self-sufficiency levels. All the other requirements of the country have also been procured. We will soon change the colonial culture of the days of the previous regime to an independent Islamic one. Our armed forces, our army, Islamic Guards Corps, gendarmerie and police stand ready to defend the country and maintain order. All of them are prepared to lay down their lives in crusading for Islam. Apart from this, the army of twenty million; the general mobilization of the volunteer force [*basij*], marshaled and organized by the nation, is fully prepared to make sacrifices for Islam and the country. Our enemies should know that no revolution in the world has had such few losses but such great achievements as our Islamic Revolution, and this was realized by the blessings of Islam and nothing else. What do these rancorous people say? How is Islam not able to govern the country when it had prevailed over the governments of the infidels and oppressors in less than half a century [since its birth] and had governed half the developed world for centuries?! Today, our nation is willing and actively assisting in organizing and running the affairs of the country. The enemies of Islam are either ignorant of the power of Islam in uprooting injustice and running the country on the principles of justice, or are feigning ignorance. The enemies of Islam, and even many of its friends, are unaware of the administrative ability of Islam and of its socio-political precepts. Actually, Islam, since its early days, has remained isolated and concealed throughout history. And now with the help of all the Muslims, the

savants, the thinkers and the Islamic experts, it should be made known [to the world] so that its radiant face reveals itself like the world-illuminating sun.

Oh Muslims of the world who have genuine faith in Islam: Rise and unite under the banner of monotheism and the guidance of Islamic teachings. Sever the treacherous links of the superpowers to your country and deprive them of its abundant resources. Re-establish Islam's pre-eminence. Put aside your differences and your selfish desires as you have everything. Have faith in your Islamic culture and confront the West and Westernization. Stand on your own feet; challenge the intellectuals who are influenced by East and West. Regain your identity. Be aware of the misery that the hired intellectuals have caused for the country and the nation and of the things that have happened so far, also happening to you unless you unite and place your full faith in the true religion of Islam. It is now the time for the nations to act as beacons for their intellectuals and rescue them from their self-alienation and state of wretchedness vis-à-vis the East and West. This is the day of action on the part of the nations who have up to now been the leaders of the guides. Know that your spiritual strength will prevail over all the powers, and that your population of nearly one billion, your abundant resources and untold wealth is able to overcome all the world powers. Help God's cause so that He assist. O the immense body of [world] Muslims: Rise roaringly and crush the enemies of humanity. If you trust in God and adopt heavenly teachings, the Exalted Lord and His great army will be on your side.

6- The most important and painful problem confronting the Islamic nations and the non-Islamic ones of the countries under domination is America. Being the world's most powerful country, American leads no stone unturned in its attempts to devour the material resources of the countries under its domination.

America is the number one enemy of the meek and deprived people of the world. In order to gain political, economic, cultural and military control over the dominated countries, it does not abstain from any kind of atrocity. It exploits the oppressed peoples of the world by means of its extensive propaganda that is generated by international Zionism. With its treacherous and mysterious supporters, America so sucks the blood of the refugeless people as if nobody has the right to exist in the world except itself and its satellites.

Iran which wants to cut all its ties to this big devil is now embroiled in imposed wars. America has compelled Iraq to shed the blood of our youth. It has also compelled all the countries under its sway to cripple us by means of an economic embargo, and, unfortunately, the Asian countries have also

turned hostile towards us. The Muslim nations ought to know that Iran is the [only] country which is officially confronting America, and that our martyrs and these valiant youths in the army and the Islamic Guard Corps are defending Iran and dear Islam against America. It is necessary to say that it is on America's behalf that these conflicts in the west of our dear country are being foisted on us daily by these godless groups attached to it, and that they concern the essence of our Islamic Revolution which has been founded on the basis of [gaining] genuine independence. We would not have had these misfortunes had we compromised with America, the other superpowers and others, but our people are by no means prepared to submit to servility and humiliation once again, preferring, as they do, the red badge of martyrdom to a life of ignorance.

We are ready to die. We have promised God to follow the example of our Imam, the Doyen of Martyrs¹. You Muslims who are sitting by God's house in supplication, pray for those who have stood up against America and the other superpowers. You should know that we have no reason to fight Iraq that the Iraqi people support our Revolution. We are, however, fighting America which is now using the Iraqi government to fight us. With God's help, this struggle will persist until we gain real independence. I have said this many times; that we are warriors and that to Muslims, surrender is meaningless. Non-aligned nations! We ask you to be witness to the fact that America intends to destroy us. Wake up and help us to attain our aim. We have turned our back to East and West; to America and the Soviet Union, so that we may govern our country by ourselves. Is it fair that we be assailed like this by East and West? Considering the current world situation, this will be an exceptional case in history that even if we are killed, martyred and defeated, our cause will surely not be defeated.

I have said many times that the hostage-taking by our combative, dedicated Muslim students is but a natural reaction to the harm done to our people by America. The hostages will be released if the dead Shah's fortunes are returned to Iran, if all of America's claims against Iran are rescinded, if guarantees are given that America will not interfere politically and militarily in Iran and if Iran's assets are released. I have, of course, handed over this matter to the Islamic Majlis to deal with it as it deems appropriate. Whereas the hostages in Iran are being given the best treatment, the propaganda made by America and its allies contains every kind of falsehood, calumny and accusation, and America and Britain have treated our youths with disrespect and have tortured them physically and mentally. No authority in the

¹ The third Imam in Shi'ite doctrine.

international assemblies defended our dear youths nor condemned America and Britain for their brutal behavior. I pray to God the Almighty that all the shackled [Muslim] nations gain freedom and independence, and have Islamic republics. May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
6/21/1359 AHS

Letter

Date: September 13, 1980 [Shahrivar 22, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegraph

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Ayatullah Golpaygani—may his blessings last—Qum:

We received your telegraph expressing, your concerns over the situation. May your guidance and that of all the other religious authorities and distinguished spiritual leaders bring about calm and engender abidance by the criteria of Islamic brotherhood, God willing. It is obvious that the differences are not deep-rooted and that everybody, thanks be to God, is loyal to the Islamic Republic and acts according to its precepts, and the verbal complaints will, God willing, end in an understanding. The gentlemen should be reminded that with all the difficulties facing the country and the dangers anticipated for Islam and the Muslims, these confrontations will benefit the enemies and are not logically and religiously admissible. I pray to the Almighty for the rectification of the problems and for the glory of Islam and the Muslims. I also pray for your honor's health and happiness. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 13, 1980 [Shahrivar 22, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Putting an end to the differences

Occasion: Bani Sadr's disagreement with the clergy adhering to Imam's line

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (one of the senior religious reference authorities)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Ayatullah Aqa Marashi Najafi—may his blessings last—Qum:

Following the discussions and the meetings of a few days in which you had expressed your regret and uneasiness and had duly informed us by means of a telegram, I should say that even though other people are also upset, the gentlemen should bear in mind that, considering the present situation, they should put an end to these petty differences and relieve the people of their anxiety. It is hoped that with your prayers and those of the other gentlemen, the problems will be settled satisfactorily. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 14, 1980 [Shahrivar 23, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Putting an end to the differences

Occasion: Bani Sadr's disagreement with the clergy adhering to the Imam's line

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Ayatullah Aqa Shirazi—may his blessings last—
Mashhad-e Muqaddas:

I received your telegram regarding some of the meetings and the quarrels among the government authorities. I hope that such trivial issues be solved by the wish of the Almighty God and the guidance given by the distinguished spiritual leaders. It is obvious that these disputes, no matter how small and groundless, are contrary to the interests of Islam and the Islamic country. I hope to have your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Replying to Questions

Date: September 14, 1980 [Shahrivar 23, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 4, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The duty of the Martyrs' Foundation regarding those killed in places other than the theaters of war

Questioner: Mahdi Karrubi

[... As you are aware, in the implementation of your order, the Martyrs' Foundation has started functioning since the month of Farvardin 1359 AHS [March/April 1980] for the purpose of attending to the affairs concerning the families of the martyrs and those that were wounded in the Revolution. In the course of our work, we have encountered the following issues about which I, as always, solicit your honor's illuminating guidance and instructions in serving the families of the martyrs and the wounded of the Revolution:

1. Some youths and others have been killed in the villages and the workplace while working for the Jihad-e Sazandegi [Reconstruction Crusade].
2. Some people have died during the demonstrations and marches of the post-Revolutionary period such as Quds' Day, etc.
3. A number of people of the provinces who came to Tehran for welcoming purposes—some of whom were armed—have died on the way.
4. Some individuals who went to the towns and villages for the necessary voting purposes have been killed in storms, etc.
5. Some who had a background of struggling [for the Revolution] and were sent by the Imam's Propagation Office in order to guide the people and deliver speeches, have been killed.
6. In certain instances where the Islamic guards [*pasdars*] are encountered, during journeys, especially in the border regions, it is seen that they are in need of help. Instructions on this matter had also been sought previously.

Considering the above cases and in view of the repeated visits of the martyrs' families to this office, it is humbly requested that you enlighten and inform me as to the manner of handling their affairs.

Mahdi Karrubi,
The Chief Administrator,

Martyrs' Foundation]

In His Most Exalted Name

There is no problem except for the sixth case.
May you, God willing, succeed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: September 16, 1980 [Shahrivar 25, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The Holy Shrine of Qum acting independently of all other organs and establishments

Addressee: Ahmad Mawlai (The Head of Qum's Holy Shrine)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holy Eminence, Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, the leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic—may his benign existence endure:

As you are aware, during the previous regime, the management of the holy shrine of Fatimah Masumah—peace be upon her—was under the jurisdiction of the Endowments [Awqaf] Organization, and it has been so for years. But in this period of the Islamic Revolution—with due consideration to the fact that Qum is the seat of Shiism and the vast theological center which is expanding day by day—it has been pursuing its activities independently of the Endowments Organization and all the other government organs so that it can perform its important duties better than before. Your honor's instructions and views are needed on this matter.

Ahmad Mawlai
The sincere servant of the Holy Shrine
of Qum,
5/29/1359 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

The management of the Holy Shrine of Qum and all its endowments should be separate from the Awqaf Organization and be placed directly under the control of the jurisprudent [*faqih*].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: September 17, 1980 [Shahrivar 26, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 7, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Supervising the Foundation for the Deprived (Bunad-e Mustadafan)

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Rajai (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

6/26/1359 AHS

Mr. Rajai—may the Almighty God assist him:

The affairs of the Foundation for the Deprived have made me worried, and the issues involved are complicated. Thus it is necessary that you take over its responsibility and, appointing dedicated, pious and discerning individuals, manage it for the benefit of the deprived.

You can obtain the necessary information from the board that I have appointed. I pray for your success in serving Islam and the Muslims; especially the oppressed.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Radio and Television Message

Date/Time: 7:00 pm of September 22, 1980 [Shahrivar 31, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 12, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Saddam's attack on Iran on America's instigation

Occasion: Beginning of the school year

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The attempt of the subversive groups to create disturbances

At this time when the schools must reopen—I hope that our youths and children go to their schools and begin their studies while being dedicated to Islam and the Islamic Republic—it should be pointed out to the groups that do not want the schools to reopen, that now when Iran is in this situation with Iraq officially declaring war against us, if what they say is true about their being with the nation and loyal to the people, they ought to cooperate with the government in this matter. If we see that they are creating disturbances in the schools, their [subversive] nature, of which we are somewhat aware, will be further revealed to the people of Iran. At this juncture when Iran is at war with America and this American puppet has launched an attack on Iran, if they cause disturbances or spread rumors to obstruct the reopening of the schools, it will become clear that they are American agents and in league with the wicked Saddam Husayn. Our nation should consider these matters with full awareness and in an imperturbable manner.

Warning the Iraqi regime about launching its attack against Iran

Certain points ought to be mentioned. One is that the Iranians should not think that the government and the army of Iran are helpless in responding to the Iraqi aggression. I will, at the proper time, order the people to fight and prove to Saddam Husayn and the likes of him that these slaves of America are nothing to talk about. We always make it a point that our response to their attacks should be such that the Iraqi people are not harmed. But in case Iraq oversteps its limits and repeats its aggression, we are resolved and determined to mobilize the people and order them to fight. It will then become clear to the Iraqi people that we have nothing against them and that it is this Saddam Husayn who has attacked us on America's instigation. Our

response to his attack will have nothing at all to do with the people of Iraq who are our brothers.

Today, I heard the wretched voice of this man. That is, I heard the address he made. It seems that he has become a Muslim recently because he has resorted to invoking Hadrat Amir, Ali ibn Abutalib, Imam Husayn (s), etc. and thereby deceive the people, unaware of the fact that the people of Iraq know him for what he is. They came to know this communist government from the very beginning of its coming to power when the late Aqa Hakim¹ had boycotted and excommunicated it. The people have also come to know the nature of this government because of the acts that it has committed; it executed the great *ulama* of Iraq. Now he [Saddam] is seeking the help of the Iraqi people while he has been repressing them. At this time that he came into power, I sounded a note of warning that he was crazy and out of his mind. He is acting madly and will eventually destroy himself.

Advising the nation to keep calm and confront the rumor-mongers

I would like to say a few things to the Iranians and also the Iraqi people and Army. What I wish to tell the Iranians is that they should not be under the impression that the Iranian army is incapable of stopping them. It is not so. Iran's army, the armed forces and our dear *pasdars* are capable of it, but they will not take any serious action unless the matter itself turns serious. The day it does turn serious, I will order all of them to act seriously and put Iraq in its place.

The people of Iran should not think that a war has started. And now we should lose our composure. There is nothing of the sort. They came, dropped a bomb and fled. The government of Iran is busy in preparing to respond to them, and it will do so. Their navy has been totally destroyed and their army will also meet the same fate. Do not think that it is something big. Iran was also somewhat involved in these wars that took place. I remember both of them [that is, the two World Wars]. It is no problem at all. If our enemies spread rumors, if the various factions, the [subversive] groups and splinter groups that are present in Iran now wish to avail themselves of the opportunity and spread rumors and, phoning various places, say that this and that has happened or a coup d'état has taken place, you should know that nothing of the sort has happened. It is only that a thief came, threw a stone and ran away to where he came from. By the will of God, he will not have

¹ Mr. Sayyid Muhsin Hakim (expired 1389 AH), is one of the religious reference authorities and the leader of Iraq's Shi'ahs.

the power to repeat his act. I advise the people to consider certain points. They must keep calm and pay no heed to the rumor that something has occurred. Nothing has occurred, really. This rumor should not be heeded as, otherwise, it could lead to the outbreak of disturbances.

Another point is that it is possible for these characters, who are against Islam and have been opposing the Islamic Republic from the outset, to spread rumors that the Iranian army and gendarmerie are themselves doing all this mischief, and so compel you to confront them. No; it is not so. Iran's army and gendarmerie are loyal to us. They are engaged in fighting Iraq. Do not believe them if they [the mischief-makers] come and tell you such things and incite you to attack the garrisons. Such a thing is not permissible. Islam considers it to be one of the big sins as it is against the pleasure of God. By no means should you pay attention to these characters. If you find any of them inciting the people, catch hold of him and hand him over to the committees. Such people should be handed over to the committees so that they are punished. This is what I wish to tell the people: Keep calm and do not fear anything. There is absolutely no cause for concern. There is nothing to fear. Maintain your composure, stop these rumor-mongers and pay no heed whatsoever to the rumors. I am in contact [with the authorities] and get all the news. The President¹ and the Prime Minister² had come here earlier today and gave me a report. I will mobilize the people whenever I need to do so. May the day not come, God willing, for such a thing to happen.

Warning the Iraqi army

I also wish to say something to the Iraqi army. Who does the Iraqi army want to fight? Whom does it support; whom does it oppose? Is it supporting Saddam who is a communist and an infidel? Against whom? Against Islam? The Iraqi army must know that this person who has revealed his head and invokes Ali ibn Abutalib (s) and Husayn ibn Ali (s) is their enemy. This man is their enemy. He is actually Islam's enemy. The Iraqi army should realize that this war is a war against Islam. It is in support of heresy' such a war is against the pleasure of God. The Blessed and Exalted Lord will never forgive that rise against Islam for the sake of supporting infidelity as according to religious ruling, Saddam Husayn is an infidel himself and also supports infidelity. He is Carter's supporter, and is committing aggression against Iran for the sake of supporting Carter and getting military assistance from him. Carter has compelled his servants, like Saddam Husayn, Sadat and

¹ Mr. Abul-Hasan BanI Sadr.

² Mr. Muhammad All RajaI.

their like, to attack Iran and inflict harm upon it. The people of Iraq and Egypt ought to realize that if, God forbid, they confront Iran; if the Iraqi army confronts Iran, it is tantamount to confronting Islam and harming it, and also harming the Prophet of Islam, in support of heresy and in support of Saddam and Carter.

The duty of the Iraqi nation to rise against Saddam

The Iraqi people should know that this nucleus of mischief is behaving with them just like Muhammad Rida behaved with the Iranians. We ousted him and they, too, should derive him out of Iraq. They should rise against this kernel of evil who wants to destroy Islam and replace it, as he thinks, with Arab nationalism though he really has no belief in it. And he has no such intention, either. He actually wants to open the doors of the Muslim countries to America. This crime of ours, a forgivable one in Saddam Husayn's view, is that we oppose America. And, therefore, he says whatever he likes about us. He says that we are Magi; we who are propagating the Quran and Islamic precepts in our country, we who are implementing Islamic principles in our country in the place of the ones that existed before, are being called Magi by this person. And they [the Iraqi regime] who are against Islam and the Muslims, consider themselves to be the supporters of Ali ibn Abutalib (s) and the companions of the Apostle of God. The Iraqis should realize that this man is dangerous to them. The danger he poses to Iraq is great. But he is not able to harm our people. He is a great danger to the Iraqis. The people of Iraq should try with all their might to destroy this corrupt person, as well as this group [Iraq's ruling party] which is acting against Islam and the good of Islam, and also against the Quran.

The soldiers and officers of the Iraqi army should realize that the war against Iran is a war against Islam and the Quran. It is a war against the Prophet of God and is one of the unlawful acts that the Blessed and Exalted Lord will never forgive. They should do what the Iranian army did to the ex-Shah: they left him and joined the nation; the soldiers ran away from the garrisons and joined the people's ranks. They, too, should desert and employ their forces to topple this root of corruption. God will help them if they rise and overthrow this person, and install one from among themselves in his place. We will also help them in this; in one of their countrymen heading the Iraqi government. They should overthrow this man who is engaged in seditious acts against Islam and the good of Islam. They must join the nation.

The people of Iraq are not in favor of Saddam Husayn at all. They have not approved of him for even a single day. They are in favor of Islam. One

who accepts Islam, who regards the Quran as His Book and faces the Kabah in prayer, cannot support an infidel who is living under the protection of infidels such as Carter and those like him. I wish to advise them—the Iraqi army—to rise and overthrow this person if they are able to do so, and to appoint somebody from among themselves in his place. In such a case, we are ready to help them. But if this is not possible for them, they should desert the army and refrain from fighting against Islam.

I would also like to tell the people of Iraq to rise with all your power against this man who has risen against Islam. His war against Iran is the war of the infidels against Muslims; the war of the army of heresy against Islam's army. They must oppose this man with all their might and wage war against him. If these acts [of aggression] being done by Saddam Husayn and his masters, God forbid, escalate, I will tell the people of Iran to do their duty. But I hope that it will not come to that, for if it does, there will be no more of Baghdad.

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

Letter¹

Date: September 1980 [Mehr 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Supporting the Islamic combatants

Addressees: The combatants stationed on the western fronts of Iran

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear brothers:

I send my greetings and warmest regards to you even though we are so far apart. I pray to the Exalted Lord for your success and victory. I pray that the Beneficent God places you brothers and all the armed forces among the Army of Islam and bestows His grace upon you. My dear brothers! Struggle in the way of God, for victory is yours. I hope that all the armed forces will work together for the Islamic country and crush the enemies. I pray to the Almighty for your well-being and victory. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ A group of Islamic combatants, in the west of the country, had written to Imam Khomeini declaring that they would fight to the last drop of their blood for the establishment of the Islamic Republic, and requesting him to pray for their victory over the enemy. In reply, Imam Khomeini sent them the above mentioned letter.

Message

Date: September 23, 1980 [Mehr 1, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 13, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Obeying the Commanding Council; The media's duty in reflecting the news of the war; the duty of the citizens and the security forces regarding those who spread rumors

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You are hereby notified of the following points:

1. The Commanding Council must be obeyed without question, and violators must be swiftly and conductively determined, and duly punished.

2. Persons and authorities who have no responsibility in the concerned matters must refrain from interfering in the work of the Commanding Council. The Commander-in-Chief, acting as my representative,¹ and the Commanding Council are the authorities responsible for the affairs of the war.

3. In the present circumstances, the military courts are forbidden to proceed without my approval with cases that the Commanding Council deems inadvisable.

4. The Radio and Television organization is duty-bound to broadcast the news whose veracity has been proved one hundred percent, and, in order to prevent public anxiety and fear, news from sources that are not reliable must not be broadcast.

5. It is the duty of the security forces to arrest promptly all those people who spread rumors, no matter who they are, and hand them over to the Revolutionary Courts. The aforesaid courts must deal with them as counter-revolutionaries and punish them accordingly. The combatant people of Iran are duty-bound to report the rumor-mongers to these courts and to cooperate with the security forces.

6. It is the duty of the newspapers in the present circumstances to refrain strictly from publishing articles and news that undermine the armed forces. Doing so in the present situation is against reason and

¹ Abul-Hasan BanI Sadr was the president and commander-in-chief from the part of Imam KhomeinI.

religion, and only serves the counter-revolutionaries. I have always supported the armed forces, and now that they are fighting Saddam the infidel on the battlefronts, I wish to thank them and appreciate their endeavors. I ask God the Almighty to grant them success and victory.

7. All the people and the organs of government must positively put an end to their petty disputes as such disputes serve the interest of Islam's enemies.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 24, 1980 [Mehr 2, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 14, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The Iraqi nation's religious, divine and human duty

Addressee: The army and the Muslim nation of Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The noble, struggling Muslim nation of Iraq! The combatant Muslim army, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of Iraq! The Muslim workers and employees of Iraq! All of you have witness, and are witnessing, at close quarters, the crimes and treacheries of the heathen Baath Party. You have had a bitter experience of the Baathist government. You know that on the orders of their world-devouring masters, Saddam Husayn and his heathen comrades, the followers of the atheist Michael Aflaq¹, that totally devoted servant of Zionism and Imperialism, have attacked Iran and the Iranian people—who drove the heathens out of Iran by their cries of “*Allahu Akbar*” and the support of dear Islam—and are mercilessly killing your brothers-in-faith. You are aware that this war is a war between heresy and Islam, and between the Holy Quran and atheism. For this reason, it is necessary for you and us, and all the Muslims of the world, to defend dear Islam and the Holy Quran, and send these traitors to hell. It is now your religious, divine and human duty to oppose and obstruct the regime wherever you may be. The Iraqi army should join the Iranian army; almost a hundred Iraqi officers, non-commissioned officers and fighters came to Iran earlier today and placed themselves at the disposal of Islam. The Iraqi army ought to know that Iran will welcome their brothers-in-faith from the Iraqi army with open arms and will support them. In accordance with their religious duty, the workers of every category and the office employees should show their commitment to Islam and the Holy Quran by means of strikes and their opposition (to the government). The people of Iraq should refrain from paying taxes and their water and electricity bills to the heretic government, as helping the illegitimate, heretic government is tantamount to helping the enemies of Islam that are at war with it. You Iraqi brothers should realize that your Iranian brothers are now on alert and, by their mass mobilization, will crush the enemies of Islam whenever necessary. You brothers of the army, civilians

¹ The ideologue of the Baath party.

and all the personnel of the armed forces ought to learn a lesson from the Iranian people who crushed the satanic superpowers with their bare hands. Do not fear the big and small devils. Rise in defense of Islam and the Muslim countries, for God is with you. “... *if ye help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm.*”¹ May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Surah Muhammad 47:7.*

Radio/Television Message

Date: September 25, 1980 [Mehr 3, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 15, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Trusting in God: the source of nation's strength and power

Occasion: Military maneuvers in the skies of Tehran

Addressees: The Iranian people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

There was a sound up in the Tehran sky a couple of hours ago, and people are told to have expressed anxiety in various places, though it was nothing to be afraid of. We are strong and powerful, and will overcome them. The Iranian people should not fear such things. It was nothing alarming. As we have been informed, it was only an aerial maneuvers; a test. There is nothing to fear. We are all safe and sound, and nothing has happened here. I want the great nation of Iran to remain strong-hearted in the face of every eventuality. They must be courageous and repose their faith in the Blessed and Exalted Lord without fearing anything. We did not fear those big powers. Iraq is nothing; it has no power. As we have been informed, firing and explosions are occurring in Iraq; in Baghdad. The situation there is explosive and they [Iraqi regime] are in their death throes. These roots of mischief will, God willing, be extirpated by the strong hands of the nation and with the help of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and Islam will spread everywhere. We rely on God, and by reposing our trust in Him, fear nothing. Remain united; remain resolute, dear people and fear nothing as there is no reason to be afraid.

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

Radio/Television Message

Date: September 26, 1980 [Mehr 4, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 16, 1400 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Admiring the bravery of the Armed Forces; advice for the nation and army of Iraq

Addressees: The nations and armies of Iran and Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The bravery of the army and Armed Forces

I would like to have a few words with our own army and with our nation; then a few words with the Iraqi army and people. The bravery of our army and all the armed forces—such as the Islamic Guard Corps and others—reminds us of the bravery of the Muslims of early Islam. There was no comparison between the enemy forces and those of Islam in its early period. In the Rome battle, the Roman army numbered 700,000-800,000 while that of Islam numbered 30,000 men. The vanguard of Roman army consisted of 60 thousand soldiers which was twice the whole army of Islam. Khalid ibn Walid, who was one of the Muslim commanders, suggested that they deal a hard blow to Rome's army in order to weaken their morale—This is how I see it—and that thirty people from among them go and fight the [Roman] vanguard of 60,000 as some of them did not agree to this proposal, it was arranged for 60 fighters to go. They carried out a raid at night and put those 60,000 to the sword; they wiped them out.

Unity of expression and trust in God; the key to victory

Throughout the period that we were involved in the movement in Iran, we always had almost nothing by way of forces and the weapons of war in comparison to the defunct Shah's army of the time, in addition to which he had the support of the world's superpowers. But there was nobody to support us. Though Iran had a population of thirty million, some hundred millions were against us. In a war, the importance does not lie in numbers. What is important is one's power of thought; that same power which, by relying on God in the early days of Islam, enabled a small force to overpower large armies and throw them into disarray. Thank God that the people of our country, though few in number while that of the inimical superpowers was

¹ 7/5/1359 AHS is the date mentioned in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

large, were able to pass the test in that they defeated the large armies and the great number of enemies because of their unity of expression and reliance on the Exalted Holy Being. Thus, that which is important is that power which comes to the people from the Unseen and which the people, thank God, have. As I have been told, the army, the Islamic Guard Corps and all the security and military forces possess that power. It is so great that even if they are on the verge of being killed, they launch their attack with the cry of *Allahu Akbar*. At that time, there were, and still are, a limited number of people in a garrison in Kurdistan who withstood the attack of the large number of enemies because they had faith in God while the enemy did not. Therefore, we should not say that our army is like the other ones, that our gendarmerie or the Islamic Guard Corps are like the armed forces of other countries. It is not right to say so. For whom do the other armies, etc. fight? The Iraqi army fights for Saddam Husayn. Which sane person will give his life for Saddam?! To what purpose? Our soldiers have a good reason: they say that they will go to God if they get killed. Such morale is the most important factor. This kind of spirit stems from the devout belief that a person getting killed is actually a victory in that he will go to rest in God's protection. This is the spirit that made us triumph and which the army and all the rest of the armed forces such as the *pasdars*, gendarmerie, police, etc., thanks be to God, possess. I wish to tell the army that, firstly, I appreciate them and all the armed forces because they are now fighting bravely like the soldiers of early Islam. I wish to give them the glad tiding of their going to heaven whether they kill [the enemy] or get killed. This is a divine power with which our security and military forces, and our Islamic guards are equipped. Their weapon is *Allahu Akbar*; there is no other weapon in the world like this. And the case is the same with our people.

Invisible help in the spiritual transformation of the people

This transformation that took place in our people was a divine one. Nobody thought it possible for thirty million or more people, most of whom were unconcerned about such matters, to be so transformed. In the days of *taghut*, people used to obstruct [the affairs], but most of them remained indifferent. The regime would do whatever it wanted to do. It had instilled such fear in the hearts of the people that they would not disobey whatever orders that a policeman would go and give in the bazaar. But an Invisible Hand transformed these timid people into steel ones. Of course, there were many of them, but they were not equipped. They [the ex-regime] had all the weapons. But the people would fearlessly go and face the tanks and machine-

guns. Some of them would climb up on the tanks; those implements that the [Shah's] regime would pit against them. This was divine power which our nation possessed, and, praise be to God, possesses. Thinking that the people have nothing more to do [with the movement] is a delusion. Some say that there is nothing left to do. Some classes and groups satisfy themselves by saying, for instance, that the people have now changed. But we see the people rise all at once [to help] whenever there are difficulties. In Khorramshahr, Abadan, Ahwaz and other places, people have set up entrenchments. The President who had just been here, told me that they had gone there and seen that the people have set up barricades and are in a state of readiness. The news that is being broadcast from abroad to us and our people is just a rumor. Rumors are afloat that Khorramshahr has fallen. Bani Sadr, himself, has just been to Abadan, Khorramshahr and other places. The enemies spread these rumors for their own gratification. I heard the rumor of so-and-so's¹ death today. They have made themselves happy at [the thought of] so-and-so's death. If I die, you must pray for God as well to die! Who am I, when He is always there. Our people have God on their side. God the Blessed and Exalted has always been supporting our nation since the very beginning. This support has been evident at times and subtle at other times. It is very evident at present as things are going against their wishes. Thus, our people who were weak have become powerful now. Our people desire martyrdom; such a nation that desires martyrdom does not fear anything. It will emerge absolutely victorious, God willing.

The difference in the motives of the Iranian and Iraqi armies in fighting

I wish to tell the soldiers of the Iraqi army that I am sorry that being Muslims—I am not aware of those that have been brought from Israel; I have nothing to do with them—who face the Kabah in prayers, whose Book is the Quran and the Noble Messenger their prophet, they are fighting. Against whom are they fighting and why? What is their motive in fighting? They are in confrontation with Muslims. Saddam Husayn's views on Islam, of course, differ from ours. No doubt he calls us Magians and that we belong to the Magi. This is an old lie which some people used to say long ago. For whom are the Iraqi soldiers shedding their blood? Do they know that they will be killed like this if they come to fight Iran? Have they not understood now that using any force against Iran will not help them? Why are they shedding their

¹ One of the ruses employed by the enemy for weakening—as they thought—the people's morale was to spread rumors about Imam Khomein's death. His honor has referred here to one of these rumors.

own blood? What is their motive in doing so? Can they claim to be serving God?! What has Saddam Husayn to do with God?! what does Michael Aflaq have to do with God? The Baath Party is one that has nothing to do with God. It is not familiar with God. Therefore, you are not giving up your lives for God. What is your motive? We are using our power to fight for the cause of God. He has given us everything. We are from Him and will give our all to Him. Herein lies the motive of the army of Islam. It was the same at the advent of Islam, and it is the same now. What is your motive? Are you opposing Islam for the sake of God? Are you opposing the Quran for the sake of God, or for the sake of Saddam Husayn? There is no way for you to claim that you are fighting for God; it is meaningless for you to say this. That means you are fighting for Saddam Husayn. Are you fighting for the purpose of making Islam powerful?! Well, we have Islam here; and it is also powerful. The Iraqi nation, itself, does not approve of Saddam Husayn; it opposes him. All the Islamic masses are against Him. The reason is that his ideology is a godless one and he, himself, is an atheist. The motive of our army, our armed forces, the *pasdars*, and all the other forces of Iran—the navy, air force, ground forces—are one and the same: to serve God. The country is an Islamic one. Our people got rid of *taghut* and replaced it with Islam. We are fighting to put Islamic precepts into effect, and to root out the remnants of *taghut*. But to what end are the Iraqi soldiers losing their lives? What will they give you in return for your lives? What will they give you for shedding your blood? It is said here [in Iran] that giving our lives [for God] will take us to stations in heaven higher than those of the earth. What about you?

O army of Iraq; return to Islam! O armed forces of Iraq; return to Islam before it is too late! You cannot return when the time to do so has passed. Repent while there is still time, just like many of your brothers who repented and came here and joined the army of Islam. You, too, must return [to Islam]. It would be for your own good both in this world and the next. Do not follow a heathen; do not follow one whose ideology is atheism and who is an atheist himself. Follow Islam; follow the Apostle of God, and not Saddam. Forsake these people. They are nothing without you. Leave them. Kill them if you can. Use your weapons against them and kill them. But if you do not get the opportunity, leave them and turn your backs on them. Come to Iran; you are most welcome. It is your home. We will receive you warmly and serve you.

The need for the Iraqis to rise and defend the dignity of Islam

I knew that the Iraqis were a spirited people and that their tribes were armed. It is the same even now, but I do not know what has happened to them in that they have not risen in revolt and are not taking any action as they should be doing. I know that all of them feel resentment against this government. No Muslim can approve of it. But now that they are engaged in a war with Iran, the Iraqis should rise in revolt, like the Iranians, before we kill and destroy the authorities [in Iraq]. The Iranian nation rose and overthrew a regime that was many times more powerful than Saddam Husayn. You, too, must do the same thing. This man is occupied with Iran at present. This is the time for you to strike at him. Rise, go on strike and hold demonstrations against him. If the people hold demonstrations against him in all the cities of Iraq, he will not be able to massacre them. The reason for them in doing so would be that he is opposing Islam. Hold marches and demonstrations for God and Islam. Paralyze the economy. Do not pay taxes. It is religiously forbidden to pay taxes to him; it is one of the great sins as it amounts to assisting one who is against Islam. And do not pay your water and electricity bills either. Do not give them anything else they want. Do not put up with anything. March [in the streets] and demonstrate. Condemn him. He cannot confront an entire nation. Their radio keeps on broadcasting the people's support for Saddam. But you know and the Iraqis know what he is doing and what he has been doing to them up to now, and given the opportunity, this beast will wipe out all traces of Islam in Iraq. He will destroy your mosques. But if his regime, considering its attitude and ideology, does find the opportunity, it will do away all the vestige of Islam. So you have to start subversive activities while he is occupied in fighting against Iran. Hold demonstrations; blow up the government buildings. Do what they used to do in Iran and what they are still doing. You must, in the defense of Islam, stand up to the regime that is anti-Islamic and has risen against Islam. It is imperative that you defend Islam; it is an essential matter. Besides, it amounts to protecting your own dignity. This man resorts to various lies. He claims to be an Arab. Not so; he is an American [stooge]. He and his regime are not Arabs as Arabs are Muslim. They are not Arabs; they are Americans. They now claim to follow Islam. The people of Iraq should take note of the fact that this war is one between Islam and heresy. It is incumbent on all Muslims to defend Islam. Granting the impossibility of this man prevailing over Iran and destroying the Islamic Republic, the repercussions of this world be felt in all the Muslim countries. The Iraqi regime does not want an Islamic country to exist as such. They are the

followers of Michael Aflaq. Has Michael Aflaq anything to do with Islam? He considers Islam to be inconsistent with his aims. This Baath Party considers Islam to be opposed to its aims. The Iraqi people should wake up. They should rise and start a movement [against the regime]. They should carry out a revolution. They should revolt until they get rid of this person. They ought to know that they will be victorious if they start an uprising for the sake of God, just as we rose; our nation rose for God and triumphed. It will be victorious even now [in this war] and will destroy this man, God willing. Let us join together and dissolve this party, and execute those Baathists who do not return to Islam so that the country [Iraq] is rid of the Michael Aflaqs, the Saddam Husayns and the Sadats, and rediscovering its religion, becomes an Islamic country. Every [Muslim] country must have its own independent government, but an Islamic one. Iran has its own particular kind of government, and so do Iraq and Egypt, all in their own places. But all of them should be under the banner of Islam. God willing, we will get rid of them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 26, 1980 [Mehr 4, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 16, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating the struggle of the clergy and people of Azerbaijan

Addressees: Sayyid Hasan Angaji and the *ulama* and Clergy of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

This message is hereby being sent through the honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Mirza Hasan Angaji—may his blessings last—to the honorable Hujaj of Islam and the distinguished spiritual leaders of Tabriz—may their blessings last.

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your telegram expressing your support for the government, the army and the Islamic Guard Corps of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Azarbayjan has always been the firm and durable stronghold of Islam and the country, and will remain so, God willing. The dignified *ulama* of Tabriz and other places in Azarbayjan, just like its brave and zealous people, have always been in the forefront to defend the great Islamic realm and the Islamic country. They made strenuous efforts in the struggle against the fallen ex-regime. You and the other Hujaj of Islam are the worthy descendants of your great antecedents. It is clear that in this war that the dear country of Iran and the righteous religion of Islam are fighting against America, the oppressor and its devoted servants, the honorable people of Azarbayjan, headed by the honorable Hujaj of Islam and the distinguished spiritual leaders in the vanguard, will fight in the front lines, along with the Islamic warriors, at the required time to crush the infidel Baathist government. And like the ranks of the angels, the great Islamic nation will be their comrades-in-arms and allies.

Finally, I wish to say that in case the *ulama* of that region want to contact me, they can do so through you or the other brothers. I hope that everything be done to serve the gentlemen. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 27, 1980 [Mehr 5, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The necessity of paying visits to the families of the martyrs

Addressees: The Iranian people and the distinguished *ulama*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable distinguished *ulama* and the *Hujaj* of Islam throughout the country—may their blessings last—and all the other brothers and sisters-in-faith of the dear country—may God always assist them:

My greetings and best wishes to you. Considering the country's present situation when the Iranian armed forces have risen in defense of the country, and are fighting at the borders with utmost dedication and a heart brimming with love of Islam and the Islamic country, against Islam's enemies headed by America, and at a time when people like the corrupt Saddam, acting on the orders of the Great Satan, have attacked our Muslim country, and the armed forces of Iran are defending the land of the Quran with matchless devotion, it is incumbent upon all the people, particularly the distinguished *ulama*, to pay visits to the bereaved families of the martyrs, to serve them with Islamic affection and to spare no efforts in supporting them spiritually and emotionally.

I wish to express my respects and gratitude to the noble bereaved families of martyrs; martyrs who gave their lives for the divine cause and thus fulfilled their duty to the Deity. I pray for the martyrs to be showered with boundless mercies of the Almighty, and for the dignity and well-being of the dear bereaved families. I hope that, God willing, their noble and distressed hearts will be comforted by the warm feelings of the nation and the dignified *ulama* of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 27, 1980 [Mehr 5, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The crucial duty of the *ulama* and the authorities: preparing the people for the battle against the United States and its supporters

Addressees: The Sunni *ulama* and shaykhs; the people's representatives in the Consultative Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The great, honorable Sunni *ulama*, *Hujaj* of Islam and shaykhs:

I have received your telegram. The preparedness and unwavering support of the various strata of the people, especially the distinguished *ulama* [may their blessings last], is a great source of strength to the dear soldiers and fighters who have driven the enemies of Islam into a corner on the battlefronts; who, by their phenomenal feats of valor, bring to mind the historic exploits of the indomitable soldiers of early Islam and who are giving us the tidings of total victory on all the battlefronts over the enemies and the superpowers of West and East. This unity and solidarity of the courageous people and the brave soldiers and *pasdars* is unprecedented in the history of Islam and the world. Honorable gentlemen! Wherever you are, you must make the people prepared to fight America and its bloodthirsty followers such as Iraq. A war is on and the respect and honor of our country and religion depends on this struggle. Our homeland, which is dearer to us than our lives, is now waiting for each one of its sons to prepare for the battle against falsehood. We will carry on the struggle for our land until every single Iranian warrior is martyred. Our victory is certain.

Today is the day when all the people must defend their cities and help [the people of] the war-stricken cities. It is now the time when it is incumbent upon the whole nation to extend the necessary, close cooperation to the soldiers and *pasdars* of Islam and Iran. This is the day for our dear, zealous nomads to defend their country's borders. This is the day for our people to join hands with the noble and brave army and the Islamic Guard Corps, and make the enemy understand that granting [the impossibility of] their entering a city, they will have to face the armed and combative inhabitants who will defend every inch of their city. It is now the day for our clergymen in the cities to instill courage and bravery in the people, which they, thank God, are seen to possess. It is the day of unity and oneness. And it is divine assistance

and one of the great divine favors in that, contrary to the notions and desires of the mischief-makers and war-mongers, all the plots and the conflict have resulted in the unity and unification of the alert and vigilant nation which, God willing, will remove for ever the thought of aggression and the suppression of our magnificent Islamic Revolution from the minds of these stupid and petty-minded people.

While thanking and appreciating all the esteemed gentlemen, I wish to apologize for not being able to reply to all the telegrams individually because of their great number and the lack of time. I beseech the Exalted Lord to grant success to one and all. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
7/5/1359 AHS

Letter

Date: September 30, 1980 [Mehr 8, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The victory of our Armed Forces depends on faith and devotion

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (one of the great religious reference authorities)

In His Most Exalted Name

The Honorable Ayatullah Aqa Haj Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi:

I have received your telegram expressing your support for the heroic way in which the dear armed forces and the combatant people are fighting, and your congratulations on their valuable victories. These victories are tied to their faith in God, the Exalted, their unstinting devotion and the wholehearted support of all the strata of the esteemed nation for these self-sacrificing combatants. I hope that it will continue until complete victory over the occupying superpowers of the world and the enemies of Islam, and that this solidarity and unity will, likewise, endure. I pray to the Almighty for your health and success. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: September 30, 1980 [Mehr 8, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 20, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The blessings of the war: the nation's steadfastness and sacrifices in the war

Occasion: The outbreak of the imposed war

Audience: A group of border-dwellers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The war bringing disgrace on the dissident groups that claim to be the supporters of the people

There are some instances when we think that what is happening is bad, but it is actually good. Regarding this war that the despotic Iraqi government has imposed on us, I should say that the thing that happens is all to the good because, in this case, it proved a few issues. One was that Iran's counter-revolutionaries were spreading rumors to the effect that the Iranian army was ruined and unable to resist the enemy. In fact they were, at first, saying that the army was not really necessary, that it must be disbanded and a new one formed. It has been proved in this war that our army is strong and that all the various armed forces are willing to cooperate and fight side by side, and that all the heads of the army are loyal. So the war was good in that it put an end to the rumors.

Another aspect is that the words of the people who claim, and used to claim, that they were the supporters of the meek, the supporters of the people, the self-sacrificers of the people and the ones who struggle for the people, proved to be contrary to reality. Now that the people of Iran are fighting a war with the crumbling Baathist Party, nothing is being heard about them; rather, they are continuing with the sedition which they used to contrive. But they have been made to realize that once the government of Iran decides to get rid of them, it will do so with one blow. This is also one of the benefits that we have derived from this war; this imposed war.

Another benefit is that they used to propagate and constantly say that the Revolution, at first, had something positive about it that the people were united, but now they are not; they are disunited. They used to say such irrelevant things constantly. But this war has proved that the people throughout the country are united and retain their revolutionary spirit. Our youths everywhere and from all the regions of the country are volunteering to

fight. But this is not necessary at present. However, if, God forbid, their presence is needed at any time, what is to happen will then become evident. This is one of the things that has happened for the good of us.

The war, the source of activity and action

Moreover, though this war has been imposed on us, wars in themselves, rid people of their lethargy and the things that make slack and bored. War gives rise to activity and makes the innate nature of man, which is to be active and energetic, manifest itself. Man becomes sluggish in a constant state of rest and comfort. Man becomes progressively languorous and his energy ebbs, and this is especially true in the case of people who accustomed to a life of pleasure or to one of ease. They suffer more [because of their lifestyle]. But when a war erupts, when epics are created, when cannons and such things are fired in the darkness of the night and the light of the day, man comes out of that listless and lethargic state and manifests his own real state which is one of activity and movement.

Another one of the things which has turned out to be to our benefit is that Iraq has realized who it is dealing with. The Iraqis used to tell themselves constantly and indulged in fanciful thought that if they attack Iran, they will finish the job in the very first assault and advance the capital and other places. But they have now understood that this was a wrong notion. While we have not as yet given the people permission to fight and have not called for a general mobilization, they have realized nonetheless that they cannot achieve anything, and that, in the event of the Iranian government making up its mind, they will be defeated very swiftly.

The difference between the armed forces of Iran and Iraq

The main point is that there is a difference between the Iranian and Iraqi armed forces, and between their commanders. The difference lies in the fact that the Iranian forces and their commanders have Islam in mind and act according to Islamic principles. They have nothing to do with the defenseless cities, the ordinary people and the poor in other places. Only when the necessity arises do they, for instance, bomb, fire artillery shells at or attack the satanic centers of power. But the Iraqi commanders are oblivious of God; they do not believe in such things. Thus they bomb the cities such as Khorramshahr, Ahwaz, etc. They target the cities while we, for our part, have our hands tied because we do not want the ordinary, innocent people to be killed. But they are free to inflict any harm because they have no faith in Islamic principles, they lack human instincts and the things that man's innate

nobleness distates. They only think about gaining victory, about attacking and such things. But it does not mean that Iran cannot defeat them. But it wants to go forward step by step lest the innocent people be harmed, God forbid. We have to abide by Islamic rules. We advanced step by step; we went forward bit by bit. So they thought that we were powerless. But now they have realized otherwise. We do have power. However, the people in power here act according to certain principles whereas mischievous people in power act in accordance with other ones. And, thus, they shell population centers or attack them with grenades. But our forces target only their military positions so as to destroy them.

Saddam's trickery in outwardly following Islam

Thus, many things—there are, no doubt, many other things as well—became clear in this war. It is good that the war has outwardly drawn Saddam Husayn to Islam as it is said that he even says his prayers nowadays! He even goes to the mosque! These are the same things that Muhammad Rida Shah used to do; exactly the same. Both of them obtain their sustenance from the same source. At the height of his power, Muhammad Rida used to roundly abuse the *ulama* of Islam. He had nothing to do with Islam, and would harm it. But when he found himself weak helpless, he started praying. He would go to Imam Rida's Shrine to pray, and would do similar things. Now this person is known to all the Iraqis. Do they not know that by praying and going to the mosque, whom he is trying to deceive? He wants to deceive the Iraqis, but they know his nature. He also wants to deceive us; and we, too, know his nature. Some of the people who live in that part of the world—in America and Europe—may possibly not know him for what he is. But the people in Baghdad and Iraq and such places do know him. The people [of Iraq] have lived for years under the Baath party and have suffered because of it. This person who is now saying that he is a Muslim and that the Iraqis are fighting the infidels, is the same one who has his men open fire on the pilgrims that had set out for the shrine of the Doyen of Martyrs on Arbain,¹ killing many of them. Do the Iraqis, who have seen him committing such atrocities, believe that he is a pious person?!

In any case, war is good in one respect and it is that it makes man manifest his talent bravely, allowing him to shed his sluggishness and become active. The people of Iran must bear in mind that they are serving Islam. And herein lies the difference between them and us in that our motive is to serve. The record of the people, from Islam's early days up to now, who

¹ The fortieth day of Imam Husayn's death.

served it and fought and sacrificed themselves for its sake is securely kept [with God]. The difficulties experienced by the Noble Messenger were greater than ours. He was imprisoned for several months or years. He was kept in confinement in Shib-e Abutalib¹, but put up resistance nonetheless. And it was right that he did so. The people of Iran are putting up resistance and ought to do so. The Iranian army, the *pasdars* and the rest of the armed forces should show their power and crush them; these paper tigers such as Saddam Husayn and his ilk.

It also became evident what a puppet he is. They make him dance to their tune, and to a different tune everyday. This war made this clear and many other things as well.

Laying emphasis on the steadfastness and devotion of the nation in defending Islam

What I wish to tell our dear people now is that they ought to bear in mind that we are dealing with Islam and it is at stake. We, the followers of Islam, are fighting to defend it. Our people should be prepared. Our youths ought to receive military training and be prepared as it is possible for the war to be prolonged. We must fight for Islam and make sacrifices for its cause. The number of our people killed in this war is not as much as number of those killed in the early wars of Islam. We must make sacrifices. We must sacrifice all our loved ones for the sake of Islam. This must be done without any problems. The ones who hold positions of power whether in the border regions or in places like Khorramshahr, Ahwaz, Abadan etc., should insist that the people not evacuate their cities. This is cowardice. Islam decrees that the people must offer resistance.

In any case, I advise them to resist with all their might and with courage and self-respect. They should not be unnerved by the rumors that are being spread by the counter-revolutionaries. We emerge victorious. Saddam Husayn is trying to come to a compromise with us, but we will not do so. He is a heretic: he is corrupt and a corrupter. We cannot compromise with an evil person. We will fight them [the Iraqi Baathists] to the end and triumphed, God willing. We are not at all concerned about the governments helping him because our aim is to fulfill our duty. Our duty is to safeguard and protect Islam. We will have done our duty whether we kill or get killed. This was the same rationale behind our opposition to the corrupt Pahlavi regime. It was not that we had to succeed by all means. Our reasoning was

¹ A place near Mecca where the Prophet of Islam (s) and a group of his companions were kept under a strict economic blockade by the infidel Quraysh.

that in view of the difficulties that had cropped up for Islam—its precepts were being undermined and its manifestations were disappearing—we were duty-bound to oppose the regime with all our might. It would not have mattered whether we killed them or got killed because we would go to heaven in either case by the will of God.

Never allow anything to frighten you. You are fighting to preserve Islam whereas they [the Baathist] are fighting to destroy it. Islam is now arranged against heresy. Thus, you have to support and defend Islam and resist the enemy. It is binding upon all of us to defend it. Everybody ought to defend Islam to the extent he can. These people are now attacking Islam and we have to defend it. There is absolutely no question of making peace or coming to a compromise with them. We will never negotiate with them. They are corrupt; they are corrupters; we will not negotiate with these people. Yes, if relinquished power and leave, if they get out [of the country] and surrender, it is possible that we may stop fighting so that further discord among the Muslims is averted. But while they are pointing their weapons at us, we will fight them with our weapons of faith and Islam. And with these weapons, we will advance and crush all of them just as we have so far defeated the superpowers with those same weapons, and cut off their hands from this country.

The superpowers intend to do the same things again. They want to re-establish their hegemony over this Islamic country. It is our duty to stop them. We have to defend our country irrespective of gaining success or not. We must by all means defend it, and when the permission is given, all the people must set out to defend the country. But I hope that matters will not reach that stage, and that the situation will not be so grave. I hope that they come to realize what country and what people they are at war with, and that they stop their devilish acts and their interference.

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

Decree

Date: October 2, 1980 [Mehr 10, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 22, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Sending a representative to Fars province

Addressee: Abdulkarim Rabbani Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Honorable Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Abdurrahim Rabbani Shirazi—May his graces last:

I deem it necessary that you pay a visit to the Fars Province to resolve the problems and disputes that may exist there. You must make every effort for the respected people of that region to maintain their unity and solidarity.

I pray to God Almighty for your success in rendering your Islamic duties. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah 22, 1400 AH

Message

Date: October 4, 1980 [Mehr 12, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Calling on the Iraqi people to overthrow the Baathist government of Iraq

Addressees: The nation and the army of Iraq and the Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the oppressed and noble nation of Iraq that has suffered, and is suffering the atrocities and treacheries of the ruthless and heretic Baath Party for many long years. You have witnessed the cruelty and the grinding pressure to which the great men [of the religion], the religious reference authorities and the crusaders of your country have been subjected. You and we witnessed what this corrupt regime did to the late Ayatullah Hakim and his honorable sons, and in what a state of distress, in the last years of his life, did that great but meek Sayyid join his illustrious forebears. You also saw his respected sons being jailed, tortured and repressed. You and we witnessed what they did to that great Sayyid, Mr. Sadr and his oppressed sister, and how they tortured them to death. You and we witnessed the cruelties and brutalities they inflicted upon the Najaf Theology Center and the other honorable centers, and how they imprisoned and tortured whole lots of *ulama* and theology students. You and we witnessed how these cruel criminals desecrated the holy shrines of the saints of Islam. You and we saw the regime's henchmen pouring into the sacred courtyard of the Noble Commander of the Faithful (a) brutally beating the meek pilgrims and firing machine-guns at the holy mausoleum. You and we witnessed the atrocities they committed against the dear pilgrims to the shrine of Imam Husayn on the day of Arbain. You and we witnessed them driving out whole lots of the innocent and oppressed people from their own country. These refugees are now living safely and respectably in the Islamic country of Iran.

O noble nation [of Iraq]! O unfortunate army under the control of the heretics! It is now more than ten days since the corrupt Baathist regime, acting on the orders of the infidel [world] power, launched its savage attack on the Islamic country, your neighbor. It is committing aggression and atrocities against the defenseless cities and your meek Muslim brothers, destroying their homes and shelters and massacring the meek children and women, whose only crime is that they want their country to be an Islamic

Republic and the commandments of the Holy Quran put into effect. They want to be independent and free. They do not want to live under the domination and oppression of your overlord. They want the resources of their country to be used for themselves and the country's poor. What greater "crime" is there in the eyes of the plunderers, their servants and hirelings!

My brothers in the Iraqi army! Until when do you want to be in the bondage of the infidels and, acting on their orders, be at war with your brotherly, neighboring Islamic country? Until when do you want to fight against Islam, the Holy Quran and the Islamic country, and martyr your brothers for the benefit of the infidels? Rise and rid your Islamic country of these criminals. Until when do you want yourselves and your dear ones killed in securing heresy? You are aware that this war has been imposed upon Iran and that we are defending our country; defense that is religiously and morally obligatory. But, regretfully, we see that the infidels and their evil lackeys have pitted two Muslim nations against one another and are waiting to exploit the situation. O officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of Iraq! Do you know what you are doing and for what purpose you are getting yourselves killed? Do they know what army, what massive force of men and what nation, that struggles enthusiastically in the way of God, you are confronting and dragging yourselves into the jaws of death for the benefit of others? Are you aware that the Exalted Lord and the Prophet of Islam feel disgust for those who fight their Muslim brothers and that this act leads them to hell and earns the wrath of the Almighty God? Stop killing your brothers and come to the Islamic country of Iran with your weapons; we will receive you with open arms. O zealous tribes of the Tigris and Euphrates! O fighters and warriors! Rise in the defense of Islam and safeguard the Quran and its precepts as it is incumbent upon all the Muslims, men and women, to defend Islam and the Holy Quran. O people of Iraq who have experienced, and are experiencing, the atrocities of these mercenaries! Rise like the combatant people of Iran and revolt. Do not fear this heretic party. Know that if you give them time and they find the opportunity, they will destroy Islam and wipe out its traces. They are the enemies of Islam. America, its dependent countries and lackeys have been dealt a blow by Islam. They harbor enmity towards it. Do not expect people like Aflaq, Saddam and Sadat to relinquish their animosity towards Islam. O distinguished Sunni spiritual leaders and shaykhs! O you great preachers and Muslim intellectuals of Iraq! Awaken the people and rise to protect Islam and Islamic countries; God supports you. You saw that the combatant nation of Iran, with its faith in God and unity of expression, overcame the monstrous satanic power that was supported by all

the world powers, and put an end to the influence of the superpowers in its country. The dear Iraqi people and army should know that our armed forces: the brave army, the powerful *pasdars*, the valorous police and gendarmerie, the devoted *Pishmargas* [the self-sacrificers], together with the combatant people, the Sipah and the Basij [volunteer corps] warriors constitute a consolidated, immensely powerful force that is standing like an iron barrier in front of all the powerful entities. They will be victorious as their motives for fighting is the Great God, Islam and the Holy Quran, and their aim lies in being martyred and realizing Truth. And while our nation is peaceful and fair-minded in accordance with Islamic teachings, and treats its captives in such a gallant and Islamic way as if it is dealing with its own youths, it deals with the enemies of Islam and the aggressors against Islamic country, firmly, tellingly and laudably. In this imposed war which was against our wish, you and we saw how our people made the headstrong enemy realize that they are valorous warriors that swooped upon the enemy like eagles, and whose youths, without fearing anything, dealt it such a blow that if left behind whatever it had and opted to flee. May the day not come when a general mobilization becomes necessary, for if it comes, the world will observe what the power of Islam is and that the power of faith prevails over all other powers. You and we saw how Saddam, after doing all the mischief and bloodshed, and attacking the defenseless cities and the shelterless people, is now suing for a cease-fire. There is no doubt that after committing atrocities, every criminal, every plunderer, wants his adversary to become inactive so that he may summon help from mischievous elements and others of his kind, and continue to do crimes and shed blood after reinforcing himself. But our people and armed forces will not cease fighting until they have attained final victory and taken revenge for the crimes committed by the bloodthirsty Baath Party. They will continue to fight bravely and pay no heed to the ploys of the international plunderers.

You and we have heard that the Shaykhs of the Gulf region and some of the governments of the Islamic countries have sided with the unbelievers in this war between Islam and heresy. They are giving military aid to the criminal, tyrannical Baathist government and doing propaganda on its behalf. It is a matter of regret and astonishment that those who consider themselves to be Muslims and are the rulers of Muslim countries have risen against Islam and the Holy Quran and have opened fire on the innocent Muslims. They must know that if it is proved that they have done anything against the good of Islam, and if they do not prove their innocence, the Islamic government and nation will carry out their religious duty. I, hereby,

warn them to desist from opposing Islam and supporting heresy; and to act according to their religious obligations and observe human values. They should not toy with their destiny. According to the authentic news I have, our armed forces behave in an Islamic and human manner with the refugees. I want them to show greater compassion to the prisoners, especially the injured and the wounded, and to serve them better. And I also want them to bomb the enemy positions as before, although the enemy forces have even attacked our hospitals; and this is the difference between good and evil. We and you are aware that the organs of propaganda of the West and its news agencies are greatly helping the enemy of Islam by disseminating falsehoods, and, sorry to say, such things are also seen in the propaganda organs of some Muslim countries. I am warning the Muslim countries to put an end to such false propaganda and not oppose the honorable religion of Islam. Finally, I pray for and thank all the Muslim and non-Muslim groups, and all the Islamic and non-Islamic nations and governments that have condemned the atrocities of the superpowers and their slavish lackeys, and are helping the Islamic countries and the Islamic Republic of Iran. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the students and non-students groups in the European and other countries that have denounced the criminal Saddam and his masters, and pray for their health and prosperity. And I am grateful to the noble, combatant people of Iran, the armed forces, the security forces, the *pasdar* brothers and the *Pishmergas* of Islam, the Revolution Guards Corps, the Basij, the dear clergymen and non-clergymen that have gone to the battlefronts and are fighting devotedly. I also wish to express my appreciation and thanks to the dear ones throughout the country for the praiseworthy material and spiritual assistance they are rendering to their crusading brothers. I pray to the Exalted Lord for the victory of Islam and the Muslims, and await final victory and relief [from the war].

"...and indeed Allah is able to give them victory".¹ My warm greetings and best wishes to the noble people of Iraq who are with us at heart. I hope that they will pray at the sacred shrines for the victory of Islam and the annihilation of the unbelievers. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you and His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Extracted from *surah Hajj*:39.

Letter

Date: October 6, 1980 [Mehr 14, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Occasion: The passing away of Mr. Mirza Mahmud Ashtiyani

Addressee: Mirza Muhammad Baqir Ashtiyani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Mirza Muhammad Baqir Ashtiyani—may his blessings last:

The sad news of the passing away of the late Ayatullah Aqa Haj Mirza Mahmud Ashtiyani—may God be pleased with him—is a matter of great regret and sorrow. The efforts of the deceased in serving Islamic jurisprudence, and his valuable writings have been of immense and everlasting benefit to the school of theology. May the Exalted Lord have mercy on the soul of that great and dignified person, and grant patience and forbearance to his honorable family, especially your honorable self. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: October 8, 1980 [Mehr 16, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 28, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Saddam's government will surely fall

Audience: The revolutionary youths of Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“And wage war on all the idolaters”¹

May the Blessed and Exalted Lord give you power, God willing, to derive this wicked person² out of your country. God is with you, and you will be victorious. This government³ will fall by the will of God.

¹ Surah at-Tawbah 9:36.

² Saddam Husayn, the President of Iraq.

³ The Baathist government of Iraq.

Interview

Date: October 9, 1980 [Mehr 17, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Iran will gain victory in the war with Iraq

Interviewer: Foreign reporters

Question: [What do you think about this war and its future course?]

Answer: In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. First of all, I must say that in accordance with Islamic precepts, we always oppose war, and desire that there be peace and harmony among all countries. But if we are forced into war, we, being warriors, will fight back with all our might, even if all the superpowers support him [Saddam] for we consider martyrdom a great honor. Our people accept martyrdom wholeheartedly. We are not afraid of war; we are fighters, but we do not want it to take place.

The criminal Iraqi government, which is a puppet, has attacked our cities and our civilians. Last night it attacked Dezful with missiles, killing many people. But we will attack their military positions. We will win for we have all our people on our side, whereas all the Iraqis are against Saddam. Even his army is tottering; they will lose the war. The Baathists will be deposed, and an Islamic government will replace them.

We will defend ourselves with all our might and free Iraq from the clutches of these criminals who are the superpowers' puppets. We are not afraid of the fact that our enemy is backed by the superpowers.

We hope that just as we overthrew the ex-Shah with our bare hands, and cut off the links of the superpowers to our country, we will also get rid of this person who is a greater criminal than the Shah was. We will liberate the brotherly people of Iraq so that they can determine their destiny, appoint their own government and govern themselves. We will win this war; there is no doubt about it. Supposing we get killed, our people will continue fighting and gladly meet martyrdom. I hope that we will always have God, the Blessed and Exalted, in mind and that He will be with us.

Report the truth to your countries. We are not asking you to take our side, but just give reports according to your observation of the situation in our country.

Message

Date: October 12, 1980 [Mehr 20, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The responsibilities and powers of the Supreme Defense Council

Addressees: The Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Considering the exceptional situation arising from the defense of the Islamic country which is a matter of grave importance, the following measures have been instituted and are hereby brought to your notice. They will be in force as long as the war-mongers continue their aggression:

1. All the affairs pertaining to the war must be dealt with under the supervision of the Supreme Defense Council plus a representative from the Islamic Consultative Majlis. It is the responsibility of this council to coordinate, the functioning of the armed forces. No person or group must act against the orders of the above-mentioned Council. And when Mr. Khamenei and Mr. Chamran are absent, two of the representatives (one of whom should be the Speaker of the Majlis) must be present for the Council's meetings.

2. For administering the war zones, all the forces must obey the Council which is the sole arbiter in these matters.

3. All propaganda (whether by means of television, radio, or newspapers) must be carried out under the supervision of the Council. The mass media and newspapers have no right to publish interviews, speeches and articles without referring to and obtaining the above-mentioned Council's permission.

4. All foreign policy concerning the war fall under the Council's jurisdiction, and no one else has the right to interfere without permission.

5. All statements, write-ups, propaganda and the distribution of pamphlets are strictly prohibited without the direct permission of the above-mentioned Council.

6. It is the government responsibility to arrest the offenders and hand them over to the Revolutionary Courts.

7. The courts must deal with offenses in a manner appropriate to the situation arising from the country's defense and revolution.

8. It is the Council's responsibility to appoint representatives to administer the affairs of the war zones so that no delays occur.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mehr 20, 1359 AHS
Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1400 AH

Speech

Date: The morning of October 13, 1980 [Mehr 21, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 3, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Patience and trust in God are the solutions to all problems

Audience: The militant clergymen and theology students of Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

These problems that arise and have been arising for Islam are not without precedent. It is not that they have arisen for us at present time. You are aware that the history of Islam is replete with these struggles, martyrdoms, sacrifices and acts of mischief done by the wicked people. Our Imams (*a*) confronted these same problems, but it has been the duty of everybody, and also ours, to be firm and self-restrained, for God is with the steadfast.¹

We, with our bare hands, overcame that awesome, satanic power that was backed by all the governments. This could only have happened because of our unity and steadfastness. We persevered in the face of difficulties and eliminated them with patience and reliance on the Blessed and Exalted Lord.

This difficulty which we are now facing is not very important. It will be solved, God willing. And so will Iraq's problem. The same conditions that existed in Iran in the time of Muhammad Rida, are now present in Iraq, and the same events that started and led to this evil person being overthrown and losing his unlawful throne are happening in Iraq. These bullies are mistaken in thinking that they can rule by force.

Force cannot subdue a nation. It can work for sometime; but no nation can be ruled by force for ever. No government, no power can prevail over nations that are united, and, praise be to God, the people of Iran and Iraq have risen and revolted. May you be successful and triumphant, God willing.

¹ An allusion to *surah* al-Baqarah 2:153.

Letter

Date: October 16, 1980 [Mehr 24, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The treacheries and crimes of Iraq's Baathist regime

Addressees: The nation and the army of Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I deem it my religious and moral duty to point out certain matters to the armed forces and the honorable, oppressed people of Iraq. Perhaps God, the Blessed and Exalted, will remind them and deliver the people of Islam and the Holy Quran from the evil of their enemies who seek fame, and their enemies' masters who seek gain. "*Verily He is Omnipotent.*"

The Iraqi Armed Forces know better than anyone else how much loss of life, property and reputation that this war, imposed on Iran by the big powers, has, so far, caused you. I am really sorry to see so many valiant Iraqi youths being deceived and forcibly sent to fight their Muslim brothers because of the desire and lust for fame of one or more godless persons. They have, so far, caused thousands of these youths to be killed in serving the enemies of Islam—while they ought to be serving Islam by rising to fight the unbelievers—and to be sacrificed for the sake of their satanic motives.

O Iraqi army! You know better than us what youths, who were your nation's assets, you have lost. You have no excuse to offer the All-Powerful Lord, the Muslim nations of the world and your own noble nation. Have you ever asked yourselves to what purpose you are losing your friends and loved ones? Do you know what you are doing to yourselves and your Islamic country? You know better than we do what huge material losses have you been inflicted on your country because of this ruinous war. Do you know that the damage done to your reservoirs and military equipment runs in billions of dinars¹, and that it is all to the advantage of the superpowers and to the detriment of your people? Do you know that in order to make good the loss and damage of military equipment, you will have to pay the superpowers billions of dinars belonging to your oppressed people and country? Do you know that you have lost all your honor and dignity in the eyes of the world and even among your own nation? Do you know what has been the reason

¹ The unit of Iraq's currency.

for all this loss? If you do not know it, we do! The big powers that have lost their grip on the huge reservoirs of Iran, and their control and power over the country, because of the efforts of the people and armed forces of Iran, are now making every effort to re-establish their control and resume their plundering by triggering a war between brothers. And you the army of Iraq have become a tool in the hands of the devoted servants of the superpowers and the enemies of the weak nations. You know this heathen Baath Party and Saddam better than we do, and have observed his atrocities. You ought to know that you, too, are not safe from the mischief of this man. You have seen this man executing in the worst manner, even his closest associates on the slightest suspicion. Until when are you going to put up with this servitude and ignominy? Until when do you want to see your youths getting killed, your resources being plundered and your dignity disappearing?

O zealous ones! Rise and crush this criminal party. Send Saddam and his wicked comrades to hell and, in cooperation with your nation, set up an Islamic and humane government. Do not lose the opportunity while there is time. God is with you if you rise for his sake, just as you saw that the Omnipotent Lord stood by the Iranians, who had struggled for His sake, and is still supporting them.

And you the noble and oppressed people of Iraq, who witnessed, and are witnessing daily, the atrocities of this party and its leaders, ought to know that if these persons, who seek to make a name for themselves and are the devoted servants of the aliens, find the opportunity, it will not be long before they destroy Islam and all its manifestations, and drag your Islamic country towards atheism while gifting your resources to their masters. If you give this heathen party the opportunity, it will not take them long to destroy the graves of the saints of Islam, as well as the Sunni and Shiah shaykhs and Imams. Their main enemies are Islam and the Quran. They consider Islam to be against their dogma and selfish desires. Aflaq¹ and his followers do not believe in any faith or religion. Be alert and do not be deceived by Saddam's hypocrisy and trickery; because his prayers in the Shrine of the Doyen of Martyrs (a) are like those of Muhammad Rida in the Shrine of Hadrat Rida (a) [the eighth Shiah Imam].

This war gives you zealous people the opportunity to break your silence with the cries of "Allahu Akbar"; you must rise and give the enemies of Islam and the Quran the punishment they deserve.

O the youths of the universities! Dear university students! Go to the rescue of Islam, your country and your nation. Rise heroically; your

¹ Michael Aflaq, the ideologue of the Baath Party.

deliverance is at hand and the party of God will overcome that of Satan. O valiant tribes of the Tigris and Euphrates! Do not lose time. Kill the enemies of Islam and of your beloved country by staging a heroic revolt, and thereby repay your debt to Islam and the Holy Quran. Many misfortunes will come your way if you lose this opportunity. All the strata of the people—the armed forces, the government departments, academics, workers, employees, merchants and cultivators—must realize the fact that helping and assisting this illegal, tyrannical and heretical government is one of the cardinal sins and against the pleasure of the Exalted Lord. Opposing it in word and deed, and obstructing it to the extent possible, is one of the divine obligations. Trust in God and rise unitedly against this government for God is with you.

I strictly warn all those governments that are extending cooperation—whether propagandistic, military or in any other form—to the heretical Baathist government in this imposed war and inhuman assault on Iran, to bear in mind not only the wrath of God and eternal disgrace that they will bring upon themselves, but also the swift retribution at the hands of their own people and the might army of our Islamic country. I am telling them not to destroy themselves because at the time when the punishment from God and the revenge of the Ultimate Avenger comes, none of the superpowers will respond to their cries for help. They must come to their senses and end their opposition to dear Islam and the Holy Quran while divine punishment has not yet descended on them and the way back to Islam is still open. I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and the freedom of the deprived and oppressed nations from the bondage of the enemies of humanity. May God's peace be upon those who follow the right path.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: October 19, 1980 [Mehr 27, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 9, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ordering the mobilization of the Iranians to counter the aggression of the Baathist enemies

Occasion: The blessed *Id* al-Qurban

Addressees: The armed forces and Muslims people of Iran; the Muslims and oppressed people of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to all the Muslims of the world and the *ummah* of the great Prophet on the auspicious occasion of *Id* al-Qurban. Greetings on the occasion of this great Islamic *Id* to all the oppressed people of the world who rose against the arrogant entities and the *taghuti* authorities. Greetings to the great Islamic nation of Iran that rose up righteously and bravely against the devilish authorities. And greetings to the armed forces of the Islamic Republic and the brave combatants of the western and southern regions who with their dedication to Islam and devotion to the Exalted Lord are standing like a wall of iron in their sacred crusade and defense of the Muslim country, and are driving out, and will drive out, the bloodthirsty forces of the wicked Baath Party of Iraq and the slaves of Islam and humanity from our country.

The day of bliss of Islam and Islamic nations will come when the bloodthirsty oppressors will lose their power over the Muslim countries. The day of bliss of our noble people will arrive when the Islamic Republic comes into force in the full sense of the word in our Islamic country, and the progressive laws of Islam replace the inhumane ones.

The great Islamic nation of Iran faces two choices at present: the path to everlasting bliss under the auspices of the honorable struggle for God and the defense of the Islamic country, or the path of eternal wretchedness and ignominy in case you display slackness and apathy in this sacred struggle. I am sure that our people will never countenance disgrace. They will not cease fighting until the fall of the crumbling Baathist regime. And they will not stop their sacred struggle until they have rescued the noble people of Iraq from the repression and persecution to which they are being subjected. O valiant youths of Khuzistan, the western regions and the other warfronts: remain steadfast in this field of honor and devote yourselves with all your might to the defense of your Islamic country. You will be victorious by the

will of God, and the Devil's army made to retreat in utter disgrace. And the armed forces that are confronting the unbelievers in Khuzistan and the war-torn borders: be vigilant, be coordinated, and act according to the orders of the Defense Council. Eschew differences and discord, and with the God-given victory tucked under your arms come out honorably from the field of battle with your heads held high, God willing. And firstly, I wish to warn the Iranian people to prepare themselves and have their weapons ready. They should be in a state of readiness so that, in the event of a general mobilization becoming necessary, God forbids, and the order for an all-out, holy crusade is given, they should proceed at once to the field of battle and defend the religion of God and the Islamic country. Secondly, I wish to notify the armed forces that they must make every effort to place without delay, the armaments that they have in abundance, at the disposal of the combatants, whether of the armed forces or all the other devoted young fighters. They must know that even the slightest negligence in the matter is inadmissible. Moreover, I want the Defense Council to keep me informed every day of the situation at the warfronts. In case reinforcements are needed, they should say so as the enthusiastic youths all over the country are ready to join battle. The army commanders must quickly arm the volunteers [who come to fight] and dispatch them to the fronts. They must also equip the army with the various types of weapons, explosives and artillery. They ought to know that negligence in this matter is an unforgivable sin in the eyes of God and the nation, and so must avoid its consequences. I would like to assure all classes of people that Islam and the Islamic country will be victorious while a defeat will be the enemy's fate.

I pray for the Exalted Lord's mercy upon the souls of the dear martyrs of this imposed war. They died for the sake of Islam, and favored by the profuse blessings of the Great Lord, they have attained eternal bliss and honor. I offer my condolences and congratulations to their bereaved families. You dedicated Muslims have fulfilled your obligation to the great religion of Islam and to the Exalted Lord, and have shown us the path of faithfulness and sacrifice. May the Almighty make us join you and not deprive us of this great blessing. I would finally like to stress that steadfastness in this vital matter and intensity of action has brought glory to our youths.

I pray to the Almighty for the glory of Islam and the Muslims, and the victory of those that are crusading for His sake. May God's peace be upon those who follow the right path.

Speech

Date: October 20, 1980 [Mehr 28, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Obligation of Muslim countries in relation to the attack of Saddam on the Islamic country of Iran

Occasion: The auspicious *Id al-Qurban* (the feast of sacrifice)

Audience: The ambassadors of the Muslim countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam being an ideological—political religion

We have gathered here in this humble place at a time when a multitude of Muslims from all over the Islamic countries have gathered in the holy city of Mecca. The gathering is political besides being religious. Islam is an ideological-political religion with worship being systematized in its political affairs and politics in its devotional matters. Islam has arranged these gatherings in a facile manner once a year as an obligation for the Muslims who can afford to gather in Mecca *Muazzamah* and the sacred places. It is recommended for all Muslims, even those who are not wealthy, to fulfill this divine obligation. The salient point in those gatherings is that Muslims are brought together in this spot; in an environment far from formalities, where they are denuded of personality distinctions. All of them are clad in a coffin and a couple of coverings to the minimum extent. The important thing is to acquaint one another of all that has taken place in the Muslim lands during the course of the year and to think about eliminating the difficulties of the Muslims. And the great Islamic gathering of millions in the Hijaz is for this very purpose. It is worship, too, at the same time. But regrettably, we, the Muslims, have distanced ourselves from Islam and have been detached from the Islamic realities. In fact, the thought does not occur to us at all that firstly, those who can go, should do so and have the honor of visiting the House of God, and (secondly) those who are the intellectuals, the writers, the scholars and the enlightened ones ought to collect in that place and reviewing the problems of the Muslims all over the world, solve them to the extent they can. Now, in having the honor of going to Mecca and (performing) the Hajj in the House of God, it is only the common people; the commoners, who collect there. The influential people—government officials, community elders, etc—assembling there and reviewing Islamic affairs and the socio-political problems of the Muslims is a matter that has, unfortunately, been

neglected. And, instead of the problems being dealt with in that place, they are augmented. The problems of the Muslims are many. But the greatest one is that they have put the Holy Quran aside and have come under the banner of others. The Holy Quran states: “*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate!*”¹ If we; if the Muslims abide by this one verse alone, all their difficulties—social, political, economical and everything else—will be solved without leaning on others. Islam has set down certain political-devotional practices for the people of every region. The gatherings in every town, village, and hamlet of the Muslim countries are of a political and devotional nature. Their purpose is to have the people of a region congregate in the mosques and deal with the problems of that region. The Friday (congregational) prayer is an act of worship with political and social dimensions. Its purpose is to have more and more people assemble every week. Sort out their problems on the spot. The gathering at the Kabah is the largest one. No government can, by itself, convene such a gathering. The Blessed and Exalted Lord has so affected it that the Muslims congregate in that place without any inconvenience or difficulty, and without any cost to the governments. But, unfortunately, they do not make use of it.

The Islamic governments’ duty vis-à-vis the Iraqi government

We have gathered here on a day when the government of Saddam the tyrant government of Saddam has attacked Iran by air, land and sea without giving any valid reason acceptable to all the governments of the world, and without a prior declaration (of war). His action is without precedent. He in his own fancy wanted to conquer the country and lay hands upon the Caliphate of Muslims and thereby the rule over them without having any belief in Islam itself. And, regrettably, while the Holy Quran states that in case of two groups of Muslims have differences between them, the others must bring them to a compromise, and if one of the groups is oppressive and rebellious, it must be made to obey God’s command by force, which Muslim country examined the matter to determine the oppressive and rebellious group, and which group it was that launched the attack, so that all of them (the Muslim countries), acting on God’s commands fight against that group? On which Muslim Country has the fact been lost that Saddam rose against us, oppressed us and attacked us? Why don’t the Islamic Countries act according to the noble verse? “... *Fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah...*”²

¹ A part of *surah Al-e Imran* 3:103.

² A part of *surah al-Hujurat* 49:9.

Most regrettably, some of the Muslim countries, that is, those governments who rule over them in the name of Islam, while they see that he has risen against us and has attacked an Islamic country without any reason or excuse have declared that they approve of his action, while some others support him. Where in the world should we mention the difficulties besetting Islam and solve them? In which forum can the Muslims of the world solve their problems? In the international forums which are the creations of the big powers? Or, in the circles that carry the name "Islam", but, where there is no sign of Islam at all? To which authority must Iran submit its complaint? With whom should a nation that has been attacked for no rhyme or reason, discuss this matter? With which one of the governments must it bring up this matter? According to what is written in the Quran, it is incumbent upon all the Islamic governments to fight against the Iraqi government so that it obeys the Word of God and the Command of God.

Yes, Saddam thought that he was opposing a country that was in a disturbed state and had been isolated, and that all the governments had turned their backs on it or had subjected it to economic sanctions. He also thought that we lacked an army and a security force, and arms and armaments as well. He was under the impression that he would be able to take Tehran within a few hours. But he was unaware of God. It never occurred to him that we are a tightly-knit nation and that all the people possess faith, and that it is faith that enables them to overcome all problems and difficulties. They (the Iraqi regime) did not pause to think that this zealous nation of Iran equipped with the power of faith, had dispatched the treacherous, former Shah to hell in spite of the military power he possessed and the backing and support of the (world) powers that he enjoyed. It did not occur to Saddam that the Iranian nation had swept aside the powers that had supported the defunct Muhammad Rida and, cutting off their access to Iran's resources, had put an end to their domination. He (Saddam) was needless (of these realities) because of his nervous condition. When he came to power, I told the people that he is a dangerous person because he is mentally deranged and has dysfunctional nerves.

Iran is not isolated among the nations

It is rather deplorable that some think that we have become isolated because of our opposition to America. No; it is America that has become isolated. It is the nations that are the principal factor. Stop repressing the people and leave them to themselves, and you will see as to who is isolated. In spite of the people of Iraq living under the bayonet, they are with us, and

very soon there will be an eruption in Iraq like the one that occurred in Iran. We are not isolated. Those who are tyrants and committed tyranny against us are the ones that are isolated, because as I said, the nations are the criterion. Prior to the Revolution, we were isolated because the nations paid no attention to us. After the Revolution, our nation became consolidated and unified. *“The Muslims constitute a unified body vis-à-vis the others”*.¹

All the weak nations, even the non-Muslim ones, that are part of the oppressed nations, are with us. So, how are we isolated? Yes, the governments with whom their nations are not in agreement, are against us. But this is not a matter of concern to us. We welcome this isolation wholeheartedly, the reason being that as long as we are not in an isolated state and our links to the superpowers and others are not severed, we will not be able to carry on with our work and stand on our own feet. To be independent, it is necessary to get isolated first we have to become isolated in order to be free. Isolation is not a problem for us nor do we care about isolation, be it political, economical, or social, because it is the nations that count; they are with us. If you listen to the radio broadcasts, you will notice that the world is on our side as it has announced its approval of our stand. The people of the world have even requested us to let them appear on the battlefronts to rescue us from this—in their own words—misfortune, but we are not in need of any help. We will give Saddam and the Baath party of Iraq such a blow that they will not be able to rise again. We should clear this misconception that the despotic government of Iraq and the rest of the Muslim countries have of Iran being vulnerable to an attack. Iran is a divine entity that nothing can harm. Iran is a country that is united. Thirty-five million people, unitedly and with one voice, are standing up against the (big) powers. No power can isolate such a nation, and no nation can rule over a nation that has risen (for God). You just take into account Afghanistan. Even though it has leftist parties, which are powerful and strong, and the government, too, is against the nation and the nation against the government, and the forces of that big power are already there, still the Soviet Union has received such a strong blow in this respect that it stands disgraced before all the countries. The Afghan guerrillas have given the Soviet Union such a slap in the face that it will not be able to raise its head again. Iran is much more powerful than Afghanistan, because it does not have various groups. Supposing that there are some communists and “Savakis” (the ex-Shah’s secret police) here, they are of no consequence; they are nothing compared to the people. But our nation is with the government and the security forces;

¹ Bihar al-Anwar, Vol. 27, p. 68, h. 3 ; Kanz al-Ummal vol. 1, p. 99.

they are together. Thanks to God that our security forces are strong now and well equipped with arms. These are the arms that our enemy (America) had supplied to enable the ex-regime to stand up to the Soviet Union. These have fallen into our hands; we will resist it (America) and every other government. They are not aware of our power; the spiritual power that exists in Iran. They have not as yet perceived Iran's Islamic power.

The Muslims must keep in mind the power of Islam vis-à-vis the (other) powers

Muslims should pay attention to the power of Islam. It was the power of Islam that gave victory to an empty-handed nation over a strong and tyrant government and the big powers of the world. Why are the Muslims unaware of this power? Why are the Islamic governments not aware of such a power? Why should Arab governments be slapped for all these years by the Zionists? Why should they be under the domination of the foreigners? Why don't they unite? Why don't they act according to the holy verses of the Quran? Why are they not united? Why don't they obey the sayings of the Prophet? Who has stated that the Muslims constitute one hand against those who separate them from one another? It is regrettable that they stand divided among themselves. The problem of the Muslims is that they (the enemies) have created differences among them. This plot was designed immediately after the world war. Seeing the power of Islam, they devised their strategy and separated the Muslim governments from one another. They set the Muslims against one another while their governments became inimical towards each other. This is a problem that should be solved. This difficulty should be settled on the day of the *id* and on the day of "arafah"¹ in the shelter of the house of God. It is a matter that calls for the community heads to assemble in Mecca *muazzamah* and comply with the command of the Blessed and Exalted Lord. They should collect there, discuss their problems, and overcome them. If such a thing is achieved, none of the powers will be able to confront you. You, Muslims, are in possession of every thing. Above all, you have the power of Islam which is above everything and which is the greatest weapon. You, Muslims, have plains, vast seas and very large countries. You are rich. In spite of your being rich most of your needy people are living in poverty. This is because you are not in line with Islam. The properties of Muslims that should be spent to the advantage of Muslims, are given by you to non-Muslims, and that, too, at a trivial price. In the era of the

¹ The ninth day of the month of Dhul-Hijjah on which the pilgrims of Mecca perform special ceremonies on the mountain (Arafat).

deposed Shah, that same trivial amount would return to America, after which they would manufacture weapons to confront the Soviet Union. But thank God that He wanted that these weapons fall into our hands.

Defending the country against the aggressors

And today we shall stand against all the countries that want to assault us or carry out any aggression. Our nation with the power of Islam, army and security forces, the holy warriors of Islam and all the powers, armed and unarmed stand together, and nobody can commit aggression against this Islamic country. We don't know why the Muslims, that is the Islamic countries, though are with us, do not intervene and put this person on trial? What are they afraid of? Saddam should be put on trial, just as Carter should be put on trial. He (Carter) worked for his own sake but this cursed one works for the sake of America. It is not for the sake of a few kilometers of parched land, that he is fighting (us), that he is compelling the multitude of Muslims of both sides to kill and get killed, and causing these two countries losses of so many billion of Iraqi *dinars* and Iranian *tumans*, and also making us fire on each other with those weapons that ought to be used against Zionism and imperialism. This is a crime Saddam has committed. We, on our part, are defenders of our interests. We are defending Islam. We do know this man. I knew this man when I was in Iraq. This man, God forbid, if given a free hand, he is worse than Aflaq¹ who considers Islam contradictory to every belief of his.

We defend Islam. A defender of Islam defends it with his life, wealth, and dear ones, and never gives up. Whether we are victorious or get defeated in the material sense, victory is with us. The Prophet of Islam, too, was defeated in some of the battles, but the victory rested with him. Similarly, the saints of Islam were defeated in some of the battles and the enemies triumphed. But the victory was theirs because truth always triumphs, and falsehood disappears. "*Lo falsehood is ever bound to vanish.*"² This day, we pray for all the Muslims. We stretch out our appealing hand importuning God the Almighty to awaken the Muslims and the Muslim governments. The Muslim governments should pay attention towards eliminating their difficulties. They should put an end to their dependence on the superpowers, and become independent; they should rely on themselves and govern their own countries. When we say that our Revolution should be exported everywhere, it should not be misunderstood that we want to conquer

¹ Michael Aflaq, the founder of the Baath Party in Iraq and Syria.

² *Surah BanI Israll* 27:81.

countries. We consider and regard all the Islamic countries as our own. We want them to be in their own places. We want what occurred in Iran to happen everywhere. We want this awakening that took place in Iran by which the people distanced themselves from the big powers, and sacrificing themselves cut off the access of these powers to our resources, to take place in all the nations and countries as well, this is our wish. The meaning of exporting our revolution is that all the nations, all the governments should wake up. They should deliver themselves from these troubles and this domination (under the alien powers). They should put an end to this destruction of their resources because of which they are living in poverty.

May God, the Blessed and Exalted, make this feast blessed for all Muslims. This day and this feast are blessed ones for the nation of Iran that is at war. This feast is blessed for the martyrs of the war and those who have submitted martyrs. May God, the Blessed and Exalted, give us the opportunity to get martyred, too, for His sake.

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

Statements

Date: Before noon, October 20, 1980 [Mehr 28, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The crimes of Saddam and the need to confront them

Occasion: The auspicious *id al-Qurban*

Audience: Habib Shatti (Secretary- General of Islamic Conference)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

There is a war going on now in Iran, and this is proof of their (Iraq) having done aggression against us. If we were the aggressors, we would be in Iraq. Saddam has launched the assault—without any reason, without any prelude to it. He has trampled upon all international norms, according to what the knowledgeable people have explained to me, the weapons he has used are ones which Israel has not used as yet. He has killed many of our children, youths and old men, and he has destroyed many of our resources. Of course, whoever commits such crimes and occupies our villages and towns, desires a ceasefire to take affect. He has robbed and oppressed us, and we have needlessly suffered losses. This is a thing which can not go on like this. If the governments want to take action and bring peace, they should fight the one who has made the attack and is the aggressor. He has attacked a Muslim country. Suppose, that he is a Muslim and the governments want peace to be established, they should fight him till he obeys the Command of God!¹

Submitting to Gods command is not that he should merely withdraw from our country. He must compensate for the losses, the material losses suffered by Iran—nothing can compensate for the loss of human lives—and pull his forces out. He must relinquish control of Iraq. He must set his despotic government aside and leave the Iraqi nation free to take hold of its own destiny.

It is not a question of a conflict between two governments. It is the question of the non-Muslim Iraqi Baathists attacking an Islamic government

¹ An allusion to *surah al-Hujurat* 49:9.

“And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah; then, if it return, make peace between justly, and act equitably. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable”.

which is tantamount to paganism rising against Islam. It is, therefore, binding on all Muslims to fight him (Saddam). And if the Muslims discharge their obligation, we will never want to interfere in another country or attack it. The attack has been launched by them and is against the wish of the nation. These governments must liberate the Iraqi people. They must guarantee the freedom of the Iraqis. They must see whether or not the Iraqis want this government.

Saddam had proposed recently that elections be held in Iraq. The (Iraqi) Parliament passed a law to the effect that whoever opposed him would be executed. Even the clergymen that were against him were forced to vote.

Saddam has not transgressed against our country to the extent that he has committed crimes against his own country, and to the extent that he has massacred the religious and Islamic personalities. His aggression against his own nation is more than his aggression against us. It is incumbent upon us and you and all the Muslims to put him in his place. The losses he has caused to Iraq and Iran should be claimed from him.

We have no dispute with anybody, but we want restitution for the losses inflicted on Iran and Iraq.

We want to safeguard Islam. But Islam is in danger with this party being in Iraq. It is threatened by paganism. You better discuss this matter with those who are informed about this matter, such as the government of Iran, the parliament of Iran, and the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. They, too, tell you the same thing.

We pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord for there to be unity and concord among the Muslims so that others do not plunder us, and for us to remain independent and to manage our own country.

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

[At the end of this meeting, Mr. Habib Shatti asked the Imam's permission for some of the heads of the Muslim governments, leading their delegations, to visit Iran for carrying out investigations and to meet with the Imam. In reply to his question, the Imam stated:]

"There is no objection for them to come to Iran in order to look into the matter of Saddam's crimes."

Speech

Date/Time: 10 am. October 28, 1980 [Aban 6, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Paying attention to divine criteria—the prophets' struggles in the way of God

Occasion: The *Id* al-Ghadir Khumm

Audience: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (The Speaker of the Parliament), Muhammad Ali Rajai (the Prime Minister), the deputies of the parliament, the cabinet ministers, and the directors of the provincial radio stations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Man, the wonder of creation

Blessed be this great and auspicious *Id* for the world's deprived peoples, the masses under the yoke of the arrogant powers and the noble, combatant Islamic nation of Iran.

Man is a strange creature. There is none like man among all the classes of the creatures of Exalted Lord. He is a miracle that can develop into a divine, seraphic creature or a hellish, fiendish one. The other creatures are not like this. It is not that there is a distance between a perfect individual and an imperfect devilish one. It is one of the peculiarities of man in that the Exalted Lord has created him with all his own Holy qualities and attributes. There is everything in him. The Noble Prophet and all the other ones have emerged from this creature, as well as Abujahl¹ and all other Abujahls. In between these two, there are types that can neither be numbered nor known. The deeds he performs—good or bad, virtuous or vicious—depend upon his spiritual aspects. Outwardly, there is not much difference between the deeds. The thing that distinguishes the deeds is the intention. Deeds (of every individual) depend upon intentions.² As is the intention so is the deed. Consider two persons, each one holding a sword in his hand. Both the hands go up and come down in the same manner. Both kill two men. Both have performed the same act. But the act of one is like the worship of *thaqalayn*³. The act of the other is an evil, destructive act, unworthy of mention. But the

¹ Abujahl, Amru ibn Hisham's pseudonym. He was the Noble Apostle's bitter opponent.

² *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 2, p. 2, h 19.

³ Alluding to the strokes of AIs (*a*) sword.

action is the same: the hand is raised, then comes down, and kills a man. Here the difference emanates from the difference between the persons. It is the difference in the mentalities of the persons. The difference lies in the intentions and motives of the persons in question, based on which the deeds are done. The aim creates the stimulus for the action and causes the difference in the very character of the action. It is the purpose that compels one to act. The instances of good and bad, virtue and vice are tied to this fact. The motives that are behind human deeds also depend on these factors and on will, decision, and aim. You see that if an action is divine in purpose, nothing can influence that divine aim.

Stoicism of the Prophets in the face of difficulties

The deed that is for the sake of God and has no other motive but a divine one, is like the acts that the Prophets (*a*) used to do in their teachings. These acts had no other motive except that they were for the sake of the Blessed and Exalted Lord. Therefore, in spite of the many difficulties that the Great Prophets had to bear in the course of their teachings and guidance, none of these difficulties made them slack in carrying out their work. It must be said that, from the human point of view, those difficulties that appear to us as difficulties, were not so for them. And, the reason was that the goal they were pursuing and acting on was so great and sublime that all the difficulties they had to endure for its sake did not appear to them as such. They had an aim in mind; and so we see that the prophets spent all their lives in pursuing their aim. They did not take a single step backwards and neither did their spirits waver.

I do not think that anybody suffered as much as the Noble Messenger did during those thirteen years of his stay in Mecca and the ten years in Medina. If one takes a careful look of Hadrat Mawla Rasulullah (the Apostle of God) one will see and, surely say, that he (the Prophet) did not rest for even a single day according to our perception of rest. While in Mecca, he was subjected to so much pressure and persecution, and also placed in such straitened circumstances of all types and in all respects, that he was forced to take refuge in a cave where he was under surveillance as well. And, his life passed in such a way. He did not have even a day's rest. After he saw that he could not remain in Mecca where his teachings did not have much effect—only a few people; a limited number of people came to profess his faith—he migrated. If we look into his situation in Medina, we see that in the ten years there, he had nothing but trouble and (being occupied with) the conflicts and holy wars that broke out. The burden of these holy wars also fell on his

shoulders. But the mission was one in relation to all these matters were of no consequence. In Mecca, a message was conveyed to him (the Prophet) to effect that he should forego inviting the people (to the true path), and in return they (the pagans) would give him everything he wanted. The Prophet stated that if the whole world—what he meant was something like this—and all the earth and the sky were given to him, he would not give up his mission (of guiding the people) as it was a divine invitation, a divine mission. It was meaningless for him to give up his divine mission in order to gain position, status, wealth, or anything else.

One should not mind the difficulties encountered in pursuing the goals that are lofty. On the other hand, those individuals who have lost their human nature and have become beasts that are outwardly human—they are demons in human guise—also strive to attain their aims. They endeavor to achieve the purpose they have. But the difference between these two paths and these two aims is that they (the beastly type) try to derive some animal and satanic pleasures, while these (other) ones pursue divine aims. They want to reform society; the society in its entirety. The prophets were sent by God, the Blessed and Exalted, to guide the societies that were at the crossroads; one way being that of humans, and the other, the satanic, *taghuti* and inhuman one, with the people themselves being unable to distinguish properly between them. It was the duty of the prophets to make (proper) human beings of the nations, the (various) groups and societies by inviting them (to the true path) and by means of their teachings and guidance. This matter of the people becoming proper human beings has been the aim (of the prophets) since the beginning of creation, and it will be so to the very end.

The straight path, the basis of victory and defeat

The purpose of all the troubles taken by the prophets, the aim of all the heavenly books and the invitations of the saints and prophets was that this creature, which, left to itself, is worse than all the animals and more satanical than all the satans, be guided and called to the straight path, and be turned into a divine creature; a divine and human one. They, of course, did not succeed in reforming everybody. The stubborn ones were many. There were, and are many that were outside the pale of humanity. But they (the prophets and saints) did their level best. All the blessings that there are in the world arise from the blessed efforts of the great prophets of God and the saints. We should not base the criteria on material considerations nor examine victory and defeat in a worldly and materialistic framework. Our criteria ought to be divine and we ought to judge victory and defeat within that same divine

framework. If we succeed in that divine context and that straight human path we shall be victorious even if the whole world were to rise and destroy us. The reason is that the criteria are not worldly ones, and besides that world is not this material one. This material world is the world of the filth and refuse of creatures. There are countless worlds. We have come from there and shall return there. The criteria are that domain and that path. Man in himself, his failures, and successes, his yardsticks, all have to do with that “path”; not the material one. We shall attain salvation if we adopt the path that exists for us—the path of the prophets—and if we succeed in it, just like the prophets did; the straight path of humanity, and triumphed over the evil entities despite being killed, some being burnt and all of them put into great trouble. The pharaohs and their like were defeated in that path, the one of human beings. As a matter of fact, they did not enter it.

The enemies of Islam and humanity did not even perceive this reality of something else beyond nature and animality existing. Those who have understood that the destination must be that we are from God and shall return to Him, “*Verily, we are Allah’s and unto Him we are returning.*”¹ We are from God. We do not do anything; we give for His sake what He has given us. Suppose we be like the prophets or act like them; then, it would, in such a case, be inward blindness on our part to think that we have done something (good). You are drowned in God’s bounties. Your eyes are from God. Your flesh is from God. Your strength is from God. Your hands, your legs are from God. Everything is from Him. I cannot name this as a trust. Yet, there is some selfishness about it. When everything is from Him, if you give for His sake, you have done nothing. It is all from Him and is given in His way. If we comprehend its human worth and its divine worth, we should not feel sorry that we have been subjected to economic pressure. The economic difficulty, however it be, pertains to the world and to nature. The enemy subjecting us to military assaults, sometimes by himself, and at times by means of his lackeys, should not perturb us at all. Why should we feel perturbed? We are acting for the sake of God. The Blessed and Exalted Lord has blessed us with everything. We should use the things He has given us in His way.

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:156.

Praising God calms the soul

If we succeed in giving for His sake what he has given us, we will be victorious. If a Muslim, a believer, acts according to his religious and natural duty, will be triumphant even if he is separated and rejected by the animal—like society of people. And, the bestial and savage nature of the one with an outwardly human face, who behaves in an inhuman way, increases with his progress. Man is a marvel that is boundless in both aspects; whether in his goodness or wickedness. We have to determine the dividing line between man and beast, and between man and Satan, that will enable us to understand who the winner or loser is. These superpowers that we name “superpowers” use all their power for bestial purposes. They combine all their powers and use them for savage and satanic purposes which they are, nevertheless, not able to attain. If they are to attain their desired aim, they ought to be aware of it. As you see, these superpowers advance and in spite of having everything, they still advance. They are not satisfied even if they have the whole world. The reason for this is that there are no limits to man even at this end. The thing that makes man feel assured is God and the Praise of God. “*Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest!*”¹

Those godly creatures feel secure because their refuge is the Blessed and Exalted God. The other creatures that are *taghuti* have no refuge. No matter what they get, what oppression they do and conquests they make, they want to conquer another country as well. Do not think that these kind of people would be satisfied even if the whole globe were given to them. Giving the whole of this planet to such an individual, he will not be satisfied. He will go to the other planets to see what there is in those places. They will go and plant their flags in those planets as well, just as they went and planted their flag on the moon. The reason for this is that man is different from the other animals even in his animality. When the animals are finished with their job—for example, eating and getting satiated—they just sit by until they set hungry again. But man is not like that. We should choose a straight way so that we feel secure; so that we shed and overcome our fear. The prophets did not mind if any one happened to insult them. Their aim was something else; the issue was something else. They did not get disappointed, they did not get discouraged, they did not complain. Yes, the prophets were much concerned as to why man, who is by nature virtuous, should be like this. The Noble Messenger used to worry about this. It was even said to him in one of the

¹ *Surah ar-Rad* 13:28.

Revelation: “It seems that you are killing yourself because they do not profess the faith”. “Yet it may be, if they believe not in this statement that thou (Muhammad) wilt torment thy soul with grief over their footsteps.”¹

His aim was to make them human. Whoever became a proper human was good news to the Prophet and to the other prophets as well. But conquering a country or possessing blocks of houses) and such irrelevant things that concern the companions of *taghut* had, and have, no place at all among the prophets. The world of nature is of no importance to the Prophets. They came to pull these natural entities, these creatures of nature, towards another realm, and that which is beyond my and your ken.

Exit of a nation from darkness to light

Who has brought about transformation in our society? This miraculous transformation; this transformation of a hundred years that it has undergone as if overnight? If a teacher, a mystic or a godly person wanted to bring about such transformation by means of advice, admonishment and such things, it would take him thirty to forty years of hard work to train ten or fifteen people. A country of thirty-odd million people suddenly leapt from that state of darkness. “*Layer upon layer of darkness*”.²

Into light; eternal light. This change that has swept our country arises from the people having clamored for Islam from the very beginning, and their rejection of *taghut*. By this (demand) they brought God’s favor upon themselves. The Blessed and Exalted Lord who saw the nation’s young and old demanding an Islamic state, bestowed His favor upon. This is the divine kindness that drew the youths, who should be somewhere else in response to their inclinations, to fight for Islam against the non-Islamic forces. They came to fight with bright smiling faces. They were not like the soldiers of other entities that are compelled to fight because of pressure, coercion, promises and threats. While watching television, it makes me feel ashamed to see groups of women of the country—well, all the countries are like this sitting down and, in all earnestness, preparing packages, baking bread and making parcels for the youths fighting on the battlefronts. Why? What are we and what are they?! It is a whole nation that has become like this. It is a nation, all the strata of which rose for Islam and the Islamic country, with everybody doing all they could. Well, you saw some of these old people; one of them had come here. These old people go and implore (the authorities)

¹ A reference to *Surah al-Kahf* 18:6.

² *Surah an-Nur* 24:40.

that they be allowed to proceed to the battlefronts. Though he could not go, yet he refused and said that he had the strength, that he could go and that he should be sent. The little boys too have the same attitude. They, too, want to do what the elders do, and like them, undergo military training. The country has become like this. This is God's blessing bestowed on us. As long as we have this divine blessing, we shall not suffer defeat and nor shall we fear anything as long as the Exalted Lord's merciful shadow lies over the heads of our people. If we were material beings, and if we had closed our eyes to the other world and whatever we saw was confined to this very world itself, then we would have sat and mourned whenever any of us was killed. But Islamic beings that are struggling for Islam's sake make every effort without thinking about defeat at all. The battlefields that you now see and to which all have gone and seen for themselves that the young men who are fighting there do not become slack nor lose their sense of purpose on seeing their brethren getting killed and falling to the ground. Just as they go from here with enthusiasm, so also do they welcome martyrdom with zest, bravely and courage in the field of battle. This is an important point. A situation has arisen in Iran which defies explanation. Suffice to say that it is a divine country. It is a country whose people have realized that they must devote themselves to Islam.

Comparing the authorities of the country with the heads of all the other countries

You compare our nation with all the other nations. No, all the nations are good. But because of the pressures exerted on them, they are somewhat unable to campaign properly. God willing, they will. You just compare the heads of this country with those of other countries. In which one of the wars has Mr. Carter even gone to the battlefront? He sits in the White House or in his summer resort and forces people to fight. He does not care if they are killed. He wants them to work for him whether they get killed or not. Which battlefront has Mr. Saddam (Husayn) visited? He fears even his own soldiers and his own people. Do you know of any country where president and other high-ranking officials are constantly shuttling from town to town on the warfronts? And whose parliamentary speaker also visits the fronts? Is there any place where such things happen? Where have you seen the Friday prayers leaders go to the fronts clad in soldiers' uniform? Where are such things done? Where have you witnessed the soldiers, army officers and the army chiefs making such sacrifices? They keep pressing ahead in spite of giving martyrs. Where do you find such things. These are matters that cannot

be solved except by following the straight path of humanity. It is because of this that our people are not apart from their government; their army and the like all of them belong to one another. We are now not worried that martial law may be imposed in Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz and other places, and neither are we apprehensive that such-and-such group, tribe or community living around Iran may stage an uprising against us. We do not entertain such fears.

A few youths that had been lead astray, have also understood now that they should not do such things. They have understood correctly God willing. This country is now an exemplary one. We want this exemplary country to become a supremely exemplary one; a model for all the other countries. Regarding this country, take a look at history from its beginning up to now. Can you find a place where the women, the young women— who, for example, should be taking care of their youth—and also the old men and women take such pains in supporting the army and the *pasdars*? Do you know of such a thing happening anywhere? If you do, tell us so that we, too, come to know of it. Where do you see such a ghing like the ladies standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the people, the *pasdars*, the gendarmerie, the army and all the armed forces and assisting them as much as their ability allows? Is Iraq like this? All the people of Iraq? What Saddam says is absurd. He has said that the difference between those who volunteered (to fight) for him—there are 400,000 of them—and the ones that are in Iran is that the former respect him whereas the latter, in effect, have turned their backs on the *pasdars* and the soldiers. Well, a person's mouth is not muzzled. He says whatever he wants. But on examining the issue, it is seen that it is not so as Iraq has been wrapped up; nobody can see it! The Iraqis have been enclosed in a box. Whatever they say about them is immaterial. If such is the case, what is this martial law for? If his point is that all the people are supporting him, he should sometimes go unhesitatingly among these people and see (for himself) if he is able to! Before this, you saw in the days of Muhammad Rida that whenever he wanted to pass along a certain road, despite his traveling in a bulletproof automobile equipped with everything and accompanied by escorts, the authorities would have the houses (on his route) emptied a week earlier, and soldiers and security agents of SAVAK would take positions in them until he had passed. Now we see that all these people (from the government) and our prime minister, mingling with the people and talking to them. Our president and all our officials also behave in the same way. If he is telling the truth, he should go among the people. Why has he wrapped himself up and keeps aloof from the people?

The impossibility of an understanding between Islam and anti-Islam

Well, what caused him to do such a thing without giving any thought to the matter, without understanding the issue and without taking the people into account? It was only that some devils like himself had drummed it into his head that the time was ripe to attack Iran, and that they become something themselves. They, thereby, led him into committing such a crime. What was the need for him to do such a thing as to now go from pillar to post in search of a compromise? How should we make peace with him? Peace with whom? This is just like somebody saying that the Prophet should have made peace with Abujahl. He is not worth making peace with. He was the one who committed all these crimes against us and against his own country. He was the one who killed all these Muslims committed all these untold crimes, which, I think, have few parallels in history. It is he who has done those crimes in Dezful. Now, suppose our president, our speaker of the parliament, and our prime minister had a meeting with him, shook hands with him and enquired about his health, and then offered the shat al-Arab to him and asked him to leave us alone! Is that all there is to it? How can we answer the Iraqis? Our own people aside, what is our answer to the people of Iraq, considering that a regime has been ruling over them tyrannically for so many years, and has killed and maimed so many of the youths and martyred so many clergymen there, if we, who claim to be Muslims, sit with them (the Iraqi regime) at the same table and talk about reaching a compromise? Let alone answering God to Whom we are answerable, let alone answering the prophets to whom we are answerable, let alone answering the angels of God to whom we are answerable, let alone answering the deprived people to whom we are answerable, what answer can we give the Iraqis?! What answer do we have if we receive a scroll (of signatures) from Karbala asking us as to why we are negotiating peace with a person who has martyred their clergy and incarcerated their intellectuals? As we have been told, their jails are now full and so they have emptied some places for incarcerating the people. What peace can we make? How can we answer what with all the martyrs we have? Considering the many people martyred, should we now sit at the same table and negotiate with him (Saddam)? Our problem is doctrinal; it does not concern choice. Our dispute is over Islam. We maintain that a person who considers Islam to be basically against his party, subscribes to the Aflaqi brand of Islam, which is, even worse than Carter's (understanding of) Islam. How can we make peace with a person, a party that view Islam as being totally opposed to them and assail it with all their might whenever the opportunity arises? That is, should we sacrifice Islam? Is Islam a piece of

land? Is Islam the sky? If in the days of the defunct Shah they had told us—and they did tell us—to make peace with him, would it have been right of us to make peace with one who was opposed to Islam?! Yet, his opposition was less than that of the one but this one (Saddam) is doing the same things and is playing the same tricks which that man used to do. In Iran, he would visit the shrine of Hadrat Rida (a) and would be photographed. This person now visits the shrines. It was broadcast on radio or where was it mentioned that he had prayed without kneeling! But we are not censuring him for this. There is no way for us to compromise with them because we have a certain goal which is Islam. All our people want Islam, but their (The Baathists) goal is one that is against Islam. There can be no understanding between Islam and the anti-Islamic entities.

The heads of The Baathist regime cannot be reformed

Yes, Islam has made allowance for one who has become a Muslim and behaves in accordance with Islamic practices. He can be accepted by you as a Muslim in case you understand that he is one and behaves as such. He (Saddam), for his part, ought to refrain from these acts of his. He should also relinquish his hold on Iraq and become like any ordinary person. He must repent and declare that he has become a Muslim now.

“Islam covers up what one did in the past”.¹ Because of their misdeeds, God has so sealed and blackened their hearts that they cannot be reformed not at all. They cannot repent at all. He has congratulated the ones who have done all these things for their crimes; crimes as murdering people. He is incorrigible. And we have no right to reform him. Suppose that I want to do so in keeping with my own personal inclination. What then, shall I do with the divine obligation that I have? We are charged with a duty. We could not compromise with Mahammad Rida because we could not answer all those who lost 60,000, killed and martyred. If that old man ... I would sometimes ask those who wanted to show goodwill as to how I could answer an old woman who had lost her young son .Did they want me to reach a compromise with him in that he should reign and not rule?! The meaning of monarchy is that he should sit there at the top, and we should address him as “your Imperial Majesty, Arya Mihr” and also observe all the due formalities and ceremonials, but that he should not knock us around anymore. I used to say that how I could I answer this old lady who came to me and asked me as to who I was to call him “Imperial Majesty” while she had lost her youthful

¹ Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 101, p. 371, h 7.

son at his hands: It is the same even now. Who are we to go and sit with them and make peace with them? It seems they have not comprehended Islam.

Some of these clergymen of the Royal Court come and advise us to return to Islam. They do not know what Islam is. They know nothing of Islam except to eat and those same animalistic instincts. This man who has attacked on Islamic country is not a Muslim, and neither is this Aflaqi party. If those who are aware of this understand Islam, they ought to know that it is the duty of the Muslims to attack him (Saddam) as he has invaded an Islamic country. Yet that clergyman of the court tells us to return to Islam! He is the one that ought to return to it. He is the one who must understand what Islam is. If Islam could be summed up as (just) eating, drinking and (indulging in) animalistic pleasures, then, yes, we should return to that Islam which you talk about. But (the actual) Islam is that for the sake of which those martyrs have been offered. Islam is that for which the Noble Prophet and the saints endured so much trouble. Should we now give up Islam and make peace just because we have lost some of our youths, albeit very dear to us? We and our people are the same ones that lost so many of our youths in these avenues in Tehran and the other cities, but did not compromise. While that evil person had all the power, they, nevertheless pursued their aim until they achieved it. Our youths are of this type. Our people, our men and women, are the ones that follow their aim and their creed. They will not make a compromise with any power or superpower.

The difference between our army and the Iraqi army

The difference between our army and theirs is that our army has its hands tied. Islam has specified what the duty of our army is. But their army has got a free hand. It uses cannons and missiles, surface-to-surface missiles in their own words, that are nine or ten meters in length. And even if they destroy a town, they are congratulated. But our army does not do such things. It cannot and never will. Our army only targets their military positions and the people who are against Islam and have risen against it. And it will continue to do so. I must condole and congratulate the whole of Iran. I must particularly congratulate the people of Khuzestan—especially Dezful—for their spirit of resistance and brave struggle, and who are engaged in confronting the enemy. I offer my condolences to those who have lost their youths. All of us share their grief. Those youths did not belong to their parents alone. They belonged to Islam. The Prophet of Islam gives them his condolences. A misfortune has befallen Islam. I thank them because they have campaigned so well for Islam. Their reward is with Islam and with Islam's God.

And, I thank all the armed forces in this war between Islam and paganism. They have performed their duty and very well did that. They gave martyrs and their country suffered damage. They too, gave martyrs. They struggled and rose bravely to the occasion. I also thank everybody and those of the higher echelons—we have no high or low (levels), by the will of God—such as the brothers that had been delegated for these matters and had been there (the warfronts): the prime minister; the president; the Friday prayer leader, all of those that are busy in serving the cause, and very sincerely at that. Our nation should appreciate them. They are our brothers who go to the fronts and get martyred, and who exert all efforts. They will, God willing, triumph. They check those who are anti-Islamic. I thank Iraq and its nation for supporting Iran at this time, to the extent they can, which is the same as supporting Islam.

I also thank all the young men and others, from all the lands of the world—from most of the places: America; Europe; Pakistan; India; from everywhere—who have expressed their support for us and have announced their readiness to defend Islam. I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God for their success in attaining prosperity. I hope that, God willing, the situation will not reach that stage as to necessitate all the youths from everywhere, all the people of the world and all the allies to come and fight and destroy such a person. Our own youths and army suffice for this purpose. The main thing is that the Blessed and Exalted Lord is with us, and that we depend on Him. It is hoped that we will have this trust in Him till the very end so that we may safeguard this blessing of His. I pray to the Almighty God for the prosperity and well-being of all the nations and the deprived people. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: 10 am November 3, 1980 [Aban 12, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The big powers' imperialistic designs in creating fear the breaking up of America's flimsy power; isolation from the powerful countries

Audience: The Muslim students following the Imam's line

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Creating fear to further sinister aims

Among the things that the big countries, the superpowers and their satellite states, and also the less powerful governments practice, and the things they do to further their aims is to instill fear into the (various) nations. As for the small countries, they instill fear into their own people. You had seen throughout the period of Muhammad Rida's unlawful reign that, owing to SAVAK's propaganda, perhaps every family was under the impression that if the people uttered a word against the government or the Shah, SAVAK would hear of it and punish them. With their widespread propaganda, they had instilled this fear in all the strata of the people that SAVAK was such that among every few persons, one belonged to it, and that even in one's house, if things were said against the regime, SAVAK would be informed and would do, and had done, this and that. They used to create such a widespread impression in their own country and the ones under their control that during the time of the defunct Shah, there used to be such fear among the people that, perhaps, brother would be afraid of his brother, father of his son, son of his father and both would be afraid of their wives. Lest they said something that would lead them into trouble and cause them to be persecuted, imprisoned, executed and the like.

Because the powerful, satanic governments, the teachers of these Satans, wanted to extend their hegemony to all the countries, they used to propagate these matters among their governments and the other countries, spreading fear and terror among them. They would make it appear that if some country took a stand against this and that big power against America, the Soviet Union and formerly, Britain, they would do this and that to that particular government and take over the country and such things. This was a ruse they had been employing for many years in order to further their ambitions. The nations, too, had believed this. In relation to those big governments, the

smaller ones had also believed that if they uttered a word against some stronger government, they would be overthrown, attacked, and destroyed. Accordingly, for several years in the past, they would issue ultimatums at times, to Iran, for instance, in the harsh tone they used to use, imposing their demands on the Majlis and the government. And these organs behaved with their own people in the same way as well. So that if there was any talk of martial law, the people would become nervous because of the fear they had of them.

The need to get rid of the fear of the powerful countries

The thought of removing this fear occurred to me at the very beginning. This is a dread, a fear to which there is not much reality. What is real is the propaganda which is a hundredfold more. They intensify it and thereby intimidate the people and governments. It appears that if a wants to progress or to confront a government or any big power, or accomplish something, it has to break these idols. This lies in targeting the ones at the top. By first talking to the people; they should remove the thought from their minds that one cannot speak out against such-and-such power. The people gradually come to realize that it is not as used to be thought in that a word spoken about the people at the helm (of affairs) will throw the world into disarray. So you saw that when we spoke against that man, nothing happened. If at all anything was to happen, it was nothing that could not be dealt with. So you saw for yourselves that when they proclaimed martial law even at daytime, the people poured out into the streets and so defied the law without anything happening. The main thing is that this dread instilled in the people's minds must be removed.

Among the things that they had made much of and by which they used to frighten everybody, was that it was impossible for any country to free itself at all of these two big powers existing in the world at present, and become independent. And, also, that they should definitely belong to either the Eastern or Western blocs. They had no other alternative. It was erroneous for one to think of oneself being something (important) or independent. It was fanciful thinking that could not have any reality to it. But when the nations gradually came to realize the truth, they understood that it was not so. When the Soviet Union intervened militarily in Afghanistan, we saw how the people, weak but lively, confronted it with the power of faith while the Afghan government; the usurper government of Afghanistan is in league with the Soviet Union, and, in spite of the parties, some of which are leftist and are together, the valiant Afghan youths stood up to them nonetheless.

They have been troubling the Soviet Union for a long time, so much so that we can say that they have politically defeated the Soviet Union. This was due to the understanding of the people that if the Soviet Union attacked a place it was not that nothing could be done. It was not that they should surrender hundred percent. Or, in the case of America it was not that if anything was done to it, a country, for example, Iran would be totally destroyed and ruined. Such a notion, such a fear of the diabolical Pahlavi regime vanished gradually, and you saw that they could not keep him (the ex-Shah) in the face of your cries and those of the youths and the men, and the uprising of the nation. Despite all the forces they actually had and the others who supported them, you, nonetheless, defeated them with your cries and unity of expression.

Shattering, America's power in Iran

Therefore the notion that we will be destroyed if we say a word against this establishment turned out to be incorrect. With their propaganda, they had created fear and would do what they wanted by means of this fear. Because of this dread, the people chose to remain aloof and indifferent. They for their part were not so powerful as to wipe out a whole nation. So they took the advantage of this (fear). But the people of Iran overcame this dread and wiped out the regime.

The case is the same with regard to the big powers; and it was the same in that dread was more than its reality. If small countries did something contrary to the wishes of suppose, the Soviet Union or America, it was enough for the latter ones to intimidate them, because of which the matter would end. Or for example, in those days when England was more powerful than the other countries, it was enough for it to send a ship into the waters near Iran. When their ship came here, neither the parliament nor the government could say anything. They would impose whatever they wanted (on Iran). Such a practice was put to an end in Iran as well. In the past; in the time of the former regime, going in to the American Embassy and creating trouble there was viewed as fanciful thinking and nonsense. How was it possible as for a nation that had nothing and for the youths who were empty-handed to attack the American Embassy, or even throwing a stone at it?! If such a thing happens, the government and people of Iran will be wiped out! These were the things which they, by their craftiness and propaganda, had instilled into the minds of the people, thus rendering them oblivious to the national, Human and Islamic power, which they possessed.

We saw how our youths reacted to the troubles that our people suffered at the hands of this corrupt power. They went to the embassy and, storming the place, captured the staff and did such things without the sky coming down. The distinctive feature of this operation was the disappearance of the America's power that had been fixed in the people's minds as to what would happen if even a wall of the embassy was breached or a line drawn on it. You, the youths, went there and took over the embassy. It, later became known to all that the persons you took into captivity there, were not ordinary ones that work in an embassy. They constituted a center of intrigues that was interfering not only in all the affairs of our country, but rather, in the region itself. The previous governments, knowingly or unknowingly, had to obey them and consult them in whatever they wanted to do, just as Muhammad Rida himself say that the list of the deputies would come from the embassy and had to be acted on exactly as they had mentioned. The service that the youths rendered by storming and taking over the embassy and detaining those corrupt individuals was one that dispelled the fear was in the minds of people, nations and governments, and erased their portrayal of the big powers as monsters.

The merit and importance of capturing the Espionage Den of America

It should be mentioned that, following the takeover, if our people underwent hardships and faced various kinds of troubles and difficulties, it would be worthy, the merit of this action does not lie in our stomachs being empty at some time, or, for instance, our not being able to go by car to some place that we want, because we do not have anything. The merit of the matter does not lie in all this. The worth of this in the world lies in your having broken an idol that they had made; a big idol that had covered all the countries. Your action had a political aspect; it was a politically worthy act in the face of which all other values pale into insignificance.

Those who think that we have been placed in a tight situation because of the actions of these youths are making a mistake though they have no evil intentions. No doubt there are some groups that consider even you to be Americans! They say that even our *Pasdars* are reactionaries and Americans. These people; these groups are wretched and unfortunate. But there are some people who are, well, sympathetic to our country and also to their own. They are against all the foreign organs and aliens. But they, too, have been influenced by the same propaganda. They were under the impression of undesirable things happening to us if we did not surrender these spies immediately to America together with an apology. The worth of this

operation lies in its having eliminated these mistakes. Now one year since you have been holding these spies, these conspirators, these criminals there—and nothing has happened. Neither did our commercial activities come to a standstill, nor did our economy collapse. Such things did not happen. Moreover, they would do whatever they frightened us and kept on making futile efforts. But we see that our bazaars are functioning and our agriculture, too. And so are our other activities. Nothing came to a standstill. Nothing untoward occurred. Its worth is this; the merit of this action lies in that big idol that they had sculpted for the nations being smashed. The worth of the Afghan guerrillas lies in their having broken those big idols that they had created in that if anybody said a word against the Soviet Union, he would be destroyed. They (the Afghan guerillas) shattered this notion. It is now several months that they have been fighting all the faces which that big power has employed against them, while their own government is against them and, also, against its own people. The Afghan guerrillas have smashed that monster and that notion they had instilled in the minds of the various peoples (of the world). The worth of your action here or that of their action there is not the type that can be put on a scale. Even if half of our nation had been killed, it would have been worth of it. The issue is not that of hunger that we should lament lest a time might come when we have no wheat. I well remember that, around fifty to sixty years ago, we would use horses and donkeys to go from this town to that. There was no electricity and no facilities which we presently have. It was in such a way that the people use to live.

The nation's uprising towards actualizing Islam; not material things

The thing that is, first and foremost, of value to us is Islam which incorporates everything. We did not campaign for the sake of our stomachs so that if at any time they disrupted our food supplies, we would just sit in our places. We campaigned for Islam just like the Noble Prophet did in the early period of Islam. We have not experienced the pain and trouble to the extent that he did. Our markets are active, and it is said that this year the fruits are more than usual. We also have our food supplies. We have no difficulty on this score at all.

The main thing is we have a nation that has now woken up. They have shattered that fear; that fear of a policeman coming and shutting a bazaar without anybody saying anything. The people shouted, raised cries. And, by their cries, they broke that power that was here; and also the other powers. So we have such a nation of thirty-odd million and twenty million youths, most

of whom desire martyrdom. An old man came to me yesterday. He was close to eighty; between seventy and eighty years in age. He shook hands with me and stepped to one side. I saw him again standing there and then he started coming towards me. The second time he came here, he was crying. I saw his tears flowing. He said: "I want to go and fight." I told him that he and I should pray to God and that the youths should fight. Thank God that a transformation has occurred in our old ones, our youths women, girls, boys and children, every body in that we do not want to be under the yoke of the superpowers again. Of course, when a nation is like this it should prepare itself for everything. This is the biggest power in the world.

Being prepared to safeguard our values and to confront the conspiracies

You stood up to the world's big powers. You must not be afraid of their intimidatory acts. But be prepared to face all this confusion that is being created. We must mobilize ourselves to face these things that are taking place. You have done something worthy. The whole world is looking at you in amazement over the great work that you have accomplished. Those who have undertaken such a big task should not think that now that they have driven this person (the ex-Shah) out today, another one will come tomorrow. No, nobody will come. You and we are prepared and ought to be so. We have to make sacrifices for the sake of our campaign to the extent of its worthiness.

Still, we have not been subjected to the economic difficulties which the Noble Messenger had faced for some years in that cave. They did not even have bread to eat. With great difficulty they would smuggle something in to eat. They used to live like that. But the merit of their mission was such that it was worth living so. The Prophet used to endure these difficulties. Nothing has happened to us. Well, a war has broken out in a corner of the country and our fighters are in the process of crushing them (the enemy). We must be prepared so that in case another devil appears in future in another corner of the country, we will be able to crush him. We want to live and to protect our honor. We wish to safeguard the Holy Quran and our dear religion of Islam that has everything: independence, freedom and honor. We want to safeguard these. It is worth if even if all of us are killed. Are we more important than the Prophet? Are we more important than Imam Husayn ibn Ali? They, too, sacrificed everything for the sake of their own aim. But we have power now. They did not have such power at that time. Hadrat Rasul (s) did not have anybody in that cave in which he had taken refuge. There were a few people who used to live in fear. We are not as yet in that situation. Well, when he

came to Medina, he underwent many difficulties and endured much trouble none of which have we suffered so far.

We should not be afraid of war. The Noble Messenger had warred for the sake of Islam. Hadrat Amir had warred for Islam. In the early stages of Islam during those few years, eighty battles took place. We must be prepared for wars. And we have the power. We have youths. We are a nation which can succeed in everything because of our trust in God the Blessed and Exalted, and our unity of expression. We have no fear of any of these issues. The ones who want to create fear in you are the same ones who had created fear in the days of the deposed Shah. It was by this very creation of fear that he was sitting in his place and, in his imagination, ruling over the country. We saw the hollowness of it when that fear was shattered. It had no reality as they had made it out to have. It is the same in the case of the other powers as well. Don't think they are so great. They are also the same.

Victory in the war by means of coordination and coherence among the forces

The important thing is that we should have coordination among ourselves. The important thing is for our armed forces—may they be victorious, God willing—to have coherence, our *pasdars* and the other security forces should consider themselves to be one. All of you are working towards one purpose which is to keep the country free and independent. You should not be anybody's servant. You should protect your honor.

All the armed forces—whoever there is among them—and whoever from among the people joins them on the fronts, should all have rapport and coordination among themselves. If you are coordinated and work together in accordance with one policy, and if there is one commander for you who acts according to a plan, then be sure that you will triumph and that no power will be able to confront you because your power is (derived from) the nation's power. When the army leans on this great wall; this vast dam that is the nation, it develops a power against which nothing can stand. Our army, our armed forces, our *pasdars* and all of these (forces) are supported by the whole nation. You now see that the whole country is in a state of war; even the girls in their houses who are working for the fighters. In such a country whose army is one with the people and whose leaders are like brothers to the others, all of them are in the service of their nation which (in turn) supports them. What does such a nation fear? Be assured (about this).

The Iranians should not fear the enemy's threats nor the economic restrictions

It is some time now that they have imposed economic restrictions upon us. What happened for example? What problems have the economic sanctions caused us? Economic sanctions? (Some) people think that if we, for instance, do not buy a certain thing from America, we will not be able to function? No, we have a lot. America has stored these things here for us! You ought to know that these things are acts of God. It was an act of God by which that person for fifty years or a bit less, and this one—this second one (Muhammad Rida Pahlavi)—for twenty-odd years, made efforts. And America, too, in the thought that this country, and whatever there, was belonged to it—no doubt they plundered and took away our oil—brought in a lot of weapons for us. There are weapons and ammunition stored under many of these mountains that are there in Iran. And these are the same weapons which our enemy—our present and permanent enemy—had brought for it and which is now ours. What is important is for us to know our own selves, and for our armed forces and people to become unified. If they do become unified and also support one another, no power will be able to break them up.

These big powers have so many difficulties that they cannot attend to these matters properly. Each one of them is confronting the others. It is said that when these wolves want to sleep in the night around one another, all of them face each other in the fear that if one of them falls asleep, it will be devoured by the others. At present the situation is such that you should not imagine that America can do something if it wants to. There is another wolf facing it and watching intently! And, likewise, there is another wolf facing this one. "O God! Keep these tyrants busy with one another.

Things are not like what is being whispered in our ears as to what America will do if it is provoked. A full year has passed since the time that our dear youths had gone there. They have, of course, undergone hardships. They have taken trouble and will be rewarded for their action by the Blessed and Exalted Lord. I need not thank them. Their action is highly valued by the Lord. They (Americans) only kept on talking. They stood on that side and talked and did such-and-such. Well, they imposed economic sanctions and did such things. But the nation is standing firm and sees no shortcoming on its part. The situation will remain the same even after ten years. The main value of these actions lies in their dispelling these fears from the minds of the meek masses the world over; the deprived ones of the world. They come into their own. The opponents keep on saying now that we have become isolated. What were we at that time when we were not isolated?! A weak, helpless and

subject people! A single policeman would hold sway in Tehran's big bazaar! Such was the case when we were not isolated. That is, our relations with America, the Soviet Union and the like were normal.

Independence and self-sufficiency in isolation from the big powers

Now that we are isolated, what are we? Now that we are isolated, our youths have taken over the American Embassy and are standing firm. They have taken and detained fifty-odd spies. But they are treating them humanely, of course. As it is being regularly reported to me, they are treating them very well. In fact, Islamic morality calls for this very thing. Now that we are isolated, our bazaar is functioning honorably and respectably as usual. No one can oppress us. Nobody can order us to shut the bazaar. Nobody can tell us that it is the fourth of Aban and that we must hoist flags everywhere; no. Now that we are isolated, we are on our own. We are independent. Human beings discover themselves better in a state of isolation.

Two or three young men came to visit me yesterday. They had a rifle with them. Now, I do not know what a rifle is. They showed it to me saying that they had made it by themselves. We showed it to the military authorities and they approved of it. They said that they would provide the means necessary (for its manufacture). Had we not been isolated, we would have never thought of these things. Now that you are isolated—according to what they think—you are thinking about accomplishing your tasks by yourselves. Not being isolated is tantamount to being dependent on others; being captives in other words. We are isolated. It means that our ties to others have been severed. (It means that) we are not the slaves of others.

They keep on coming here saying that we should restore our links. They say that they are prepared for it in every way. But we know that it is a satanic design. All the countries, of course, should respect one another. The whole world should enjoy brotherly ties. But this is not the issue. We do not fear this isolation. We rather welcome it as it compels us to think about ourselves. In the absence of such isolation, we will become dependent upon other countries. We will have to stretch out our hands to others for whatever we need. We have to get even the wheat we need, from others, and, likewise, our foodstuffs. And they have to come and set up our industries for us, ours should be in their hands. Until the country is like this, it will not be able to possess anything. It cannot be independent in its economic needs, and neither in war, nor in society. When you become isolated, you can achieve these things. Your isolation can enable you to think about managing your

agriculture by yourselves. Because we are isolated, others will not give anything to us. So we should not depend upon others.

When a nation sees that its food is not being supplied by others, it will think of providing it for itself. The very idea that others will bring us our needs will not allow us to act. These who have ten to fifteen servants at their command become lazy. They do not do anything. One, if imprisoned, performs all his work because he is isolated. Therefore, an isolated nation can progress; it becomes progressive. But a nation that is not isolated cannot make any progress. It is dependent upon others for its food, its vehicles and its electricity. Such a nation is a captive one up to the very end. You cannot be independent unless you are isolated. What fear have we of our isolated state? We had all those difficulties when we were not isolated. Now that we are isolated, we are also independent. Now each person is the master of himself and is not under anybody's yoke. Can an embassy, of whatever country it be, impose anything on our government now? As such, we are not isolated.

You think that we are isolated. Being isolated in the sense that you do not want us to be means that we should be dependent forever; that we be slaves with rings in our ears. God knows that the bitterness of seeing a picture that day, of Muhammad Rida perhaps still lingers in my mind. It was a magazine which showed him, while in America, standing like a child in front of one of its presidents who had removed his spectacles and was not even looking at him. He was standing like that, with him (the president) looking away like that! It is not pleasant to know that we are like this in that a person who says he is everything and wants to take his country to such-and-such a position, overtaking even Japan, and also accomplish certain things, is so weak and despicable that on proceeding to America, and following all the formalities for obtaining permission for certain matters, stands beside him—it was Johnson¹ apparently—with that man not even looking at him. He had removed his spectacles and was looking away like that while he (Muhammad Rida) stood in such a manner! God knows that for a nation, this non-isolation is far worse than every kind of isolation. Yes, he was not isolated. The gentlemen want us also to be like this. With open arms, we welcome such isolation which these gentlemen think there is.

Thoughts cannot develop unless there is isolation. Your brains are not smaller than American ones. But they brought you out of your isolated state and made you dependent. You ought to be isolated until the Day of Judgment. Dependence does not let your thoughts develop. Your minds will

¹ Lyndon Johnson, a former American president.

become sterile and you will not be able to accomplish anything. The state of our country would have been different had our brains worked. But they did not let our brains work. They imported everything; they gave away our underground resources and brought in every thing. They provided every thing so that you did not think of setting up any industry. Unless you sever your dependence this dependence that drags you towards real isolation—you will not be able to have industries and your country will not become industrialized. You will not become free and independent. This isolation (of ours) is one of God's great blessings.

You compare your country in which you are isolated today, with that of ten years ago, when you were not isolated. You just compare and ponder to this effect that we have nothing. We have men. We have human beings. We have youths. We have youths who have been standing up with all their might against all the powerful countries. Have we nothing? We have everything. We have these vast lands. We have so many underground resources. In what way do we have nothing? We have everything. It is only this non-isolation that has led us to this situation that we have to extend our hand to others for everything. We must endure hardship for a few years. The hardship is not much. We must put up with it until we are able to stand on our own feet and become something.

The powerful resistance of the Iranian nation against Iraq's aggression

These powers are now defeated ones. The sign of it is that it is now one year that our youths have done this job. The value of their action is also great. The world did not collapse. Now, consider this wretched slave, this wretched Saddam, who is ruining his own nation and imposing so many hardships upon it. He has mounted a futile attack on us. We have patience and endurance. Our people—and our youths since the time they opened their eyes—have been plagued by these problems and misfortunes for fifty, sixty years. We are used to enduring difficulties. Likewise, our youths are used to these hardships. Now that they have discovered themselves and see themselves independent, we will face this war with all our might even if it lasts for twenty years, while he will have faded out by then. Do not think that this is something big. The fact that you see him firing missiles is because he cannot come here and confront us. He is firing missiles from a far. As he lacks the power to confront our youths, he is committing these crimes and, in his own imagination, wants to frighten our people. He is constantly suffering human and material losses everywhere. But his bad nature and faulty thinking together with his shattered nerves, that have become worse now, do

not let him come to his senses and understand what he should do. He has lost his standing even there; in Iraq itself. The Baghdad radio and the newspapers there are, no doubt, making a lot of noise. The hubbub there is great. But it ought to be seen as to what the world's outlook is. They (the Baathists) have lost their political prestige—if they had any—in all the world's countries. Even the people of Iraq are against him. They are gradually becoming restless; the signs of which have appeared already.

The difference between our people, and our security forces, and them is that these (the former) are from, and with, the nation. And the nation, too, is with them. Their fighting serves to bear this out. May God protect everybody. People are giving assistance all over Iran. Can you find even a village in Iraq that has helped (its armed forces) like this? Of course, they take what they want by force. They rob and take things by force. You will not find a single village in Iraq where the youths and the womenfolk bake bread, or even pack things, for them (their soldiers)! They do not have them. Who does such a nation fear?! Why should it?! We have God; we have Islam. We are fighting for God. Why should one who is fighting for God, fear?! Whom should he fear? The ones that ought to be afraid are those that will go to hell for their actions when they depart this world. It is our youths who are fighting for God. He will reward them. Is it possible for one to strive in the way of God without the Blessed and Exalted Lord bestowing His favor upon him?! The nation's martyrs, too, will be united with those of early Islam, God willing. You are powerful.

May God protect all of you. Just as that gentleman stated, I, first of all, wish to thank you for the trouble that you have taken. But I should not do so as the country is yours and you have acted on your own behalf. Your act is of great worth. Now that the Majlis has carried out its task, your desiring to entrust the matter to the government is the right thing to do. May you all be safe wherever you are and also on the battlefronts, God willing. I hope that you will mightily overcome all the satans.

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

Speech

Date: Morning, November 5, 1980 [Aban 14, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Rida Khan's mission to wipe out the religion; Islamic tenets being political in nature; stating the effects and blessings of war; the order to break the blockade of Abadan

Occasion: On the threshold of the month of Muharram

Audience: Preachers and religious orators

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The sinister aims of the foreign experts in identifying the country's resources

I thank you gentlemen for coming in this cold weather to this humble place. I pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord for the prosperity and happiness of all. I would like to mention a certain point. We should learn a few things from these experts of the big powers. It has been a long time, perhaps more than three hundred years that they have gained access to these countries. They have studied everything about these countries, especially those of great importance to them such as Iran. They have studied whatever assets we have, whether the underground resources or others, and the things which have a bearing upon the development of a country, such as culture, economics and the like. And their studies are more extensive than ours. They used to come to Iran and move about in caravans in those days, when the present means of transportation did not exist. They used to ride on camels and travel around Iran. They used to study all the plateaus and plains of Iran. They used to take photographs of the places that probably contained (natural) resources. And they would discover them. They are more aware than us of all our underground resources. They have also made extensive studies of our cultural and political matters. They have made many studies of the mentalities of the nomadic tribes living around Iran and elsewhere, and have gained much knowledge about them. We have not studied them to that extent. Many are the studies that they have carried out regarding our towns and villages, our culture, beliefs and tendencies. We have to see what it is that they, after having made these deep studies, want for themselves; what they want, and had wanted, to exploit and what things they thought would be to their benefit, and advantageous for them to exploit. And also the things

and groups they thought were not of any use to them; what groups (of people) they considered as being against their domination. Of the East, in particular Iran which has a certain specialty of its own. And also what group or groups they considered as not being against or even favorably inclined to such domination.

The manner in which the Pahlavi monarchy took shape

When we study the events that took place in Iran from the time that Rida Khan staged his coup d'état, which I remember clearly, and came to Iran—the British had first brought him here and planted him in power—until the time that Muhammad Rida came in his place and then left, we can see what groups they had opposed and with whom they had compromised and come to terms. We cannot say which one of these two was more evil. We, however, were affected by the second one's evilness to a greater extent. Muhammad Rida was thrust upon us by the Allies. He, himself, has mentioned this fact in his book. But perhaps it is not there in it anymore. If anybody possesses the first edition of this book, he can see that Muhammad Rida had written that the British saw that it was in their interests to have him in power and rule the country. When Rida Khan first appeared, we had no doubt that he was an illiterate person. But they had realized that he was powerful and bold, and that he was equal to the task. They brought him here and broadcast on Radio Delhi—you may not remember but those who are aged may do so—which belonged to them at the time that they had brought Rida Khan to power but removed him after he opposed them and started, for example, to fraternize with the Germans.

By the studies made, they understood that he was a ruffian who was rather lacking in political acumen. They thought they could well use him as a tool. They brought him and carried out a coup, arresting many people of all classes at that time. It appeared at the beginning of his rule that he was following to the letter a plan that they were dictating to him. He started behaving hypocritically at first. He used to attend commemorative mourning services. In fact, he would hold such meetings himself. At first he started pretending (to be religious). According to what was being said at that time, he used to go barefooted to every "*takiyeh*" (a place where passion plays representing the tragedy of Karbala are held) in Tehran. He would go everywhere and behave very warmly with the people. He continued in this way until he acquired full power and firmly established himself. We have to see that when he had become powerful, to what groups, people and plans was his opposition more.

Rida Khan's efforts to efface the religion and destroy the clergy

Many people no doubt remember that he had started opposing the clergy in the name of instituting reforms, etc. As we saw, they (Rida Khan's regime) had set up an examining board in the Faydiyyahh Theological School and, perhaps, elsewhere, the clerics who were affiliated to them used to appear before the board for an examination. They made propaganda to the effect that they wanted to separate the righteous ones; those who had the right knowledge from those who did not; the ones who did not deserve to put on these robes. The examinees were under such an impression. Even some of the respected gentlemen of Qum had believed this. May God bless the late Mr. Fayd¹. He told me that it was not a bad thing that, in the faydiyyah theology school, they had starting differentiating between the "good" and "bad" ones. I told him that they were doing this so as to eliminate the good ones; not the bad. And that was just what happened. They came for this purpose initially, and we experienced great distress because of this examination and this arrangement. They next brought another excuse in that the people should have the same type of dress. They removed the turbans from the heads and did such damaging things that tarnishad the face of history. These are of course, lengthy issues that those who know history are, perhaps, aware of. The persons who are well informed should write about them.

Later, in those same days, they made every effort to prohibit the holding of commemorative mourning services, such that, in the cities, there was, perhaps, not a single public service held like the conventional ones. I remember that in Qum, one of the gentlemen used to have a mourning service consisting of a few persons before dawn. And they would disperse before the sun rose. I suspect that they prevented even those meetings from being held. These two wings of the clergy, the clerics and the preachers; these two ways, these two directions that were the objects of their attentions, were attacked by them and had their turbans removed from their heads. One of those in Qum who were committing these atrocities said one day that there must be only six clergymen in the whole of Iran. But he was only lying. They would not have allowed even a single clergyman to exist had it been possible for them to do such a thing. We understand from their attacks on these two wings (of the clergy) and on the mourning congregations that they are more concerned about these two that oppose the superpowers and are obstacles to

¹ Mirza Muhammad Fayd QummI (died 1329 AHS) was one of the distinguished *ulama* of Qum at the time when the theological center was established there.

their aims. Therefore, they (these two wings) have been subjected to greater persecution.

Rida Khan, the enforcer of the colonialist plan to abolish the “hijab” (Islamic head covering for ladies)

After that, when they put into effect the removal of the hejab in that disgraceful and scandalous manner, it was because they wanted to crush those who had love for Islam, religion and religious precepts. God knows what atrocities they committed in the process of removing the hejab. They even used to recommend to the senior *ulama* to have parties, with their wives, in attendance. They told the *ulama* to bring their wives to parties as it had been so ordered. It is narrated that one of them (Rida Khan’s officials) had gone to see the late Mr. Kashani and told him that it had been ordered that he participate in a mixed party. Mr Kashani responded that the one who had so ordered should go to hell. That man (the messenger) said that so-and-so at the top (of affairs) had ordered it whereupon Mr Kashani replied that he, too, was referring to that top authority. Yes, these people wanted to carry out their agenda by means of intimidation and by creating commotion. They, therefore, did not raise any objection to his refusal. The weak ones; those who were weak-minded would go to such parties; not the resolute ones. We ought to learn from these issues. In order to attain their objectives, they carried out various kinds of propaganda—they did not use force—on an extensive scale, and made use of their studies to surmount the obstacles encountered by them. This varied propaganda was done in every way; speeches, writings, newspapers and all other means were employed. And they were initially successful, in which connection I have repeatedly said that the late Aqa Shaykh Abbas Tehrani¹—may God bless his soul—had related that when he was in Arak, he once wanted to proceed to Qum or Tehran. He tried to hire a car, but the driver told him that he and the other drivers had vowed and had agreed among themselves not to transport two categories of people: the prostitutes and the clergymen. As a result of their propaganda, the poets, too, versified against the clerics. Perhaps these lines are familiar to some of you: “Until the cleric and the Qajar exist in this country, where can the country carry its shame!” That evil and ungodly person² had thus versified in his poem.

¹ One of the prominent teachers of ethics in the Qum Theological Center and Tehran.

² Mirzadeh IshqI.

The poets read poems; they gathered together; they had parties; they crushed these clergymen and these pious people in every way they could. Their real aim was to wipe out Islam. They had realized that as long as Islam held sway in the country, they would not be able to dominate it in the way they wanted. They had to eradicate Islam, its manifestations and precepts so as to succeed in their objectives. So, they studied the things that were able to serve Islam more, and preserve its power better. And they crushed those very things to a greater extent. They wanted to efface more those tenets of Islam with which the people were more familiar, for instance, and for which they had a greater predilection.

Exercising vigilance against the designs of the foreigners

We should not presume that the issues and problems of Iran are over. Neither have its cultural problems ended, nor all the other ones. You should not be afraid of the attack of Iraq's tyrannical government against us and the improper things that it is, for instance, doing. Do not ever fear such things. They cannot do anything. You ought to be apprehensive that they may have more designs now than those they had prior to the revolution, in the days of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida. Previously, they had mentally and scientifically come to the conclusion that if Islam and its manifestations became prevalent, it would not be to their advantage. But now that they have been actually dealt a blow and have seen the power of Islam in a nation of 30-odd million and what it has done to them, and also the fact that there are one billion Muslims in the world, they wonder what they will do if the world's one billion Muslims become like those in Iran.

Today, the plan is more precise than it was then. The plans they want to execute today are more than before. Therefore, we must be more on our guard and more vigilant. You see that now that a few clerics are serving the revolution sincerely, there is an outcry in every quarter that it is a government of the clergy! So these murmurs are gradually developing into those same designs of the past. At that time too, it did not happen all of a sudden. In the beginning, little by little they started criticizing a few "*alims*" and a few preachers of the country. They criticized and criticized. Then it was the turn of the newspapers. Speeches were made and gatherings organized. Then, they did their job. Now too the same plan is at work.

The philosophy of mourning for the Doyen of Martyrs (a)

In those days, a phrase was much in the air. They used to say "A Mourning Nation". They wanted to deprive us of these congregational

meetings (for Imam Husayn). Therefore, they had banned all such meetings. They did this through a man who himself used to attend these very same meetings and make such a show. Was the issue the congregational meeting itself or something else which they had perceived in it and wanted to eradicate? Was the “*ammamah*” (the clergyman’s turban); the cap, the issue, or did they discern something else in it and, based on that understanding, used to oppose the turban? They had realized that the turban (that is, the clergy) had something to it that did not let them act, and that these mourning gatherings were able to prevent them from accomplishing their job.

When in the month of Muharram the people throughout the country say the same thing, you should not think that this weeping and these mourning congregations are because of our grieving for the Doyen of Martyrs. The Doyen of Martyrs, does not need our tears and nor do they, in themselves, accomplish anything. But these congregations bring the people together like this and provide them with a common direction. Thirty or thirty-five million people during these two months, particularly the ten days of Ashura, tread the same path. The preachers and the *ulama* can bring people throughout the country together and mobilize them for a single purpose. The political aspect of these congregational meetings is more important than all other aspects. It is not for nothing that some of our Imams have said that speeches be made from the pulpits to commemorate their suffering. It is not for nothing that our Imams have stated that whoever cries (for them), makes others cry or assumes a mournful appearance will be given such-and-such a reward by God as weeping has its own reward. The issue is not one of crying and making others cry. The issue is a political one by which our Imams, with that divine outlook they possessed, wanted to mobilize and bring the nations together by various means. They wanted to bring about cohesion among the people so as to render them invulnerable.

Most of the Islamic issues are political

Islamic issues are political ones. The political aspect overshadows its other ones. Some of the congregations which Islam has made compulsory and obligatory for us and some that it favors or highly esteems are political issues. The matter of Mecca (the Hajj) is a political one.

The congregation in Mecca in those various forums and with that uniformity of the people of different lands on whom it is binding to come there and perform the rituals, is political in nature. God does not need my worship or yours. The Blessed and Exalted Lord wants the people to

assemble. He has made it incumbent on the Muslims to gather there and discuss the problems concerning Islam and find a solution to them.

It is regrettable that owing to their unawareness, the people gather in Mecca but do not air their problems adequately. But the situation has improved to a certain extent now. Muslims from every part of the world collect in such vast numbers that no power on earth can rival. However, much the governments try, they can only get a certain number of people of their own countries or of other ones to congregate in a single place. God the Blessed and Exalted has made it incumbent on the people, the ones that count, to assemble in Mecca, to collect there, altogether.

The political aspect of this congregation is that, firstly, the Hajj pilgrims ought to become aware of one another's situation, establish rapport among them, be like brothers unto one another, behave in a brotherly manner with one another and discuss the problems of their lands, their countries, and find solutions to them. If we had been performing the Haj in accordance with what the spirit of it demands, these numerous difficulties that have arisen for the Muslims would not have appeared.

The need for the Islamic governments to take advantage of the gathering of Muslims during the Hajj

If the Islamic governments had really come to their senses and given their attention to this vast forum (of the Hajj) that the Blessed and Exalted Lord has made incumbent on us—a number of us—and has recommended that all of us go there, if the governments had provided the means, if the peoples of the nations proceed to that place had met one another with open arms and discussed their problems and the difficulties that the big powers have created and are creating for them, if they had talked and returned to their countries and publicized these issues, if the governments had been ones that paid attention to these problems and had not been under the yoke of the big powers and had realized that the satisfaction of ruling over a society that is aware is greater than ruling over one that is not aware of anything, and that ridding themselves of the yoke of the superpowers, even if it entailed every kind of misfortune for our peoples, is better than living in big palaces and mansions or moving about in fancy cars and being slaves, if they had realized this and had stopped doing these things while developing harmony with the people, if they had provided the means and had performed the Hajj—blessed by that vast gathering—properly and not in the present. And, if they had come themselves and sat down and solved their problems, Islam, then, would have become such a power that no other power could face. This is one way;

the custom regarding which the people of all countries are invited once a year to observe. “*And pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither.*”¹ Everybody who is able to go, must do so.

The other way concerns the *Id* prayers, held twice a year, and the congregations therein. This is a matter wherein the people used to gather, and do gather. These are political in nature as well. The weekly Friday prayer congregations should become larger, and the current problems discussed everywhere. Thank God that this has been done over these years. It is hoped that the congregations increase. The gentlemen, too, should give publicity to these (congregations) so that they become better. There are also the daily congregational prayers for which the people must collect in the mosques; not only those same people, the old and the weak, no. The youths ought to fill the mosques.

It we realize what advantages these gatherings, about which Islam has instructed us and provided for us, have and what political problems and (other) difficulties they solve, we will not be so listless for our mosques to become the centers for the old men and women. When the people of the community, especially the ones that count, and everybody go to the mosques and collect there, and the preachers speak about current matters and the problems and difficulties they have, the problems will be solved. The months of Muharram and Ramadan; Muharram, Safar and Ramadan, have so many blessings that a person is not able to compute them. The Ashura (10th Muharram) gatherings and the observance of mourning for the martyr, the greatest martyr of the world, have many blessings. Even at that time when the political issues were not being raised, these events had so many blessings for the nations that they cannot be computed.

Propaganda to weaken Islamic rites and manifestations

Presently we are more in need of these mourning ceremonies. Let them not whisper to you to discontinue these meetings and mourning congregations and not spend money on them, but spend if for the war-stricken people instead. No, this is not the issue. We must bear the expenses for the war victims. Our nation must appreciate those who have suffered such losses in the war and the youths who are making such sacrifices. We must show hospitality to those who have left their houses? This is a human obligation besides being a divine one. It does not mean that we must stop doing our other work, and just stick to this task. We must do everything.

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran* 3:97.

Today, our need for these mourning meetings and passion plays is greater than in the past. These gatherings and these (processional) batches across the country have assumed a political hue and rightly so. If in these ten days of Muharram concerning which God has provided us with the means and the Infallible Imams have made strong recommendations about such matters and the Blessed and Exalted Lord has earmarked such rewards—we 35-odd million people in this month of Muharram, in these ten days (of Muharram), hold meetings, and the preachers, too, mention the current issues, read elegies and mourn for the Doyen of Martyrs, it constitutes a rite, a divine rite (that the people perform).

One of the erroneous assertions that have been put in the mouths of the people is that we have now staged a revolution and so it is no longer necessary to hold mourning ceremonies. It is like saying that as we have carried out a revolution, it is not necessary for us to say our prayers anymore. Our revolution was for this very purpose. It was staged in order to revive Islamic rites. Our revolution was not for the purpose of putting an end to these. Keeping Ashura alive is a most important ideological-political issue. Lamenting a martyr who gave everything of his for the cause of Islam is a political issue. It is a matter that has a justified effect on the success of the revolution.

We benefit from these gatherings. We benefitted from those cries of “*Allahu Akbar*”; our people benefitted from those shouts of “*Allahu Akbar*”. So we ought to preserve these “*Allahu Akbar*”. These manifestations, rites and practices that Islam has recommended should not be thought of as having been superficial things over which the people wanted to gather and cry. No!

We are a nation, shedding political tears. And, we are a nation that creates a flood by these very tears and smashes the dams that stand against Islam.

How is it that in Rida Khan’s time, they had gathered together and wept over Iran’s defeat by Islam? Why did they cry if crying was objectionable? They had wanted to revive the Zoroastrian faith and the nation and nationalism that they had in mind. These decayed thoughts still exist in the minds of some people. Therefore, in that meeting, they exchanged words and wept as to why the followers of Zoroastrianism were defeated by Islam. They do not want you to weep for a martyr of Islam. In case you cry over the defeat of Islam, they say that it is good to cry. They do not want you to cry for one who had given everything of his for Islam. They do not want you to keep alive an event which crushed the big powers and that you too under its influence, can crush if possible. They do not want such matters to take place.

And, regrettably, those deviated ones are carrying out propaganda; these agents who are told to do this kind of propaganda, and which some of our youths believe. Our youths ought to know that any kind of propaganda against any of the Islamic manifestations is being done by those at top and the plunderers through their agents in order to crush Islam.

Thank God, our youths are Muslims and active as well. They should pay attention as to what these Islamic rites have to which they are opposed. What lies in the turban to which they are opposed? What lies in these mourning ceremonies which they oppose? What emerges from them that unite the people; that make them pour out of their houses and cry out loudly on a particular day? Have they at any time pondered as to what would happen if the preachers and *ulama* among these people arranged to mobilize the people against a power on that (particular) day? They are afraid of such a thing (happening), they say that we can sit by and keep on weeping; they do not object to it. But we must give them our oil. The mourning congregations may continue; they have no objection. But we must not oppose them!

As such they fear the political aspect of these gatherings. Today, a change has taken place in our gatherings. It is not like the past. They have changed all the individuals of our nation and our congregations have changed. Those who have the political aspect (of these meetings) in mind; the intellectuals for instance, should not think these mourning observances do not count anymore. These are the very lamentations that have advanced the cause; these are the very meetings that awaken the people. We must take a lesson from the opposition that took place in the era of Rida Khan. We have no doubt that it was done according to orders. It is quite likely that he would not have shown such opposition had he not been so ordered. When we see that there were against the mourning ceremonies, it becomes evident that these mourning congregations were against them. Their opposition to the clergy shows that the clergy were detrimental to them by their opposition to the university; we see that the university was opposed to them. The existence of a proper university was against their interests. They were not against a university, and everything concerning it, set up and organized by themselves, and all the students who graduated from it working for them. But today they are against the university. In the Islamic Revolution, they are against its university, its mourning meetings, its clergy its pious bazaar youths. They are opposed to all.

We must be vigilant and attentive because today the big powers are exerting all-out opposition against our nation and its Islamic institutions. Their propaganda is more detrimental to us than the wars. We must not treat

this propaganda casually. What fear do we have of war? What fear does a nation, which is ready for martyrdom and consider it a great victory, have of these issues? These (issues) are not to be feared. Besides, our people wake up when a war begins. They become more dynamic.

You can see that because of this war that they imposed on Iran and which the traitors to Islam, the bitter opponents of Islam, started, how Iran came alive once again, and how all the people as one throughout the country, staged a revolution again and concentrated on one goal. What could have possibly mobilized the people like that? It was the war. So there are certain factors in a war which we think are bad, but later turn out to be good. No doubt we lost our youths. Islam lost a lot of these youths. But the loss, so far, has not been more than that of the Battle of Siffin; much less, in fact. But it is all for the sake of Islam. What fear have we when it is for Islam! In our case, the war has awakened us. That sluggishness and laxity that may have existed, has again given way to resoluteness and firmness.

The thing that frightens one is the propaganda that is being whispered to the people one by one who, increasing in numbers, come to constitute a sizeable bunch. One ought to be a bit concerned about such mischievous acts and be alert to them. They show these Islamic congregations and mourning observances to you as being insignificant. They go here and there and into the villages, saying that so-and-so has said that these meetings (to observe the mourning ceremonies) are not necessary, and that you should serve them. How can so-and-so say such a thing; one who knows what political and Islamic dimensions these mourning meetings have? Of course, we must look into their situation as well. This is incumbent upon the government, the nation and all of us because they are from amongst ourselves. They are our brothers. Their houses were destroyed, and many of them killed. Now they are homeless and have gone to various places. They have to be warmly received wherever they go.

Bringing up political and social issues in the mourning congregations

It does not mean that we should give abandon the task of crushing the superpowers, for which purpose we must all unite, and solely engage in this affair. Not at all, we must perform both. The people must continue to congregate and the mourning observances must go on. The preachers should keep alive this martyrdom of Imam Husayn (s) and the people must also keep alive these Islamic customs, especially this one, for all they are worth. Islam

comes to life by keeping these meetings alive. "I am from Husayn"¹ is narrated as having been said by the Prophet. The meaning is that Husayn is his and he, too, becomes alive through him. He has been so quoted. All these blessings are due to his martyrdom although the enemy wanted to abolish all its signs. They did not want the Hashemites to be in the picture at all. "The Hashemite clan played, etc."² was the whisper. They wanted to do away with the very basis of Islam and establish an Arab state. And this caused the Arabs, non-Arabs and all; all the Muslims, to realize that the issue was not one of Arabs, non-Arabs, Persians, etc. The matter had to do with God and Islam.

Preserve these meetings. All these forums that are religious and Islamic in nature keep Islam alive in our hearts. Preserve these congregations. Perpetuate the Friday prayers. Maintain the Islamic feasts and the rites therein. Keep up these mourning observances in that same splendid way as before; in fact, in greater splendour. The preachers—may God assist them—should try to direct the people's attention towards Islamic, politico-Islamic and socio-Islamic issues. Do not abandon the mourning observances as we are alive because of them.

Explaining the effects and the blessings of the imposed war

There are certain issues that must be pointed out to the people all over the country by the gentlemen—the preachers and those who deliver the sermons from the pulpit:

One is what I had mentioned. God willing, it will be pointed out to the people, and the Muslims, too, will pay attention to it. Another is that the people should not get weary of the war. War is a good thing. Of course we did not start it. We did not bring about this war. But now that it has been imposed on us, it will have a big effect upon our movement. One of the effects is that it has blackened our enemy's face in the world. He wanted to gain some prestige for himself. He was Islam's enemy and prior to his attack on Iran; he had dealt with Iraq and its *ulama*, its people and the "Ashura" processions like that. And he behaved in that criminal manner with the pilgrims to Karbala who had gone there for the "Arbain" (the fortieth day of Imam Husayn's martyrdom) ceremonies. He stands disgraced in the world.

¹ The Noble Messenger (s) had stated: "Husayn is from me and I am from Husayn". Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 43, p. 261, Hadith 1.

² This actually runs thus:

"The Hashemite clan played with the kingdom and the country a game, neither any news from the Unseen nor any revelation came."

Sirah ibn Hisham, vol. 3, p. 143, 144.

And now, no matter how much hypocrisy he does by feigning to be a Muslim, praying and doing such things, it is of no use. He cannot return to the fold by means of his hypocritical acts. He was not able to. Nevertheless, there were perhaps some people that were away from Iraq, who used to believe that he was a person who wanted to help and be of use and such things. Now it has become clear that it is not so. Everybody has realized that he is a person who is like this and his nature is like this. It has become known that he is a person whom the Arabs do not want to work (for them). He killed Arabs mostly in Khuzestan. Why does he kill Arabs if he is for them? The war was not for the purpose of gaining some (square) kilometers of Iranian land which he claims. How much the helpless people of Iraq have suffered in this war. What losses they have undergone! And how much the Islamic nation has lost—loss of life and loss of property! But he (Saddam) has lost his prestige!

One of the issues that has been made clear by the war is that the satans have realized what the power of Islam in Iran is. They understood that the power of the army and the Islamic guards—may God protect them—is not what they thought it was. The leaders of the Persian Gulf countries also have realized that the issues are not as they used to think they were, and that if they happen to do any mischief, God forbid, it may possibly meet with a response. The others have also understood that the power of Islam is greater than what they imagine. It is power of Islam that completely galvanizes a country into action against them and mobilizes the people. This is the power of Islam. This was one of blessings of this imposed war that has brought them disgrace and given our nation heroism, power and alertness.

This war that has now been imposed on us has, of course, entailed losses for us as well. Our brothers and other persons have been killed there; in Khorramshahr, Abadan and Dezful. The people there have suffered losses apart the children and women losing their guardians. They have migrated to other towns. Gentlemen, you should recommend to the people that they are our brothers. They have become homeless like this for the sake of Islam and because of the war. You should consider them as being like yourselves and your children. If there are any children without guardians, and if one is able to assume guardianship of any one of these children and protect him, he ought to do so. The government should provide them (the homeless ones) with lodgings in an orderly and systematic manner and treat them with respect. It should also provide food for them. They have become homeless. We must not think of having everything we want while the others have nothing. No, you must help them. The rich people must help them. The

faithful brothers and sisters must help them. Those who have undergone such losses in the war should not be made to suffer more. You must show them the hospitality that you would to a dear guest. And the government, too, should assign places for them to stay, and also protect them.

Islamic approach in confronting problems and difficulties

One of the things is that our government and our nation must bear in mind that there may possibly be shortages of certain things in a country where a war is going on. In Iran, thank God, such a thing is rare. But it should not so happen that the people themselves create shortages by rushing to buy a certain item and stocking it. They should not think Iran will feel the pinch of the ongoing war. No, Iran will not find itself in straitened circumstances. You must think about dealing with the country's problems in an Islamic manner. You must use a human approach to them. If we deal in an Islamic way with the problems, we will not, then, want to hoard anything or, for example, overcharge the people. And, nor will we act in an inhuman manner. In a time of war, the people must think more about maintaining calm in Iran. Thank God that it is so. Those people who assemble to buy something at a certain place—I do not know whether this is happening now, but it used to happen before—are mischief-makers who want to undermine your morale. Nothing has befallen us. A bunch of people have come and are doing sabotage in a corner of the country. Such robbers have always existed in Iran; many of them. It used to happen often in bygone days that they would create a tumult in a town, isolate it and destroy it. You should not become demoralized because of some disturbances occurring somewhere. They will be quelled, God willing.

A warning about the necessity of breaking the siege of Abadan

I am waiting for the lifting of this siege of Abadan. And I am warning the Islamic guards, the security forces, and the commanders of the security forces to the effect that the siege ought to be broken. There must not be any neglect in the matter. It should definitely be broken. Does not rest in the thought that you will drive them out if at all they enter. If they enter, they will inflict losses upon us. Do not let them enter Abadan. Drive them out of Khorramshahr. Take the offensive.

Strengthening the armed forces' morale through the nation's appreciation and support

The sacrifices and devotion of the commanders, the *pasdars*, the soldiers, and the gendarmes who are engaged (in the fighting) ought to be borne in mind. It is not that they are sitting comfortably in some house there. Each one of those who have gone to the fronts is rendering a sacrifice. In any case, they quite possibly imagine that a rocket—or something—could come anytime and kill them. Therefore, they ought to be appreciated and their morale boosted. The nation must strengthen their morale. They are busy; they are engaged in studying and planning. So, there should not be any negligence on one side, while on the other, they are engaged in a task.

Those who are not conversant with military matters should not interfere in them. It is like so-and-so colonel coming to us and telling us about Islamic jurisprudence, just like you see that some people pick up a verse from the Quran read it and then comment on it, while having no knowledge at all of the Quran and Islam. We who have no knowledge of military affairs nor of warfare, must not give an opinion that it is better to do a certain thing this way (for instance). What do you know for you to say that something should be done in a particular manner?! You and we have no knowledge of these things. Those that have no knowledge and do not understand things must not keep on proposing plans. They should not weaken the morale of our soldiers, all the ranks of who are fighting devotedly with all their might and have dealt the enemy many blows. But you just sit by and say that it is better for something to be done in this (particular) way! One who is sitting on the sidelines can say many things. Let them act as they can according to the plans they have. Thank God that they can, and, God willing, they are doing so. We, too, have patience. Don't be so impatient.

The Battle of Siffin lasted eighteen months with all those troubles. It lasted for eighteen months entailing the hardships they endured and the losses they suffered. It is now only two months; less than two months; that we are in such a situation. You who tell the big powers that you are resisting and confronting them; you who clenched your fists to defeat America, the Soviet Union and such countries, ought to be so powerful that even if some foreign soldiers come to your house, God forbid, you must go forth with that same defiance and fight them hand to hand.

You have accomplished such a big job, and have savored its fruit. But you do not want to suffer the consequences? You have amazed the world by such a great achievement. It required much effort. Safeguarding Islam requires much effort. You campaigned for the sake of Islam since the

beginning. You shouted: "We want an Islamic Republic." They, all of them, are opposed to the Islamic Republic. All the powers are against the Islamic Republic. Those who have opposed the big powers and, praise be to God, have succeeded so far, should now not think that because of something, some tumult, happening somewhere, there has been a reversal of the situation. In the war, the civil war, that you had with Muhammad Rida and his security police (SAVAK), so many people were martyred; perhaps a thousand or more, from 15 Khordad onwards. And how many disabled ones we have! All these things that have happened, so far are not to such an extent. It is far less. But the losses we—our army—has inflicted on them are many times more. Stand firm, sir! Our youths should stand firm!

[One among the audience: "We all are your soldiers, Khomeini. We await your command, Khomeini."] We all are soldiers of God, God willing. Neither are you my soldier nor, I yours. We all campaigned together to keep Islam alive here. And, God willing, we shall export it everywhere. We are all brother of one another. We are all friends. I hope we all strive shoulder to shoulder with each other, each one to the extent of his ability. I am a feeble old man. I can talk to you. Mr. Falsafi is a vigorous, God willing, old man. He, too, can talk to you. The preachers, too, should talk to the people. This is a service which all of us can render. We, God willing, shall perform this. I hope that it would be for God. You, too, should do whatever you can.

Efforts towards self-sufficiency in agriculture and industry

The holy war of the peasants is to develop their agriculture. I have heard that some of them have been lax this year. This is against the way of Islam. Last year, you increased your harvest in spite of so many difficulties, and this year, thank God, those troubles are less. Besides, the government, too, extends aid to you. You yourselves must be mindful that, if tomorrow the big powers prohibit all the countries from supplying wheat to us, we ourselves should have (enough of) it. So, the farmers must be thoughtful about this and build up their agriculture and enhance their cultivation. They should arrange things in a way that we must not depend upon people for our food.

I hope that the persons, who are far-sighted and have a mind for industry, will get things moving and set up industries themselves. You ought to know that if you ponder the matter you will be able to do it. But they did not let you think about it (industrialization). They kept on coming and providing you with everything, as a result of which you became lazy. You must think of doing things for yourselves. You can do your own work yourselves. Do not think that you must definitely get everything from others.

No; you must think of making everything you need by your own hands. Japan was in need in the past. Then it started thinking and manufactured whatever it needed. Now it is even exporting (its industrial goods) to America. At that time, India was also in great need. It is now meeting its own requirements. Your brains are not smaller than those of the others. You ought to think about yourselves. You must concentrate on accomplishing your tasks by yourselves.

Now what important is that the cultivation should increase many fold than what it was previously. The government should extend help, and the people should make efforts. By your efforts and those of our youths, I am hopeful that in the coming year, our harvest and our agricultural activities be such that we need not depend upon others for our food. Likewise, the industrialists should also perform their own work. They themselves should set up the factories. You must do your own work by yourselves. Do not wait for others to come and manage your affairs. I hope that all these things will be achieved by your own hands. Do not give way to fear. We have pushed out those big powers. We have driven them out. Nobody, God forbid, can push you around in your own country.

Speech

Date: Morning of November 7, 1980 [Aban 16, 1359 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1400 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The silence of Muslims on the aggression of the Baath Party of Iraq against Iran.

Audience: The Muslims of Pakistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Kabah, the house of the people and the place of congregation and pilgrimage of Muslims

I thank you, gentlemen, for coming here. I hope that God will accept the pilgrimage undertaken by you and the rest of the respected *hajis*. I would like to say that you have succeeded in visiting the House which God has prescribed for the people. This is the first house that God has designated for all the people. God says: “*Lo! The first sanctuary appointed for mankind was that at Mecca, a blessed place, a guidance to the peoples.*”¹ This is proof—it is one of the things which prove—that God the Blessed and Exalted, has invited the whole world to Islam. And, He has set up this House for the whole world from of time of the Prophet’s assignment to the end.

This is the House of the people. No individual or individuals, no group, or particular sects have any priority over others to the House of God. All the people in the East and the West of the earth, all over the globe, are under obligation to be Muslims, and to gather in this House which has been set for the people to visit, and perform the pilgrimage in that sacred place. The *ulama* of Islam and the wise persons have tried from the early days of Islam up to now to have all the Muslims assemble together and unite against non-Muslims. Wherever there is a Muslim; he must come to an understanding with all Muslims. This is a thing which God, the Blessed and Exalted have commended in the Quran.² And, the Noble Messenger (s) has recommended.³ The Imams of the Muslims have also recommended it and the attentive *ulama* of Islam have followed up this matter and endeavored to invite the Muslims to unity and oneness under the banner of Islam.

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran* 3:96.

² An allusion to *Surah Al-e Imran* 3:103.

³ *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

The appointment of the Prophet of Islam over all mankind

Regrettably, some deviationists, some elements who do not believe in Islam, are trying to epitomize Islam in Arabism through their claims those are devoid of the reality of Islam. A day or two days ago, we received a report from the news agencies that Saddam Husayn has spoken about diverse things in his illegitimate parliament. He has uttered falsehoods, one of them being that a Persian is not a Muslim, because the Holy Quran is in Arabic. And that the Prophet being an Arab, Islam belongs to Arabs. This is the logic of this perverted fellow who has no knowledge of Islam? He is one of those Arabs regarding whom the Blessed and Exalted God has said: *“The wandering Arabs are harder in disbelief and hypocrisy and more likely to be ignorant of the limits which Allah hath revealed...”*¹ It is better for such people not to understand the limits set by God, and His commandments. According to the logic of this man who has no belief in Islam, you gentlemen who attained the honor of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, are not Muslims. All the Muslims of the world living in the east and west of the globe are not Muslims: a Persian is not a Muslim; a Turk is not a Muslim; a Baluch is not a Muslim; a Pakistani is not a Muslim; the Muslims of India are not Muslims and the Indonesians are not Muslims. To be Muslims is exclusive to the Arabs—like Aflaq, like Saddam, and the Baath Party of Iraq! This is the logic of a man who is ignorant of Islam and of the Holy Quran. The Muslims necessarily acknowledge the Prophet of Islam as the last and final Prophet who had been appointed for the whole of mankind in the east and the west of the globe. The Holy Quran points out that Islam is for all the groups. Whoever has got it should believe it. It has been narrated that according to the Noble Messenger, Islam is for all. As such, this man granted that he is a Muslim—though this is a wrong supposition—has gone outside the pale of Islam because he has spoken against a Muslim fundamentality, and has contradicted the Holy Quran and also the Noble Messenger.

Creation of division among Muslims by raising the issue of nationality

We have, for many years, been trying to bring about harmony, unanimity, and unity among the Muslims. All the troubles the Muslims have had at the hands of the foreigners, is because they want to derive benefits from Muslim lands. They want to exploit their resources and bring the Islamic governments under their yoke. So, they and their lackeys have been trying to sow discord among the Muslims. The utterances of this evil person are in line with their desire to set the Arabs on one side and all the Muslims

¹ A part of *surah al-Hujurat* 49:13.

on the other: the Arabs alone are Muslims. The Pakistanis and Iranis are not. Only the Arabs are the real Muslims! According to another statement of his, all the others must acknowledge the Arabs as their masters. This is against Islam. It is against the precepts of the Holy Quran. The Holy Quran has made piety the criterion as it says: "*Lo! The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is best in conduct*".¹ And Saddam regards Arabism (being an Arab) as the criterion. That is, Arabism, whether it is like Aflaq's or Saddam's, or of the others, is against Islamic criteria and Muslim fundamentality. This is the very thing that the superpowers are after so as to divide the people; to separate the Arabs from the non-Arabs, to place the Arabs on one side and "*Ajam*" on the other. They even want to divide the Arabs too by separating the various groups within them. And, they also want to divide the "*Ajam*" which consists of all the other Muslims. They have been assigned this mission. Muhammad Rida was given the task of separating them. Those who utter such things and follow up the matter are the very same agents who carry out the evil aim of the foreigners which is to separate the Muslims.

The vain claims of Saddam to justify the aggression against Iran

Muslims ought to present a united front against those that are apart from them. "*And dispute not one with another lest ye falter and your strength departs from you...*".² The Noble Quran has ordained that if a Muslim group attacks and oppresses another Muslim group, it becomes incumbent upon all the Muslims to rise against the attackers, not to mention a non-Muslim attacking a Muslim.³ If a group of unbelievers attack a Muslim country, it is the duty of all the Muslims to attack it and put an end to its existence. What has happened that the Muslims are indifferent about this matter when all of them—all those who are knowledgeable about the region—know that Saddam's tyrannical government and the Baath party attacked Iran from the air, sea and land without any justification, and overran certain parts and places of Iran without the government knowing about it. But when Iran did come to know about it, it put a stop to the aggression and, praise to the Lord, inflicted such heavy losses on him and his army that it will take him many

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:13.

² *Surah al-Anfal* 8:46.

³ An allusion to *Surah Hujurat* 49:9.

"And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah; then, if it return, make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo! Allah loveth the equitable."

long years to get his army back to its original condition. This unmanly attack has taken, and is taking, Iraq to destruction. They have spent the funds that ought to be used for promoting Islam, on the war. We did not start the war; we are not its initiators. But we will crush anybody who attacks us. They started the war, and, therefore, this event has taken place in our country. Had we started it, it would have been good to have first gone (into Iraq) and taken one of the villages there, and they had come and driven us back. In his malicious speech, Saddam has claimed that they (his emissaries) had come to see us many times and had talked to us over a long period in order to reach an understanding with us, but the government of Iran did not accept. And that is why they found it necessary to attack Iran. He has also said that Iran has destroyed many Iraqi border-posts. He has been uttering falsehoods of this kind. Prior to the Iraqi attack, Iranian forces did not set foot at all in their country, and there is no intention to enter. There is not a single border-post destroyed by Iran. Of course we defended ourselves after they attacked the people, the ordinary people, with long-range artillery and land killing the women and children and destroying their homes. They did every kind of mischief. Defense, of course, is incumbent on every Muslim and every human being. So, according to God's command, we defended ourselves and Islam; not just our country.

Expressing regret at the silence of Muslims on Saddam's, crimes

Saddam is one who is subservient to the "Aflaqs". They and their party consider Islam to be incompatible with their policies. They are Islam's enemies. He who talks about (Imam) Husayn ibn Ali (s) is the very same person that executed or imprisoned groups of Husayn bin Ali's pilgrims.

He is the same man who ordered the shelling of the sacred shrine of Imam Ali. They showed me the place where the shells had made a hole in the wall. These are the same people who arrested the great *ulama* of Islam both sects, Sunni and Shiah—and imprisoned or martyred them. They have no understanding of Islam, but now they lay a claim on Islam. He says that he is a Muslim! He is from those Arabs about whom God the Blessed and Exalted has mentioned as being ignorant of Islam and its laws. What has happened that Muslims are unmindful about this thing? Why are the Muslims not thoughtful about these things that have happened in Iran—the damage done to our country and the way in which they, in contravention of all international norms and the rules of war, massacred children, the young and the men and women, and also attacked the residential areas. Why are they silent? The Blessed and Exalted Lord has commanded us to fight him

(Saddam). Now that they are not fighting him, they can at least do propaganda against him. They should not remain silent. Why are the radios of the Muslim countries silent in the matter? Why do they keep quiet and give no thought to the fact that the Islamic Republic suffering a setback in Iran, God forbid, will result in the defeat of Islam? Why do they not realize that the superpowers are afraid of Islam, and that their opposition to Iran stems from their fear of Islam making headway in the rest of the countries and that what happened in Iran will also happen in other places?

What has happened to the Muslims that they have become silent spectators of the events concerning Islam and the honor of the Muslims? We don't need military aid. We ourselves will settle accounts with them. But it is a matter of regret that the Muslims are heedless about these Islamic issues. They do not pay attention to the Holy Quran which clearly states that if a group, even if it is Muslim, attacks another Muslim group, it is obligatory upon all Muslim to defend the oppressed group.¹ Why don't they dispatch their own reporters to see for themselves the events that have happened in Iran and the tragedies caused? And why is it that in case there are news agencies present (on the scene) and are sending news to them it is not being broadcast by their radios? What is this lethal silence among the Muslims? Do you think that it is a matter relevant to Iraq and Iran and to Saddam and the country of Iran? This is not the case. The issue is Islam; not just a country. The matter concerns all the Muslim countries. It is a question of the oppressed of the world.

The big powers' sense of danger from the unity of Muslims

What they want is the disunity of the Muslims; they want to rule over them. They want to destroy our youths, cast our universities in the colonialistic mould, and make our economy a dependent one and our army as well. It is not just Iran that they have in their sights. They have set their sights on all the Muslim lands; all the ones that ought to be under Islamic rule. But you can see what will happen if the one billion Muslims unite like the thirty-five million people of Iran who realized their aim and dealt them (the superpowers) such a blow. That they will never be able to raise their heads! They cause these wars to happen in order to prevent such a thing. Why should the Islamic governments be cut off and separated from one another like this? Why should they not pay attention to the social and political issues of Islam? Why don't the Muslim countries realize that it is Islam that they have in their sights; not Iran. All the people are alive to this;

¹ An allusion to *surah* al-Hujurat 49:9.

why not the governments? Until when must we and our governments be under foreign domination? Until when should the American and Soviet advisers tell us what to do? Until when must English, American and Soviet sergeants come here and give orders to our army? We drove them out, and you too, do the same. All the Muslim countries should do likewise. We have put all those who sow discord in Iran, in their places and will continue to do so. All the Muslim countries are under obligation to arrest, expel, and wipe out those who create divisions contrary to the teachings of Islam, the commandments of the Quran and the instructions of the Prophet of Islam. Why are we sedentary? Why are the Muslims sitting idle? Why do they not campaign? Why do the Muslims not rise against the arrogant ones? Why do the oppressed ones of the world not campaign against the arrogant ones?

The American Blacks have supported us. But most of the Islamic governments have not. The nations, wherever they are, have supported us. The Muslims, wherever they are, have supported us and condemned the tyrant Baath government of Iraq. But the governments have not done so. What is wrong with the governments? Why should they remain resigned till the end to the oppressive pressure of the big powers? Why do they treat Afghanistan like that with the Muslims remaining idle? Why should they treat Iran like this with the Muslims remaining silent? Are they sitting by awaiting their turn after the others are finished off one by one?

Warning of the danger facing Islam and the Muslims

This is a danger the Muslims are facing. I am sounding a warning about the danger threatening the Muslims and Islam considering the position taken by the governments. They are sitting by and have made you fall out with one another. They incite the governments to war while deriving benefits for themselves. Why don't you study Islam and the fate of Muslims? How long should we be under foreign domination? And how long should our countries be subjected to their assaults? Why do the Muslims not wake up their slumber? The main difficulty is the Islamic governments. The governments must wake up from their sleep. If the governments wake up, the difficulties of the Muslims will be removed. They must have rapport, but there are hands at work that do not let them. They have a mission and therefore, they do not allow this to take place. I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted to awaken all the Muslims and bring them under the Islamic banner and that all of them assemble together, carefully study Islamic issues and solve these among themselves. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: Before noon November 16, 1980 [Aban 25, 1359 AHS / Muharram 7, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Dealing Islam a blow, the real aim of the enemies; warning the press; maintaining unity and ties

Audience: The second batch of graduates of the Officers' Training College of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam: the real enemy of the big powers

I thank you, brothers, and dear warriors for coming here. We are meeting face to face and can discuss our problems. I wish to express my profuse thanks to the army, the security and military forces and the rest of the armed forces; the *pasdars*, the volunteers and all the people who are making sacrifices for Islam on the warfronts. You are aware that since it is an Islamic army and the armed forces are Islamic, the whole nation of Iran supports them, and also women and men who are engaged in a holy war. Everyone is extending help and cooperation to the extent they can. Islam, the Holy Quran and the Muslim nations wherever they be, are backing you as you can see from the massive support for and the expression of solidarity with the victimized Iranian nation and army. These supporters say that they want to proceed to the fronts and fight the ones misled by the infidel Iraqi Baathists. Of course, there is no need for them to come. But I thank them. Our own armed forces are sufficient, thank God, to stop the mischief of these malevolent ones; God willing, the victory of Islam over paganism shall soon become evident and God willing, we shall rescue the oppressed nation of Iraq from the tyranny of these oppressors.

I have no fear, whatsoever, of war, and neither do you. And our nation, too, is not afraid of it. But the fear that exists which I must point out to you who want to become officers and go to the fronts to fight the unbelievers, concerns the calculated plans that are afoot to defeat Islam. Because Islam has dealt them a blow, and the people, with their cries of "Allahu Akbar" drove them out of Iran and curtailed the influence of the plunderers, they look upon Islam as their actual enemy, not the army, the clergy, the Islamic Republic, the Islam, the Islamic government and nor the ones who are devoting themselves to the Islamic cause. These are not their actual enemies;

their real enemy is Islam. The thing is that they are proceeding according to a calculated plan.

A plot to create discord in the forces and strike at the Islamic system

I do not know if you have heard this parable. The parables which commonly circulate among the masses have a lesson to teach us. I have heard this parable and perhaps many of you might have heard it. It is said that a cleric, a Sayyid, and an ordinary person went together to an orchard to steal. When the orchard owner came, he saw that there were three of them. Realizing that he was not able to confront three persons, he turned to face two of them and said: "Well, this man is a Sayyid, the Prophet's descendant. He has a right. We have to respect him and, therefore; he, for instance is most welcome. Whatever he wants, is his own. Well, this gentleman is a cleric an *alim* of great dignity. Islam respects him. We are obliged to respect him. But, this is a common man. What has he to do here?" So, he—the owner—made the two agree with him. They caught that common man, tied him and beat him up. Then, turning to those two he said: "This gentleman is a descendant of the Prophet. As such, he is dear to us. But you are in the guise of a clergyman. A priest here cannot be a thief. So, why have you come here?" So he and the Sayyid got together and beat the bogus cleric up, tied him up and threw him out. Then, he looked at the Sayyid and said. "A Sayyid is the Prophet's descendant! Did your ancestor tell you to steal? Why have you entered someone's orchard?" Now being able to take him on, he caught hold of that person (Sayyid) as well and threw him out. This is a parable which is, perhaps, not factual. But it is a parable; and a good one at that.

Iran's condition is like this at present. At one time, they used to say that this (Iran's) army was *taghuti*, that, belonging to the former regime, it was not fit to be an Islamic army and ought to be disbanded altogether. Well, contrary to this, it was being said in other quarters that it should not be disbanded. These people did not want to disband the army. They wanted to take away a big force, that was equal to the task, and sideline it. Subsequently, they wanted to turn their attention to the clergy, saying that the clergy should have nothing at all to do with politics, and that they should go to the mosque and pray and read prayers and so on. Thus, they also wanted to sideline the clergy. After that, they had planned to deal with the government and the people—the ones whom they had deprived of that power (the army) and that of the clergy, and had separated them from the army and the clergy—and neutralize them. They had it in mind to get rid of the government, the president and—I should say—the other centers of power,

because they saw that if these powers joined up together, they would constitute a big force which they would not be able to eliminate well, they saw that when they all joined forces—when the people staged their uprising, the army, the bazaar, the university and all the others joined them—they formed such a powerful entity that could not be confronted; no government was able to stand up to it. And they saw that Muhammad Rida in spite of all the power he had, was driven out of the country. Likewise, this very army, the armed forces, the security and military forces and this nation wiped out the top brass who were subservient to him and were traitors. For this reason, they are trying to implement this plan.

It is not that the groups that demonstrate in Tehran and Qum are against certain people. The ones—not the misled ones—that manage the events are out to destroy Islam as it has been a bad experience for them. Because of this, they raise certain slogans which do not grate upon the people's minds, and to find allies for themselves.

You can, hence, see that these same people who used to say at one time that the army should be disbanded, are now saying that the clergy ought to leave the scene and take to offering guidance in Qum. These persons, misguided by those who are directing affairs, assembled in Qum, the center of the clergy and Islam, and issued a resolution to the effect that the clerics must on no account meddle in these matters; and that there must be absolute freedom. "There must be absolute freedom" is what they are saying. It means that the "*fadaiyan*" guerrillas and such-and-such groups of hypocrites, unbeliever and those that have no faith at all in Islam ought to be free to say and do whatever they like. They should even be free to speak against Islam for instance, or against the Quran and the Islamic Republic as well. A group of ignorant people say that there ought to be such things! Their aim is not freedom. What they have in mind is that plan that has been laid out for them and which they are constantly seeking to implement. They wish to be free so as to assail Islamic practices, to write those slogans against the Quran in the universities, to oppose all Islamic customs and to say whatever they like against the army, the clergy, the believers and the pious; and later to convene a meeting and then separate, one by one the various segments of the people.

A plan to keep the clergy out of politics

Today, their plot is that the clergy should leave the scene and go after their worship and supplications. I would like to say that it is the same plan America has designed and British had already designed in the past. Now, too, it is the same design of all the governments, the big powers that want to loot

Iran and the East and that fear Islam and its Islamic manifestations is taking shape in Qum. It will be a disaster if the bazaar merchants in Qum and Tehran approve of it, because it will then take effect. But if they are against it, why have they not said anything? It is the same plan which the Britishers had designed two hundred, or even more, years ago to shut out the clergy from politics, and to separate them from the people who wanted to work enthusiastically for Islam. They wanted them to go to the mosques and pray, while they did whatever they liked, plundered whatever they wanted, and dominated (the country) in whatever way they wanted.

No matter how hard they tried, they were not able to accomplish anything throughout those fifty years that they had sidelined the clergy, despite having alienated the people from the clergy. They destroyed your prestige during that period and had brought Islam to such a pass that they wept when it triumphed in Iran. They gave speeches and vilified it in their poems and did all sorts of lewd things. They plundered all your wealth as there was nobody to question them.

These intellectuals—among whom there are, regrettably, some pious individuals that have been misled and are westernized—who are now saying that the clergy should go and attend to their own affairs, and leave the people and politics to them, have not done anything these past fifty years during which they were involved in politics. Have they been able to do a single positive thing?! Whenever you who were nationalists or supposed to be pious, would say something, they would suppress you. What was it that made this nation overcome all the powers? Which group was it that had a greater role than the others in this movement? You used to oppose all these movements at that time. I know you. I do not want to keep on mentioning your names. Sit in your place! Mend your ways!

Inability of the powers to confront a nation that is united

In the demonstrations that are to take place on Tasua (9th Muharram) and Ashura (10th Muharram), you must bear in mind two points that I wish to mention: One is that the demonstrations must not stop you from mourning. Mourn, and walk while mourning. All of you must assemble to mourn. When the word “demonstrations” comes up, do not think that it means we do not want to mourn. We can accomplish our work by means of Islam, Islamic practices and the martyrs of Islam. Other than that, neither our tanks and nor cannons are able to confront those of America and the Soviet Union. We need a nation that will join hands for the sake of Islam. Rest assured that

when the people of a nation cooperate with one another in an Islamic matter, no power can hold them back as you can see.

They, too, have understood this point. Well, they see that one of the persons, one of the groups, that have played a great role, in this matter are the clergy. From the beginning, of this revolution up to now, a group of intellectuals and writers—those whose articles, speeches and utterances are against Islam, and who, knowingly or unknowingly, are doing all this—have been saying since the beginning that the clergy should go and do something else while they, themselves, attend to political affairs.

These are the same people who most willingly want to offer the Muslim country to their masters or those whom they imagine are useful to us. Gentlemen, from the 15th of Khordad up to now, this Muslim country have lost more than a hundred thousand people. Besides, we have over a hundred thousand disabled ones. Why have they become disabled? Why were they killed? Was it for the sake of oil? Does a person kill himself for the sake of oil? Was it for the sake of owning a house, or to bring down the prices? Well, we must understand all this by the demonstrations of the people. All were saying that they wanted Islam. Had there not been Islam, neither petroleum nor anything else could have done anything for us. Is it possible that the people sacrifice their youths for the sake of petroleum? Or for houses?

Now, you are at the war fronts. Our army, may God give them victory, is also active. Now who is helping them? Those women who bake bread for you, those men who give money for you, and those—the people—who send you the provision and so many things, are these Muslims. You saw a woman on TV bringing ten eggs and giving them to be sent for you, and a boy who has only 10 tumans giving it to you. Why are they doing so? It is for Islam, and the Islamic country. How is it that you are not doing anything?

What are those who keep on grumbling doing? Have they done anything? Which one among them has gone to the front? This is a plot. You who are now about to enter the army and its higher ranks should be mindful of this plot. You are cadets. You must be careful of these points. They want to separate you from the people, and, likewise, the clergy from the people. And after that, when the people lack the power of the clergy and of weaponry, they will stage a coup d'état or something and put an end to the matter. This is the point.

Warning to the press and the (various) groups

These newspapers, either do not understand, or they act knowingly. Why should these newspapers intensify such differences that certain persons contrive? If these persons succeed, they will not spare you the journalist, nor that head of the newspaper; they will get rid of all of you. This is a plot, sir. They are fooling you and the press as well. They are belittling (our efforts at) the fronts. There is a plot to divide you; the people; the people from the government; the president from and the people; the people from him; and they will do so gradually. If they get the opportunity, the first government official to be killed will be this president. Open your eyes! It will then be the army chiefs and the leading clerics. They will next turn their attention to the parties; not those that approve of them and welcome them. They will call to account those who oppose them. The merchant community, too, has lost its weapons; it cannot do anything. There is neither the clergy to muster everybody, nor the army capable of stopping them.

Wake up! Why are you in such a deep sleep? O leaders, why are you so torpid? Why do you not open your eyes? Wherever one speaks, it is against somebody else. Wherever one writes, it is against someone else. We ought to be alert. God forbid, if they separate the clergy from the nation and the army from the nation, and so isolate them from one another and do as they want—the army dismantled, and the clergy isolated and sidelined by means of propaganda, then neither the bazaar nor the academic will be able to do anything. Therefore, as long as you remain together and united, you can do something.

I would like to mention another parable that is popular among the people. There was one who was on his deathbed. He was the father of a few sons seven or eight of them. He called them. He had a few sticks which he gave them, one to each one of them and told them to break the sticks. They did so easily. Then he added one more to it and asked them to break them. They broke them. Then the sticks that were according to the number of sons, seven, or eight, he placed them together and gave it to them to break. This time they could not do so. They exerted their strength, but the sticks could not be broken. The father spoke “You number the same as these sticks. If you stay each one by himself, you will be defeated. If two of you be at one side and the four of you on the other, you will be defeated. If you, all of you, be together like these sticks, no one can defeat you.

If a clergyman be alone, they will destroy him. If an army man be alone, they will destroy him. If the people be alone, they will overpower them. One is invulnerable when all of their forces are together. They talk about unity,

but their actions are otherwise. Each one of them talks about unity, but in practice, they are not united. What has gone wrong with you? Have you gone victorious? It is you whom the army of infidels has attacked. It is you who are in that situation in Susangerd at present, and also in Abadan and Ahwaz. Senses, so that they do not write such things in the newspapers? Do the newspapers want me to voice my dissatisfaction? One newspaper takes that side, another that lot. You are Muslims after all. Muslims should be together. You have faith in God. You have belief in Islam and in the doomsday. Why don't you check the newspapers? I have told them frequently—why don't they stop them? Should I do it? Why don't they make them shut their mouths? Why don't they check their pens? While we are involved in a difficulty such as this, should you assail one another?

I am hopeful that you the youths—the youths of Iran—and all the classes of the nation, except a group about whom we are not hopeful anymore, will unite like almost all the people, rather ninety percent, who are now devoted to the Islamic Republic and to Islam itself. I am hopeful that these (other) persons will stop doing these very inconsistent and despicable things, and that they will get busy in serving Islam. If all of us are united; if the leaders become united and stop finding fault with one another—this one censuring that one and that one censuring this one—In such circumstances and situation that we are in, everything will turn out right.

I hope that God may guide us all, and you our nation, as a whole. May you be victorious, God willing, and strive in the way of God. Be together all of you. And, be a support, a refuge to each other. The nation is good. It is a good and enlightened nation. All of you be together. The government and the masses, the pillars of the government, its president, its prime minister, its parliament, all of them must be close and together. In this critical situation, in which you are entangled, if they become victorious, neither will the prime minister, the president, the parliament, the clergy, nor the bazaar merchant will remain. Therefore, be united in order to succeed.

If the people go their own separate ways; if they want to gather at some place to hold demonstrations and say irrelevant things, then the first person they will kill is the one in whose name the demonstration is to be held. Those who stage demonstrations at a time when a war is going on in Iran, and while the honor and prestige of the Muslims is at stake, and gather and create disturbances and utter irrelevant things in their speeches, will square accounts with you first if they prevail.

The duty of the people with regard to those who create discord

God willing, on the day of Ashura, the people will come out. The mourning ceremonies for Husayn (a) should be observed as before. In the processions, there must be only the mourning for Imam Husayn (a). If anybody raises improper slogans, crush them with all your might and do not let them do so. The people, themselves, should see to this. It is their Islamic duty to catch hold of anybody who raises slogans against, for or in favor of anybody else or for the purpose of sowing discord, and hand him over to the concerned authorities.

I ask the Blessed and Exalted God to awaken us. May He wake those people up who accuse others and behave wrongfully and those who are trying to undermine the Islamic leaders. May God wake those people up who are creating divisions in the ranks of the Muslims. May He give you victory, God willing, May God bestow victory on you. Dear brothers who have now graduated from the academy and are to report to your places of duty. You are dear to the nation. You are the guards of the nation and the nation is with you. Do not fear anything now. In the past, you and the nation were apart from each other. Now, you and the nation are together. I thank God, with all belonging to the same front.

When I see the television showing the ones—women, men, children and the old—that are taking trouble for this army, these Islamic guards and all those who are at the fronts, I consider it as a good omen of their togetherness. You will be victorious, God willing. Islam will triumph, God willing.

May God protect all of you. May you, in all safety and full health, join this war that is going on between Islam and heresy. I hope that those at the fronts will face the enemy with power, strength and the power of Islam. I also hope that the Iraqi army that has been tricked into fighting for the non-Muslims against the Muslims, will also wake up. And desist from this action that is against the Quran and Islam, against the interests of Islam and the Prophet of Islam. May God make all of you victorious and successful.

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

Decree

Date: November 16, 1980 [Aban 25, 1359 AHS / Muharram 7, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointing a manager for the Kayhan newspaper

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Khatami

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Khatami, may his graces last long:

Considering the constructive role of the country's press in the development of the society, and in view of your competence and efficiency in managing such affairs, I hereby appoint you to assume overall responsibility of the Kayhan daily newspaper which belongs to the deprived people. You are, of course, aware that the press must always be in the service of dear Islam, the masses, and the country. The freedoms must be ensured within the limits of the sacred laws of Islam and the constitution in the best possible manner, and neutrality maintained. It is hoped that with the help of God and the cooperation of your dedicated employees, you will manage the newspaper for the cause of the realization of the Islamic Republic's aspirations. I ask God to give you and your colleagues' success in this cause

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 25, 1359 AHS

Speech

Date: November 17, 1980 [Aban 26, 1359 AHS / Muharram 8, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The origin of the opposition of the enemies to the clergy; explaining the peculiarities of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Various guilds, bazaar merchants and various strata of the people of Qum

In the Name of God, the compassionate, the Merciful

The reason why the enemies fear the clergy

I have studied the issues, for the sake of which I speak sometimes. If we study the history of these hundred years; these last hundred years, we will come to know as to why these groups, from outside and inside, these plotters abroad and at home, use their pens against the clergy, and speak against them. They write against them in their newspapers. What is the origin of this? Nearly a hundred years ago, there was an old man living in one of the towns of Iraq in Samirra. When he saw that Iran was under the pressure of the foreigners with whom it, had concluded that shameful agreement at that time, he (the old man), who was living in a corner of that place, wrote one short sentence, which no power, whether foreign or local, was able to obstruct. That man was the late Mirza-ye Bozorg²—may God have mercy on his soul—who, from Samirra', had ordered the prohibition of tobacco as they (the foreign power) had almost enslaved Iran because of the Tobacco Agreement. He wrote one line prohibiting the use of tobacco. Its effect was such that even that tyrant³ his associates, and concubines observed that “*fatwa*” and broke their water pipes. In some places, the tobacco, a costly commodity, was heaped up and burnt. The agreement was, thus, overturned and abrogated. They saw such a thing happen in that a cleric, an old man living in a corner of a small town in Iraq writes a few words, causing a nation to rise and put an end to the agreement between the oppressive King and the

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech has been dated as 8/27/1359 AHS.

² Mirza-ye ShIrazI, the source of religious reference of the ShIahs who in the year 1890 AD, in opposing the agreement between NasiruddIn Shah and the English company, Regis regarding the fifty-year tobacco, concession given to it, issued a short decree by which the agreement was abrogated. Mirza-ye ShIrazI's decree was as follows: “From this day, the use of tobacco in any form or manner is forbidden. Using it is tantamount to warring with the Imam of the Age (may God hasten his blessed advent).”

³ NasiruddIn Shah Qajar

British. They saw that the clergy possessed this kind of power. They again witnessed this power when the British had attacked Iraq and virtually colonized it. An old man ordered the people to defend (themselves). And so they rose and saved the Iraqi nation. This was the power shown by an old man, who was the second Mirza-ye Shirazi, the late Aqa Mirza Muhammad Taqi¹, may God be pleased with him. During the Constitutional Movement, they saw a clergyman or a few clergymen in Najaf, and some preachers and clerics in Tehran uproot the very foundation of despotism and the self-centered government of that time and established constitutional rule. Those who were against all this did not give up; they, too, carried on their activities. But all this is too long for me to relate. As for this constitution the late Shaykh Fadlullah,² peace be upon him, was adamant that it be a legitimate one, and that the laws be in line with Islam. At the time, when he issued this order—the constitution was also perfected because of his efforts—the foreigners who saw that the clergy wielded such power, arranged for a court to be set up in Iran wherein Shaykh Fazlulla, a crusading *mujathid* of high status, was tried by a perverted individual in the guise of a clergyman and hanged in the presence of a crowd of people in Tupkhaneh Square (a famous, square in downtown Tehran).³

Perhaps you or the people sometimes think that I take the side of the clergymen because I myself am one and that it is a case of group affinity. But I have repeatedly said that I do not approve of everybody who wears a turban or calls himself a clergyman. I have also said very often that a clergyman, who acts contrary to Islamic beliefs and the practices of the clergy and is a conspirator, is worse than a Savaki because a Savaki is a Savaki after all, but this one (an errant cleric) is a Savaki in the guise and dress of a clergyman. It is not that I approve of everybody with a turban on his head. To the contrary, I hate many of them and have no faith in them. I have also often said that wherever there are courts and committees, they themselves must complain against a clergyman who commits an offense and bring him to stand trial. But the issue is not that they are ill-disposed towards a bad clergyman. It is that they are against those clergymen who thwarted the British during the

¹ The late Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi, the great and renowned juriconsult, and a high-ranking religious reference authority of the time who, at the time the First World War between the Ottoman government (of Turkey) and Germany on one side and Britain and France on the other, had spread to Iraq, Compelled the Muslims of Iraq to rise against the infidel British by giving the call to "*jihad*".

² The Ayatullah Shaykh Fadlullah NurI who believed in a legitimate constitution. He was sentenced to death in a court presided over by a clergyman and hanged.

³ On the thirteenth of Rajab, 1327 AH.

time of Mirza-ye Shirazi, who opposed dictatorship during the Constitutional Movement, who frustrated the British during the time of the late Mirza Muhammad Taqi and also frustrated the superpowers.

The enemy's plot excluding the clergy from the mainstream of affairs

The reason why they plot is that they do not want the clergy to be on the scene. They say that the clergymen should go to the mosques and lead the congregational prayers. Very well, but will you (the lackeys of foreigners) allow the clergy to lead the congregational prayers? You go to the mosques where you send some wicked people. You set a man in the front that has no knowledge of Islam. You give the impression of prayers so as to deprive the clergy of the mosques as well. It is not that they will leave the clergy alone if they stop performing their valuable work and restrict their activities to the mosques. As they say, they want to purge the clergy from the mosques. They want to take the mosques away from the Muslims. You saw that in the days of Muhammad Rida, they had kept a retired colonel, a perverted individual from SAVAK, in every mosque in Tehran to keep an eye on things. It could have certainly the case elsewhere also, but I am not very sure. Will they ever stop doing what they had done and which has been carried out by means of those people, or will they not? Should the clergy not have a mosque at least? In those days, they used to say that the clergy should not even wear turbans! It will come to that at the present time as well in case you Muslims remain apathetic.

Striking at Islam is the enemy's ultimate aim

They have nothing to do with the clergyman. It is Islam that they are after. It is Islam and the basis of Islam that empowers a clergyman in that even a word of his is heeded by the masses. They are against that basic principle. They are the ones whose friend,¹ using an abusive word, held the Quran in his hand and said that as long as the Muslims had Quran, England would not be able to rule over them. Those people are the followers of those ones. It is regrettable that they go into the schools, and finding simple-hearted children, convey their views to them but couched in a way which makes the poor children think that what they say is true. But they ought to reason out as to what their premise is, and what they are trying to say. In fact, I, too, was very surprised by the way they were speaking. I know Qum; I

¹ Gladstone, the prime minister of England towards the end of the 19th century of the Christian era.

grew up there. I came to Qum when you—all of you—were not even born. I stayed there and I am still staying there. My health allowing, I will come there again to be among you. I know that you people of Qum will not give up Islam so easily, so quickly. You will never do it on any account.

Opposing the very concept of priesthood; surrendering the country to the foreigners

There is one thing I wish to tell you for later times so that you always keep it in mind even when I am no more. If at any time you see somebody, some group, faction, party or whatever say something against the clergy—it sometimes happens that one may say something against somebody else because of a quarrel between them; this is a different matter—or against an influential figure among them, then you, from now until the time you exist, and the future generations, too, should know that whenever one, speaking against the concept of priesthood, says that the clergy should leave the scene and become isolated, meaning that they should confine themselves to the mosques—although I have said that they will not allow even this; nevertheless they should go to the mosques and get busy with praying—or wants to crush one who is influential among the clergy and is the object of the people's attention, by writing or speaking against him, his intention in doing so does not concern this particular person nor the clergy. He has in mind the fact that this clerical class is against their policies and against the Muslim country being under the domination of others. The Quran has enjoined that it should not, and the clergy propagate this Quranic injunction. These people are against the institution of the clergy though, their opposition takes the form of saying that they want the prestige of the clergy to be kept, and that by entering politics, the clergy will lose their prestige among the people and, therefore, they want it to be maintained. By such intrigues and ruses, they seek to oust the clergy from the scene and hand over your country to East or West. This is the actual truth. Otherwise, nobody is opposed to a few meters of longcloth.¹ Even some clerics are connected to them and are with these very same people. How is it that when Rida Khan appeared on the scene, he focused his attention on the clergy? Why were the ones who used to teach him the object of their attention? Why do the people who want to show sympathy now say that the clergy should leave the scene? Well, you say they should step aside. Supposing they do step aside, will you allow them to remain in the mosques? Or will some people go to the mosques and pray in order to break up the prayers of the clergymen who have gone there to

¹ It refers to the clergies' turbans.

pray, and drive him out of the mosque. They want to deprive you of this stronghold.

The mosque is an Islamic stronghold. It is the altar of war, of struggle. They want to take it away from you. This, in itself, is not the point. It is just the prelude. Otherwise, you may keep on frequenting the mosque and praying.

The role of the mosques, and the unity between the clergy and the academics

These people have had a bad experience with the mosque, particularly in these last two or three years. During these last two or three years, the mosque had been a place to rouse the people to campaign against tyranny. Hence they want to rob the people of this stronghold. Well, if they take it (away from the people), will they stop there? As for the university, as not having one is not good in the eyes of the world; they want to set up a university like the one that existed in the days of Aryamehr so that those who come out of it should be in their service, that is, in the service of the West. This is mostly the case. Or, they should be in the service of the East. They want the university, too, to be at their service. Likewise, the government that comes to power and the parliament that holds sessions should all be in their service. When all these official organs are placed at their disposal, whatever the people of this nation—workers, peasants, merchants; everyone—gain, will, also be at their disposal. So, they want to change the basis of everything and do something to make everything on the Western and imperialistic pattern. They want to do all this. It is not that they are against the clergy as such. They are against the clergy because they are against Islam.

They see what a clergyman is doing for Islam. If a few clergymen are bad, let them go to hell. But they do not say that only a few of them are bad. They are talking about all the clergymen. Such is the case. This is not a plot that they have hatched now. They hatched this plot after they had seen over these last one hundred years that such a power existed. And so they had to crush this power in order to open the way for them (to control the country). Well, (they knew) they would not be able to do anything until such a power existed, until the clergyman and the academic were together, until the clergy, the bazaar merchants and the academics were united and all the classes of the people were in accord with the government and all its organs. They could not harm a country in which all the strata of the people were united; the world would not allow them to do so. So what should they have to do? They had to make head-way bit by bit, to come a step forward and entrench themselves

just like these people are now doing at the border. They come a step forward, entrench themselves and then move ahead another step, assailing a cleric or two. It was yesterday or the day before that somebody told me that the things you see on the television being collected by the people to send (to the war fronts) are swallowed by these clerics; they do not send them the aid at all. They want to make headway step by step. Suppose it is the clergy now whom they are trying to crush; tomorrow it will be the academics and the day after, it will be the government that they will assail in their demonstrations. Even the government has been attacked. They have acted tactlessly. They want to render powerless one by one, the people who are serving Islam only for some persons to remain who have nothing to do with all these matters and have no say in the country's affairs. They would fall asleep even if the world were being inundated by a flood. They had devised a precise scheme in the past to serve them at the present time. Now they are saying something worse. They are watching what Islam is doing, from outside. They saw that Islam defeated and swept away all the powerful entities. When they see that Islam is like this, they oppose it.

I wish to give you some advice. It is that you and the coming generations should know that whenever a mischievous writer desires to do away with the clergy altogether, to isolate them in some way or other, or target a cleric who wields influence among the people, he is acting in accordance with that plan; the plan which they had, which they have and will have. Everybody ought to be vigilant. We should be careful enough to see that they do not create disunity among us once again and range us against one another, with one group from this side, one group from that side and another one from another side all shouting at one another. We should not let them pit as against one another and reap the benefit.

Wiping out Islam with the name of Islam

I am notifying all our people, all the world's nations and the future generations that the actual fact is that Islam stands in opposition to their aims and objectives. They want it either not to exist or, if it is to exist, it should be in the hands of the people who have no knowledge at all about it; the ones who pick out a verse from the Quran and a line from Nahj al-Balaghah and have nothing to do with the rest. They want to do away with the Quran and the Nahj al-Balaghah with that one verse and that one line. These sentences which some perverted people utter are to be seen on the walls in Iraq. This same heretic Baath Party has written these sentences, and which the perverted ones repeat here, on the walls of Najaf, Karbala and other places all

over Iraq. I have seen them myself. These sentences do not mean that they believe in Islam. The Baath Party considers Islam to be against it. The sentences do not mean that they are familiar with Islam. They want to kill Islam with its own sword. Some of these people here who beat their breasts for Islam, want to destroy Islam with the sword of Islam. Otherwise, supposing the issue was something else, like their being opposed to the clergy, for example, or the clergymen being bad, who would have said anything? But this is not the point. The fact is that they are trifling with the Quran in that they pick out something from it and say that they have nothing to do with the rest of it. Now I remember. During my young days, I wanted to visit the shrine of Shah Abdul-Azim. One, a preacher, very influential and capable in his craft but not much bound to Islam, on seeing that I was a cleric, asked me to come and sit by his side. We wanted to go by bus to the shrine of Shah Abdul-Azim. He spoke and said many things, and I, too, listened to him. As we neared the shrine, he told the driver to make haste; lest the time of the early night prayers pass, although it was still early in the night. I told him that it was still too early for the prayer time to lapse. He replied that there was a narration as to what would happen if the early night prayers was delayed. I said that there are other narrations as well.

He then told me: "I have nothing to do with them". This is the point. He said that he accepted a certain saying of the Nahj al-Balaghah but not the others. Likewise; from the Holy Quran too, he accepts one thing and not another thing. He takes one sentence from the Book, not knowing that the sentence has its commentator and also the interpretation in the Quran itself. The things that have taken place in this age have been mentioned in the narrations. They talk like this to undermine Islam and the clergy. These are the things which these deviated persons say and claim that they want to speak about Islam other than the traditional one. One of the misfortunes is that a person who does not know whether Islam is written with a "p" or "x" (the Arabic alphabetical equivalents of "s"), and is unaware of Islam and Islamic documents, picks up a word, and addressing the youths, begins to shout and clamor in persuading them to do things that are looked upon with disfavor. A jurisprudent who has spent sixty years of his life on jurisprudential matters and documents, on coming across a case and seeing that a decision cannot be reached with certainty, just circumvents it, and that too with much prudence. But people like this person, who has not given a single jurisprudential opinion and cannot do so, think that now that the revolution has for instance, taken place, Islam must also undergo a revolution, and that it should also become like this. These people either do not understand, or many of them

who do so want its very foundation to be destroyed and Islamic precepts abolished one by one. Brothers pay attention! I know that you the people of Qum—may God protect you—and all the merchants of Tehran, Yazd and everywhere in Iran are fond of Islam. The people have taken a lot of trouble (for Islam). They have made sacrifices and lost their youths for the sake of Islam. They have given everything of theirs for it and are still doing so. They send their youths to the borders. They know that the youths face danger there and stand to get killed. But yet they congratulate one another when they are killed. Nobody can mislead such a nation, that is making these sacrifices for Islam, for a long time to come, let alone doing so and making it turn its back on Islam now that not even two years have elapsed. But the devils are plotting for a hundred years hence. They have a lot of patience. They are plotting from now itself. Well, for their plans to be carried out even after fifty or a hundred years, they have begun plotting already. They want to begin now by having the mosques emptied (of the prayer leaders) one by one. They empty a mosque and place somebody there who has no knowledge of Islam, and does not know how many units there are in each (type of) prayer, to lead the prayers. Then, as the mosques get denuded one by one, they turn their attention to another mosque. We, who are living in this age, and the other generations in their own time, ought to be careful as the devils are lurking by. They are out to destroy Islam. They have not experienced anything like the experience of Islam. The Christian clergy are not like the Muslim clergymen. They are active only inside the church. In spite of this, they (the authorities) still undermined the priests who were there in those days. They cracked down upon the small number of them that were there. The priests were told to stay in the church and worship, and to leave politics to the emperor. This was the same thing that was mentioned the day before yesterday in Qum. The British used to say the same thing in the past and now the Americans are saying it and the others as well.

The Islamic government is the guarantor of the welfare of nations

We and the future generations must be careful about protecting Islam, and assembling under its banner. Islam has everything. It offers this world and the hereafter as well, Islam considers every aspect (of life). An Islamic government is not like the other ones that look at one aspect only. An Islamic government is one which guarantees, and will guarantee, prosperity in this world and the next if it is implemented, God willing, and if this nation succeeds in practicing Islam as it really is and in accordance with the Holy

Quran as revealed to the Noble Messenger, and the traditions of the Imams and Islam.

The Islamic Revolution was altogether rewarding and suffered few losses

Nobody, of course, should expect everything to be set right the next day itself after a revolution has taken place; it is being unreasonable. Though the Russian revolution has entered its sixty-fourth year, yet they have not been able to run the country properly. As regards the other revolutions, matters have not been normalized even though ten or twenty years have passed. This revolution was not of the type that a party or a group brings about. It was a revolution for Islam, originating from the nation's bosom. When a revolution is staged for the sake of Islam and springs from the depths of the nation, it has fewer of the consequences of the revolutions in other places. But it is not possible to have no effects at all. In the Islamic revolution, a large number of people were deprived of the opportunity to steal and embezzle which used to be their practice. That is why they are against the revolution. The foreigners, likewise, persist in their opposition to it, because they have lost the opportunity to plunder (the country). They, also, have their agents and their lackeys here. If all of these lackeys gather together, they will form a sizeable group. They, however, are nothing in comparison with this roaring flood of people.

A revolution so fruitful and with such few casualties as of Iran's has not been, hitherto, seen. The revolutions that have occurred have had as much as a million people machine-gunned and killed. Newspapers would not be allowed to be published, parties would be dissolved, and their leaders jailed. A news item was brought to me a few days ago. Now I do not remember the details except that one million were killed and a million and a half imprisoned. All the newspapers were stopped from being published, except one or two government newspapers. The borders, too, were closed at the very beginning of the revolution, and those who did all this got busy with their crimes.

If you take a look at all the revolutions that have taken place in the world, you will notice that no revolution has been like Iran's. Relying on the fact that the people were Muslims and that the people themselves staged the revolution, the country's borders remained open for the people, and the newspapers came out for some months. Everyone wrote what he wished. Even some of the people who have deviated (from the path) are writing now. Within these two years of this country's revolution, all the essential institutions of the government, such as the parliament and the office of the

president, have taken effect. The masses have voted for all these things. Iraq, for example, had no parliament no law and nothing else for quite a long time. There was only a revolutionary council which used to carry out its work in all harshness. When they wanted to form a work parliament and get the people to vote, they announced that anybody refraining from voting or opposing their parliament in any way would be sentenced to death in accordance with the law they had passed. This is what one of the clergymen who had come there told us. That is, if you were told to go (to cast your vote) on that particular day but failed to do so, the death sentence would be passed on you. It is not opposition to the government as such. It is being against something else. For example, the security organization tells you not to go for prayers, but you pay no heed. Such a thing actually happened. They had told one of the clergymen not to attend the (congregational) prayers, but he, nevertheless, did go. He and a few others were arrested. They killed him and imprisoned the rest. They had also announced that whoever disobeyed the governor's orders would be executed. They later announced that whoever refrained from voting would be executed. Such was their voting system. Does voting freely mean that one either votes or gets killed? Out of Iran's population of thirty-five million people, twenty two million cast their votes for the Islamic Republic. Such a thing is unprecedented in the world. That twenty-two million out of thirty—five million cast their votes, as was the case in voting for the Islamic Republic, is unprecedented. This shows that there was a consensus of opinion. The others (who did not vote) were sick, etc. or had some other reasons. This was the situation. Where has such a thing happened? Maintain this kind of unity. Safeguard it. I do not know why these (other) people grumble. They have not considered the queues in the Soviet Union. Somebody who had come here told me that his son who is in the Soviet Union had written to him saying that such queues are also to be seen there; in the Soviet Union where sixty-odd years have elapsed since the revolution. He thinks that a revolution entails these things.

You desire to have Islam. You wish to revive it. It needs sacrifices, of course. It is not possible for Islam to be revived without making sacrifices. It was these same sacrifices that the Prophet and the saints of Islam made in its early days. Now it is your turn and ours as well.

May God support all of you. May you be successful and prosperous. Let me stress upon this again that there will be demonstrations tomorrow and the day after. But at the same time, mourning observances (for Imam Husayn) must also be held. However, mourning is observed in a particular place at

times and on the roads at other times, with all the people joining in. May all of you be successful and triumphant, God willing.

Speech

Date: November 19, 1980 [Aban 28, 1359 AHS / Muharram 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Explaining the position and the duties of the military and security forces

Audience: The graduates of the Police Academy of the Islamic Republic

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The military and security forces; serving the masses

First of all, I wish to apologize for not being able to speak for a long time. In fact, the doctors have forbidden me to give speeches as such, except occasionally and, that too, for a short while. I thank you for coming here so that we can talk about certain issues.

Most of you are well aware of the position of the police and all the other forces—military and security—in the past. You know that these forces were so separated from the people that they could not tolerate one another. The point was this that the heads of the police, army, security and all other forces were persons who by their actions, and the kinds of work they would impose upon their subordinates, gave rise to the nation's abhorrence of all the armed forces, you are aware that when a policeman or constable used to enter the bazaar, he would order the people to do something or the other. The people, for their part, would try to escape from the policeman's clutches. They would hate him for his actions. The police, and also the gendarmerie and the army, were basically formed to serve the country and its people. They were not there to rule the people. The basic purpose of the government is also the same. Such was the case with even the rightful government of Hadrat Amir (s) who ruled over all things.

Yet, the government that existed in Islam's early period was at the people's service. It was not that the government ruled while the people acquiesced uncritically. It was not that the government, by virtue of its power, dealt unjustly with the people or oppressed them, leading them to hate it.

The government and its service to the masses

Now the situation has changed. I hope, the situation will, God willing, not return to the previous one. It is an obligation on all of us, on all of you

and all those who are in the government and elsewhere and who are closely associated with the affairs of the people to create an environment in which they consider themselves as those that serve the people. The government officials from Mr. Bani Sadr¹ downwards should serve the people. The masses should feel that they are working with their interests in view. If the people feel that the police are there to look after their interests and not to impose upon them, they will hold the police in esteem and support them. In the past, you had observed that the police, the people, the womenfolk, the men, the nation, never assembled together in one place. They used to distance themselves from one another. As a result at the time of any difficulty for the government, the people would not extend their cooperation. On the contrary, they would create obstacles for the government wherever they could. The reason was that they had so portrayed the police to the people as if they were wolves amidst a flock of sheep, ready to get hold of them. This bitterness still exists in the minds. Therefore, gentlemen, since this bitterness still exists, you have to concentrate a lot on erasing it from the people's minds. You must remember that over the past fifty years, and especially these recent years, how much the people had been troubled and how they suffered at the hands of the military and security forces which are there to maintain law and order, and how badly their chiefs treated the people and how the organization that existed under the name of the Security Organization, had deprived the people of security. It was always the concern of the people that they (the security police) may come to them at any moment and arrest them needlessly. The bitterness of all this is still there; the bitter taste exists even now. Therefore, the grave duty of sweetening this bitterness lies on you, and this depends on your actions, on the actions of the gendarmerie and the army. By means of your conduct, you can do something to make the people forget the hardships and the bullying of the past. Try and sweeten this bitterness by means of your good deeds, your behavior and your affection. You are brothers; all of you. All the people in an Islamic country are brothers. We will behave well with one another if we have this feeling of brotherliness. But if one feels that he is above the others and that they must obey him, that he being the head of the police (for example) makes it obligatory for the people to listen to him, if he so wants to order the people around as a matter of duty, the situation will then return to that of former times causing the people to distance themselves from you and to fear you. Fear will strike them when they see you. I remember many instances during the days of the former regime which would have constituted a long story had

¹ Mr. Abull-Hasan BanI Sadr, the first president of Iran.

somebody written, about them. When the people, especially the clergymen, used to see a policeman from a distance, you cannot imagine what a state of mind they would be in. If they could, they would run away. This was because of the orders that the higher authorities would issue to the policemen. The lower ranks were also trained like that. There was no sign at all of Islamic training. It was training in the Western fashion. They adopted it the worst of it, from there and put it into practice here.

The efforts of the West to keep the Muslim countries backward

You should not think that a gift will be brought to us from the West. You should not think that a gift will be provided for us from the West to make us advance, to make us progressive. Unless the West keeps us in a backward state, it will not be able to derive any benefit from us. Their efforts have been such as to have made us and all the Islamic and oppressed countries lag behind in all the spheres of activity. Whatever they do for us is imperialistic in nature. That is, if they import knowledge of medicine, it has colonialist undertones. If they supply us with medicines, that, too, has a colonialistic hue to it. If they want to set up a university for us, it is a colonial type one. They want to establish or do everything so as to be of benefit to themselves and to make us submit blindly to them.

We must learn a lesson from the past regime's condition

Now that by the will of God the Blessed and Exalted, and the blessings of Islam, we have come out of this bondage and captivity, we must be very careful to see that they do not shackle us again. We must take a lesson from the army, gendarmerie, and police of Muhammad Rida's era. We must see what the people's attitude to them was, how they, in turn, behaved with the people and the outcome of all this. The people were against them and they, too, were against the people. They would behave with one another like two enemies. You are not aware. Most of you do not remember the condition of the police stations of those days. One who perforce had to go to a police station would suffer palpitations because of fear and dread as to his fate. Such a state of affairs was very bad in the days of Rida Khan. But in the days of the second one, too, it was bad. Whenever a person had a problem and was obliged to go to a police station, he would not know what to do out of fear, as to what they might do to him, whereas police stations should be places where the people's needs are fulfilled. They behaved like that and became like that. We must learn a lesson from these historical matters. We should not be like that so as not to become like that.

Advice to the army and security forces

Brothers! All people are on a par with you and your superiors. If you behave well with the people, it is to your one good. But if, God forbid, you behave badly with them it will be to your own detriment. One who is oppressed, does not suffer as much from his oppressor's tyranny as the oppressor himself. We and you, will one day, have to appear in the presence of God, the Almighty, will be questioned that day. You, the police, will be questioned about your job, your actions, and your conduct. Don't be negligent of God. Don't ignore that day, when every body stands in need (of God's forgiveness). Behave well with your brothers and with your nation. God will show mercy on you. May you all be prosperous, successful, and triumphant, God willing. Although you should serve in the towns and cities, you, nevertheless, went there (to the fronts) and considered it your duty to do so. It is everybody's duty to go and help all the other brothers, and drive these evil people out of the country soon, God willing.

I pray for you. May God grant you success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Letter

Date: November 21, 1980 [Aban 30, 1359 AHS / Muharram 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Pertaining to the family

Addressee: Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I acknowledge with thanks your kind letter¹ of condolence, and pray to the Almighty for your health and happiness. I have often inquired about your well-being through the honorable Aqa Haj Mirza Hasan.² I beseech God, the Almighty, to grant you a complete recovery. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Muharram 12, 1401 AH

¹ The following sentence is mentioned on the envelope bearing letter. "To Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Thaqafi-May his blessings last long.

² Mr. Hasan Thaqafi, the brother of Imam Khomeini's Spouse.

Permission

Date: November 26, 1980 [Azar 5, 1359 AHS / Muharram 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission to utilize the surplus amount of the financial aid to the earthquake-stricken people for the purpose of repairing the damage caused by the war

Addressee: Members of the Central Advisory Board of Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee

In His Most Exalted Name

You must hand over the remaining amount to the government for the use of the quake-stricken people and in lieu of that obtain (the relevant sum) from the government for the war victims.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This handwritten note from Imam Khomeini was issued in reply to the letter dated 9/5/59 AHS of Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee (consisting of Messrs. Mahdi Karrubi, Habibullah Asgar Awladi and Habibullah Shafiq). In this letter, they had asked: "A lot of money from the financial assistance rendered by the people to the victims of the Tabas earthquake has been spent and is also being spent at present... Do we have your permission to utilize the balance for making good the damage and repairing the destruction caused by the imposed war?"

Reply to an Inquiry

Date: November 26, 1980 [Azar 5, 1359 AHS / Muharram 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Approval to obtain the dues of the country's banking system from the assets of the *taghutis* who fled (the country)

The Inquirer: Ali Rida Nowbari (Head of the Central Bank)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The great Leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hadrat Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, may his blessings last long:

A number of *taghutis* and fugitives belonging to the past regime whose properties are now in the control of the Bonyad-e Mustadafan (the Foundation for the Deprived) and other revolutionary organizations are in debt to the country's banks. It is requested that instructions be given for the country's banking system to collect and secure its dues from these assets now in the control of the above mentioned organizations. May your life and these glorious days last long. With respects. Ali Rida Nawbari]

In His Most Exalted Name

Approval is hereby given. It is necessary that the Foundation appoint representatives to look into this matter. The bank's representatives will have to present the relative documents supporting the claims. After the matter is established, the dues to the bank can be recovered and the surplus amount utilized for the benefit of the deprived.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: November 26, 1980 [Azar 5, 1359 AHS / Muharram 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Sanctioning the utilization of the part of the funds of the endowments for the fronts, the war-stricken refugees and the renovation of the places damaged or destroyed

Addressee: Mahdi Imam Jamarani and Muhammad Ali Nizamzadeh

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness Hadrat Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

Most respectfully, I wish to bring to your notice that the following sums of money are available with the Endowments Organization. Subject to your authorization, these funds will be utilized for the war fronts, the war-stricken refugees, renovation and to make good the losses resulting from the war.

1. The funds allotted for heads in the past years, whose validity has now expired.

2. Sums of money whose endowment purpose and case exist no more.

3. There are sums of money available from the sales of the endowed plots. In the event of the Endowments Organization treating these transaction as invalid and duly canceling them, can a fair equivalent from the said amounts for these years during which they have not been used, be withdrawn and utilized for the above mentioned purpose?

Mahdi Jamarani, Muhammad Ali
Nizamzadeh—9/5/59 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

In the items one and two, you are allowed, taking for granted the aforesaid particulars.

In the item three: the transactions were illegal. If the party concerned is known and traced, the rent money should be claimed from them. If unknown, you are allowed to the extent which concerns the said expenditure. If

untraceable, you are allowed to use all the sum or part of it on the subject matter in question.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: November 29, 1980 [Azar 8, 1359 AHS / Muharram 20, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission to use the Imam's (a) Share in Islamic Propagation in Peshawar, Pakistan

Addressee: Sayyid Arif Husayn Husayni

[I would like to inform you that Peshawar the capital of the northern province of Pakistan, is a region that is very important and densely populated. It is a center of propagation of various doctrines and religions. Among them are those that support the deviant and materialistic doctrines and are very actively engaged in propaganda in this region. But, unfortunately, Islamic (propagation) activities are feeble and faint. In view of the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, having triggered a new wave everywhere in the world, and particularly among the young generation here, the need for an active Islamic organization, to make known the true Islam in this region, is keenly felt. With the help of God and the support of the Guardian of the present age, may our souls be sacrificed to him; we have taken the first step in matter by establishing a public library with the help of our dedicated and faithful brothers. But because of the paucity of funds, we request you to grant us permission to make use of the Blessed Imam's (a) share in order to cover the costs of this Islamic institute and library. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Yours sincerely

Sayyid Arif Husayn al-Husayni¹]

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Sayyid Arif Husayn al-Husayni—may his success endure—is most reliable and trustworthy. His activities in furthering the cause of Islam have been very spectacular. Therefore, it is requested that the above-mentioned permission be granted. May his benign existence endure by the grace of God.

Muhammad Fadil¹

¹ One of the well-known *ulama* of Pakistan.

¹ One of the *ulama* of the Qum Theological Center.

Muharram 20, 1401 AH]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are permitted to make use of the Blessed Share of the Imam (a) in the event of the said activities being for the purpose of advancing the sublime cause and interests of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: Before noon, December 6, 1980 [Azar 15, 1359 AHS / Muharram 27, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The people's role in the government and the necessity for the (government) officials to give the people importance

Audience: Massrs Zawarii and Mir Salim (Deputy Interior Ministers) and the governors from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Weakness of the government in the unsatisfactory functioning of the executive organs

I have something to say to the governors now sitting here and, in general, to all other and the governors, the government departments and everybody else—civil or military—that have a hand in the (affairs of the) Islamic Republic. I have seen the era of Ahmad Shah till its last days. And I have also seen all the days of Rida Shah and his son till they ended, in the present (situation). The thing that causes the weakness of the government and alienates the people from it is the way all its departments function. For instance, a government servant who went somewhere, had first arranged things for himself in the (administrative) center. He had bribed the persons concerned. They, too, in return, had given him the permission to do whatever he liked. So he used to do whatever he desired. No one could dare to tell him a thing. If at all, one said something, it would have no effect. This was not the monopoly of the higher echelons only; the situation was the same at all levels, right to the bottom rung. When some ruling official, the governor for instance, was to be posted somewhere, say to Khorasan, he would rent the place, from the establishment according to the difference between the incomes which that place fetched for the government and the governor's office. It would become his fiefdom.¹ Khorasan, for instance would be some princess's fief for which he had to pay a sum of money to the Shah or the establishment. The arrangement enabled him to do whatever he liked in his fiefdom. He had to recoup the sum he had paid for it, and more to wit. He had to amass a goodly sum for himself and his associates. It was the same

¹The property or water in a land that the government or sovereign would transfer to somebody so that he could live by its income and also give a portion of it to the king or government.

with the military, the gendarmerie, and the police officers. If one examines exhaustively the issues of those days and writes about them, it will make a voluminous book. It will reveal the way they used to deal with the people. The situation was the same from the top to the bottom. In the days of Rida Shah, all the thefts were his monopoly. The exclusivity of it was his own. The governors were not so powerful. In the days of Ahmad Shah, it was not so. They couldn't collect the gains for themselves. Therefore, they had agents who went around and collected the profits on their behalf. In the days of Rida Shah, all robberies were shifted from the defiles to Tehran. All the bandits of those days, from everywhere, were grouped in the government organizations themselves. And above all was Rida Shah himself as well as those like him. This resulted in the people's total opposition to the authorities. But they could not dare to say a word. Sometimes they had the courage to do so. I remember that when I was a boy, the governor of Khomein had arrested one of the "khans". After two, three, or four nights; the khans attacked the place, and took him captive, and freed their own man from prison. None of the people said a word. It was not possible to ask why. In fact, they were rather happy; perhaps some of them went to the governor's house and plundered what was left. I witnessed the whole incident in which they dragged the governor from that house. I was then a child. I was standing behind a door and watching their actions. They attacked the place, but the governor was a strong man. He had ten bullets on him. He, too, was shooting at them, and perhaps killed one of them. But later he was captured. This was the condition of the ruler of that place, the details of which are lengthy. During the days of Rida Shah, everybody who remembers knows what events took place. And, similarly, in the time of Muhammad Rida which everybody remembers. This caused the government to be antagonistic towards the nation, the army to oppose the people, and all of them to be against the nation. That is, the police stations, the army, the gendarmerie, and the like would extract whatever they could from the people by force and intimidation. Perhaps you remember me telling you that when Rida Khan once visited the gendarmerie, he had his hand in his pocket. Maybe the newspapers did not mention this. He had his hand in his pocket saying that he was afraid he might be pickpocketed. It is possible that he did this to show them that they should steal even if it be from himself, or it is possible that it was with the intention of making it known to them that the conditions (in the country) were such. Everybody ought to have his hands in his pockets so that even His Majesty does not steal. This is the point.

The state of things during the previous regime should serve as a lesson to the authorities

The government and the nation, and all the government institutions of which you gentlemen are at the helm in any province must take this matter into consideration and study the history of the recent era. I don't mean the history which was compiled for the Shah. That is not history. That is a bundle of lies. You must look into the events and their acts and see why the nation was alienated from them. Why it used to create hurdles. I remember all this. Perhaps most of you also remember the time when the Allies poured into Iran from all sides in the days of Rida Khan. The people were very afraid as to what would happen next. But at the same time, they were happy because they took Rida Khan away. Although the masses were worried as to what these forces would do and what would become of them, one of the blessings of the assault was that Rida Khan departed. It was like a gift from heaven to them. Regrettably, at that time there was nobody among the nation to bring the people together and lead them. So, they installed the son of Rida Khan here. If that time, two or three cities had demonstrated against him, they would have not placed Muhammad Rida in power. But nobody uttered a word as that fear had had gripped the people, and had not left them. For that reason, the people did not have the courage to say anything. There was also nobody to compel them to do so. Had the late Mudarris¹ been present that time, he would have done something. But there was nobody around to do all these things. You are aware of most of these matters that I am relating to you.

This is the way for all of you and those who are in any way involved in the country's affairs and are managing them, to understand that the governing authorities from the top; from the president of the Republic to the district administrator, for instance, must serve the people. If they do not do so, the same things will gradually come to pass as happened in their time. The time now is far worse than that time as the people do not have that fear at all of anybody now. If they want to create fear among the people, it might bear results after one or two generations. Do not think that dictatorship will work in this present generation. No, it won't. If its foundation is laid now; perhaps the results could be achieved after one or two generations. That is these persons will do their job and they will see its result. For this reason, we must behave properly with the people. The governors and all those who have a hand in the affairs of state should not deal with the nation as was the case in those days when some unfortunate person who wanted to see a governor

¹ Ayatullah Sayyid Hasan Mudarris, The combative clergyman who was martyred in the year 1317 AHS on Rida Khan's order.

could not do so till the every end. One who had been oppressed and wanted to meet the authorities of a certain place; the governor of a district for instance, did not have the nerve to do so. He could not muster the courage to see him. There was no such thing. These things just couldn't happen. Therefore, the feelings of frustration got pent up in the hearts of the people. Until the time they were released and the people accomplished that task. So we should be mindful of these facts, and now that the administration has fallen into your hands, and the government is yours; you should be particular about being in the service of the people. You must bring home to the people that you are their servants. You should make them understand by words and deeds. In practice it should be such that the people see that the governor, who has come to their place, has come to serve them, and is busy doing so. Well, when the people see that somebody is busy serving them, they will have no quarrel with him. Quarrels will arise only when the people see that the official has come to harass them, to extort money from them by all means possible and to establish his own power. When the people see that one wants to establish his own power, they will go against him. The people now say that the situation is not like before for them to feel frustrated. They are frustrated no more and will not allow anybody to make them so. It will bring them (the officials) nothing but disgrace. Suppose that an intelligent person is inwardly a dictator. Well, it is almost so in the East; to a good extent. It also exists in the West. Such a tendency exists everywhere. Man is like this. Suppose a person has it; if he is sensible, he must keep it concealed for the time being, only to be revealed at the time when it becomes necessary to do so. It is not to be shown everywhere. He must not be hasty in his work. Being hasty results in the destruction of the person concerned.

The good of the country and the officials lies in fraternization and friendship with the people

Anyway, my request to you gentlemen is to be friendly with the people. It is to your own interests and in the interest of the country and the nation. It is not for you in particular. Everyone is obliged to be so. People must feel that the officials who have come are their friends. Take for instance, the gendarmerie; it should not be like the old times. People were afraid of them. People were afraid to travel not because of the thieves, but because of them. Similarly, the police. People were so afraid of the police that they could not dare complain to them if anybody harassed them. Perhaps you might have not visited a police station in those days or perhaps you had. People, who had some business in the police station, would fret about going there and about

what would happen if they entered it. A victim, who wanted to go to represent to the police the oppression and harassment done to him, would worry as to how he could enter the place. It was even worse for them than a prison. It was an extraordinary kind of fear and dread that they (the regime) had created among the people. It was their policy to create dread among the people and intimidate them so that it did not cross their minds to oppose the system. Such a policy, whether it was the off-shoot of their own mischief or the instructions of those at the top, was for this purpose. In any case, you should keep the people satisfied for the sake of our country's freedom and so that the big powers do not exert influence in our country again and do what they want. Every one of you, wherever you happen to be, should keep the people with you. You should create cohesion among the people by your speeches. Go and speak to the people in the meetings that take place. Make them aware of the things that some of the intellectuals wish to set up. If they are making a mistake, well, it is a mistake. But if they are plotting to implement their designs, their plot should be scuttled. The people ought to be united. Sir you know how much trouble the people have taken over the last few years. The people are very good; our people are really good. The Iranian nation, perhaps, has no equal anywhere. We are the bad ones. They are very good. Sometimes the thought occurs to me that if I go to hell—I mean myself—and the person who has done something for me in the thought that I am a proper person, is in heaven, well, what answer shall I give him? It is said that heaven overlooks hell. They can see them (in hell). They will tell me that they shouted "*Allahu Akbar*" for my sake and demonstrated. But I was such a person as to go hell while they, themselves, entered heaven because of me. They will say that I was damned and went to hell. These are good people; see that you have them with you. Make these good people be with you. All the governors and the people working in the governor's office in the provinces should aim to perform their tasks well and be at the people's disposal. They should explain to them that the Islamic government is one that serves the people. The Noble Prophet was at service of the people. He was the people's servant in spite of his status. He used to serve them. I have repeated that story concerning Malik Ashtar many times. He was Islam's first commander. Once as he was passing by, someone, not recognizing him, abused him. He said something to him. When Malik Ashtar had passed, somebody who was sitting there asked him whether he recognized the one who had passed by. On replying that he did not, the (seated) man told him that it was Malik Ashatr. He ran after Malik who had entered a mosque and was praying. The man apologized to Malik. Malik told him that he had come

to the mosque for the sole purpose of praying to God to forgive him (the abuser). Think how this utterance affected that person.

Keeping the people's support for the system

Hold on to the clean, pure hearts of these people. The farmers, workers and others were the ones that made you attain the office of governor. Otherwise, they (the ex-regim) would have never made you governors. Were any of you governors in Rida Shahs' time? They would have not let you enter the offices. These were the people who brought this government into existence and made this president the president of the Republic. They were the ones that changed this country from its previous condition in which a governor, on assuming office, would indulge in a thousand corrupt practices. It should not be so now. We ought to pay close attention to these matters. We must feel God's presence everywhere. He is present in our hearts and in every gathering. We are always in His presence. When we are in His presence, should we trouble His beloved creatures? This is an unpardonable sin. We must hold on the people if we don't want our country to be taken hold of again and everything taken away from us. The suppression that existed for the last fifty years, which some of you remember—particularly the last ten to fifteen years which all of you remember—should not arise again, and neither should the ignominy which everybody, particularly the dignitaries, were subjected to without realizing it. Their hearts had become so darkened that they could not understand. God alone knows that I cannot forget the sight of one, who considered himself to be the country's king, though we, of course, never acknowledged him to be the king—he was a thief who had come here by means of force—but, all the same, one who was regarded as the Shah by the people of other countries, standing before Nixon, or I think it was Johnson; Johnson¹ it was. He was standing there and this one here. He did not look at all at the Shah. It was beneath his dignity. He had removed his spectacles and was looking the other way, and this one (the Shah) was standing in front of him like a schoolboy stands in front of his teacher—the teachers of the past; not the present ones. It made me feel embarrassed that one of high status, whom the world knew as the Shah of Iran, should stand so abjectly in front of a president. Why should it be so? It was as if he was seeking permission from him to rule and to plunder this place. It was the same thing that the kings of old and the grand viziers and I should say; the rulers of those times used to do. They would hand over the country and its administration divided into small parts against payments of

¹ Lyndon Johnson, a former president of U.S.A.

money. He, too, wanted to do the same thing to obtain their permission to plunder the country. They gave him the freedom to do anything and they, for their part, did not allow the people to protest. You must ensure that the country does not return to the same situation. I will not be amidst you for long. But as for the country, it is yours. This is the land of Iran. If the Iranians from the top officials to the people at the lowest level want to preserve their country as it is, and if they want Iran to remain for this nation, they must ensure that the nation be with them with the same zeal that exists at the present time. And, God willing, all this chaos and tumult will soon come to an end. The thought of leaning to either East or West should never enter your minds. Do not let this idea enter the mind of anyone else who is in contact with you or the nation. You have to maintain cohesion among the people. Iranians are a peerless people. Had a war broken out in the days of Muhammad Rida, in Ahwaz, for example, would the women have baked bread for him in Khorasan? They would have prayed for his defeat, God willing. Such is the situation at present. In which part of the country can you find such a thing? Such support of the people for the government and the army cannot be found anywhere. It has no parallel; even in history. The kids, who, for instance, have ten *tumans*, give it to the army or to the armed forces stationed there. The few eggs belonging to an old woman of eighty are of great worth. We have to treasure these values. In them lies the country's victory. The victory of hearts is above the victory of the country. To conquer such hearts is more important than conquering a country. Safeguard these values. Bear in mind that we are God's creatures whom the people have elevated to this level. Thus, we must serve them.

The president ought to realize that it was these ordinary people that brought him here from Paris and made him president. Accordingly, he should serve the people. The prime minister should also think in the same way. The people freed him from prison and torture, and made him prime minister. He, therefore, ought to serve them. And the same applies to you gentlemen. Each one of you suffered in those days. Each one of you was imprisoned. It was this nation that rescued you. As a matter of fact, this country itself was a prison. The whole country was a jail for everybody, even for those who did not suffer. Therefore the thing that is fundamental in this country, and which politics, religion, justice, and conscience demand, is that you acknowledge the worth of these people that are serving you and the government voluntarily. You should also know that if, God forbid, this bond loosens, or ruptures, the situation will revert to the one that existed previously; if not now, it will do so after some time. This edifice should be kept firm from now

itself. You must always try to maintain its firmness. Each one of you is responsible for maintaining it in your own place. In other words, wherever you be, it is your religious and moral duty not to allow those who are working under your or your ministry's supervision to mistreat the people. You must accept the people for your own sake. Mingle with them. Do not keep away from them. In these days, they (the ex-regime) would not take the people into account. They had kept aloof from them. Whenever Muhammad Rida wanted to go somewhere, they had to check every place there and all the houses along the route a few days earlier so that he could pass by that way. This is not being a monarch; it was an abomination that they had named a monarchy.

The people are the key to the solution of problems

You ought to behave in such a manner that the people embrace you like a mother would. The people have such an attitude now. You should ensure that they maintain it. This will help in safeguarding the country. Difficulties arise for the country every day. The people themselves should solve them. Our people are facing this difficulty (the imposed war) at present. Well, the people are extending aid. They themselves hold the key to its solution. The people are extending great support. They are present on the scene. They consider everything to be related to them. They consider the army to be of themselves, as well as everything else. Such an attitude ought to be preserved so that we and our country become secure. God forbid, if we lose this opportunity, the situation will return to what it was before. I am afraid that we will show ingratitude for all the bounties that the Blessed and Exalted God has given us and all the things that He has bestowed upon us, thus depriving ourselves of His favors. In such a case, we ourselves will be the cause of this which will make our condition worse than before.

The need to present the results of the tasks accomplished to the people

It is not that I have not heard of the difficulties that you and the gentlemen mentioned. I receive many reports. The difficulties must be removed gradually, and they will, God willing. The authorities are dealing with them and I, too, will pursue the matter. They will, perhaps, come here within the next two days. I will follow it up. It was for this reason that I wanted them to have no drawbacks, considering that it is now two years that the country has been secured at the cost of so much trouble and all that suffering. They have left behind a country with so many shortcomings. They fled, leaving these (problems) behind. They actually took away the people's

and the nation's things. They plundered and left. These people whose lands and, I do not know, what other assets, have been appropriated; owe more than that to this country. They destroyed the country and left. Muhammad Rdia had said that he would destroy the country before leaving it. He was right in what he said. He did destroy it before going. But we were under the impression that by "destroy" he had meant bombing the place, for instance, before departing. No it is far worse than that. Bombardment takes place at one time. But they have destroyed the very base of our economy. As a consequence, the people must work hard to compensate for all the devastation and depredation that has been caused. Now in connection with the tasks that you are performing, I have often told Mr. Bazargan about this since the time he became prime minister. I also cited an example which I shall relate to you now. I asked him if he had ever noticed what a lot of noise a hen makes and what "announcements" it gives on laying an egg. It cackles so because it has laid an egg! But you people work and keep silent about the fact. Do not think that you are silent for the sake of God. No, you ought to speak up for Him, because the devils are saying that nothing has been accomplished in this country. The Islamic Republic came into being and that was all. It is just like what it was before. These unjust ones who lack self-restraint have gone on the rampage in the streets and everywhere. They are doing every kind of mischief. At that time (of the ex-regime) they were not able to breathe a word. But now they say that nothing has been done; that the Islamic Republic is in place but it has not accomplished anything either. But as it has been reported, to me, the fact is that the amount it has accomplished, with all the troubles that have been besetting it over these last two years or a year and a half, is more than what they had done during the entire period of the monarchy. They did not do anything. The Islamic Republic has done more than what a just government could have done more at time. But this fact is never mentioned; you do not inform the people about it.

In any case, this is one of our shortcomings. We—and you as well—must inform the people through the press, radio, and television about whatever work we and you do. Something very brief is shown on television sometimes and the people think that is all. The day before yesterday, Dr. Bahonar¹ was here. He was telling me about the schools that have been built. He said that the number of the schools that are soon to be completed is fifteen thousand. Fifteen thousand schools will have been completely built after a short time.

¹ Mr. Muhammad Jawad Bahonar, the prime minister in Martyr Mahammad Ali Raja's cabinet. Mr. Bahonar together with the president was martyred in the explosion that took place in the prime minister's office.

Ten thousand still remain (to be completed). This is three times the number throughout their (schools') history; in the course of Iran's history. This fifteen thousand is about one-third of all the work accomplished from the beginning until now. Well, this should be made known to the people; it should be mentioned to them. People should know as to how many houses have been built, and how many mosques and public baths. How much land has been developed, and how many roads asphalted. Much is the work that has been done. The people must be informed of all these things that have been done so that they do not think otherwise, so that the mischief-makers do not keep on saying that nothing has been done. Well, all these things have been accomplished. All these things must be done in this country. And every thing will be set right later God willing. Efforts should be made at present. All the gentlemen should strive so that these tasks are carried out.

I hope you and we will prosper God willing. We all should be determined to render service to the people. They are creatures of God. If we want to serve God, we must serve the people. God is in no need of our service. They are the people's families and you, their "nurse". We, in order to protect ourselves, should protect them.

May God assist you and give you success. May you be successful and triumphant in serving your own country. Always bear in mind that the East and West are our enemies, and that whatever it gives us is out of enmity and for the sake of destroying us. We ought to conduct our affairs in such a way as to not seek the assistance of our enemies.

Speech

Date: Before noon, December 6, 1980 [Azar 15, 1359 AHS / Muharram 27, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Avoiding differences

Audience: Personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary guards of Imam Husayn and Wali al-Asr Garrisons

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Iranian youth being examples throughout the course of history

Islamic history, except for the period of its early days, knows of no youths like the Iranian youths. Likewise, there is no record in history of a nation like the Iranian one. Except for a short interval—not a long one—in the early period of Islam, where in history do you know of the youths of a country being so enthusiastic about war and about defending their country? And the people to be unitedly looking forward like this to the victory of the army, the Islamic Guards and all the other armed forces? Where have you seen people looking forward ardently to martyrdom? I envy your bright, cheerful faces and your tears of devotedness. I feel small when I come across these faces and these hearts which because of their attention to the Blessed and Exalted Lord, have left this kind of impression on these faces. Other than my prayers accompanying you, there is nothing else that I can do for you. In what words can I praise these divine sentiments, this attention to the Blessed and Exalted God, this firm determination and unique courage of yours?

Discord between the groups is what the enemy wants

My dear ones! You have a lofty status in the sight of the Almighty. You and our people are now living in a crucial period in history with regard to which the same utterance that was made at the advent of Islam—“the whole of Islam is confronting the whole of paganism”² should also be made in your case. You are now the guards of Islam. My friends! My dear ones! Take care to see that your missions and campaigns are sincere in purpose and are undertaken for the sake of God. Do not let personal or group differences

¹ The date 9/16/1359 has been mentioned in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

² An allusion to the saying of the Noble Prophet (s), in the “Ahzab” war. Bihar al-Anwar vol. 39, p. 1, and vol. 20, p. 215.

plague your minds. All of you—whether you belong to the army, the gendarmerie, the guard corps or the volunteer corps—who go to defend Islam and Islam's honor on the fronts constitute the army of Islam. All of you belong to the army of the Imam of the Time (s). Be careful about observing Islamic etiquette. Do not have any differences among yourselves. The enemy wants to create differences among these groups that are prepared for "*jihad*" It wants to separate the army from the Islamic Guards and them for the army. You are from the same nation; you belong to the same (religion of) Islam. All of you abide under the shelter of the Quran and the banner of Islam. There must be coordination among you. If any differences arise among yourselves or among your chiefs and your forces, then this Islamic country will, God forbid, fall into the hands of heretics, and Islam, as a result, will lapse into isolation for a long time to come.

Eschewing differences is everybody's duty

It is incumbent on the Iranian youth and nation to avoid discord and not let any differences arise among them at this critical juncture as the differences, God forbid, will take the whole country away from us, and we and our youths will return to the conditions in which we were previously. Try to behave like brothers with one another. Today, the Iranian army, gendarmerie, all the armed forces and you brothers as well are under the banner of Islam. You must behave like brothers. If you do so, if you remain together and attack the army in unison while keeping God in mind, you will triumph. But if, God forbid, differences arise among you—which is your, and our enemy's desire—a different situation may result. This is a divine obligation on everybody: all the orators; writers and you who are advancing manfully on the fronts and are making sacrifices. It is everybody's divine duty to invite one and all to unity and togetherness. These youths, from whatever class and force they be, who are fighting for the Islamic cause, are the light of Islam's eyes. Islam and the Muslims should appreciate them; they should be proud of them. The writers and orators ought to invite the people to unity. They must summon the people to "*jihad*" If, God forbid, the tongue utters a word or the pen writes a word that causes separation and division among the masses, it will be an unpardonable sin in the Eyes of the Blessed and Exalted God. Every single one of you belongs to this country. You want to safeguard it. Thus, there should be no differences among you. Do not pay heed to those that create divisions. All the people ought to be united and keep God, the Blessed and Exalted, in mind. The big powers have become disappointed as they are not able to achieve anything by means of war or

military assault. So they have resorted to mischief. They aim to sow discord among you and to divide you.

The enemy's aim in undermining the clergy

Be watchful! Our nation must be vigilant. Bear in mind that any orator who wants to sow discord and undermine the clergy, does not have only the clergy in his sights. After they are undermined, it will be your turn. They want to invade the country and destroy every thing of it, without anybody being to object or confront them. You, every one of you, remember that from the time of Rida Khan's coup d'etat until now, the clergy have been in the forefront of every development. They have shown their opposition, they have been tortured, imprisoned and exiled. And the people have adhered to them. If the masses are deprived of them, and they of the masses, it will be the occasion for the superpowers to celebrate. The intellectuals who are not the agents of the big powers, but, nevertheless, do and say things that amount to doing what the agents do, ought to wake up. They should consider the fact that it is an Islamic country. A country that has become your own; an independent one, not dependent upon any other. Do not do anything for these severed links to get cemented again. Invite the people to Islam, to goodness. Ask them to equip themselves. Invite them to the culture of Islam. You have been witnessing the culture of the West for more than fifty years. Whatever misfortune has befallen this country is because of this western culture. Whatever deviance occurred among our dear youths was because of this western culture. The intellectuals ought to think of giving a few years time to the culture of Islam as well. Let them experience it; let them see for themselves what Islamic culture can do.

I pray for all of you. May you, God willing, go to the fronts in safety and return in safety. May you earn victory and return victorious, I would like to stress once again that your victory on the fronts depends on your unity and faith. Have faith. Strengthen it and cooperate with all the armed forces. You have the same goal which is to defeat the superpowers. I hope that you remain safe and sound, that you tread this path that is the divine one and return in triumph. And I also hope that I will meet you again in this place when you return victoriously.

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

Letter

Date: December 8, 1980 [Azar 17, 1359 AHS / Muharram 29, 1401 AH]

Palce: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing thanks for a condolence message

Addresse: ?

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram al-Haram 29, 1401 AH

I would like to inform you that I received your kind letter of condolence. I pray to the Almighty God for your health and happiness. As you are aware, I am beset with troubles, one of the consequences of which is that I have been deprived of the blessing of visiting your honor and all the other friends. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statement

Date: Before noon, December 8, 1980 [Azar 17, 1359 AHS / Muharram 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Efforts to make the country independent and self-sufficient

Audience: Razi, Abbas Ali; Razi, Abdul-Rahim; Razi, Abdul-Rida (three inventors)

May God assist you. The important thing is that the Iranians should realize that they themselves can do everything. Throughout this period they had made matters such as to show the Iranians being incapable of doing anything, and that everything had to be imported; from Europe and America. This was the reason that prevented the Iranians from using their brains; they did not let them do so. The Iranian people are no less intelligent than others. As a matter of fact, they are more intelligent than other races. But they did not allow these talents to be put to work. The people ought to harness their abilities and the government and nation support the inventors and innovators so that Iran, God willing, manufactures everything by itself and becomes independent. Anyway, I will tell them, God willing, to remind the government to extend its support to you. Of course, the nation, too, is obliged to cooperate with you so that things get moving and Iran, God willing, becomes independent. You will become independent when you have no more need to extend your hands to foreign countries to get something. As long as we have to obtain our needs from abroad, we will not be independent. As long as our cultivation is not enough, forcing us to extend our hand to others, we will be dependent. Unless we develop our industry to the level that could free us from depending upon others, we will be dependent. Therefore, everybody—those who are inventors, intellectuals, peasants, and factory owners—should try to do his own tasks by himself. I pray, God willing, that you be successful and triumphant. I shall recommend that they cooperate with you and help you so that you perform the work better. May God protect you all; and may you be successful and prosperous, God willing.

Speech

Date: The morning of December 13, 1980 [Azar 22, 1359 AHS / Safar 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The society in need of unity among its various strata; the authorities being in the nation's service.

Audience: Fadlullah Mahallati (Imam's representative in the Guards Corps), the commanders of Guards Corps and the political-ideological arm of the Islamic Republic's army

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of saying and repeating the moral issues

At the outset, I wish to thank all the masses for having risen in this period in time in a manner befitting the Islamic government with everybody supporting one another, and acting upon their human and Islamic obligations. I also thank all the armed forces, whether the army, the Guards corps, the gendarmerie, the police and the volunteers, that are busy making sacrifices and are serving Islam at this crucial time. I hope that they will all be the soldiers of Islam and of the Imam of the Age (s). There are some issues, the importance of which is so great that they must be mentioned repeatedly. The books like the Quran that have come to build man's character and the books that are being written on ethics with the aim of building man and society have each topic of theirs repeated according to its importance. There is much repetition in the Holy Quran. Some ask "why this repetition?" Repetition is necessary. One of the things useful for making one a human is inculcation. A man who desires to build himself should suggest to himself and repeat those issues that concern self-development. The effect of a matter on one's self is enhanced by auto-suggestion and repetition. The point in constantly repeating the supplications and prayers several times a day is that man recites and listens to the constructive verses that he himself utters and hears, like the blessed chapter "Hamd" which is a constructive lesson. A person should repeat them and inculcate them into himself and should prepare his soul to listen to them. When one says something, a listener hears it in an instant and the words also enter his mind. But in the case of the speaker, the words are first impressed upon his mind, then he utters them and hears them. Subsequently, they sink into him. Inculcation is something that is necessary. A certain topic concerning some issues which I repeatedly state and inculcate into my friends is because of the fact that it is important. It has to do with

developing a society, and a nation. A society; a nation cannot attain its lofty aim unless it is developed (in character). Therefore, the matters of importance must be repeated. The speakers must repeat them and the listeners must inculcate them into themselves so that it has an effect on them, God willing.

Sometimes a speaker speaks well or a writer writes well. He may write a book on monotheism or on ethics. But it is merely writing and saying and presenting them (to the people). He, himself, is oblivious of all this. There are many issues that are expressed by the orators wherever they be. They propound many issues and they do it very well. They present them well and invite and recommend to the people (to heed them) well. But as their own selves have not been developed, they preach without being aware of what they say. It is quite likely that the writers who write books on ethics, and write them well, are not marked by good morals themselves. It is likely that those that teach and inculcate nicely the subject of monotheism into the minds of the people are themselves, not aware of it. If a lecturer is not alive to what he is saying, his lecture will have little effect on the class. Sometimes, one is very good at conversation. He speaks eloquently; he also writes well and imports the topic well. But in observing the speaker, the writer or the preacher, one finds out that, in practice, he is not so. As the saying goes: "Observe what is said; not the one who says it."¹ Wisdom ought to be acquired even if it be from a poly theist. But in spite of this being true, when a person hears something, he should also take into account that the person, who said it, is.

The need to call the people to unity

Inviting the people to unity is an important and necessary thing in our society today. The various strata of the people will not realize their goal as long as they remain disunited, possess differing outlooks and beliefs and unless they do not adopt the straight path and follow it. Perhaps you had witnessed the time when this nation was united and, having cast aside all other aims, was just after one goal which was the ouster of the regime. Everybody, at that time, was after this aim and taking steps to that end as well. It was not that the people were just calling for the regime's ouster without doing anything about it. When I speak of the nation, I mean these ordinary people and those of the less affluent areas. These people, in those days were in a ruined condition. There were those who were sorry to see the regime go, but they were nothing, in comparison with this raging flood, this

¹ Ghurar al-Hikam, AmudI, p. 58, h.. 612.

roaring river that was the nation. Hence, they would not utter a word. They could not express their views. You saw that with the unity that had emerged among our people, with all of them following the same path leading to one goal, they defeated the powers that were supporting the Shah, this demonic power. The Shah, himself, had become isolated from his own soldiers; the ones who were not with the nation and the masses. He was not able to remain, and so went away to the place to which he had to go. It was the unity and your attention to God and *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greater) that made you victorious over those powers. You are at pinnacle of victory even today. Therefore, I recommend firstly the whole nation and secondly to the armed forces to be careful that this unity is not lost, and also that attention to God and His Absolute Power is not undermined, God willing. Do not think that we have attained all our aims and that we have no more need for all this, or that we should pursue our own lives; lowly animalistic lives. We have now come half the way, and thank God, have been successful so far. The corrupt roots that existed in Iran have gone one by one and the rest too will go. You will execute the Islamic laws and commands successfully in this country, God willing.

In a meeting wherein dear army officers, guards and their chiefs are assembled one of the issues which ought to be brought to your notice is about building the self. Don't think that now that we have defeated that big power and have become powerful by our victory over that power, you and we should become like that demonic power that served, that acted on Satan's behalf.

Creating discord; the enemy's aim

You have many enemies as you are the *pasdars* of Islam. The devils are bound to be the enemies of those in the army, the gendarmerie and the other forces who are trying to put Islam into effect in this environment and this country, and, later on, in other places as well, God willing.

Those devils that are your enemies are not sitting idle. They are plotting constantly. The military designs of those powers will have no effect. Those plots are effective that will lead to your internal decay and external disintegration, and cause you to fall in the people's esteem and deprive you of their support. Their plan is, first of all, to create as much discord as they can within the army itself, and also among the army chiefs, and, if possible, among the chiefs and those lower in rank, right up to the lowest ranks. They want to sow discord wherever they can. They even want to do so between the army and the guards corps. They want to lower them in one another's

esteem; for one group to say that the other is not committed to Islam and for another one to say that the other is not aware of it, that they are headstrong and lack discipline. All this is not to destroy you alone. The object is Islam. What they have come to realize and feel is that it is Islam that has kept them at bay. It is Islam that has united all the classes of people and has turned the drops into a roaring flood. Their basic aim is to deal Islam a blow. Therefore, today, the whole nation, including the army, the armed forces, the bazaar merchants, the academics wherever they be, the farmers, workers, employees and all other classes of the nation must become the guards of Islam. The honored (religion of Islam) Islam has been placed in our custody. You, therefore, have to protect it and hand it over to the future generations.

A common responsibility towards Islam

We will have to take the blame if Islam, God forbid, is harmed today or any wrong is done to it. The responsibility does not depend upon a particular class. "All of you are shepherds. All of you are responsible"; everybody is responsible; the nation as a whole is. The people ought to observe Islamic laws. All of us owe Islam a debt of gratitude; all human beings do so. Islam is now in our hands and we are its guards. We will be held responsible if it is harmed. We will all be responsible before God.

Any differences, God forbid, arising among the guards, or the occurrences of something that is contrary to the interests of the nation, to Islam or the Islamic country carries a responsibility. Do not think that you are a single individual and that your acts as such have nothing to do with the others. No, it is not so today and it was also not so before. An individual's action has its own effects on society. A society is comprised of individuals. It is not something else. An act of each one of you has its effect. If you do something bad, it will influence the others who see it. Doing a good deed also has an effect on others. If any of you do something—like an injustice or an offense—that might hurt Islam, all of you will be responsible for it. The whole nation will be responsible. Everybody ought to prevent wrongdoing. We must all feel responsible as we are indeed, responsible. It should not be so that having disarmed the tyrant, you yourselves oppress the people. Because of its actions, the previous regime became a cursed and hated one. It was owing to its misdeeds and not because of a person, or who and whose son he was. His actions made the people detest him and, as a result, he could not endure as they had turned away from him.

The government and the armed forces are the people's servants

It should not so happen that we fail to practice what we preach, or that we invite the people to unity but act to the contrary. Let it not happen that we call for unity through our newspapers while our actions are otherwise.

This is the meaning of a hypocrite who says something but does not do what he says. He invites you to goodness and generosity while he himself is bereft of them. He invites you to the true Islam which he himself does not want. He invites you to unity but he himself has no intention of fostering it. He tells you to abstain from discord while he himself does not do so. By paying attention to the Blessed and Exalted Lord, we must all close our ranks.

You, gentlemen, the officers! May you be successful. Note that the ex-regime's army was the object of all those taunts and curses of the people because of the things that it had done and the wrongdoings that it was compelled to do. But after the ouster of those corrupt elements and those who were free of corrupt practices joining the nation, you can see for yourself in what esteem the masses now hold you. If the people ever looked at you those days when you used to pass by, either alone or in groups, it was out of fear that they would do so. Their hearts were not with you. They had turned their backs on you.

The hearts of the people are with you today. The nation's heart is with the armed forces and you are from this nation. You are not separate. If, as in the past, your path diverges from the nation's path, the nation, too, will turn its back on you, and will not endure. This is the case with all the armed forces and governmental institutions. If the armed forces, a government, or a government official wants to impose something on the people, it is not Islam's fault. The armed forces are there to serve the people. They are not imposed or forced upon them. The government and its related organs are the people's servants; not their masters. They are servants. If you want to have mastery over all the powers and see that no power takes you back to the previous state—a state in which you were wretched, poor and robbed (of your things)—you should all be together. Do not think that the *pasdars*, the gendarmes, and the army are all separate from one another and that they are separate entities.

Consider yourselves to be brothers. You have the common goal of strengthening Islam, God willing. Put Islam into practice; in its victory lies the prosperity of nations. Everybody is under the banner of monotheism. By so being, you will remain invulnerable. I repeat this matter because it is important. And hence we have to keep on dinning it into one another's

minds. Whoever admonishes the people, ought to dwell on this issue. Whoever gives a speech, ought to mention it. One should not think that it has been spoken about already. No, it ought to be constantly mentioned. The people, the nation, the governmental institutions should be repeatedly told that they should not forget the question of unity. Just do not keep talking about it without working for it. There ought to be unity among you in practice. You are one another's brothers. In the Holy Quran, the Blessed and Exalted Lord looks upon you as brothers.² If selfish motives give rise to differences, God forbid, the power of faith will disappear, and the one who creates divisions is, in reality, outside the pale of Islam, even if he is, on the face of it, among the Muslims.

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God to bring solidarity among all of you, among all the people and among all the armed forces so that all of them constitute a unified force vis-à-vis the superpowers.

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

² *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:10, "The believers are naught else than brothers".

Telegram

Date: December 14, 1980 [Azar 23, 1359 AHS / Safar 6, 1401 AH]

Pace: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Condolence message

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani (one of the leading reference authorities)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa-ye Golpaygani—May his blessings last long:

I would like to condole your honor on the bereavement¹ you and your family have suffered, and pray to the Almighty for your good health. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The passing away of Aqa GolpayganI's sister.

Notice from Imam Khomeini's Office

Date: December 17, 1980 [Azar 26, 1359 AHS / Safar 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Request to cancel the demonstrations on 9/27/59 AHS, Mr. Tahiri's return to Isfahan

Addressees: The people, the clergy, and the *ulama* of the provinces; Majlis deputies and political parties

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Following the several notices from the grand Aytullahs the Hujaj-e Islam, the distinguished spiritual leaders of the provinces—may their blessings last long—and the respected members of the Islamic consultative Majlis, the groups parties associations, organizations, guilds and other esteemed personalities, with regard to the holiday and the street demonstrations all over the country supposed to be held on Thursday 10th of Safar 1401 AH, corresponding to 27th of Azar 1359.¹ Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, while sincerely thanking all of them for their affection and sentiments, stated: “Considering the present sensitive period when we are involved in a war with the enemy of Islam, and in view of our having announced a number of times that in case any disrespect is shown to me or to my photograph, the people for the sake of maintaining unity, should not show any reaction.

It is hereby requested of all of them to forgo the holiday, and the demonstrations that were to be held, and instead, attend to the removal of their difficulties and also to their other tasks. They should call on the people to maintain calm and keep order”. He further stated: “It is requested that the

¹ Following the intensification in Abul-Hasan BanI Sadr's (the president of the time) differences with the prime minister, the clergy and the forces following Imam's line and in the course of the gathering of BanI Sadr's supporters in Mashhad, which had been mainly arranged and supported by the members and backers of the MunafiqIn (hypocrites) Organization and the “office of the people's cooperation with the president”—a set-up that was acting as an extremist political party—some people, with the object of creating turmoil, gave insulting slogans and tore up Imam Khomeini's picture. The publication of news of these incidents gave rise to a wave of public indignation throughout the country. In order to protest this move, many parties, Islamic organizations and the clergy announced the holding of street demonstrations—on 9/27/ 1359.

honorable Aqa Haj Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri—May his blessings last long—in accordance with the request of the esteemed people of Isfahan returns to that city, and as usual continue to lead the Friday prayers and guides the people.¹ The revolutionary organs that have announced a two-day holiday should get busy with their routine. I pray to the Exalted Lord for the success of all and for the complete victory of the Muslims over the enemies of Islam.”

Imam Khomeini's Office
Safar al-MuZaffar 9, 1401 AH
Azar 26, 1359 AHS

¹ Subsequent to the broadcast by Isfahan television of the scenes concerning the disrespect shown by BanI Sadr's supporters [as explained in footnote (1) above] and their and the hypocrites' divisive acts in that city, Mr. Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri (the Imam's representative and Friday prayer leader in Isfahan) issued an announcement protesting these incidents, and went away to Qum. Following his departure the mounting requests of the public for him to return and its calls for the divisive elements to be dealt with overtook the city. With the notice issued by Imam Khomeini's office announcing the position of the leader of the Revolution, the tension that had gripped Isfahan and the country subsided, and Mr Tahiri, too, returned to that city.

Speech

Date: December 17, 1980 [Azar 26, 1359 AHS / Safar 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Lauding the struggles put up by the disabled ones of the Revolution, and *pasdars* and combatants

Audience: A group of disabled persons of the Revolution and the personnel of Tabriz (Islamic Guard Corps)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Appreciating the combatants and the ones who risk their lives

I do not know from where to begin. And being face to face with the persons present here, I do not know to praise these ones who have become maimed for the sake of Islam and the Almighty Lord, and also these (enthusiastic) faces that are about to set forth on the journey for the defense of Islam. How can I thank you young men who suffered agony and became disabled for the sake of Islam and your faith, and you who are to go to the fronts. When I see the scenes of pity and pride at the same time, I find myself unable to speak in their presence. You, yourselves, are expressive of our pride. You are the expressive tongue of Islam. You have done the nation proud. You were the ones that severed the links to our country of the big powers, the plunderers, the *Taghut* and those hostile to Islam. It is you again who are exerting efforts for Islam and devoting yourselves to its cause. Nobody except God, the Blessed and Exalted, and nothing else but God can reward you for your services. Only the Blessed and Exalted Lord can reward you for your efforts.

If you have become disabled—may God restore you to health—it is in serving Islam. It is you who are to proceed to the fronts. You are in the service of Islam. Islam holds you in esteem and thanks you. The entire nation is grateful to you. You now see the people throughout the country in a state of “*jiḥād*”; each one of them in a particular way. You have taken part in the “*jiḥād*” and may God reward you for it. And you (the others) are setting out for “*jiḥād*” May God grant you success. The nation, for its part, supports you. The people of the nation—the men, women, children, the elders—are also in a state of “*jiḥād*” But the important point is that whatever we have, is from the Blessed and Exalted God. We have to hand over to Him this thing that we hold in trust. You succeeded in going to the fronts and the battlefields. You became maimed, but you succeeded. And you (the others) too will, God

willing, achieve victory. I must sincerely thank you and all the people of Iran who are striving like this for the country, for dear Islam and for the deliverance of the oppressed. May the Lord favor you by showering you with His boundless mercies and thanks from which all the blessings follow.

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

Speech

Date: December 18, 1980 [Azar 27, 1359 AHS / Safar 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulations to the families of the martyrs for having brought up such brave and devoted youths

Audience: Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri (the Friday prayer leader of Isfahan), Mahdi Karrubi (the Head of the Martyr's Foundation), and the families of the martyrs of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Condolences to the families of the martyrs

Every day, we come across scenes which are heart-rending but, at the same time, a source of pride. Yesterday, a great number of disabled persons had come here, and today, too, some disabled ones have come from Isfahan bringing many photographs of the martyrs. This is a great change that has taken place in Iran. Fathers come here with photos of their martyred sons, and mothers have lost some of their children. Nonetheless, their morale is very high. This change is a blessed one for the Iranians. When I see in this gathering, the youths and the photos of the youths, I must express my feelings to the bereaved, and offer my condolences to the parents. I ask God to forgive them. May God grant you patience and reward you. May He shower his boundless blessings upon those youths who engendered pride in us.

Such things have happened in the course of history. In early Islam, there were many such tragedies that befell the saints of God and the Muslims of those times. Perhaps from that time up to now, this present situation obtaining in Iran and this transformation that our people, men and women, young and old, have undergone, are unprecedented. God the Blessed and Exalted, has given us all that we have. Whatever we have is from Him, and must be returned to Him. The happy ones were those who gave back to God whatever He had given them. We are lagging behind them. I condole and congratulate all you brothers and dear ones who have lost your sons. Congratulations because you are the families that brought up such valiant sons who made sacrifices for Islam. We owe Islam a huge debt of gratitude; we owe our existence to it. We can never repay Islam its rightful due no matter what we give in its cause. I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God for

the health and happiness of all of you, and for His mercy on these youths who have made sacrifices.

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

Speech

Date: Before noon, December 18, 1980 [Azar 27, 1359 AHS / Safar 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of the roles of the seminary and the university; stating the duties of these two institutions of learning

Occasion: The day of unity between the seminary and the university

Audience: Teachers and students of Qum Theological Center; the student members of the office for the consolidation of unity between the seminary and the university

In the Name of God, the compassionate, the merciful

Unity of the Seminary and the university

What an animated and blessed gathering this is! There was a time when the university and the centers of theology, being, as they were, separated from one another, had, perhaps, created an inimical atmosphere. The academic could not tolerate a cleric, nor a cleric an academic. The (ex-regime's) basic purpose was to keep these two classes separated, the reason being that if they were united, the whole nation would also be united. They wanted to keep these two groups opposed to each other so as to prevent the people from achieving unity. Thanks be to God that great transformation took place because of this Islamic movement and revolution following which neither of these two classes considers itself as being apart from the other, God willing. The mutual dread that existed between the clergy and the academics has now vanished by the will of God the Blessed and Exalted. You the academic and clergymen brothers have now come together. You stand beside one another in solving the problems and taking the revolution to victory.

Knowledge, in itself, is of no use in the absence of commitment and culture

The universities and the seminaries, together with the clergy, can constitute two centers for the country's progress and development. They can also be two centers of all deviations and perversions. It is from the university that committed intellectuals graduate. If the university be a university, if it is really a university and Islamic in nature; that is; together with the actual education, there is dedication and edification as well, then such people (the university graduates) will be able to lead the country to prosperity. Also, if the centers of theology be refined and committed, they will be able to save

the country. Knowledge alone is of no use even if it is not detrimental. When we look extensively at the whole world and all the universities that are in it, we will find that the roots of all these misfortunes that have befallen humankind, lie in the universities. The roots lie in the specialization courses of the universities. All these tools of humankind's ruination and all these advances which they think lie in the implements of war, have been basically due to the scientists who graduated from the universities; universities that lacked the ethics and edification to go along with the education given. All the corruption that has been found in a nation, or nations, has sprung from the theological centers that lacked commitment to Islamic injunctions. All these fabricated religions have originated from the scholars and the *ulama*. The university where knowledge has not been accompanied with ethics, edification and commitment to Islam, has dragged the world into corruption. Likewise, the university takes the world towards betterment. If the universities all over the world are able to observe human principles, morals and whatever (good) there is in human nature, side by side with imparting education and training, the world will become an enlightened place. All the woes that emerge in the world are due to those very intellectuals and specialists that are produced by the universities in which specialization and knowledge are divorced from ethics, cultural refinement human awareness and dedication. These two centers, which are the centers of knowledge, could be the centers of all of humanity's problems, and could also be centers of spiritual and material progress. Knowledge and practice, knowledge and commitment are like two wings which, in tandem, can reach the heights of progress and excellence.

The importance of the university's role in society

You have seen for fifty years that this tyrannical government had universities and university professors, and that these same universities and university professors dragged our country into the lap of the superpowers. It was tragic for our nation that the tools of knowledge lay in the hands of those that lacked commitment and were unmindful of themselves. It is a tragedy that the instruments of knowledge be possessed by people who are not committed and lack Islamic morality. There is no difference between the university and the theological center. The only thing is that if there is commitment and purification of the soul together with knowledge, they can then save their country, their homeland by means of these two devices of knowledge and morality, and the practice thereof. They can save it from the clutches of those who want to plunder everything of ours. But if knowledge

alone is imparted by the universities and the seminaries, such knowledge, then, will lead man to ruination. All of a country's problems can stem from the university and the centers of theology, and so also its material prosperity and spiritual bliss. The grand design of infiltrating the universities and giving our youths a kind of training that went against our country's interests was for the purpose of corrupting the country which would be the case if the university became corrupted. If the aim of the university was solely to impart knowledge, and assuming that the university taught well—which was not the case—and that teaching our youths the arts and sciences, etc was carried out in the best manner, alongside all this, however, was the propaganda by which this very learning became the means to bring about decadence in a country. The persons who had come out of the universities and become ministers and such things, and also attained other positions were those who had pushed us into the lap of East and West. They made us dependent upon them. By saying that the university and education should be reformed, we do not mean that we do not want universities. We want universities that are of service to the nation and exist for our own selves. It is better (for us) that a university which is in the service of America, does not exist at all. Many people are unhappy about the university being shut. According to what one of the informed persons told me just a few days ago, the university has served as a war (operations) room for the Kurdistan issue. That is, there is a room in the university where from they have been directing the war in Kurdistan; the democrat party's war, and that of other malevolent elements. Do you want such a university?

Do you who raised that clamor about the university being closed, want such a university to be reopened? Should the war room be opened for the guidance of Democrats and their like for them to ruin Iran? Do you want to feel sorry about this university? Isn't it better for it to be closed rather than remain open?

The need for the universities to undergo a cultural revolution

The people who have been assigned to carry out the Cultural Revolution in the universities, should, of course, make haste in the first place to get the opportunity for them to act so that the university becomes Islamic and exists for the nation. Otherwise, if it is reopened, anybody who wants to enter it will do so. Did you not see what mischief there was when it was open? It was the stronghold and the war (operations) headquarters of the communists. You are sorry that it is closed. Do you realize what you are saying? Are you saying this understandingly? If so, your position ought to be made known.

But if you are talking out of ignorance, on what grounds do you want it to be reopened now when, a few months or a year or so ago, it had been turned into a center of all kinds of mischief, and was in the clutches of the communists, the guerrillas and all the other hypocrite organizations? Do you want them to come back? Are you sorry that the hypocrites are not in the university? Are you sorry as to why there is an Islamic presence in the university? A university that is the center of such activities cannot even impart knowledge as education and learning require time; a time of calmness and a tranquil atmosphere. An atmosphere wherein people fall upon and beat one another daily cannot be conducive to learning. You who want the university to reopen with those same conditions obtaining, want to make us dependent as we were before. You wish to take us back to that dependent state. Neither does any academic nor do the people want this to happen. You, who have so much sympathy for the university and are distressed over its closure, should come and participate in the task of changing it into an Islamic one. You should extend your assistance instead of writing about the university being closed. Do you want the kind of university that existed in the days of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida? Do you want the likes of “Sharif Imami¹ to graduate from the university? Reform yourselves sirs! You are not heedful of the issues. God forbid (the day) that you pay heed” But the truth is that you are heedless of the issues. You lack the feel for politics. The universities all over the world are—and have been—in the service of the superpowers. We do not want them to be so. There was not much activity in our universities either. Some of them were committed no doubt and had such virtues. But they were in a minority. They could not do anything against the strong fists of the communists. Even now—in case the universities reopen and we have dedicated professors—they will not allow the universities to be real ones. There was neither any knowledge in the universities to impart. In case they did have learning to impart to the students, why, after all these years and these big budgets of billions that have been spent on this nation, is it said that one who is unwell, who is stricken by an ailment that is rather difficult to treat, has to be sent abroad for treatment? Is this not being dependent? Do you want such a university that even after fifty years of its existence; a patient has to go to England to get himself treated? Is this not

¹ Jafar Sharif Imami who was the Speaker of the Majlis for some terms. At the height of the Revolution, he became the prime minister after Jamshid Amuzegar. He was the one who was the actual perpetrator of the massacre of the people of Tehran in Jaleh Square (the present Martyr’s Square). Martial Law was declared on his orders in Tehran and eleven other cities of the country. Thousands of innocent and defenseless people of the country were shot and martyred by the Shah’s henchmen.

being dependent? If the university remains in that condition, the corruption in the country will increase with every day that passes. Like it or not, such a university will drag us into America's or the Soviet Union's lap. It cannot be otherwise as it all begins basically from the universities. The bazaar cannot drag us into the lap of America or the Soviet Union. The farmers cannot drag us into the lap of this one or that one. The factory workers cannot do such a thing, even if there is a corrupt person among them. It is the university which can make us dependent on America or the Soviet Union, as everything of ours lies in the university. You must jointly strive to reform it. Just do not keep on writing as to why it does not reopen. Such a university ought not to reopen. The university that educates people Sharif Imama should not be reopened. The university should take learning and specialization to that lofty level, and reach the heights of commitment, ethics and Islamic manners and behavior. The university ought to become refined and the theological centers as well.

The duty of the theological centers and universities in training people

The theological centers should produce clergymen who are committed in every sense of the word. They should be centers for nurturing people. The university, likewise, must be a center for nurturing human beings. We want an academic not a student or a teacher. The university must produce proper human beings. In such a case, nobody will be prepared to surrender his country to others. He will be ready to undergo suffering and captivity; and such people, they fear.

In the past, Rida Khan used to fear Mudarris because he was an upright man. Mudarris is quoted as having said in those days that there was one Muslim in the Majlis—Arbab Kaykhosrow.¹ Rida Khan considered Mudarris to be his rival. He did not care about the others. It was Mudarris whom he considered as his rival. He did not care about the others. He looked upon Mudarris as his rival. His speeches would have a great impact on all the listeners. He was the complete person. His way of living was that which you have heard about and I have seen. When he became a member of parliament; that is, he was installed as a jurist—which was necessary for the parliament to have—from the very outset, it is said that he purchased a cart with a horse in Isfahan and, riding in it, brought it with him to Tehran where he sold the cart. He had a house which was of humble construction, It was somewhat

¹ Arbab Kaykhosrow was the army's representative in the National Consultative assembly. In one of his speeches, Mudarris stated: "There is one Muslim in the Majlis; Arbab Kaykhosrow." By this he meant that none of the Majlis deputies was a real Muslim.

spacious, but the building itself was humble. His way of living was below the ordinary. His dress in those days was made of “*karbas*” (an indigenous kind of denim) as it was commonly known. He was adamant that it (the cloth) be of Iranian manufacture. Which one of these patriots dress up in material made in Iran?

All those who hold Islam, this country and this nation dear ought to combine their resources for reforming the university as, otherwise, it is more dangerous than a cluster bomb, just as the danger arising from (corrupt) theological centers is greater than that of the university. They ought to be cleaned. The committed people in the theological centers and the universities, ought to gird themselves to carry out reforms. Now gentlemen, you have taken the first step. It is a most fortunate step in that you have broken the big wall, that huge barrier which they had put up between you—between the faydiyyah and the university. This is the first step that you have taken. In your subsequent steps, you must try to be independent in every respect; not dependent. I am telling you all this because I cannot see you again; you who have reached that stage. As for me, it is the last stage. I am saying this so that the others and the generations to come, God willing, be careful about these two centers remaining united. These two centers should consider knowledge and edification, and knowledge and application of knowledge as two wings, and that flying with just one of them is impossible. The next steps are those that have to do with edification.

The university being a center of learning and edification

It is important for the one who graduates from a university to realize that he has received an education and has become a specialist attaining the highest level of knowledge by utilizing the country’s budget. He must, accordingly, realize that he must serve the country and strive for its independence. For their part, the university professors must erase those things that had been instilled into the minds of these youths over these long years, particularly the last fifty years or so, and which had led them to believe that we ourselves are nothing and that everything must be obtained from there (abroad). This has caused them not to put their minds to work so as to make something by themselves. Those who have love for this country and this nation; those who are not dependent and do not serve the superpowers, ought to make efforts to turn the university into a center of knowledge and edification so that all the specializations be in the service of the country. It should not be that a person becomes a specialist and then

drags us into the lap of America or uses his expertise to harm our country; the higher the specialization, the worse being the result.

The one who has not become refined, and one who has not felt that he exists for this country, that he has benefited by it and so ought to give back to it the educational benefit that he has derived should know that in the absence of such a feeling and such a conviction, the university will prove to be the worst kind of center as it will drag us towards ruination. But if such a feeling arises, and these university professors—those that are dedicated, who care and who used to worry about this country in the past—mobilize themselves to ensure that the sons of the soil be committed to serving Iran, the university, then, will be the highest institution that will bring prosperity to the country.

The university takes two paths: the path to hell and the path to prosperity; the path to ignominy, poverty and servitude, etc and the path to glory, honor and magnanimity. The university that we have is of no use. We have had one for the past fifty years. Whatever corruption there was in this country was because of these people who had been educated in it, and, perhaps, had even specialized. In the days of Rida Khan, that Ahmadi¹ who killed many dignitaries of the country by his injections, had also graduated from the university. He had specialized as well. But he used his specialization to kill by injection those people whom he had been ordered to kill. Do you want such a university, such professors and such specialization? On the other hand, noble people also graduate from the university. We want all of them to be noble.

The need for the seminaries to make efforts in training people to become refined

The knowledge of monotheism will be of no use if there be no refinement in the Faydiyyah. “Knowledge is the most important *hijab*.” No matter how much knowledge is accumulated—even that of monotheism which is the highest kind of knowledge—in the hearts and minds of human beings, it will only distance them from God the Blessed and Exalted if there be no edification. Efforts must be made now and also later on, to make these seminaries refined. Together with the teaching of jurisprudence, philosophy, etc, the seminaries ought to be the seats of refinement, that guide people

¹ Doctor Ahmadi, the physician of the Police Department who, by means of air injections, killed a number of the regime’s opponents during Rida Khan’s reign. As for those who died of torture, he used to issue death certificates to the effect that the deaths were due to natural causes.

towards God. Do you know who the judge that tried the late Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri was? He was a clergyman from Zanjan.¹ A cleric from Zanjan handled the trial and sentenced him to death. When a clergyman is not an edified person, his corruption will be much more than that of other people. It is mentioned in some of the narrations that those who dwell in hell will be bothered by the smell emanating from some of the clergymen. And such is the case in this world as well.

Unless you purify your souls, unless you begin with edifying yourselves, you will not be able to make other people refined. A person who is not decent himself cannot reform others. It will be of no use no matter how much one insists. The *ulama* now teaching in the seminaries ought to make efforts to ensure that these youths of sound character who enter any of these Islamic seminaries, do not leave with corrupt natures after ten to twenty years. It is necessary to be refined; whether it be you or the others. Everybody of course; the whole nation and all human beings, ought to be refined in character. If a merchant is not upright, he will overcharge the people. He will indulge in such practices. When such practices increase, so will the corruption. A single (ordinary) person cannot create so much corruption. But if a learned person turns corrupt, he can corrupt a whole city, a whole country. It makes no difference whether he is a scholar from the university or the Faydiyyah. May the Blessed and Exalted God bless this step that you have taken towards forging unity between you and the university, and you and the clergy. Remember that now that you are getting closer to each other, the plots that are afoot to divide you will be put into effect with greater vigor.

The enemy's plan: Dividing the university and the "Hawzah" (seminary)

They had separated you in the past. They had made a wall with you on one side and they (academics) on the other. Both these groups distrusted each other while the enemy derived the benefit. Now you can see that a change has taken place: the academic is favorably disposed towards the clergyman and the clergyman towards the academic. Both of them are together, and both want to take the country forward. The satans now are more keen on crushing the clergy on one side and the academics on the other. They intend to create mischief between the two and tell them what each of them is up to. Keep your eyes wide open. Your eyes and ears must be kept open at this time lest you find one day that they have corrupted and divided you in the university

¹ Shaykh Ibrahim ZanjanI.

itself and the seminary. They cannot stand your unity. The people who do not want this country to be a safe and sound one, and also their masters who, from the beginning itself, did not want it to be so, cannot bear to see that you have come together and wish to work together. They know what the consequences for them will be in the event of the universities, wherever they be, and the theology centers joining together and planning together for the victory of the revolution. They have studied this matter. They understand it and, therefore, intend to prevent you from attaining unity. Open your eyes and your ears whether you be academics or theology students. If one approaches you and tells you something which concerns this matter, you should realize that there is some selfish motive to it. If at any time they come and tell you something (unsavory) about the clergy or the academics, you should know that the thing that you have accomplished is costing them dearly.

You must make headway, God willing. The persons, whoever and wherever they be, that are able to serve the people, the university and the Faydiyyah, ought to do so. They must make them culturally refined, and also make "*alims*," specialists and dedicated individuals out of them. I hope that this step that you have taken will be followed by bigger steps. I hope that by the grace of God, the Blessed and Exalted, you will deliver your country from these parasites who are creating sedition at present, and also the parasites who will come in future.

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

Permission

Date: December 1980 [Azar 1359 AHS / Muharram 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreeing to amendments in the charter of Hamedaniyan Charity Organization¹

Addressee: Ali Tabesh (Managing Director and member of the Board of Trustees of the Hamedaniyan Charity Organization)

[9/1/1359 AHS—His Eminence Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma al-Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure. In view of Iran's Islamic Revolution, I respectfully request your permission to have amendments made under the supervision and with the consent of Ayatullah Aqa Haj Aqa Husayn Khadimi, to certain articles of the charter concerning the charity organization belonging to Ali and Husayn Hamedaniyan of Isfahan.

Ali Tabesh,
Managing Director and the member
of Board of Trustees,
Ali and Husayn
Charity Organization

Hamedaniyan.

In His Most Exalted Name

There is no objection provided that the honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Khadimi—may his blessings last long—deems it advisable.

Ruhullah al- Musawi al- Khomeini

¹ Following Imam KhomeinIs' approval, the charter of the above- mentioned organization was amended in 1362 AHS. Imam KhomeinI was informed of this by Aqa Sayyid Husayn KhadimI as per letter dated Dhul-Hijjah 17, 1403 AH, and His Eminence confirmed these amendments on Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1403 AH (7/6/1362 AHS).

Decree

Date: December 23, 1980 [Dey 2, 1359 AHS / Safar 15, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Looking into the affairs concerning the guardianship of the martyr's children

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi—may his blessings last long:

Following the assignment I vested in you to look into the condition of the survivors of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution; I wish to state that it has been lately observed at times that disputes have occurred among the elders of the martyr's children over their guardianship. It is your duty to attend to this matter on my behalf. You must, as far as possible, satisfy them somehow, failing which you may solve the matter in whatever way you deem appropriate. Moreover, bearing in mind the well-being of the martyr's children and their future, I ask their elders to take steps conducive to this end in a respectable manner and so gladden the souls of the dear martyrs. It is hoped that the esteemed officials and the people will also cooperate with you in carrying out your task. I pray to the Almighty God for your success.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 15, 1401 AH

¹ The date given in *Sahife-ye Nur*, vol. 22, p. 285 is 9/2/1359 AHS.

But on the basis of the handwritten copy, the date 10/2/1359 AHS is the correct one.

Telegram

Date: December 23, 1980 [Dey 2, 1359 AHS / Safar 15, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Condolence message on the demise of Sayyid Hasan Angaji (one of high-ranking *ulama* of Azarbayjan)

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Ali Angaji

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Ali Angaji:

News of the demise of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Angaji—may God have mercy on his soul—has grieved me. I wish to offer my condolences to you, his esteemed family, the honorable Hujaj al-Islam and the respected people of Azarbayjan, on this great loss suffered by the Muslims. I pray to the Exalted Lord to have mercy upon his soul. I also pray for the glory of Islam, the Muslims and the devoted people of Tabriz and Azarbayjan. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: Morning, December 24, 1980 [Dey 3, 1359 AHS / Safar 16, 1401 AHS]¹

Subject: The efforts of the enemy to create differences; the necessity of maintaining calm and eliminating the differences

Audience: Vaiz Tabasi (the Imam's representative and the Trustee of Imam Rida's shrine) and deputies of the people of Khorasan in the Islamic consultative assembly (Majlis); a group of the people of Mashhad; the members of Islamic Association of merchants; Bank Sipah personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The wish to go on pilgrimage to the Imam Rida's shrine

You are the dear guests that have come from the place of the manifestation of light and the spot where the angels hover. You have come from the sacred shrine of Imam Rida. You are welcome. May God protect you, and by the dint of your efforts and the nation's, may He give success to Islam. I hope that by your prayers in Imam Rida's shrine, I might succeed in visiting that saints' shrine.

The country becoming vulnerable because of the (existing) differences

What I wish to tell you dear friends is that the big powers are aware that owing to its unity, harmony and attention to the Almighty, this nation earned victory, thus jeopardizing their interests. As such, they are not sitting idle. Every single day, they devise a new way of creating differences and throwing our unity into disarray. We must, therefore, be vigilant and keep our eyes and ears open so that we do not intensify our differences. Each and every class of the people that are aware of the fact that differences will render the country vulnerable, and every group that has love in Islam, the Islamic country, the Muslim nation of Iran and the people of Iran, should prevent cracks from appearing in this unity. If, God forbid, our enemies manage to create dissension among our people in every corner of the country, they will be able to fulfill their wish.

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur*, the date has been given as 10/6/1359 AHS, but a report of this meeting appeared in the newspapers of 10/4/1359 AHS.

The need to keep tranquility and to solve problems

Our pressing need at this time is tranquility. We are now embroiled in a war. Besides, we are grappling with local disturbances. It is quite likely that our enemy might give more importance to internal dissension than to a military assault. The reason is that our differences hurt us from within. As a result, we will destroy ourselves. We must be watchful so that malicious individuals do not infiltrate our ranks and create differences among us. God forbid, if the evil-intentioned persons aim to create divisions among us, you who are vigilant and the nation that is watchful should advise them. We must not let them attain their goal. We are now very much in need of calm. I want all of you and the nation to maintain a state of calm. Supposing, there are people who want to sow differences for certain purposes, you ought to maintain your composure by exercising reason and prudence. Do not let differences, God forbid, arise at such a time when we need to have tranquility in the country. You have come from a state of calm, center of the truth of Islam. You know that Hadrat (Imam) Rida (s), what with all his troubles and the misfortunes of a spiritual nature that used to be inflicted upon him, would calmly pursue his path without creating any differences whatsoever. He was particular about keeping the people calm. You are also aware that Hadrat Amir (s), the First Imam and the first Islamic figure after the Apostle of God (s) himself, used to take part in holy wars throughout his lifetime. There were divisions among the groups. But he maintained calm (in his realm) because Islam was in need of calm.

We all should resolve our differences wisely. We must not let our differences lead to tumult and discord among the people. Suppose that one wants to do something to arouse the people's feelings, it is today our duty not to show any reaction and to keep calm. I pray to the Exalted Lord for your well-being and prosperity and that of all the people of Iran. I also beseech Him to guide those who want to create discord. I thank you dear brothers for taking the trouble of coming here and sitting or standing in this cramped place. I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted for the health and happiness of each one of you.

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

Speech

Date: Morning, December 24, 1980 [Dey 3, 1359 AHS / Safar 16, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Enemies' plot to isolate the clergy; the profound duty of the clergy at this juncture

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (the Friday prayer leader of Tehran) and the Friday (congregational) prayer leaders from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Enemies' plot: isolating the clergy

First I would like to thank the distinguished spiritual leaders of the towns and cities, and the Sunni and Shiah Friday Imams (congregational prayer leaders) who have taken the trouble of coming here. Similarly, I thank all brothers present here and are either sitting or standing here in great discomfort. There are certain issues that must necessarily be brought to your notice though you, yourselves, are aware of them. There is one thing which we all know and you all know. It is that the satans, big and small, and those that wanted to—and want to—grab power for themselves everywhere and rob the nations of all their assets have been hatching bizarre plots for many long years. Unfortunately, many of the strata of the people were heedless of these matters. One of these was that the clergy should have nothing to do with political affairs, and that they ought to guide the people in matters relating to prayers, fasting and such things and restrict themselves to the mosques and their homes. Their occupation concerned the mosque where they should go and pray, and then go home and rest. Propaganda had been made of this matter in such a way as to convince almost all the people. For the clergy to take part in politics was tantamount to being abused. Saying that so-and-so clergyman is involved in politics was taken as abusing him. Many of the people and the clergymen as well came to believe in this. If something concerning a social issue or the nation was mentioned, some of the clerics would say that they had nothing to do with political matters. If a clergyman said anything concerning the nation's policies or the country's interests, It would be said that he was a politician and was acting against the norm. This was the issue they had made much of within and outside the country, and which could not be easily erased from the people's minds. They wanted to isolate a large group from society—a group which society itself followed—

and take their place. They wanted to be the ruling power and restrict the clergy to bare congregational prayers devoid of social and political issues.

I heard a story from the late Haj Ruhullah Khorramabadi¹ and I have a story myself. It is about the late Mr. Kashani²—may God have mercy on his soul—who was exiled to Khorramabad and was jailed in the Falak al-Aflak³ fort or somewhere. According to Haj Ruhullah, he had requested the army officer—who was in charge of the fort where Mr. Kashani was being held in his custody—to take him to Aqa Kashani.

When I say “jailed” in Rida Khan’s time, you may think that it was like being imprisoned in the usual way in the other periods. In this respect, the son, too, was like his father. When an ordinary person was arrested, he would be so intimidated as to be unable to utter a word against the government, for example, or some government official. As the late Haj Aqa Ruhullah told me, he had requested the officer in charge of the place to take him to Mr. Kashani. The officer accepted and duly look him too see Mr. Kashani, while the three of them were together, the officer started talking. Looking at Mr. Kashani, he asked him why he had got himself into trouble or something to that effect. He asked Mr. Kashani as to why he interfered in politics. He (the officer) said that it was beneath Mr. Kashani’s dignity to take part in politics. And with such remarks, he began talking. Mr. Kashani rejoined: “You are a real ass.” Such a word in those days was unutterable. It was tantamount to murder. Nevertheless, Mr. Kashani told the officer that he was a big donkey, adding that if he did not take part (in politics), who would? I too have a story when I was in prison; it was decided to transfer me from there to Qaitariyeh⁴ to be incarcerated in that place. The security chief⁵ was there at the time. When I was taken to him, he said: “Sir, politics means falsehood and telling

¹ Haj Aqa Ruhullah Kamalvand Khorramabadi; one of the capable Teachers of “*fiqh*” (Islamic jurisprudence), “*usul*” (principles) and Philosophy in the Qum Theological Center, who had great influence in the Lorestan region. In the month of Dey 1341 AHS, at the beginning of Imam KhomeinI’s and the clergy’s campaign against the District and Provincial Council’s Act, he went as the clergy’s representative to the royal court to discuss the matter directly with Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, and, with his scathing remarks, left him humiliated Kawthar; vol 1, p. 34).

² Aqa Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani, the religious leader of the National Movement in the decades of the twenties and thirties.

³ Falak al-Aflak Fort, one of the oldest jails of Iran, located in Khorramabad. The Shah’s regime used to send those people to this jail who were viewed as being very dangerous. Falak al-Aflak used to be also used as a prison in the reigns of the bygone kings including the Safavid monarchs.

⁴ One of the neighborhoods of Northern Tehran.

⁵ Hasan Pakravan, the head of the Security and Intelligence Organization (SAVAK).

lies. It means cheating, chicanery, rascality and such things. You leave it to us.” I replied: “Such politics is for you!” He later came and lied to me that Mr. So-and-so had given up politics whereupon I gave him a fitting reply. This is the whole thing. The politics which these people talk about such as telling lies, playing tricks, indulging in chicanery, plundering the people by duping and defrauding them, dominating the people, confiscating their property and so forth, have no bearing on Islamic policies. Such politics of theirs is satanic. But the politics that means guiding society and directing it to where its interests lie, has been documented in our Narrations, using the term “politics,” in the case of the Noble Messenger. And in the supplications known as “Ziyarat-e Jamiah,” the term “politician servants”¹ is evidently mentioned. It also appears in that Narration that the Noble Messenger was given the mission of being responsible for the *ummah*’s policies.²

The true meaning of politics

I should say that politics is the right of the clergy, the prophets and the saints of God. But the scope of their politics is different from what these ones practice. Suppose that we find someone who practices politics in the right way—not in its corrupt, satanic sense—and a government, a president, an administration that adopts correct policies are to the nation’s good, such politics is then one dimension of that which has had to do with the prophets, the saints and, now, the clergy of Islam. Man is not one-dimensional, and neither is society. Man is not merely an animal to be only concerned about food and eating food. Satanic policies, even if correct, lead man in one direction which is in the animalistic one. The social dimension is a materialistic one which is an imperfect part of the politics that in Islam, has been specified for the prophets and the Imams, their aim was to guide the people, all the nations, society and individuals, and lead them towards every good imaginable for mankind, for society. It is the same as the “Straight Path” that appears in the Quran and which we mention in our prayers: *Show us the straight path*³. It takes the nation, society and people along a path that is a straight one beginning from here and terminating in the Hereafter. It leads to God.

Politics means guiding and leading society. It means to take into consideration all which is to its benefit, and all the dimensions of human

¹ The “political servants,” “Mafatih al-Jinan” (Keys of Paradise) the “Ziyarat-e Jamiah Kabireh” (the title of the supplication).

² Usul-e Kaff, vol. 1, p. 266, hadith 4; Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 17, p. 4, hadith 3.

³ Surah Fatihah, 1:5.

beings and society. It is there to guide them to that which is of benefit to them, the nation and individuals. This is the preserve of the prophets. Others cannot manage such politics. It is exclusive to the prophets, the saints and those following them—the vigilant clergy of Islam. It also concerns the vigilant *ulama* of every nation that existed in the time of its prophet. Even the correct policies of those that tell us not to take part in politics and to leave it to them, are animalistic ones. The politics of the corrupt people is satanic. Even the politics of those who guide the people properly is at the level of man's animalistic nature, the world's welfare and worldly considerations. But the prophets guide this world and also the next one, the former being the way to the latter. They invite the people to this path and whatever is to their and society's benefit; material and spiritual benefits from the first level to the last, as man has various levels of perfection. Politics is the occupation of Islamic and spiritual politicians, and of the prophets (a). Religiousness is that same politics that moves people, and everything that is to their and the nation's good, from here. It takes them along the path—which is that straight path—that is beneficial for the nation.

The necessity of the clergy's taking part in socio-political affairs

You gentlemen and the entire nation ought to bear in mind that they had trained us in this way in the past. Through their propaganda, the plundering powers tried to keep us out of politics. They ensured that we play no part in the people's social and political affairs. Those that wanted to serve the big powers, wanted to take the political affairs in their hands and also the government and all other matters. They wanted to drag the people towards that state which they themselves and the big powers wanted. That is, to throw us into the lap of East or West. Such politics is satanic. Suppose, if they had politics based on humanity, they had it in only one dimension. Only the politics practiced by the prophets had all the dimensions. And this the committed clergy have inherited. We must never imagine, and you, too, should not think that the big powers have left us to our own devices. At present, all kinds of ruses are being employed to keep you out of politics, and not allow you to have any part in social affairs and in any administrative matters. Yes, I had once said when I was in Najaf that the status of the *ulama* is higher than that which calls for entering into the realm of executive affairs. But this is true if there are individuals who are dedicated to Islam and are able to carry out their duties in accordance with Islamic principles. This does not mean that if there is nobody like this, or there are people who cannot or do not want to work in the Islamic way, the clergy

should keep aloof and merely watch them drag us where they want us to be. This is not the point. The point is that if there are politicians who can act the (Islamic) way the Muslim want, though in its one dimension; the worldly one, and adopt policies by which our independence and freedom are protected without being dragged towards the East or West, then, of course, they can carry out their work; there is no objection, and the *ulama* will step aside. When they (the clergy) see that there are such people (to run the government) they will busy themselves with their own work which also concerns politics, but of the spiritual kind. But when we notice that after taking over all the posts and power, they are not using these to take society towards freedom and independence, then we who are committed individuals and cannot be influenced either way, are obliged to intervene and exercise supervision over the affairs. You, we, and the coming generations must keep our eyes and ears open so that the satans do not return and begin to inject repeatedly into our minds that the *ulama* have nothing to do with politics and the country's affairs. This is a diabolical plot that they are now busy implementing. They are also indulging in propaganda. Therefore, it is essential; in fact. It is the duty of you Friday congregational prayer leaders, and all the other Friday congregational prayer leaders in all the Islamic realms and countries to awaken the people and make them understand that they should pay no heed to this tune that is being heard in all the Islamic countries to the effect that the *ulama* should not take part in politics. This is a super power conspiracy that is being carried out by these ones who are inside the countries. They must tell this to the people so that they understand that this tune being played is to drive the *ulama* out of politics and bring about the same situation that was our lot in the past. So, we must be vigilant and give our attention to this matter. The coming generations, too, must be heedful about it so that they do not lose their way; this one which the Muslims, themselves, have found.

A common responsibility towards Islam

Another matter following these issues is that the clergy—wherever they are—whether the leaders of the Friday prayers or the congregational prayers, and also that are connected with the clerical profession, must realize that Islam has now been entrusted to our people and to you who are the guides and lead the others. Today, all of us are the *Pasdars* of Islam. The whole nation, including the government, the military and security forces, all the armed forces, all the bazaar merchants, all the offices and everybody else, without exception, are responsible to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for that

which has been placed in their trust. It is Islam that has been entrusted to us and is in our hands. Betraying it is a sin which nobody knows whether it will be forgiven. It differs from other sins, even the other cardinal sins. The reason is that there are many sins that concern the person himself; not the society. Betraying this trust however, is betraying Islam and the Muslim nations. Bear this point in mind that if the persons in all these organizations—whether those that have spontaneously emerged by the people themselves setting them up, or the ones established by the authorities, for instance—that have come into existence since the revolution, take a single step against Islam and the interests of the Muslims, they will be held responsible. The responsibility is greater than that which concerns one's own affairs; one's personal affairs.

The danger of incompetent persons infiltrating the revolutionary organs

The gentlemen should be careful of the satans present in the organs such as the Islamic guards, the army, the committees, the courts and all such places that have emerged under particular names after the revolution. The satans are not there for the well-being of these organs. Some individuals have infiltrated them and are, thereby, doing certain things in order to either create animosity between the clergy, the *pasdars* and others, or isolate them. I, nowadays, receive perhaps more than a hundred to sometimes two or three hundred letters daily, though I am nobody. Complaints are made in these letters against all of these organs. I do not wish to say that all these complaints are valid. There are many that are irrelevant. But the fact that there is a plot to fabricate complaints must be borne in mind. It begins with the taxi and bus drivers, the drivers of other vehicles and wherever a group of people have gathered. Among them are individuals who have been assigned the task of creating and spreading rumors. It is said that as soon as one gets into a taxi somebody begins to say something about some clergyman for instance or the *ulama*, or about some committee or the consultative Majlis and so on. Now those are occupied in jobs in various quarters, such as the courts that are busy in passing judgments and attending to judicial matters, or the bodies appointed to distribute, for instance, lands that have legal sanction, or the “” (Crusade for Reconstruction) or any other “Jihad,” as well as other (official) bodies, have been infiltrated by individuals who are up to no good. And the groups connected to these individuals intensify and magnify the rumors. And you, at sometime, will open your eyes when all the governmental and Islamic organs, including the Majlis, the courts and others everywhere, become mentally agitated because of the propaganda. That is,

their aim is to create confusion in the Islamic Republic which consists of the government, the Majlis and the other organs. In this manner, they want to make the world think that this is the same Shahanshahi (monarchical) regime; it is just the same, and all its institutions as well. They come and say that they (the authorities) confiscate the lands and orchards of the people, and that nobody anywhere intervenes in this matter. They say that these (investigating) teams of seven people have been told—and the government has also notified them—not to interfere in matters when it is not legal to do so. But they do interfere and do not care about these issues at all. They say that people's properties are improperly confiscated without there being any legal basis from the aspect of religion. You must pay attention to this.

I request the Friday prayer leaders and the *ulama* of all the regions to cooperate and appoint groups to look into these matters; to look into the actions of the people who want create confusion; to look into the condition of the courts and the rulings given therein. It could so happen that people with no knowledge of judicial matters sneak into the judicial apparatus. There are certain requirements to be met in order to be a judge who must be appointed by the high-ranking *ulama*. It is not that anybody can go anywhere and taking on the duties of a judge, pass judgment; even issue the death sentence and whatever. You gentlemen who are present in the various towns and cities, ought to investigate these individuals from the deviationist groups who have got into these organs connected to the judiciary, land distribution, Jihad-e Sazandegi; all of them. You must appoint committed, well informed and impartial individuals to go and look into these issues and submit reports to you, so that you may take corrective measures. Just sitting here and allowing anything to happen anywhere, and letting anybody do anything wants; will only bring disaster later on. You must accomplish this task by yourselves. The point is that they want to shift the responsibility of all those corrupt practices to the clergy and the Islamic government, and so make them, the Majlis and all these organs fall out of public favor and render them abhorrent. Therefore, you must be vigilant. You must stop these things from happening. I am an old man. I cannot undertake these tasks. You gentlemen are young. You too must pay attention to these issues. You should form groups everywhere in the country. The groups should go and investigate these matters. If things are going against religious laws, you must stop them. In case any offenses are being committed and if persons not up to the task are working in the courts and other places—the Jihad-e Sazandegi, the team of seven people, etc—we do not want them. We don't want a chaotic country or one where the aim of the communists or the foreigners is realized. You must

take action in these matters before losing the opportunity of doing so, and before these traitors, who want to take the country back to its previous state, avail themselves of the opportunity and succeed in their designs. You must appoint competent, well informed and impartial persons to visit these places where such things are being done and address the people's grievances. Open an office to receive the complaints and pursue them. See where the complainant has come from and whether his complaint is valid or not. Who advised him (to complain)? These matters must be followed up. The people should be made to understand that such plots are afoot; that they (the enemies) want to obstruct matters. The individuals who are really creating obstacles ought to be made known to the groups appointed by the gentlemen (the clergy) so that they determine as to what should be done about them.

If we sit by while many things, God forbid, are now being done contrary to religious law in our country, it means that we, with our own hands, have turned this Islamic Republic into a non-Islamic one. We want to have an Islamic Republic. In other words we want the laws to be Islamic, not that there be complaints wherever we look about offenses being committed, or about so-and-so judge issuing a wrong verdict. We do not want complaints being made to the effect that so-and-so, for instance, who is responsible for land distribution, is distributing people's lands and orchards, or cutting down the trees. These matters must be looked into. Are you sitting by until the people raise an outcry and say that this government, this Majlis these courts and commissions and all such things are not Islamic, and so rise against you? And for me to agree with them when such a time comes?!

Shiah / Sunni unity—one of the great blessings of the revolution

May you be successful, God willing. May your congregations increase in number and grandeur. These congregations are very good and impressive. This is a great blessing of the Islamic Republic in that it has brought together all of us and all the Shiah and Sunni brothers in one place, with all of us desiring to make efforts for Islam. We should all be careful lest propaganda be made, and which has been made almost throughout history; propaganda that divided us and divided our brothers from one another. They divided the Sunnis from us, and the Shiahs from them. We must be attentive to this matter. We must be like brothers. We should not allow others to come and take away everything of ours leaving us quarreling over the matter; over something that we do not have to quarrel. In any case, these Friday congregations ought to be greater and larger in number. More of the people should attend them. They must attach importance to the Friday prayers. The

preachers, too, should awaken the people through their sermons. They must invite the people to do good deeds. They must inform the people that these conspiracies that are now being hatched from every quarter are aimed at erasing Islam. They must awaken the people so that they meet with success, God willing, and our nation, that is now watchful and attentive, reaches the stage where all the Islamic laws are implemented in this country, turning it into a model for all the other countries to follow. It was a good thing that this meeting was arranged by the gentlemen. The Sunni and Shiah brothers gathered together and discussed the issues. I am thankful to them all. May they assemble again by the will of God and look into the condition of the people. You must look into the problems of the people. Make yourselves aware of the conspiracies and thwart them. Awaken the people. I hope that such gatherings are also convened in other Muslim lands. You, yourselves, must solve the people's difficulties. May God grant you long life, and bestow honor and greatness on you. And may He deliver our people and the Islamic nations from the yoke of the satanic powers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: December 25, 1980 [Dey 4, 1359 AHS/ Safar 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The devotedness of the country's youth and the power politics of the small deviant groups

Audience: A group of disabled ones of the Islamic Revolution, and the young volunteers bound for the warfronts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Acquiring power through the blood of the martyrs

It makes me happy and sad at the same time, when I see these scenes, and firm determination and definite decision on the part of these youths. It calls for gladness because the nation has undergone such a transformation as to sacrifice everything it has in the way of God. It has also gone out to embrace death with outstretched arms. If such a thing has a parallel in history, it can only be found in the early days of Islam. There is no example of such an occurrence after that. There is no example such as that of you young people.

The sadness is because of these dear youths of ours, who are expected to serve Iran and Islam, have either been martyred or bodily disabled. This has distressed us greatly. Another distressing factor is that these deviant groups and persons who are the supporters of the big powers and who want to take us back to the previous state, are trying to seek power. How can they overlook the blood of our martyrs? How can they overlook our disabled ones? And for the sake of gaining power for themselves or serving the superpowers, how can they overlook the blood of these martyrs of ours and serve America or the Soviet Union? How can one be unmoved? These are people who see their strength in the blood of our youths! Those who make your sacrifices and make you disabled ones a means for them to gain power are outside the pale of human nature. At this time when a war is going on and our army, our Islamic guards and the entire nation is embroiled in it, those who are thinking of acquiring power for their own group are not human beings. They are beasts in human guise. You can see that these perverted groups have now come into every corner of our country and are busy hatching plots and creating mischief. Neither their plots nor their mischief can, of course, do anything against our people and our armed forces. But it is a matter of regret that there are such people who, on the face of it, are human

beings but are actually wild beasts that are using the blood of our martyrs as a means of acquiring power. They want to take power over the dead bodies of our youths. It is a matter of regret as to how human beings can be so ignorant and wicked! Our youths are fighting devotedly in the border areas and around the country in order to safeguard the Islamic Republic. They (the power-seekers) have no faith in either Islam or the Islamic Republic. Their aim is to become powerful by taking advantage of the blood of these youths.

The glad tidings of victory to the warriors of Islam

But I am giving you dear ones, the troops, the Islamic guards, the gendarmes and the people throughout the country the good news that you will be victorious. Victory is on the side of right. I have said this several times that whether we be killed or kill, we are victorious. You went to the battle-field and became disabled. Now you are in front of my eyes. I feel very sad for you. You are, indeed, victorious. You are victorious in the eyes of Islam. You are a victorious army in the eyes of God, the Blessed and Exalted. May God place you in the army of the Imam of the time (s). May He bestow upon you the reward that was bestowed upon the warriors who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Apostle of God. They, too, placed whatever accomplishments they had at the disposal of Islam and God's Apostle. Now you, too, are performing the same duty. There is no difference between you and them. You are like those who fought in the battles along with the Prophet. They, too, were martyred or became disabled. You, too, sacrifices and become disabled for the sake of God, the Apostle of God, and Islam. Your friends were martyred. You are victorious. A country that is ready to make sacrifices to this extent is victorious. May God reward you and give you health. And may He rouse us so that we follow you.

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

Speech

Date: Before noon, December 26, 1980 [Dey 5, 1359 AHS / Safar 18, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Tehran

Subject: The plot of the enemies of Islam in creating differences between the Muslims; the false claim of Saddam in defending the Arab nation

Audience: The Arabic-Speaking tribes of Khuzestan and Fars, and the Islamic councils of the Desht-e Azadegan and Susangerd tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity of unity and brotherhood among the various strata of the Islamic *ummah*

Welcome, you dear friends and respected brothers who have come from the war zones. May God give you success. May He sever the links of the tyrants to our country. The plan of the big powers is to bring the Muslims under their sway, and to seize their resources and plunder their assets. They have been pursuing their plans for many long years, and one of their prime plans concerns the issue of nationalism. Islam has come to unite all the nations—Arabs and Ajam, Turk and Fars—and establish one big community, called the “Islamic *ummah*,” in the world so that those who want to dominate the Islamic countries and the Islamic centers will not be able to do so because of the vast multitudes of the various classes of Muslims. The design of the big powers and those connected to them in the Islamic countries, is to divide the strata of the Muslims among whom the Blessed and Exalted God has created brotherhood, and has called them brothers,¹ and to name them Turks, Kurds, Arabs and Persians. In fact, they want to make them enemies of one another. This is absolutely contrary to the path of Islam and the Holy Quran. All the Muslims are brothers; all of them are equal. All of them should remain under the banner of Islam and the banner of monotheism, the ones that sow discord among the Muslims in the name of nationalism, factionalism and nationality belong to satan’s army. They are the accomplices of the big powers. They are against the Holy Quran.

Surah al-Hujurat 49: 10: “*The believers are naught else than brothers*”.

(The claim of) Supporting the Arabs and the disgrace of the Baath party

Thank God that the Baath party of Iraq has been exposed in claiming to be this and that to the Arabs, Arab powers and the Arab nation. By confronting mostly the Arabs of Khuzistan, it has unmasked itself. More of our Arab brothers have been killed by this cursed party and the infidel Saddam than our non-Arab ones. If the claims of this lewd pagan¹ were true, he should not have crushed the women and children, the young and old, like that in the Arab civilian areas. If he bore enmity towards the non-Arabs, why did he attack the Arabs to a greater extent? Now it is clear that the issue is not that of Arabs. It concerns serving the big powers. It is not a matter of saving the Arabs. Save them from what? Does want to rescue them from Islam?! The Arabs suffered for many long years, just like the non-Arabs, and the non-Arabs Iranians underwent suffering and persecution under the domination of the satanic superpowers through the agency of the corrupt Pahlavi regime. Afterwards, when the Pahlavi regime was sent to hell because of the uprising staged by our people—Arabs, non-Arabs and all the other (ethnic) groups—our whole nation came under the protection of Islam in the Islamic Republic. Nobody should undergo suffering and torment under the banner of “There is no god but God” in the Islamic Republic; and nobody has. The deviant persons, who are the lackeys of the foreigners, by giving various names to this country—which is an Islamic one where Arabs, non-Arabs, Persians and non-Persians, are living side by side in brotherliness—are conspiring to divide them from one another and create differences among them. After that, they intend plundering all the assets of the country and trampling on Islam. The cursed Baath party of Iraq proved that it does not support Iraq nor the Arabs. To the contrary, it is the supporter and servant of the big powers. It is, therefore, crushing and suppressing the Iraqis in Iraq itself. It also imprisons and kills the leading Arab *ulama*. All the Iraqis that are Arabs are fed up with it. The issue is not that it wants to do something for the Arabs. Both the Arabs and non-Arabs wish to live Under the banner of monotheism and under the protection of God’s Messenger(s). The Islamic Republic wants to implement the principles enunciated in the Holy Quran and the things that the in the Prophet of God has stated, throughout the country. And Iran is the prelude to it. Iran wants to make it known to all the countries that the basis of Islam is equality, brotherhood and unity, and that all the Muslims constitute a single power vis-à-vis the others.

We want to make the nations understand that Islam is a religion of unity, equality and brotherhood. No class enjoys superiority over the other except

¹ Saddam Husayn, the president of the regime ruling Iraq.

in piety, and in abiding by Islamic laws. The Baath party of Iraq has proved that just as its chief (ideologue) Aflaq¹ is not a Muslim, being an Arab is not the issue. The Arab nation is not the issue. The issue is that of the superpowers. The issue is that all of us, all our nations must be under the domination of the big powers. It was an immature notion that Saddam had nursed in his mind that he would overrun Iran within a week. He could not even capture Khuzistan, which is just one part of Iran, within a week. He gained nothing but disgrace, and the hatred of all the Muslims and the oppressed, of the world. And now in a state of nervousness and insanity, he wants to gain victory at any cost, if it be a partial victory.

Expressing Sympathy for tragedy-stricken people

Our brothers everywhere—particularly Khuzistan and around it, and throughout the south and the west—have risen against this man who calls himself a Muslim while he is not, and who claims that he is working for the Arabs, but is telling a lie. They have struck him hard on his mouth. He will go to hell shortly, God willing. We share your grief. We sympathize with you who are our brothers, irrespective of your being from Susangerd, Ahwaz, Khuzistan and its surrounding areas, or in the south and west (of the country). We sympathize with all the people of Kurdistan, Khuzistan Susangerd and, likewise, Dashte-e Azadegan and its environs, from where the gentlemen have come, for the tragedy that has befallen Islam, and you, our brothers. These tragedies have befallen Islam, and you are its children. Whatever happens to you also happens to all Muslims. Whatever treachery Saddam commits in Khuzistan, he is also committing in all Muslim lands. I hope that all the Islamic nations rise and while exercising vigilance and alertness, put these lackeys, who want to bring them under the control of the superpowers, in their place. I pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord for the victory of Islam and the Muslims. I pray for the health and happiness of you brothers of ours from Khuzistan, and of the brothers who have come here from the south and the west. Do know and be sure that the rewards for all these troubles which you have suffered and all this killing of our brothers, are reserved with God; they will not be lost. And praise God that victory and honor belong to you.

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

¹ Michael Aflaq, the founder of the Baath party.

Speech

Date: December 27, 1980 [Dey 6, 1359 AHS / Safar 19, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of knowledge and learning in Islam, and the need for education to be accompanied by training

Audience: The authorities responsible for the countrywide literacy campaign and those participating in the seminar on the literacy campaign

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Changing the machine guns into pens

I thank you gentlemen for having come here and are enduring this cramped place and the unpleasant air so that we can discuss certain matters. The gentlemen have come to see me because the campaign against illiteracy this year has not been received with the enthusiasm as it ought to have been. Besides, the necessary tools and means have not been made available either. But I am hopeful that this will be done later on. When one wants to start something, certain unforeseen things happen, of course, in the beginning, and the need for certain things is felt when one gets busy with the work. I hope that hereafter our people and the government will give priority to getting this vital task accomplished. As I notice, on this placard that you have brought here it is written: "We shall turn our pens into machine-guns." I hope that human beings reach a sufficient stage of development to change the machine-guns into pens. Machine-guns have not served humanity as much as pen and pronouncement have. They have often served the big powers for the purpose of killing human beings. Islam that has told us to undertake the "*Jihad*" in defense of the faith, of course needs the implements of war.¹ But the actual thing is to defend truth and to replace the machine guns with truth and knowledge. The pen, knowledge and expression are the things that nurture man; not machine-guns or other destructive weapons of war. Even these things have come into existence because of knowledge. There are people who make machine-guns and all the implements of civilization as it is so called. Such things have been the cause of cities and God's servants to be

¹ A reference to the noble verse al-Anfal 8:60. "Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah, and your enemy, and others beside them whom ye know not. Allah knoweth them."

wiped out. And But there are also people who have made them to help human beings, to make them develop and bring them peace and tranquility. As such, it is a service that they have rendered. You must try to have the machine-guns put aside by means of your writings and statements, thereby allowing the pens, knowledge and learning to take over.

As long as man wants to continue living under the tanks, cannons and machine guns, he cannot be a human being. He will not be able to attain human goals. People can only attain Islamic and human goals and perfection in knowledge as well when the pens overcome the machine-guns and the people's knowledge reaches that point where the machine-guns are cast aside and the arena becomes one of pen and learning.

The basis underlying the worth of actions and their intentions

In the Holy Quran, in the beginning of the verse revealed to the Noble Messenger, reading is recommended and the purpose for which reading and knowledge should serve him is mentioned. The Quran say: "*Read in the name of thy Lord.*"¹ Apparently, reading knowledge and learning are, by themselves, not the point. There could be knowledge that is against man's nature and his generous temperament. But if knowledge is purposeful and of use to humanity, if it is in the name of the Lord and takes into consideration the divinity of God and his name, reading, learning and that machine-gun, then, are all at the disposal of man. Intentions matter most. They lie in the deeds and the implements that man makes. It is intention that gives direction to knowledge, learning and the other things that govern man's actions. There are things for which pens have come into existence as well as machine-guns and knowledge. If the aims and purposes for which these things have come into being be divine, then the pen, the machine-gun, knowledge and every action acquires worth; divine worth. A pen's worth depends on the purpose for which it is used. The worth of a machine-gun is also tied to the purpose for which it is operated. If the aim, purpose and intention are not human and divine, neither will that machine-gun be of any use, nor that pen. The pen is more harmful than the machine-gun. And speech is more dangerous than tank or cannon. The danger of knowledge is much more than all of these. But if used to serve the people, if meant to be used for the sake of the people and God the Blessed and Exalted, all these things, then, will acquire worth. A machine-gun will become like a pen, and a pen like a machine-gun.

¹ Surah al-Alaq 96:1.

The need for all deeds to be divine in purpose

Man should think about the things that are useful in training, teaching and coaching people, and should orient his actions accordingly. If the universities are not given direction, they will be the same as the ones existing for the people, and which produce destructive forces. But if they be given (the necessary) direction they will accomplish what the machine guns cannot. They can render service to humanity, which no one can do to that extent. The main thing is the direction and moving in it. The Quran says: "*Read: In the name of thy Lord who createth...*". Read, but not for its own sake. Learn, but not just for the sake of learning. Acquire knowledge, but not knowledge for its own sake nor its acquisition for its own sake. Knowledge and education must have a purpose, a direction. The direction is the name of the Lord. God is the object of attention. It is for Him and His creatures. If the pens of the world start writing to serve God and His creatures, the machine guns will be kept away. Otherwise, they will become machine-guns. The destructive tools of mankind have been created by the writers and the scholars of all the universities. All the progress that man has made, has been made possible by the scholars and their writings and speeches. Try to give a direction to this education that you give the people. In the classes, where young and old come to learn you must give a direction to their education in the same way that you make them literate and teach them to read and write so that they read and write for God, and to serve Him, His creatures and Islam.

The need for education to be in tandem with upbringing

Educating and upbringing ought to go together. Upbringing ought to be human and useful to human beings. Education should be directed towards the benefit of the people. The name of God should be present in it, and attention given to Him. In all the classes that will be set up throughout the country, God willing, you gentlemen and the others who are involved in this great project and have undertaken this great act of devotion, ought to concentrate on giving the teachers direction. You must keep God in mind. Their knowledge should be for God and in obedience to Him. God the Blessed and Exalted, looks upon (the acquisition of) knowledge as one of the great acts of worship provided that it has a direction which is that same; "*Read: In the name of thy Lord.*" In no nation is knowledge commended as commended in Islam. In many of its passages, Holy Quran commends knowledge, scholars and attention to knowledge. It makes little mention of iron. Where it does mention iron, it is in the context of the people's interests: "...and He

revealed iron, wherein is mighty power and (many) uses for mankind";¹ It gives mankind strength; it gives him benefits. Iron is of no value at all if it does not benefit the people if it benefits the superpowers in the way you can see. But if iron be used in the people's service and for their benefit, its worth to them is very great. Iron and everything else have worth just as a pen has. The worth of everything depends on the way it is used. The value of the (mandatory) prayers that one says also depends on the intention with which one begins them. It is quite likely that there are people who pray but their prayers are registered in hell. That is when they flaunt their prayers to the people. It is also likely that the army, the soldiers and the *pasdars* serving God have far greater worth than prayers. In such a case, the worth of their machine guns surpasses that of the pens. Be particular about educating the people and, at the same time, training them.

"In the name of the Lord" The particularity of the name "Lord" is to draw the attention of the people towards imparting training in the Lord's name. That is, you must read in the name of your Lord to train people. The pen must be held in the hand to train mankind. Nothing has benefited humankind more than the pens that are true. It has also been harmed more by them than by anything else. Pen and expression have a link with people's minds. As such, if pen, speech, education and teaching happen to be for the sake of God, the minds of the people, too, will develop in a divine way. Otherwise, minds that are arrogant and evil will result.

Teaching the illiterate classes to read and write

I want all the Iranians to assist in this great and vital task. The gentlemen who go to the rural areas should invite the illiterate people to enroll in the literacy program. *"Acquiring knowledge is compulsory."* According to this *"hadith"* God, the Blessed and Exalted, has said through the Noble Messenger that seeking knowledge is a duty. As it is stated in some of the narrations: *"Learning is obligatory upon every man and woman."*² It is only through knowledge that mankind can secure its prosperity in the world and the hereafter. It is only by imparting knowledge that one can train the youths so that they are able to protect their own interests in this world and the next. No power can rule over our country if the people acquire knowledge and culture and learn what the purpose of knowledge is and the direction in which they must move.

¹ Surah al-HadId 57:25.

² Bihar al-Anwar vol. 1, p. 177. Hadith 54: *It is obligatory upon every Muslim man and woman to acquire knowledge.*

The ignorance of the masses: our big problem throughout history

All the troubles that we had in the course of our history resulted from the undue advantage that was taken of the ignorance of the people. They used the people's ignorance as a tool to make them act against their own interests. If the people had possessed knowledge, goal-oriented knowledge, it would not have been possible for the destroyers to compel them to pursue a course contrary to the nation's. It is knowledge and education with a purpose in mind that can keep the nation safe from all troubles. Those who want to disrupt this movement, this Islamic movement, will not succeed in doing so. They cannot bear to see Islam being implemented in this country. It is knowledge that is able to stop all these corrupt practices. Nobody will be able to commit aggression against you if our people acquire knowledge, goal-oriented knowledge, and if they are trained. There ought to be training to accompany knowledge and alongside knowledge; religious training, divine training, human training plus knowledge. You ought to possess these two weapons so that nobody will be able to bring back the despotism (that once existed).

You, the literacy campaigners throughout the country should know that you are rendering a service to mankind which is the worthiest of all. The villagers and all the illiterate classes must know that this is a great service which they should whole-heartedly accept. They should not think that they cannot (become literate). No it is not so. Every man can learn. Every one can turn into a (literate) human being. Knowledge must be sought from the cradle to the grave. It is from infancy till near death. The world must be administered through Knowledge, purposeful knowledge. Old men and women, too, can learn. They, too, can become educated. They should not lose hope for themselves. The old, the youths, the children, the villagers, the city-dwellers—all should cooperate in this important task. Everything of yours depends on it—your civilization, your Islam and your humanity are all tied to it. Train these people. Everything depends on it. God willing, next year, if I be alive, I will see that this project has advanced spectacularly. If I am not alive, you yourself will see it. May God give all of you and the whole nation success in acquiring knowledge and also in knowing its purpose. May the people pick up the machine guns and also receive military training in order to bring peace to the world.

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

Speech

Date: December 28, 1980 [Dey 7, 1359 AHS / Safar 20, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Theran

Subject: The Divine tests in the life of man, explaining the biggest one of the tests

Audience: The families of the martyrs of Dezful, some of the people of Khorramabad, Pol-e Dokhtar and Kuhdasht of Luristan, together with the clergy of the region, the Malawi representative in the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the little children of Musawiyyah of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Man's existence is accompanied by tests

At certain times, one is at a loss for words on witnessing these scenes. I now see before me the photographs of martyrs. There is a placard in front of me saying that the families of the martyrs of Dezful and some people from the esteemed tribes of Khorramabad, and also the people of Khorramabad (itself), have come. On that side there are the little children of Musawiyyah in Tehran. What can I say when I see these scenes? In this world, the people, whoever they be—including great ones like the prophets and the saints, and everybody else as well—are being tested. Tests are concomitant with one's existence. Nobody can exist in this world without being tested. Sometimes it is a test of hunger, fear, loss of life and property or a loss suffered in the yield of fruits and such things. Many of these tests are actually taking place now in the war-stricken areas. This is a trial to which you gentlemen have been subjected in Dezful, Ahwaz, Susangerd and all the other places attacked by the infidels. This is a divine test for us and you. Sometimes, security is subjected to a test. Man, at times, is tested by (creating) insecurity and fear; at other times by giving him security and safety; or even by the loss of fruits and life. Youths are taken away from their families; brothers are taken away, and the women and children tested thereby. Man is also tested in that he is blessed with an increase in the yield of fruits, wealth, progeny and security. People are being constantly tested. They cannot exempt themselves by claiming to be believers. The great prophets were also tested. Ibrahim Khalil (a) was tested in that astonishing case in which he was ordered to sacrifice his son.¹ All the great prophets and saints were tested. The Master of Martyrs

¹ This story has been mentioned in the chapter: as-Saffat, Verses 100 to 107.

was subjected to the test; so were his offspring and grandchildren. And all of us will be tested as well. All human beings will be put to the test. Tests in matters relating to security, possessions, wealth, position and the like are harder tests than the life of a person or the lives of his children. It is quite likely that the person who claim to be believers, prove otherwise when facing the test. There are those who claim to be supporters of the oppressed ones but fail to pass the test. And there are also those who claim to be in the vanguard when war breaks out, but do not succeed in passing the test. You the people of Dezful, Ahwaz and Susangerd gave the test and came out with flying colors.

Success in the test and good tidings to the patient ones

These photos now before me which are the cause of sorrow and sadness are your examination certificates and the testimonials to the honor in which you are held. The Blessed and Exalted Lord says: "...give glad tidings to the steadfast."¹ That is, those who patiently bear the loss of fruits, loss of life (soul), and loss of sons and say: "We are from God and to Him shall we return." Our youths are from God. They made sacrifices for the cause of God, and will return to Him. If one realizes that whatever he possesses is from God: if he has life, it is from God; if he has children, they have been gifted to him by God; if he has wealth, it is gifted to him by God and everything (else) that the Blessed and Exalted Lord has granted; if one believes this deep in his heart and is sure about it, he has, then, returned to God the things that he had held in trust for Him. One's children are a trust vested in him by the Lord. Women and children are what one holds trust for God. Wealth is a trust from God that has been placed in one's hands. We are from God and will return to Him. If we succeed in the test, and just like the prophets and saints did their tests, we too, follow their example, then we will be given the glad tidings, which the Blessed and Exalted God mentions, and showers them with His blessings and mercy, and considers them to be the rightly guided ones.² This test is easier than the ones to which the government officials are subjected by the Lord. There are many presidents of countries in the world that claim to observe human rights. Prior to attaining the presidency, they claim to champion the cause of freedom, fellowship and human welfare. But when they occupy the presidential position and are tested by God, they fail the test. Instead of supporting human rights, they take

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:155.

² An allusion to Surah al-Baqarah 2:157: *Such are they on whom are blessings from their Lord, and mercy. Such are the rightly guided.*

humanity towards destruction, Instead of supporting the meek, they crush them. Just as there are blessings, mercy and eternal life for the patient ones in the next world, similarly there is news of dreadful suffering and disgrace for these people.

Testing is necessary; making mere claims is not enough

We ought to be tested. It is not acceptable if one merely claims to be God-fearing and freedom-loving, or to respect the rights of people. It is also not acceptable to just say that if one becomes president, the head of government, the prime minister or, for instance, the chief of tribe and clan, one will behave well with the people and to see to their independence and welfare, and that he, himself, is like that when that (high) position has been given to such a person, when he attains such an office it is then that he ought to be studiously observed so as to find out whether he is like Carter or like Ali ibn Abutalib. One can then see if he behaves with the meek and the poor like Ali ibn Abutalib used to behave, or like Carter and Stalin.¹ All of them claimed to have the same attitudes. Stalin also claimed that he wanted to serve the people and treat them equally. But when he became the head of state, he massacred hordes of people. Carter also claims to support the freedom of the people and that he is interested in their welfare and is a humanitarian. But when these people took office, they proved otherwise. They behaved with people in that way. Saddam also claims that he wants to do this and that for the Arabs. But when the time for the test arrived, he killed people in Khuzistan in a way that even the Mongols did not. If given the opportunity, he will do to Iran, Iraq and wherever he is able to lay hands on, what the Mongols did to Iran. It cannot be maintained that I am a clergyman and am concerned about the people, when I make such a claim. It has to be seen as to what you really are when you attain position. When the prime minister² was imprisoned and tortured, he no doubt, thought to himself that it was a bad government (that had so treated him). He must have thought about the things he would do if he ever took office. He had nursed such thoughts at that time. But now he is being tested. All these heads—president, prime minister, parliamentary speaker, chief justices, provincial and administrative heads, commanders, governors and all—are being tested at present. This test is greater than the test which concerns losing one's wife

¹ Joseph Stalin, the Head of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics after the death of Lenin. During his rule, he had millions of the opponents of the communist party killed or sent to horrible prisons, or to cold, snowbound regions.

² Martyr Muhammad Ali RajaI.

and children. The testing of the people in their capacity of (administrative) heads or when holding all other chief executive positions, and also when taking any kind of official position is more difficult than that which has to do with the loss of wealth and children. It is more difficult than one could safely stand and perform well in the light of one's actions which ought to be such as to allow one to have dignity in the sight of the Lord. The heads of state and the government officials, no matter where and in which country they be, ought to realize that in gaining their positions, they are being tested by God, and a very stiff test at that they should consider the change they have undergone before and after attaining their positions. Before they reached these positions, they used to fault and condemn the previous presidents, prime ministers, Majlis deputies, governors and courts. But now that they themselves are in such positions, are they doing the same things for those coming after them to censure them? Or, are they not? After taking office are they behaving like the Commander of the Faithful, regarding which the people still express their views after a lapse of one thousand four hundred years? After becoming the ruler, to use your own terminology that same person had the whole of Iran, Iraq, Egypt and other places under his control. He behaved with the people in a way that nobody could or can. When delivering the sermon from the pulpit at the Friday prayer, he would now and then shake his (wet) garment as he had washed his shirt and did not have an extra one.¹

We should wake up! The government officials should wake up! The governors should wake up! The courts should wake up! We claim to be Shiah. It is claimed that we are Shiah and the followers of Shiism. Are we Shiah also when being tested? Are we followers like he was? Are we obedient to the extent of our ability? Do we behave like him with our friends, our companions, our co-religionists and the people? He was that (kind of) person who on hearing that some antisocial elements, or something like that, had removed the anklet from the foot of a non-Muslim woman—either a Jew or a Christian—living under the protection of the Islamic state, said that it would not be so implausible if one were to die because of this shameful act.² We, too, claim to be Shiah. The heads and the government officials should wake up! Stop this antagonism! Take a look at these scenes. Look at these youths who have had their blood shed for the cause of Islam. Look at these youths who have been instrumental in your attaining these positions. Abandon your enmity. Make peace. God is watching us. All of us are in His

¹ *Surah al-Gharat, Thaqafi*, p. 62.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah, sermon 27 (Subhi Salih)*.

presence. We will all die (one day) and be called to account. People, wake up! The government, wake up! Keep awake, everybody! All of you are in the presence of God. The time will come for you to answer (for your actions). See that the blood of the martyrs has been shed in vain. Do not quarrel over posts. We who so curse Saddam and scorn him should not be like him ourselves. We ought to be introspective. When alone, we must assess ourselves to see whether we will do the things that Saddam does in case we attain position (of power) or act in a similar manner, or whether we will behave in a way similar to that of the Prophet's successor.

The most difficult divine test

Governing a society is the greatest test to which God Almighty subjects mankind. Governing—if this is the way it is called—a society that is shedding its blood for Islam and the Islamic country, and whose valiant youths are sacrificing themselves, is a very difficult task; a very difficult test (to undergo). O you (governmental) authorities! You are being tested. Your actions are being closely watched by God, the Blessed and Exalted. Give all your attention to these people who are assisting you like this. O *pasdars*! O gendarmes! O the ones in the army! O the armed military and security forces! O the chiefs from wherever you are and from whatever tribe you are! O the provincial governors from all over the country! (Know that) you are being tested. Do not exploit the blood of these martyrs to gain positions for yourselves. God forbid, that others shed their blood to enable you to attain higher posts. God forbid, that such a bestial nature lie deep within you while you think yourselves to be human. (Remember that) human beings are being tested. *“Do men imagine that they will be left (at ease) because they say, we believe, and will not be tested with affliction?”*¹ Do you and the people think that by merely saying, “I am a believer” you and they will be left free? That they and you will not be tested? And that you will be free by merely claiming to be freedom-seekers? You will be given positions so that they find out whether you are telling the truth. And you will be made to understand this yourselves as well. Will you be let off just by saying that you serve this nation and this country? You will be examined, and you are being examined. Everybody including myself, a cleric, and all the people of this country, as well as the whole of mankind, are being tested. Even the prophets and saints were put to the test. Nobody can avoid the test by making claims and statements. God says that He has tested the previous ones to find out who is a

¹ *Surah al-Ankabut* 29:2.

believer and who, a hypocrite.¹ All the various strata of the people, everyone who is in this country and is at the helm of affairs, and also the bazaar merchants, the cultivators, those working in factories and even the deviated splinter groups, ought to know that they are in the presence of God and are being tested. It is easy to verbally claim that one is like this and like that. But that person will be tested in those very claims which he makes. The person who claims to support human rights will be tested in that some matter. One can be considered a partisan, a follower of Ali ibn Abutalib if there is no change in him before and after attaining a (particular) position, and if his character remains the same without his managerial position making him proud, has come out of the test with his head held high. I feel ashamed to see that you have come from Khuzistan, Khorramabad, the south (of the country) and the west. I am ashamed that you have undergone all that suffering and have had your youths martyred and your houses destroyed in such a manner. And on coming here, you see that things are something else; that quarrels (over posts) are going on while you have been making sacrifices.

The world is God's hall of audience

The pens engaged in writing for newspapers, the hands that wield them and the people who give addresses on the radio, television and in other places are all being tested by God. When you wield the pen, you ought to know that you are doing so in God's presence. When you deliver a speech, be aware of the fact that your tongue, your heart, your eyes and ears are in the presence of God. The world is God's Presence. Do not commit any sin in His presence. Do not quarrel with one another over things that are ephemeral and insignificant. Work for God; make headway for His sake. If our people make progress for His sake and for the satisfaction of the Noble Messenger, they will be able to achieve all their objectives. May God enable you and us to pass this great test successfully. May we acquit ourselves honorably and with our heads held high. May God confer dignity upon every individual of our nation, and link up our movement with that of the Master of the Time (a). May He guide our enemies?

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

¹ An allusion to *Surah at-Tawbah* 9:101.

And among those around you of the wandering Arabs there are hypocrites, and among the townspeople of al-MadInah (there are some who) persist in hypocrisy whom thou (O Muhammad) knowest not. We, We know them, and We shall chastise them twice; then they will be relegated to a painful doom."

Speech

Date: Before noon, December 29, 1980 [Dey 8, 1359 AHS / Safar 21, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Enduring the difficulties; the propaganda of the enemy to undermine the steadfast spirit of the nation

Audience: The families of the martyrs of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Air Force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for the nation to be steadfast and unfaltering in its duties

I thank you the respected ladies of the bereaved families of the air force's martyrs and the relatives of its disabled personnel. You are here in front of me with smiling faces and in high spirits. With your bravery and steadfastness, you valiant women are showing the opponents of the movement that like your doughty relatives, you are prepared to struggle devotedly for the sake of Islam and the Islamic country. There is a verse revealed in two of the Holy Quran's chapters, one of which carries a small footnote while the other does not. It says in one chapter: "*And be thou upright as thou art commanded...*"¹ It is a command given to the prophets to be steadfast in the mission that has been assigned to them. In another chapter, "Hud," it has been revealed thus: "*So tread thou the straight path as thou are commanded, and who turn (unto Allah) with thee*".² The Noble Messenger has been commanded to be firm and steadfast in the mission that has been given to him, in this verse as well. It also says that those who believe in God and have turned to Him must also remain steadfast. There are people in this world who do things for the sake of their honor and the honor of Islam and the nation. If they be firm, determined and unshaken by events, they will be able to attain their aim. The reason for this is that being steadfast is important but it is also difficult. In the footnote to the second chapter, that is, "Hud," all of us, with the Noble Messenger at the head, is bidden to remain steadfast. In relation to this chapter, he is reported to have said, according to a narration: "The chapter Hud has made me old".³ The reason he gave was that God in

¹ Surah Hud 11:15.

² Surah Hud 11:112.

³ Ilm al-YaqIn, Fayd KashanI, vol. 2, p. 971, Majma al-Bayan, underneath verse 112 of the chapter, "Hud" commentary by Kashshaf, ZamakhsharI, vol.2, p. 432.

the said verse has instructed all the functionaries, the Islamic nations and all the Muslims to remain steadfast and firm in the missions entrusted to them. They should not let themselves get shaken up. Many are the ones that undertake a task but lose their composure and resoluteness on encountering difficulties. There are also many who are upright, and who remain steadfast without faltering at all till the very end. The Almighty God has instructed the Muslims to remain firm and steadfast in the assignments entrusted to them. Thank God that, today, our nation generally, the army and the armed forces particularly and the air force especially, have passed this test by carrying out their divine mission. They have acted devotedly and have remained steadfast in their mission. You the respected bereaved ladies for whom the martyrs have left honor and dignity as remembrances: it is evident from your words that you are steadfast.

A nation that wants to preserve its honor and preserve Islam which is the source of all virtues, should remain steadfast in the holy war besides taking part in it. Being steadfast means that the nation that desires to retain its honor and to bring Islam and the Islamic movement to fruition, should not fear the difficulties nor slacken its efforts in the face of difficulties in the holy war and the battles that take place. This is the Exalted Lord's command. He has made defense compulsory for all people and all Muslims. Being bound to abide by that command, we too, are now defending our honor. We are defending dear Islam just as He has commanded us to defend, just as He has commanded all nations to remain steadfast. The Noble Messenger was the most steadfast of all the people. According to the narrations, Imam Ali (s) had stated that whenever they were under pressure in a war, they would approach the Prophet.¹ Meanwhile God, the Blessed and Exalted, says: "*Be upright as thou art commanded.*"

He commands us to be steadfast and not to be shaken by anything. Concerning God's command that he (the Prophet) and the *ummah* (the Islamic community) should always remain steadfast, the Prophet said that he had aged because of that verse, the reason being that steadfastness is a difficult thing and that even if he and the individuals remained so, one could not be sure about the whole nation being independent and constant. To be steadfast in an assignment is more difficult than the assignment itself. It may happen that a victory gained will not last long because the victors have not been able to persevere in it. They become slack, thereby forfeiting their victory.

¹ Nahj al-Balaghah "Man Gharib Kalamah" Hadith 9 (SubhI Salih).

The difficulties arising from the war; safeguarding revolutionary values

Today, you and the entire nation as well as the armed forces—may God protect them—and the air force, which is being praised more than the others, have attained spectacular victories. Our nation has accomplished something that has astonished the whole world. It has overcome the world's biggest powers. It has severed the links of the world's biggest powers to its country. It has cut off the hands of the enemies of humanity from the country. Our country has become a model for all the oppressed countries. Although we have performed this great task, yet it is enjoined upon us, the whole nation, the army, the armed forces and the oppressed ones to be steadfast and firm. Wars cause shortages, they entail martyrdom, and they create dread for many people, and also hunger, inflation, destruction and all that a war entails, especially the one that has occurred in Iran. The campaign that took place in Iran has led the big powers to conspire against it. And so they are doing, one of them being the economic embargo imposed on Iran. War has these peculiarities. You who want to save your country and campaigned for the purpose while suffering a hundred thousand casualties, and more than a hundred thousand who were disabled, until you succeeded and reached this stage, should now remain steadfast (in your aim). This commodity that has fallen to your lot has no equal in the world. Others have not been able to attain it. Nobody succeeded in gaining the independence you gained. Nobody was able to get the freedom that you got. It is difficult to keep and to safeguard this independence and this freedom. God has commanded us to be steadfast and resolute. Do not tremble because of the gasoline shortage. While our army is suffering casualties, you are becoming slack for the sake of gasoline! Our youths, our *pasdars*, our army, our gendarmerie, our volunteers are all making sacrifices in the border regions. They have been risking and are risking their lives. They have given martyrs but are nevertheless steadfast. They are withstanding (the enemy) in their respective theatres of war, and are advancing every day.

The malicious propaganda of the enemy in order to undermine the people's spirit of resistance

The people must pay attention to these matters. The ones that are indulging in malicious propaganda and are whispering to you about the shortages are those that want to snatch this victory from your hands. They want to deprive you of your endurance. They have their orders. Either you listen to the corrupt ones or to the Blessed and Exalted Lord who says: "*So tread the straight path as thou art commanded and those who tuarn (unto*

Allah) with thee". All of us are duty-bound to remain steadfast and unfaltering. I thank you esteemed ladies, the bereaved members of the martyrs families, the bereaved of the air force martyrs and all the others, wherever they be, who have been bereaved by the martyrdom of their dear ones. I thank you for possessing such high morale in that you are withstanding all the conspiracies and are expressing yourselves and reading the articles and also inviting the people to live hopefully. May God the Blessed and Exalted bestow honor upon you and the entire nation. "*Lo! All power appertaineth to Allah*".¹ The glory belongs to God. I hope that he confers it upon all of you, the whole nation and all Muslims. Remain steadfast. Be firm. You will triumph. Do not worry about the inflation and the shortages. In the Soviet Union, what with all its power, there are still long queues of people who want to procure such commodities although sixty-odd years have elapsed since their movement—or revolution as they say—took place. Even now there are shortages like the ones we have here. Those who come from there say so. It has to buy its wheat from America even now. You think that the people in America itself are living in comfort. In America, there is great pressure on the people. The number of the poor there is, perhaps, more than anywhere else. Why should our people listen to these mischiefs—mongers who have been assigned by the big powers to spread the people. The number of the poor there is, perhaps, more than anywhere else. Why should the nation listen to these rumor- mongers and corrupt elements who go among the people daily and weaken their morale? You created a miracle in the world with your high morale; you wrought wonders. Preserve this miracle by remaining steadfast. Preserve this great victory that nothing has been done as yet that Iran has done something that is unique in the world. A nation of thirty-odd million overcoming the great powers of several hundred millions with advanced weapons, and cutting their links to this country has no parallel in history. What else there is to be done? Is there anything beyond this? Today is the day of steadfastness. Today is the day of constancy. The brothers and sisters should be steadfast and firm. They should take this campaign to final victory, God willing. I beseech the Blessed and Exalted God to have mercy on the martyrs, to make your disabled ones well and to give you, your relatives and all the people of Iran, good health.

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

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:139.

Speech

Date: Morning, January 1, 1981 [Dey 11, 1359 AHS / Safar 24, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The duty of everybody: inviting the people to the true path; enjoining the good and forbidding evil; advocating fortitude

Audience: Students of Teacher's Training College of Tabriz, Basij-e Mustadafan (Volunteer corps of the oppressed classes) of Mashhad and Tonekabon

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The common duty: recommending fortitude and (following) the true path

I wish to thank all the gentlemen who have taken the trouble of coming here from distant places; from Tabriz and Khurasan, in this cold weather, and having traveled long distances, have gathered here with difficulty in this cramped and humble place. I request the Almighty to grant you and the entire nation, health and success. My brothers! You know that Iran is now facing difficulties; external and internal difficulties. It will take some time to eliminate them. The thing that is essential for us to know and which the Blessed and Exalted God has told the believers is that all human beings incur losses except the believers who do pious deeds. The Lord has mentioned two things concerning this: recommending fortitude and truth. He says: “1) *By the declining day,* 2) *Lo! Man is in a state of loss,* 3) *Save those who believe and do good works, and exhort one another to endurance*¹”. All the people are in a state of loss except the believers; the ones who perform pious deeds and recommend fortitude and truth. Today, each one of us needs to exhort our friends to truth and invite them to Islam which is the ultimate and absolute truth. We must also urge them to maintain tranquility at such a time when we are beset with difficulties; and invite them to (be faithful to) the Islamic Republic. We must exhort them to have fortitude. If people want to attain truth, to establish the government of truth and implement Islam, which is the absolute truth, in the country, they must have fortitude, just like the Saints of God (s) had in all the stages (of life) and in all the misfortunes and difficulties that befell them.

¹ *Surah al-Asr* :1-end.

We have not experienced such difficulties as the Apostle of God (s) had encountered at the time he arrived in Mecca and, after that, in Madinah. He was encumbered with various difficulties such as economic blockades and military attacks. In those few years that the Noble Messenger was forced to seek refuge in a hilly cave because of the pressure exerted on him, the polytheists, the hypocrites and all corrupt people had so cut off supplies to him as to keep him waiting for even his daily bread which would be obtained with difficulty. Subsequently, on migrating from Mecca to Madinah, he and his companions were subjected to such military assaults and armed attacks from the polytheists and the powers of the time that we ourselves have not experienced so far. America and its allies are subjecting our country to economic pressure, and all the non-Muslim countries and governments are putting our people and government under all-round pressure. Nevertheless, as the issue is one for which the people rose, they, more than anybody else, are in the forefront in safeguarding the Revolution and the Islamic Republic. These economic sanctions and armed attacks are not so troublesome for our people. Thank God that all the strata of our nation and everybody who lives in Iran—men and women, adults and children—are diligently trying to safeguard their Islamic campaign. All of them consider themselves to be at war. Our valiant youths from all over the world are volunteering to fight the ones who have deceived by the pagan Baathists.

The need for the nation itself to remove the shortages

My brothers! You are aware as to how many problems Iran had in the early days of the Constitutional Movement. You know the efforts (the people of) Azarbaijan made in this matter, and how much trouble the “*Sardars*” (commanders) who had risen up in Azarbaijan had to endure; how they suffered but yet emerged victorious; our whole nation is now like (the people of) Azarbaijan. At that time, there was Azarbaijan and some other places like Gilan and the rest, more or less. But history does not know of any situation as the one now existing. Now the whole nation from all over the country and all the classes of the people consider this movement to be theirs. They look upon its victory as their own. It is not like the past when there used to be divisions between the government and the nation; between the army and the people. The people used to consider the army as an alien one. Thank God that with the exception of some perverted ones who are subservient to the superpowers; all the people consider this country and this government to be their own. They also look upon all the armed forces and those that are at the helm of affairs as being from among them. For this reason, they are able to

put up with the pressures being brought to bear upon this country. Patience is required, and exhortation to be patient. Patience is necessary in demanding our rights. If we want Islam; if we want the Holy Quran to be implemented in this country and, God willing, in other ones, and if we desire to have an Islamic government, we must recommend truth and exhort (the people) to truth. Those who are in the committees, the volunteer corps, the *pasdars*, the judiciary and the police everywhere in the country ought to recommend Truth. God forbid, if any deviation is observed in anybody, or if some perverted leftists, or pseudo-leftists serving the rightists, have infiltrated the ranks of the people, they should be urged to follow Truth. Nobody should act against it. If a country claims to be an Islamic Republic and wants the Islamic Republic to take effect in it, then all the people of that country must enjoin good and forbid evil. They should iron out all the inconsistencies by themselves. If some offense takes place in a committee, those working in the committee and the people themselves ought to urge the authorities to set the matter right. Truth and fortitude ought to be recommended. Difficulties should be endured and patience recommended. All the persons in charge of the affairs ought to invite the people to Truth.

The people themselves should not allow those that have infiltrated the organs and other places to commit offenses or act against religious principles and the common good. Such individuals should be enjoined to do good and forbidden from doing evil things, so that the Almighty's exhortation that everybody is at a loss except the believers who do pious deeds and invite (one another) to Truth and endurance, be acted on.

The importance of enjoining the good and forbidding evil

Today, we have an obligation. It is binding on all the Muslims to enjoin the good and forbid evil. Avoiding evil acts is compulsory for all Muslims. Exhorting to Truth, which is enjoining the good, and forbidding evil, is mandatory for all Muslims. You and we have a duty to command towards good in all the executive organs. If there happen to be persons who do wrong; we should make them known to the officials concerned with the prevention of wrongdoing. The difficulties that exist today for Iran and a war stricken country must be endured. We must endure them till they are removed. Today, you see the country as yours. You see the government as yours. The president, the army, and the interests of the country you see as your own. You consider whatever corrupt acts are done in the country as your own shortcomings. You and we are duty-bound to urge (the wrongdoers) that anything contrary to Truth must not be done, and that Truth

be practiced in Iran. They must endure the difficulties that have arisen for our country because of the war, the Revolution and our opposition to the superpowers. They must also urge their friends to be patient. I hope that, God willing, your patience will earn. The Almighty's blessings, and that our country and our people will gain relief.

Speech

Date: January 3, 1981 [Dey 13, 1359 AHS / Safar 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The print media's mission in the Islamic system; the danger of infiltration by the deviationists and the way of confronting them

Audience: The editor-in-chief and the members of the editorial board of Soroush magazine

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for the activities of the press to be in line with the people's motives

In a revolution emanating from the people, and the aim of which the people themselves have determined, all the groups desiring to serve the revolution must have the same motive. The revolution whose motivating force was Islam emanated from the people whose aim was Islam. It was because of this that the revolution succeeded. Hence, any group that wants to render service must have the same purpose in mind. It must pursue the issues that were the source of victory of Iran's Muslims. Regrettably, the press is at variance with the motive the people had and have, and the conviction which took them to victory. It is also at variance with the way in which society, with the exception of a few people and groups have been pursuing the matter. I, of course, do not read all the newspapers, magazines, books and all the things that are written, because I do not have the time. But I do glance at them and read whatever is connected to the subject. The press ought to follow the nation's chosen line owing to which it was able to achieve victory. But this is not the case. One can see that some of the press are not in line with the nation.

The opportunism of the little groups

All of you know that if it was not for this unity and cohesion of the people and this attachment of theirs to Islam, we would not have been able to gain such a victory which is now ours. We neither had any military training nor any weapons worth mentioning. We had nothing at all. But what upset all the calculations was the attention of the people all over the country to one thing. The people, including the children and the old, had focused their attention on that one thing which was the abolishment of the Shah's regime

and the establishment of Islam and the Islamic Republic. At that time, there were no differences at all over the matter. Those who differed at a later stage but had the same motive in those days would not say anything against the (popular) current that then existed. Quite likely there were many who wanted to infiltrate into crowds to take advantage later on. It is so now as you can see. Many of the people and groups were not involved in this movement and uprising carried out by the nation. Some of the groups had nothing to do with it at all. But then they stepped in to see how the situation developed! Would the ex-regime prevail for them to align themselves with it, or would the one following gain the upper hand for them to join up with it? This is what opportunism means: some people sitting on the fence to see what happens ultimately, and then getting themselves into the successful group. But on realizing that it was not a matter of one doing what one liked, and on confronting these throngs of people whose attention was fixed on Islam, they are now doing mischief.

The press should avoid publishing topics harmful to Islam

The newspapers ought to render the service assigned to them and which is really important to our country. By doing so, they will have served Islam and their own country. They must pursue this line. That is, they must pay attention to and go after whatever issue they bring up. Other issues that are not connected to these matters, or issues that are against these unconnected ones, could be mentioned and written provided that are harmless. But those that are detrimental to national unity and to the cause for which the nation rose—that is, detrimental to Islam—should be avoided by the press. The editors-in-chief of the newspapers should be wary lest some (undesirable) persons sneak in (among them). You can see that the persons who have deviated (from the nation's path) are now active and are ready to interfere in some way in anything that happens anywhere. It is likely that one of them holds a rosary in his hand and sports a beard. He may even say his prayers in your presence, and do such things. You have to check his antecedents. You have to see what he is, and what work he wants to do; what kind of job he wants; when he wants to join your magazine, for instance. To select persons is a matter of great importance for the media, particularly the radio and television as many persons are employed in them, and in the newspapers, etc. They want to enter the organization without anybody being aware of it, without attracting the attention of the right-thinking people, and mislead the others.

The danger of the infiltration of the perverted ones

We now see that there are certain perverted issues all over the country. Such deviant issues cannot arise from the people who are straightforward themselves. So it is clear that certain deviationists have got in among them; for example, in the committees, the courts, the volunteer forces and other organs such as radio and television, and the press. There are many decent people in these organs. But because they are sometimes naive in their thinking, they may employ somebody whom they do not properly know, or of whose background they are not aware. They may be misled by appearances and employ such a person in the courts, the committees or the newspapers which are important. And the time will come when you notice that he is making the organization deviate from the nation's chosen path, the path of unity and Islam, these two causes that were at the top of all matters. You will at one time see some newspapers inclining to the left and others to the right, thus deviating from the straight path, The Islamic path which the nation follows. This is one of the important duties of those who wish to render a service by publishing a magazine or writing (articles) in the newspapers. The first question concerns the selection of (proper) people. If you have any persons (in the set-up) who can bring about deviation without your noticing it, you will see one day that deviation has taken place. Moreover, there are people who can drag you into the American or Soviet Union camp. This nation has struggled a lot and has lost many of its youth. It has taken great trouble in ridding itself of foreign domination. You will see that a time will come when those who are against the nation's path appear on the scene and pervert the magazines, the newspapers, radio and television, speeches and everything that exist at present, with you awakening to the fact afterwards. This is one of the important issues that necessitates your attention. Ignoring it is not permissible. Concerning your magazine and your coming here now to speak to me, I hope that the matter will be uppermost in your mind. The topics that are to be printed ought to be read carefully by a few persons whom you know for sure to be upright, and who follow the nation's and the country's path, without having links to any place. The topics can be printed in the magazine or newspaper after they have read them. It should not so happen that the material is written and printed and, later, they come to realize that it was against the country's interests. This matter is something that is essential. This is like a book being written, and before being published, it is scrutinized by those who are well-versed in the mischief the satans do. Care must be taken to see that the book whose beginning, for example, is very good, the middle part of it is also good, but

somewhere else it contains things that were not what we had imagined them to be. Proper attention should be paid to the books that are written and the writings that are published. Wise and well-informed people and those who are conversant with the creeds and their guidelines should give their consideration to the matter. They must read the books, and also the magazine before they are published lest some discrepancy appear somewhere. In such a case, they must stop you and tell you that there are some deviation in the (concerned) magazine, for instance, and that expunging the discrepant parts are to their and the nation's good.

The importance of valuation and (proper) selection in vesting responsibility

Hence, this is one of the important issues. It is of the highest importance that the people who manage a certain place be appraised at the very outset to find out their previous occupations and background, and also the place and manner of their education, their situation before and after the revolution as well as the opinions they held previously. If one who held divergent views before comes to you and claims that he has changed, you ought to accept what he says. We, however, should not assign him to write for the magazine. They are two different issues. Well, the repentance of many people who come and say that they have repented is acceptable. They, however, cannot be entrusted with an important job as, we do not know—judging by the instances we do know of—whether the one who has repented has actually done so or is merely trying to deceive us by saying that he has. We have to accept him and treat him like all the other Muslims in a Muslim community. However, the (affairs of) radio and television should not be entrusted to him. Neither should he be employed in the radio and television organization or allowed to work or write for a magazine which is there for the purpose of training people and propagating this Islamic path. We should not let ourselves be gullible. There are many people who only talk about Islam and quote widely from the Nahj al-Balaghah and (verses of) the Quran. But this is not their path. Among them there are people who follow the path so as to find a niche for themselves in the community and thereby implement their agenda among the people. While we have to accept one who, for instance, had been recalcitrant previously but is now a (correct) Muslim and must be treated accordingly, we, nonetheless, cannot entrust our vital matters to him. For example, if a thief comes and repents, well, it is acceptable; he was one a thief but has repented. But can you hand over your taxes to him or your wealth and assets, and then ask him about them? No, it is not wise, because it

is possible that the thief has repented in order to get hold of some possessions! We are not endowed with prescience, but it is our duty to accept him outwardly. He is not a thief (now); he has repented. We can even pray behind one who has repented to all intents and purposes. But we cannot give him something that demands trust and virtue on his part. The most sensitive of all are these newspapers, magazines, radio and television, which are the means for the training of society. Suppose that somebody who had been perverted before or a communist says that he has now returned to the fold and that the words of those that had perverted his views were not right. Very good, he has returned (to the path), and so be it. But we cannot have him working in radio and television, and tell him to train the people! It is quite likely that he may still be a communist and that he is pretending in order to deceive us. But we are enjoined to treat him outwardly as a Muslim. It is a different matter in case he has not become a communist by conviction. But we cannot let our children be trained by one who was a communist, and who has now come to us saying that he is very much a Muslim, who prays with us and fasts as well, and is bound to Islamic rites more than you or the others. Very well; he is a Muslim. He can remain among the people. Nobody will object. But we cannot let him educate our children because we have to be sure that the one who teaches our children will not lead them astray. We cannot afford to be naive in that Islam instructs us to accept (his claim) and we duly comply. But Islam has not told us to leave our destiny in his hands because we have accepted him. Islam does not say this. Islam tells us to accept him as a Muslim and treat him accordingly. But can we leave the fate of our country in the hands of one who was a communist? He says that he is a good person and we, for our part, believe him. But we cannot allow our country's destiny to lie in his hands. We cannot let him write whatever he likes in case he wants to write for a magazine. Otherwise, we will see what it would lead to. You, too, who publish a magazine and want to select some people, should not employ people of questionable backgrounds on the grounds that they have changed for the better and have become good Muslims and such things. It is very good for him, and we do not say otherwise. He has repented which is a good thing. But we cannot commit such a task which has to do with the training and destiny of the nation to them. This is not to say that we should not employ those who have come here and say that they have become good people. But wherever the nation's destiny is concerned, it is being naive to think of such a thing. It shows a lack of attention to such matters. In any case; I hope that your books and magazines will turn out to be good. I also hope that these issues will receive

your due attention and that of the people since the past, and also those who will join you later. If the matter concerns Arabic, the persons should be committed Arabs first. Secondly, it should be checked as to what they have been. It is likely that a person could be very good and dedicated but has some fault. A mistake for one who commits it is nothing. But it could be harmful to the nation. Suppose that the army or the commander himself makes a mistake. They will not be punished because it is a mistake. People constantly commit mistakes. But a single mistake can be enough to ruin a nation. There could be a mistake in a magazine as well. It would not matter to him who has committed it as it is a mistake after all. But the others must take note of it and eliminate it, and then have the magazine published. The job in the press, radio and television is important because the public reads, watches and listens to them. We cannot say that well, we have made a mistake now but will not make one tomorrow. Today I got a note concerning a mistake committed by a newspaper. I am not saying that it was intentionally done. It is possible it could be deliberate. Anyway it is a mistake that has been harmful to the country. And now the ones who are at the helm of affairs have objected to it. In any case great attention should be paid to this matter. We should pay no heed to all this clamor that is going on and is undermining the movement. One of the necessary things for the newspapers is to devote a few pages, for instance, to the achievements so far of the Islamic Republic.

The enemy's plot to create tumult and distort the truth

You are aware that the people who want to harm the Islamic Republic are spreading rumors that it has not accomplished anything as yet, and that it is just like the monarchial regime, there being no difference between them! Even some committed Muslim writers—those that are upright and educated—have written in detail that the conditions and situation in the Islamic Republic are the same as before. They do not take into account the things that have been hitherto accomplished. The minister of education had come here a few days ago. He was telling me that a great number of schools have been constructed in these past two years. The number ranges to one-third of the schools built ever since the beginning. But they do not mention this one-third of the schools built over two years. They who bear malice do not mention these things which they ought to. They dwell upon defects and shortcomings. According to what is said, Jesus Christ (s) was going (somewhere) together with his companions. They came across a dead donkey lying on the ground, and giving off a foul smell. His companions were talking about the stench whereupon Hadrat (Christ) said that the dead donkey

had such white teeth.¹ This is a lesson to us. One should not overlook the many blessings that the Islamic Republic has brought for us. It has shut down all the centers of debauchery and all the shops that were selling alcoholic drinks because it was against Islam. It has done so much for the oppressed. It has developed so much land and paved so many roads. It has built so many schools, and also houses for the people. It has done so much. All this is ignored. They have nothing to do with them. But in such-and-such court, if somebody errs, he must be caught and a hue and cry rose! This is perversion. It is clear that the pen of the one, whoever he be, who has written this, has deviated. Perhaps, he himself does not realize the fact; he does not understand. But it is not possible to set right a society which was in a ruined, corrupt state and has now passed two years of its (post-revolution) existence. This child of two is not like a man of forty who has accomplished all his work. It cannot be so. We must not assail the Islamic Republic because of some crookedness, for instance, occurring somewhere, or because somebody, once a decent person but now not fit for the task, has been sidelined. This should not spur us to pick up our pens and write books or write such things in magazines, or throw in the Islamic Republic's face all the evil that is happening in one or two corners of the country and say that such is the Islamic Republic. Suppose that a deputy, among the three hundred or two hundred and fifty deputies, commits an offense. Should we say that all the deputies are bad, and that the Islamic consultative assembly is bad? Or should we say that so-and-so deputy is bad. If say five or ten people committed a wrongdoing in these courts that exist throughout the country, should we call them wrongdoers or condemn all the courts? These are the mistakes they make or the grudges they bear. Some make mistakes; some say things because of the grudges they have.

The necessity of criticism and the prohibition of spitefulness

Among the duties of radio and television, the magazines and all the other media is to inform the people of the events that have occurred. In the early stage, when Mr. Bazargan was prime minister, I told the officials to announce to the people by means of the radio and television the things you do. Do not let the others say that you did not do this, that or anything at all. Of course, the undone things are abound. The country had been lead astray for over fifty years. It had been so since the beginning. But they were deliberately leading it astray during these (past) fifty years, making us

¹ Bihar al- Anwar, vol.14, p. 327, hadIth 47.

dependent on all sides and destroying everything of ours. They ruined our universities and what not. They do not consider that within a span of two years the amount that has been achieved is a miracle. They do not take into consideration that the position is now such that the one who has picked up a pen and is writing about everything, is now free to do so. One is free to criticize all the (government) organs. Could one have written a single word against these organs three years ago? They would have smashed your pen and given you hell! You do not appreciate this freedom. But freedom, however, has now become a toy for some people. They write whatever they like and say whatever they like. In any case, it is our Islamic and human duty to inform the people about everything that have taken place in this Republic. We are also to be criticized for being negligent. This must also be written. I am not saying that there should be no criticism (in Medea). Criticism should be made, but it should not be done out of malice. There are pens that, for instance, turn insignificant issues into big ones by magnifying them manyfold. Under big headlines, they write whatever they like. Sometimes the headings are incongruous with the topic. They get the headlines from somewhere and here write something else under it. This is spitefulness. There are writers who want to reform society. They write what is good about it and also its shortcomings. But these writers should present their views as advice. They should not offer malicious criticism nor undermine the matter. A topic can be presented in two ways: either like a decent teacher who advises children in a gentle manner in order to correct them, or like one who hurts and mistreats the children. These are the two cases, two kinds of writers and two ways of talking and writing.

You should bear in mind that if criticism is to be offered, then not only you, but all the writers and orators should offer it in a gentle and sympathetic manner. The purpose of the criticism should not be to harm or to strike the Islamic Republic a blow. These people are not aware that if the Islamic Republic collapses because of their writings, they will be held responsible by God the Blessed and Exalted, the people and all the nations. The Islamic Republic is being praised by all nations, while we are sitting here, pen in hand, writing about some minor shortcoming discovered some where. Supposing someone has done something wrong somewhere, and has done it on purpose, like confiscating somebody's possessions, or another person has committed another offense, which, of course, should not be done. But in such cases, it should not be said that the Islamic Republic is also like the monarchical regime. In what respect is it like the monarchical regime? Was the Bazaar like this in that regime? Were the roads like those of today? You saw

how the centers of prostitution were, and everything of ours was then like that. Our oil and everything of ours was being plundered. This (Islamic) regime has put a stop to such things. Such things are not mentioned. The pens are paralyzed in these matters. It does not concern the Islamic Republic if one does something (wrong) somewhere or kills so-and-so in some place, for instance. Such a person has done wrong; he ought to be checked. If he has actually done such a thing somewhere, you must check him. He must be checked, of course.

It is not a matter of advice that one sees in the writings. It is a matter of the grudges and the complexes that they have. They want to give vent to their complexes. This point ought to be borne in mind in all cases. My duty is to pray; I pray for all of you. May the Almighty Lord protect you. May He give you success in serving your country. You are Muslims; you must serve your Islam. You have love for your nation; therefore, you ought to serve it. You love your country; so you should serve it. Keep God in mind in your writings. Remember that the pen that you are wielding is now being watched by God. You will be questioned over whatever (offensive things) you write. Instead of this, if you can write something better, will you be asked as to why you wrote something bad? May God assist you. May you be successful.

Speech

Date: Morning, January 4, 1981 [Dey 14, 1359 AHS / Safar 27, 1401 AH¹]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The conduct of the ambassadors and the matters pertaining to the embassies must be in congruity with Islam; exporting the Revolution by the development of Islamic ethics and truths, not by force

Audience: the Islamic Republic of Iran's ambassadors, and charged affairs; a group of members of Islamic associations of Iranian students overseas

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for the conduct of the ambassadors and the matters concerning the embassies to be consistent with Islam

I pray to the Blessed and Exalted Lord for the safety of all the gentlemen, whether the ambassadors and embassy staff, or the dear students studying overseas, who have come to their country. I think that the duty of you gentlemen who are (working) in Iran's Islamic embassies, in foreign countries, and, likewise, our dear youths residing abroad, is graver than the duty that we who are living in Iran, have. Our nation knows about Islam and its aspects. Suppose a man or a group acts against Islam here, the people will condemn him or the group. But as for you, you are in an environment such as the West, or in places where there are no Muslims. And even if there are, they are not acquainted with the Islamic issues as they should be. Therefore, if you or the embassies happen to behave in a manner not fully in line with Islam, the people there would conclude that such is the way of Islam. If our embassies abroad continue in that same *taghuti* manner or nearly like it, it means that Islam has not yet permeated the embassies. During this period, as has been reported to me—I do not know the latest position—regrettably, our embassies are not Islamic as they should be, whether in the places themselves or the conduct of their staff. And this is especially so in all respects in the case of the female employees. They have not been able to fathom what the Islamic Republic is. Some of the ambassadors, sent by the Noble Messenger (s) to the courts of the great monarchs of that time, used to push aside the silk curtains with their swords on entering the courts. This gesture meant that they were breaking the pride of the pharaoh—like kings of that time. It may

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur*, the date has been given as 10/16/1359 AHS.

seem simple, but this is not the issue. Those people who went as ambassadors were ordinary Arabs who were dedicated to Islam. They wanted to make the kings understand at the very outset as to what their outlook was and the creed to which they belonged. They wanted to show that such courtly pomp and splendor had no effect on them. There are many people that panic and would panic on meeting some dignitary whom they considered a very important person. This is particularly so in the age of these big powers, and in this last half century, with regard to him (the ex-Shah) as well, the one at whose hands we have suffered. If a top official visited a certain place, he would behave with the people as if he were a king. He never took the people into account. I myself was witness to this fact. A district collector had come to Golpayegan. In those days, Khomein lay within that district. The merchants had come to meet him. He ordered that the biggest merchant among them be tied to a wooden post. I, then a boy, witnessed the incident. That merchant was a respected and well-known merchant in Khomein's bazaar. He, religious person, was the head of the merchant community there. But this corrupt official behaved with him in everybody's presence in such a way as to have him tied up and bastinadoed. Such were the things that they used to do. Sometimes, when a respected figure or an "*alim*" would go to visit the officials, these people would bring some unfortunate person and tie him to a stake in the "*alim's*" presence. It was a way of conveying a message to the visitor that he had to obey them. The conditions were such, and even worse than this. This act of the ambassador or the ambassadors of the Prophet was simple but significant. It broke the pride of that "pharaoh" at the very outset. The Late Mudarris, too, had this habit. He would sit on a carpet spread in the courtyard of his house. He would prepare his hookah for himself whenever he wanted. In the meantime, the governor would enter. You do not know how important the office of the governor was in those days. The governor used to say that Mudarris would hand him the hookah and tell him to pour water into it while he lit the fire. The governor would become flustered. Mudarris telling him to pour water in the hookah used to have a great effect on him. He (Mudarris) would compel him to pour the water while he lit the fire in order to get the hookah ready. The purpose of this act was that the approach to the unscrupulous minds ought to be such at times so that they do not desire to impose on the others from the very beginning. If, as was the common practice at that time, that person had been shown humbleness and respect, he would have imposed the thing that he was after on him. But the adoption of such an informal and hard-hitting kind of approach did not allow him to impose whatever he had in mind.

How the ambassadors should conduct themselves with the authorities of the foreign countries

You who are based abroad are in contact with the other ambassadors, the foreign ministers and all such people. If you go to the foreign ministry, you must not become proud because you are in the presence of so-and-so; the foreign minister of America or the Soviet Union. You ought to bear in mind that you are the ambassador of an Islamic country which is more powerful than all these powers. It is also more honorable than all these “honorable” ones—in case they have any honor.

You must maintain your dignity from the very beginning. Among the important points which you, just like us, are obliged to observe is that your actions there, your behavior with the embassy staff, the basic work of the embassies and their condition and also your dealings should be such that by these means your revolution is gradually exported to the countries to which you have been assigned. Ethics are such that when one is particular about them observes them; the effect spreads and influences the people who, by nature, are innately good. It is improper training that spoils one’s nature.

Humiliating the supporters of oppression and evil by means of Islamic deeds and morals

You yourselves should remember that you have gone to a country which you wish to transform so as to be like your own one. You want to export Islam to it. Exporting Islam means that the Islamic morals, Islamic culture and Islamic deeds be such as to attract the attention of the people there. One of the important matters is that there must be a publication in every embassy. It should not be like those of *taghuti* times. The publications ought to be moral and Islamic in content and contain events that have taken place in Iran. As you see, propaganda against the Islamic Republic is being made almost everywhere in the world. All-round propagandas is being made, whether by the propaganda organs of the West and its dependent countries, or the East and its dependent countries. They are doing this because they have become terrified of the Islamic Republic. Apart from having lost their interests in Iran—they will be lost for ever, God willing—they are afraid that this movement and this revolution will spread abroad and find its way into the other countries. When the people there come to understand what Islam is and realize that they want it in their countries, the enemies will fear that these places will become like Iran. They are afraid that their *taghuti* regimes will gradually fade away, and, God willing, it will be so. Instead of spending money like it used to be spent at that time on evil things and those *taghuti*

parties which were all against Islamic moral, and also the expenses there on the things you know, you should spend the money on propaganda. You must make it known to the world what Islam is and what the condition of our country is. You must counter all the propaganda of every kind. You must acquaint the other countries, all the other ones, of that fact there is in Iran and the way in which things are happening in Iran. Acquaint the people with Islam, the Islamic movement and the Islamic Revolution. Do not let the fear enter your minds that you may be belittling yourselves by conducting yourselves in a plain manner with the other embassies considering all the things they have. As a matter of fact, you by your acts can humble those edifices and foundations of oppression and evil. Do not think that you will feel small in case you are plain in your actions; your embassies are plain and are in some ordinary place and if they act as centers for the dissemination of knowledge, learning and ethics, not at all. This is what the westernized ones say. They think that we will be humiliated if we do not behave like the West. We are now determined not to be like the West and not to be dependent. We are determined to be free and independent. You can now see that the nations that have not been influenced by the propaganda done by America, the Soviet Union and their camp-followers are looking at you with wonder and pride.

Man's greatness does not lie in his dress, his hat or in owning an automobile, villa and such things. Man is a reality. He becomes noble and great when the reality is manifested. You have seen that the greatest persons were the prophets; and they were also the plainest. While being the greatest of all people and acknowledged accordingly by everybody, they were, at the same time, the simplest in their way of life. All the prophets were like that. History portrays them as having been very simple in their dealings. What their condition was at the advent of Islam is very clear, and also the condition of the governments, and the army commanders, and how those at the helm of affairs behaved with the people. They were so unassuming and unobtrusive that whenever one from outside would enter the Prophet's mosque where the people were seated, he could not identify the Prophet among them. He had to inquire in order to find out. The reason was that there was no such thing as people sitting in a more "prestigious" place or a less prestigious one. They would all sit together. I do not know whether they used to sit on a straw-mat or a rush-mat. But do not imagine that there were carpets like the ones you are sitting on. They used to sit together around one another. But their greatness was such that it impressed the world. Man's greatness is related to his inner spirituality. It has to do with his mentality, his conduct and his deeds; not with the model of his car. It does not lie in having a guard and

servants. Such things do not make a person great. They make him fall from that position of his.

Exporting the Revolution by means of (good) deeds and morals

You gentlemen who are in the embassies are bound by reason and religion to keep the embassies as simple as possible. Your behavior with your staff—your subordinates as you say—ought to be brotherly. They will obey what you say, but your conduct should be brotherly. Similarly, the entertainment of your guests, your own way of life and of those who work there should be changed to the Islamic way so that whoever comes there will see Islam in practice. No matter how much we clamor that we are Islamic and are from the Islamic Republic, it will be to no avail because when they see that in practice we are otherwise, they will believe us no more. They will only believe us when they see that our actions are Islamic as well. Our actions should not be *taghuti* in nature. Our actions, our words, our behavior must all be Islamic. Our utterances ought to be Islamic so that this Islamic Republic (system) spreads to all the other countries. Making Islam spread does not lie in doing it at bayonet point or by force. Its diffusion can only take place if Islam, its realities, its ethics and human morals develop here itself. It is your duty to see that this happens. You have to accomplish this task and ensure that your acts and your writings are in line with the Islamic Republic, You must publish a magazine in which the pictures and the topics presented ought to be in conformity with (the norms of) the Islamic Republic so that, by such means, Islam makes inroads into that place. You should know that you have to carry out propaganda. Our dear students, wherever they are and whatever groups they are in contact with, must, likewise, make efforts to discuss the issues concerning Islamic Iran. They must examine one by one the articles that appear in foreign magazines and newspapers of whatever place. By so doing, they must prove the falsity of the things, printed therein.

The main point is that we ourselves should be convinced in our hearts that we want our republic to be Islamic. What our tongues utter, our hearts should not deter. We should believe in our heart the thing we desire: “We want an Islamic Republic.” Human beings should campaign against every crooked current. One ought to begin the campaign with himself. He should see what crooked tendencies he has. Everybody is bound to perceive some shortcoming or other in himself or herself. It is very rare for one not to see one’s own shortcomings. Not perceiving one’s own shortcomings is a defect in itself. Man should be trained. He should be trained so that he becomes edified. One must start with himself and his family. You must begin (the

process) with yourselves and your families. All of you must begin by edifying yourselves so that you are well equipped when you go abroad. Our students should be careful to see that their conduct, deeds and utterances are in accordance with Islamic and moral principles so that in case they invite the people to Islam—which they must—their words are not at cross purposes with their actions. Your own condition should not be such that when you talk about Islam, the people make fun of you and say that so-and-so is such a type of person, and is inviting them to what things.

The proper introduction of Islam by means of one's conduct

In any case, I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God for your health and prosperity; for everybody's. It is the duty of our people to behave in such a way as to display (the greatness of) Islam to the people of foreign countries. Although some (undesirable) people have infiltrated into certain places, our conduct being at variance with Islamic norms will give our enemies the excuse to bash us and the Islamic Republic with all their might. The responsibility of this is greater for our youths overseas, our ambassadors and embassy employees, all the Islamic associations abroad, all Muslims and, likewise, the Iranians and non-Iranians living abroad, that it is for us who are in Iran. Everybody has a duty, but yours is graver and greater. May you succeed by the will of God in introducing Islam everywhere. The people that are innately good, as most people are, will accept it after becoming acquainted with it. On accepting it (Islam), they will gradually begin to practise it. And this revolution will spread abroad bit by bit. May the Almighty protect all of you, God willing. May He give you and all of us success in striving to strengthen Islam everywhere, and in being the missionaries of Islam, and the army of God the Blessed and exalted. Mat our country and all the Islamic ones attain prosperity and security, and, likewise the oppressed of the world. May you be successful and triumphant, God willing.

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

Letter

Date: 1981 / 1359 AHS / 1401 AH

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating the armed forces

Addresse: Sayyid Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr (The President of the Republic)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency President Bani Sadr:

Please convey my appreciations to the armed forces of the Islamic Republic and the esteemed commanders. The strength of faith will prevail by the will of God the Almighty.

Message

Date: January 5, 1981 [Dey 15, 1359 AHS / Safar 28, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulations on the victory of the soldiers of Islam on the battlefronts

Addressee: Mr Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr (The President of the Republic)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. President—may Almighty God assist him:

*“If ye help Allah He will help you and will make your foothold firm.”*¹
The news of the spectacular victory of the Islamic armed forces with the cooperation of all the dear warriors is a matter of appreciation and gratitude.² Please convey my greetings and appreciation to the respected commanders, the dear chiefs and the honorable soldiers and *pasdars*. I expect that with the perseverance, coordination and cooperation of all the dear fighters, the Islamic country will soon be cleansed of the profane presence of the infidels—may God disgrace them. I pray to the Almighty for the victory and well-being of all. I hope that by the will of the Exalted Lord, I will soon receive the news of final victory. I pray to the Almighty for your health and that of the dear warriors, the commanders, officers, non-commissioned officers, *pasdars*, volunteer forces, paramilitary forces, all the armed forces and the popular forces that are the backbone of our Islamic Revolution.

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

¹ A part of *surah* Muhammad 47:7 (s).

² Imam Khomeini's message in reply to the telegram of 10/15/59 sent by the president. Part of the telegram reads: Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini may his blessings endure. At 10 am today...the victorious forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran commenced their assault, completing the first stage with unique success. It is certain that with the Imam's concern about raising the nation's morale and the benevolent prayers of the people and their unstinting support, the subsequent stages will also be completed with total victory... Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr.

Speech

Date/Time: 9:30 am, January 6, 1981 [Dey 16, 1359 AHS / Safar 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need for the government to render service and inform the people of the services done

Audience: Muhammad Ali Rajai (The Prime Minister) and the cabinet members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to announce the services already performed

I pray to God the Blessed and Exalted, for the success of all the gentlemen. I hope that you will also be successful in serving this country and making its present condition better. There are some points which seem important to me and which I would like to mention to you.

Our difficulty today concerns the differences, which you witness. If you do not try to eliminate the differences, the people who are out to find some defect in your work will do so. There is no doubt that those who are roaming about in the bazaar and here and there in the streets spreading poison, will find fault with you. If you at the top try hard to eliminate these differences wisely and prudently, it will create mental tranquility, God willing, because of which the tasks can be done quickly and in a better way. About these issues that you have mentioned to me in this cramped room, it would be better if each one of you gentlemen, responsible for something or other, on completing a task, announce the fact on the radio. You must also ask the people that if any of them has some difficulty, or feels that what you say is not true, to come and inform you. They can mention it in the newspapers or they can mention in the presence of the public. If they are convinced that what was said about the electric supply, the asphaltting of roads and other things is not true and that the Islamic Republic has accomplished nothing but, as a matter of fact, has now fallen further back than was the case in the *taghuti* period, if such claims are made, the concerned people must come forward and say that we who are saying that we have accomplished some task, have not done so. If nobody comes forward with such claims, it is clear that we have done our work. The public should not listen to those people who say that the government has done nothing and cannot do anything. I am not saying that after you have announced this, there will be no other problems. But they will diminish; there will be fewer problems for the people. Even

though those who want to speak (against us) will do so, the people will not believe them anymore. This silence of yours on the tasks accomplished is unwarranted. Some of them are mentioned no doubt, but not all. Each one of you, wherever you be, whatever ministry you head, are required to tell the people about your work. The thing that should not be mentioned is one's own worship (of God). But not informing the people of the work and service you do, amounts to subversion. That is, it undermines society. But if each one of you informs the people by means of radio and television, of the things that you have accomplished, they will become aware of the facts. You must subsequently announce that those who say that you are not stating the truth about accomplishing those things should come forward and say so. If the people of every village for which you have accomplished certain things and have told them about it, believe that you have not done what you mention, should accordingly speak out. They should also minutely compare these (last) two years with the *taghuti* period of many long years.

One day Mr. Bahonar¹, of course, told me about the schools. He said that within these two years, the number of schools built is one-third of the number of whole period of that past regime. He apparently mentioned that one-third of that number have been built, which are many in comparison to that long period of the former regime. These are important matters that ought to be mentioned. The people must know. They must understand as to what the government is doing for them. When one serves society, should the society itself not know as to what has been done for it? The people in the villages will, of course, become aware (of any service being done). But the large cities, especially the provincial ones, cannot understand this fact much. The things done ought to be mentioned; and for this purpose each and every one of you should periodically come on certain days and mention in detail the things that you have done.

Putting a stop to the activities of the wrongdoers in the ministries

It is these obvious differences that in my opinion are important. They are not so deep-rooted except the ones arising from selfishness. You yourselves must resolve these differences to some extent. If there are some people, for instance, in a ministry who want to do some wrong things, you must not allow them. You must acquaint them with their duties wisely and politely. Those that are recalcitrant must be purged. But if some of them have been

¹ Aqa Muhammad Jawad Bahonar, the prime minister during ShahId (martyr) Muhammad Ali Rajal's presidency.

mistakenly purged, they ought to be reinstated in their posts so that may continue serving (the country). I hope that all the shortcomings will be eliminated, and that this war will also end soon, God willing. As I was told this morning, our forces have made significant advances. I hope these advances continue, and that calm returns to the country. But they will not let us have peace so soon. They may possibly create some trouble elsewhere. But we, you and the nation should be determined not to give up what has been gained. The thing that we have achieved is worth more to than what we lost. Although the worth of the youths we lost is very great, such losses are inevitable for a nation that wants to be free and independent. Because our people are united, they do not consider the government as being apart from them. They look upon it as their own government, and the country as their very own. For this reason, it is less likely that those who want to hurt us would be able to do so. Make the things you have done known to the people. Do not leave them in the dark. Acquaint them with the issues; tell them about the (various) matters. This will foil the efforts of those groups who do not desire the Islamic Republic to become a reality. Their words will have no effect on the people.

The unique relations between the masses and the government

At any rate, the nation we have today, is without parallel. There is hardly one like it. It should be said that I do not think that any of you is aware of a nation and a government being like this as to manage (the country's) affairs jointly. In the previous *taghuti* period, they used to obstruct matters. There was no cooperation at all because the people had seen that the government was not concerned about them. In keeping with the actual state of affairs, you must make the people understand that you have come to serve them and that the (government) offices are there to serve the people, so that the people enter them with peace of mind. I have seen the bitterness in the past, in the era of Rida Khan and again in the days of this one.¹ I was young then. I used to enter into these matters. Sometimes, in case I had to go to a police station. In those days, if one wanted to go somewhere—suppose to Azarbayjan—he had to go to a police station first and obtain a paper (of permission) there. When people had to go to a police station, they would get terrified and afraid as if they were going to a prison. This should not be the vogue in the offices that the people should become afraid on entering them. As this was the case in the past, these unfortunate villagers think that it is just the same even now.

¹ Muhammad Rida Shah.

The governmental offices should be open to the people now. They must welcome the people with open arms. The people should mention their problems to the officials. They should be able to do so (freely). The officials, too, must try to solve their problems so that the people feel that the government belongs to them and is serving them. When the nation realizes that some people are collectively serving it without any of that pomp and splendor of the past, and are living like ordinary people, with some of them leaving even more humble lives, it will not be difficult for the people who are innately good, to adore such a government in accordance with their nature. This is especially so after the events that occurred in the past. There are many people, of course, who remember the problems of the past. Now they see, after all those events which they observed in the past, that a government has come and the situation is contrary to that of the past, and that the government is rendering service in every way while trying to bring about peace of mind for the people, and to fulfill their requirements in every respect; educational, economic and all the other things. The people feel that the government is of themselves; not like it was in the past when there were people titled "al-Mulk," "ad-Dawlah" and "as-Saltanah," they see that the officials are ordinary persons like themselves. They also see on television that so-and-so minister is plain and simple like themselves. In fact, some of the children of my household remark as to the (nondescript) appearance of some minister and his suitability for the position. The mentality of the people is such that think that a minister ought to be of imposing appearance. They are not concerned about how he performs his job. Only appearances matter for them, as was the case in the past when ministers would be seen with all those trappings of wealth. Some people, therefore, think that it should be the same even now; that things should be out of the ordinary. But when the people become acquainted with these issues and the service you are rendering, when they see you and the work you are doing on television and hear about it on the radio, it is only natural that your supporters will increase in number.

Thank God that the people are supporting everybody and all the organs of government. They consider the government, the army and all (the officials) to be of them. Have you ever thought it likely that in case of a war, the whole country will rise to help? Such a mentality did not exist in those times. If anything would happen from all sides, even if the people would not do something to bring the government down, they would not cooperate with it. Now you see young and old, men and women, boys and girls, bring all they have, and say that these are for the war victims, these for the armed personnel and these things for so-and-so. These things are examples for the

understanding people to perceive; not for those that have shut their eyes (to these realities). They say that the Islamic Republic is just the same as the past regime. Have you ever seen such a thing throughout history or anywhere in the world that people with smiling faces extend cooperation to their army, their government and to their nation? Is there anything better than this Islamic Republic?

Comparing the post-revolution changes with the days of the Shah

Well, there are difficulties, yes. There are difficulties everywhere. But they should see whether the difficulties of those in the governments that staged revolutions in the past, exist in Iran; difficulties such as those existing in the Soviet Union even after a lapse of sixty years. Somebody whose son had been there told me that even now there are shortages and long queues. The Soviet Union, even at this time depends on America for its foodstuffs, for example, notwithstanding all its economic wealth. It is now two years more or less since the revolution of such magnitude took place in Iran. Has any similar thing happened elsewhere for you to say that the situation here is the same as it was in the past? Do they know of such things happening elsewhere like the service that has been done in these two years what with the government carrying out repairs and reconstruction and rendering various services with the whole country assisting, for them to say that things are just the same as in the Shah's time? Well, one should be very unjust as to say that the country is not different from what it was in the days of the Shah. You can notice the freedom that exists at present. One says whatever irrelevant things one wants. One is free to do so; such things are being said. Whoever wants to say irrelevant things does so by shouting in the streets. Such misuse of freedom exists at present. When could any of you in the Shah's time say anything against the regime? Weren't you all standing (obediently) with your hands folded on your chests? If at all, you were very good, you would sit in a corner in your houses without having anything to do with the affairs. At the most, you would mention something general, for instance, in the newspapers or in your writings. Now you are enjoying freedom and are working in a pleasant situation. What do we have better than liberty? In those days, everything of ours depended on others. But it is not so now. The countries of the world are, of course, interdependent in so far as certain requirements are concerned. But this does not mean being dependent. For instance, we require wheat. We pay money and buy wheat like one who needs a bakery (to buy bread). This is not called dependence. Dependence is that which existed in the Shah's time. Well, the Soviet Union, too, buys its wheat from America

but it is not dependent upon America. Similarly, America, too, stands in need of something or other. It makes its purchases from here and there—from Japan, for example. These are business transactions. They do not mean dependency. What we had in the time of the Shah was dependency, when the foreigners had to come and manage all our affairs, and their advisers turned our army into what it had become and did all those destructive things. These transactions involving buying and selling that people engage in, cannot be termed as dependency. Now Iran is not dependent on any quarter. This is the best gift the Islamic Republic has brought us along with freedom.

While it is not known whether there is freedom to the extent allowable, it exists nevertheless; and much of it also existed before. Therefore, all this grumbling by some people is not because they really believe that the government is nothing much, or some difficulties supposedly exist at present, or because we are (supposedly) dependent and lack freedom and so forth. It is not so. This is because of some people who are mistaken being obstructive; that is, in case they are upright persons. It is also due to the fact that you did not speak out and mention your problems. In addition, there are some malicious people who are incorrigible. These are the ones that aspired to become something, for instance. They used to think that when the country became an Islamic republic, they must also be in the picture. Should the one who neither believes in Islam nor in the Islamic Republic have a hand in running the country?! Such people are not to be seen now. They are planning. We cannot say that a person who was adamant on heading a ministry, for instance, or forming a government, has stepped aside and has even fled from the country. It cannot be said that he will grumble no more. He will do so.

As such, part of the fault lies with us in that we do not mention the things we have done and have not had time to reform these organs that exist all over the country. There are problems there. It is not difficult for certain people to infiltrate the courts, the committees and such organs. It is also possible for some people, posing as *pasdars*, to infiltrate the ranks of the Guard Corps, for instance, who are very good, people themselves, and do mischief. Or someone may have entered the courts and is indulging in corrupt practices. In the early days of Islam, some people used to enter the Islamic government and would do wrong things and mischief. Such matters should, of course, be attended to wherever there are shortcomings—of which there are, no doubt, many—they must be looked into and duly set right. It must be seen as to what the defects are that matter, for example, in the courts at times, the prisons and in other places. They must be looked into and set right. And it is hoped that they will be corrected.

In the event of this Islamic Republic becoming a reality, God willing, in its true sense and real content and this unique transformation that has occurred in Iran, enduring, the country will see no harm. This transformation has, within a short period of time, suddenly changed the nation that used to live in corruption—with its youths spending their lives in houses of pleasure and bars so much so that the youths volunteered to fight in the war and get martyred. They used to rejoice. Some would even cry for not being allowed to go and would ask me to do something for them to obtain permission. This is a miraculous transformation that has taken place. I hope that it will last. And while it lasts, no harm can be done to this country, even if an armed attack supposedly takes place; or whatever thing they (the enemies) do. Even if I consider the worst case of the country being harmed and all of us destroyed, God forbid, we would have still done our duty.

The meaning of being undaunted for the sake of Truth

We are Muslims. We are responsible before God. The country is now in our hands. You, gentlemen, are administrating it. Hence, you are responsible before God. Don't think that you can do whatever you like. No, all your actions are done in God's presence; you are responsible for them and you will be questioned. You will be questioned about what you say and do. Everything will be questioned. Let us suppose—though this is quite an unreasonable supposition—that we will be annihilated. But it will be for the sake of a truth. As such, it is not annihilation; it is eternal life. It is such a thing that, in case it supposedly happens in Iran, it will shake the world and give life to it. We have, therefore, never feared such things. We should never be afraid of war. We should not allow ourselves to be intimidated by them. Why should we fear? We are doing our duty. We are on the side of right. Why should we be afraid when we are in the right? This is the same comment made by Ali, the son of Imam Husayn (*a*), to his father after he had told him that he would be killed. He asked his father whether right was not on their side. His father said that it was whereupon Ali remarked that they had nothing to fear; they were not afraid.¹ This is the crux of the matter.

May you all be successful, God willing. Your work should be done under your own supervision as it is being watched by God. Your deeds will be registered and also the work of your department for which you are responsible. You must have upright people there. There should be no corrupt ones lest some mischief be done. In case there are such dishonest persons,

¹ Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 44, p. 367.

you should admonish them and bring them to the right path. If you see that they are incorrigible, dismiss them and find people of principle.

I hope that everything be set right and that we move forward successfully, and that all these difficulties be completely eliminated, God willing.

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, January 8, 1981 [Dey 18, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of education and training. Priority of training over education

Audience: A group of students from the Teacher's Training Centers in Shiraz, Isfahan, Arak and Yazd

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Prophets being teachers and the world, a school

I find it necessary to say a few words about being a teacher and training a teacher, to you gentlemen who have come here from various regions. The world is a school and the prophets and saints are its teachers. And God the Blessed and Exalted, is their Trainer. He has taught and trained the prophets and sent them to teach and train mankind. The high-ranking prophets were appointed for the whole of mankind, and were assigned the task of teaching and training it. Their own Teacher and Trainer is the Exalted Lord. After receiving divine instruction and training, they were given the mission of educating and training human beings. As for the Apostle of God (s), the Quran says: *He it is who hath sent among the unlettered ones a messenger of their own, to recite into them His revelations and to make them grow, and to teach them the Scripture and Wisdom, though heretofore they were indeed in error manifest*¹. The purpose of the prophetic mission is stated in this noble verse: It is the Blessed and Exalted God who has sent a messenger amidst the uneducated, and the illiterate ones and those who are lacking the divine training and education, so that he may recite God's verse to them, and by reciting God's verses and imparting the training that he himself had received in the process of his divine education, edify them and teach them the Book and wisdom. There are many points in this verse concerning the importance of training a teacher and that of education and training per se. "He it is who" has done this. It seems to be an important point in that the Quran states that "He it is who has sent" him (the Prophet) amidst the people. The (people of the) whole world are ignorant; even those that have

¹ Surah Jumua 62:2.

seemingly acquired some education, and outwardly possess knowledge of industry and are also familiar with certain issues. But all of them are ignorant where the training they receive from God through the prophets is concerned. Their confused state is manifest.

The criteria of (being) a believer and a non-believer

The only way for training and educating people is the revelation. The trainer of the world is the Lord of the worlds. The only way is that shown by the Exalted One, the only refinement is that which the people acquire through divine training given to them by the prophets, and the only knowledge is that given to mankind through the agency of the prophets. It is the knowledge that takes man to the height of his own perfection. This is what has been stated in another verse: *Allah is the Protecting Friend of those who believe. He bringeth them out of darkness into light. As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities. They bring them out of light into darkness.*¹ There are two categories of people: One category consists of believers who have received training from the prophets, because of which they are no longer in darkness. They are rid of their difficulties and their unenlightened state. They have entered into light because of the prophets' teachings. They have attained absolute perfection. This verse shows the distinguishing feature of a believer and the criteria of faith. It separates those who lay claim to faith from those who are believers. Believers are those who follow the prophets' teachings who were, in turn, trained by the divine teachings. Because of this training, such people are purged of all their shortcomings, are rid of all the things that lead them astray from the (right) path and are led from darkness into light. This is the distinguishing feature of a believer. Whoever has migrated to absolute light from darkness because of the teachings of the prophets is a believer. Those who lay claim to faith are many, while the faithful ones are few. God is not the Guardian of the infidels who are against the believers. It is *taghut*. *Taghut* leads the infidels from light into every kind of darkness. This is the criterion according to this noble verse. These are the criteria governing believers and infidels. A true believer so follows the prophets' and imbibes their teachings as be able to move from darkness and enter into light. His Guardian and Teacher is the Blessed and Exalted Lord. The prophets are the trainers acting on behalf of God. That is, they have been trained by God and have come to train all of us; all mankind. If we allow ourselves to be exposed to the training they gave, to benefit by the knowledge that they brought for mankind and take advantage of the

¹ Surah Baqarah 2: 257.

teachings they imparted, we will be on the straight path and be guided towards light.

The priority of training over education

The issue of training is more important than that of education. In the noble verse in question, God speaks the education and training first. Afterwards He says: "*Refine them*". From this verse, it can be construed that purification of self and soul is more important than teaching the Book and Wisdom. The purpose of this prelude is that the Book and Wisdom be embedded in his inner being. If man becomes refined and gets trained under the training of the prophets, (a) which they brought as a gift to mankind, then after his edification, the Book and Wisdom in their real sense will become imprinted within him and he will attain the pinnacle of perfection. Hence, the Quran mentions another verse: *The likeness of those who are entrusted of those with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books*¹ (which he does not understand, nor benefit by them). It wants to point out that knowledge in itself is of no use. Knowledge without training and refinement is useless knowledge. It is similar to an ass or a donkey carrying a load of books of whatever kind—books on monotheism, jurisprudence, anthropology or whatever—on its back. They cannot be of any use to the ass. It will not benefit by them. In the same way, the people who have a store of knowledge of all things—of all the industries, for example—and have all the specializations, but have not been trained and have not undergone refinement, will not benefit by that knowledge. In fact, it is harmful on many occasions. Many a time, the knowledge of the one who is a scholar and knows everything but has not been refined, purified nor received divine training, turns out to be the means of dragging humanity to destruction. How often had scholars brought mankind the gift of destruction. Such people are worse than the ignorant ones. And how often do the experts bring about death and destruction for human beings. They are worse than those that are illiterate. The harm they do is more. They are the same people about whom the Quran mentions as being "*like a donkey.*" they are even worse than a donkey because they harm others. You who have embarked upon training teachers and whoever dose likewise, ought to know that the profession is a divine one. The Blessed and Exalted Lord is the Trainer of teachers who are the prophets. So, it is first and foremost a divine profession. Secondly, training and refining people takes precedence over education. Our schools, our teachers' training colleges, our universities and all the institutes

¹ Surah Jumuah 62:5.

of learning, whether of the Islamic sciences or the non-Islamic ones, can render service and bring the gift of prosperity to humanity in case their curriculum includes the nurturing and edification of the students. Man's prosperity and welfare results from leavening, faith and edification: *Lo! Man is in a state of loss.*¹ Man is basically an animal called "man." He is in a state of loss save one group. It consists of those who believe in the Blessed and Exalted God, who obey His commands and have performed acts of piety, one of the indications of which being: *...and exhort one another to truth and exhort one another to endurance.*² They recommend truth and endurance (to one another). Otherwise, if one leaves this state of exclusivity that is, "*Save those who believe*" he will be in a state of loss. He will sustain loss. Try to acquire training and refinement before getting educated. Try to have training along with studies and learning. In keeping with its status, training takes priority over education, the recitation of the (Quranic) verses and teaching the Book and Wisdom. You must train teachers. That is, teachers ought to be trained because, apart from having a knowledge of all the fields of learning that people need, that humanity needs—whether needed in this world or the hereafter—apart from this and preceding this there ought to be refinement and purification of the self. Otherwise, without refinement and self-purification, your training and education will not bring and benefits, even if they do not cause harm. In fact, harm could be done. All these scholars who have various specializations but lack that (necessary) training, are responsible for all the harm man suffers and all the losses that he sustains on this planet. If we possessed refinement and received Islamic training, if God, the Blessed and Exalted, and not *taghut*, had been our Guardian, all these imperfections and all these differences that exist around our country and the world would not have been there. The reason for all differences—except one difference that concerns the struggle between right and wrong—that arise is that we have not become trained or purified. Our greatest enemy lies within us. "Your worst enemy" is your own inner being; that which exists deep in your own breast. Man is his own big enemy. If man is not trained and purified, he will drag himself to destruction and lead himself into darkness, ending up in the "great darkness" that is hell. We can get rid of all our difficulties by training ourselves. All the problems stem from our not being trained. We have not undergone divine training, nor have we placed ourselves under the banner of Islam. There is only ignorance or knowledge that is more harmful than ignorance to man. God the Blessed and Exalted has

¹ *Surah al-Asr* 103:2.

² *Surah al-Asr* 103:3.

specified through the prophets, the substance of knowledge. And the actual fact is that “knowledge is light.” Knowledge is a light that God implants in the hearts of people. The “light” bestowed on man is knowledge. But if a veil is cast on man, it is not knowledge. It is a veil. “Knowledge is the greatest veil.”

You who want to get trained or train teachers should place the priority of training over teaching at the head of all matters. These youths are intrinsically susceptible to every thing that they are exposed to. The soul of the young is a polished mirror that has not become detached from their own nature. This mirror takes in whatever there is in front of it. A teacher must invite the young ones to light, to virtue, to Islam, to moral conduct, to human values which must be worthy in the sight of the Lord. If a teacher dose all this, he will, then, take these children from darkness into light in the same way that the prophets take the people from darkness into light. It is just the same as the prophet’s profession. But if, God forbid, a teacher or teachers are not in line with the straight divine path, then the crooked teachings that are inherent in the teachers themselves will be reflected in the polished mirrors that are the youths’ souls. As a result, they will be lead astray or made to incline to East or West.

The Islamic Republic is consummated by establishing the government and divine justice

The Islamic Republic is in need of training and purification. All the classes of our nation and all the nations need training and self-purification. They need teachings received by mankind through the apostles of God. Merely claiming that our republic is Islamic is not acceptable. Our republic can only become Islamic and attain perfection when Almighty God rules in our nation and in our country. In other words, the government must be a divine one from its starting point to the end. The authorities at the helm of affairs must be divine. They ought to get rid of their base material instincts. They should not be conceited nor think about their own individuality, for they (in such a case) neither have their (selfish) selves, nor their individuality whatever there is, is from God. If man becomes divine and conceives that human beings are God’s creatures and they should be treated in a way that pleases God, and if we wake up and understand that we are from God and will return to Him; *...Lo! We are Allah’s and Lo! Unto Him we are returning...*¹ If we understand these two points about life that we from Him and that we are nothing and have nothing, and that whatever we have is from

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:156.

Him and that we will go back to Him; that we will be called to account and made to answer; if we come to realize these two points we will then behave with God's creatures in the way that pleases God and is according to His command. If these two words are displayed in all the governmental organizations, in all the Islamic bazaars, in all the roads and streets of Islamic countries and everywhere, and also in the factories and farms, schools, ministries the Consultative Majlis and councils, and if there is belief in these two words, if man perceives them and comes to believe in them; that is, if the realization enters his mind that we and everybody else are from God and that we will return unto Him, and also that all living things are from God and must be treated with divine justice and that all of us will return to the Blessed and Exalted God, and that we must behave with divine justice, then God the Blessed and Exalted will shower us with His abundant mercies, failing which He will mete out His justice to us without anybody being able to escape it.

Mankind's prosperity lies in knowledge accompanied with training

Those who think that there must be only learning in the schools, that we have nothing to do with these matters and that they should (only) produce experts, are thinking simplistically. It is naive to think that a teacher who has inclined to East or West and who has received either eastern or western training ought to be appointed as a teacher for our children whose souls are like polished mirrors and accept mirrors and accept anything to which they are exposed. It is being naive to think that we should entrust our youths to a teacher who follows the East and will give our children that kind of an outlook, or follows the West and will westernize them. We are viewing the matter naively when we think that learning and specialization are the sole criteria. Even knowledge of divinity and monotheism are not the set standards, and neither that of jurisprudence and philosophy. No scientific knowledge constitutes the criterion. Only that learning is the standard and is conducive to humanity's welfare when it incorporates training that has been inculcated into human beings by a coach, by one who has had divine training. If such a thing is implemented in all our schools, whether those teaching the Islamic sciences or other sciences, and if there be no deviation but determination, it will not take long for our youths, in whom lies the country's hope for the future, to become reformed and be brought up without leaning towards East or West. All of them will take to the straight path. It would be naive of us to think that it is enough for us to have men of learning. There must be people with knowledge and training, or, at least, they must have knowledge but should not be perverted. Supposing that we want to propagate

learning and to make use of the knowledge of the *ulama*. In that case, there should be knowledge but, at least, there should be no truck with the East and the West. It should not be that the teachers and trainers of our youth had received their training in Moscow or Washington. It would be naive of us to feel that all those who have specialized (in various fields) can behave in any way they like and that we must make use of them. We cannot make use of them if a specialist heals a visible illness of ours but causes us some inner illnesses; or causes a small malady of ours to turn into a big one. We should think of everything, This Baath Party that you observe is the source of all our country's troubles and those of the Muslim country of Iraq. It has created more difficulties for Iraq than it has for us. These are the ones that have many specialists among them. Many of them are university graduates. They, however, did not have that training nor purification. Knowledge without purification leads to having regimes like the previous one and Saddam's. If we do not refine ourselves and if there be no refinement to accompany knowledge, our country will also be pushed into such situations and we, too, will become like Saddam. Your training and a teacher's training ought to be Islamic and humane. It should be directed towards the straight path. Moscow's training and Washington's are not acceptable to us.

The necessity of treating the prisoners of war humanely

In case we become trained—thank God that our people have undergone a change which is the prelude to getting trained finally—we will then treat everybody, even those who are against us, with humanity. You see that our army and *pasdars* are behaving humanely with these captives whom they have taken. But they should show even more kindness. I recommend to all those who may be holding the captives, to treat them politely and kindly. They are your guests. They do not have any weapons now. I hereby declare that whoever from this country lays down his arms and, just like all the others, becomes part of the nation, will be safe under the protection of Islam. But we are not so naive as to allow the ones who have weapons and a war (operations) room, into our country and give them jobs, make them teachers or appoint them in the ministries. Possessing a weapon is proof of treachery and of conspiring against the country. Islam punishes the traitors and gets rid of the conspirators. We are not the ones to refuse to accept those that repent and, laying down their arms, come to us. Whoever in the Iraqi army has drawn a weapon against us lays it aside and takes refuge in our Islamic country, will be welcomed like a dear guest. Whoever among these internal groups that had done mischief, and are still doing so, lays down his weapon,

stops his mischief and rejoins the nation, will be welcomed back. But the ones that still bear weapons shall be considered as belonging to Saddam's army. These men, who are in the captivity of the Islamic country, have no weapons. They should be treated humanely and well. And this is being done. However, Iraq's propaganda machinery, that spreads lies every single day, is spreading falsehoods in this case as well. The Iraqis say that those (soldiers) who are not given good treatment and that they are subjected to this and that. But all this is lies. These captives are being treated in a humane, Islamic manner in our country. They are receiving good treatment and are being looked after. Anybody can come from anywhere in the world and see how they are being treated. There is a lot of malicious propaganda going on, of course. We, for our part, ought to refrain from doing anything that will be an excuse for false propaganda to be made.

Announcement of guiltlessness regarding unlawful acts

We, the police, the Islamic guards, the military authorities, the gendarmerie and all government departments, wherever located, are all duty-bound to address and settle problems in the Islamic way. The country must be Islamic. I hereby declare that whoever ascribes a matter to me that is contrary to Islamic precepts has lied. Whoever says that I agree to even an inch of people's land being usurped and taken away from them in contravention of Islamic principles, or a single "Shahi" (the smallest unit of Iranian currency) confiscated from them without any Islamic basis, or a trial conducted against Islamic principles, or anybody whipped against the good of Islam, is telling lies. I am free of such things. I am disgusted with such people; and so is the Almighty Lord. I pray to the Blessed and Exalted God for the health and happiness of all human beings and our own nation and country. I also request Him to make you successful in training teachers; and in training them in the right manner so that our nation attains prosperity.

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

Speech

Date: Morning, January 10, 1981 [Dey 20, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The worth of a martyr's status and position

Audience: The officials of the Martyrs' Foundation of the Islamic Republic, and a group of families of the martyrs and the disabled

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A martyr looks at the face of God

The value of a service is in line with the worth of the person for whom the service is rendered. Any service rendered by anybody in the way of God for His creatures is valuable. But values differ in accordance with the worth of those for whom service is rendered. The services rendered by all the foundations for their country with the cause of God and Islam in mind, and by the people in promoting the creed of Islam, are held to be worthy by the Blessed and Exalted Lord and will be rewarded by Him, God willing. But the value of the services rendered by the Martyrs' Foundation for the martyrs and their bereaved families, and also for those who went to sacrifice themselves in the way of Islam but lost part of their limbs and became disabled or wounded is, perhaps, greater than the value of all other services. As for the martyrs, one gets amazed to know that there are so many narrations attributed to Islamic sources and the Islamic saints on the merits of martyrdom. I will translate one of these narrations for you so that you may know what kind of people you are serving and what the worth of your Foundation is. According to a narration, the Noble Apostle (s) is reported to have said that there are seven features that mark a martyr. The first one is that all the sins that he might have committed are pardoned as soon as the first drop of his blood is shed. The important feature is the last one. According to this narration, the Prophet has stated that the martyr beholds the Visage of God¹ and this being easy for every prophet and every martyr. Perhaps the point is that all the veils that exist between us and the Exalted Lord, His Visage and his glories, end in the one veil of man himself. Man

¹ Wasail ash-Shiah (The *Jihad* book) vol. 15, p. 16, *hadith* 20, in which the seventh feature is mentioned thus: "He beholds God's Visage. This is a matter of pleasure to every prophet and martyr."

himself is a big veil that epitomizes all the veils, whether they be of darkness or light. We ourselves are a curtain standing between us and the Lord's Visage. If one gives up this veil in the way of God, if he rents it asunder and offers whatever he has—that is, his own life—he has destroyed the source of all veils. He has annihilated his self, his ego and his individuality, and has made an offering of himself. Because he has struggled for God and has defended His country and the Divine Law, placing all that he has in the tray of devotion and making an offering of them while giving his life as well, this curtain, as a result, gets pulled aside. When the martyrs offer their lives in the way of the Blessed and Exalted Lord and also give Him whatever they have, the greatest thing they have, the Exalted Lord, in return, sweeps the curtain aside and manifests Himself for them in all His resplendent glory. It was the same with the prophets who gave everything of theirs for the sake of God. They did not look at their own “self”, they looked upon themselves as being from God their own personality and prestige was immaterial to them in so far as the Exalted Lord was concerned. They, too, had removed the veil. “*And when the Lord revealed (His) glory to the mountain, He sent it crashing down.*”¹ God, the Blessed and Exalted revealed His glory on the Tur Mountain or the Jabal (hill) Aneet, and Moses himself fainted on hearing the frightening noise. The Prophets, saints and suchlike figures, in their own lifetime, dismantled the things that were like a curtain between them and the Exalted Being, thereby attaining unconsciousness and volitional death. The Blessed and Exalted God's glorious presence is revealed to them. In accordance with their mental, spiritual, mystical and innermost perceptions, they behold the glorious manifestation of the Exalted Being and observe His presence. According to this narration that has been recorded, God, the Blessed and Exalted, manifests Himself to the martyr when he attains martyrdom, just like He did in the case of the prophets, because the martyr has given his all in the way of God. This is last stage in man's ultimate perfection. In this narration mentioned in Kafi,² the categories of the prophets and martyrs have been placed on the same level in that just as the Exalted one manifests Himself to the prophets, so does He to the martyrs. The martyr, too, beholds God's Visage by removing the curtain, just as the prophets had done. This is the last stage man can possibly attain. This last station of the prophets is the gift bestowed on martyrs. They, too, will reach this final stage according to the limits of their existence.

¹ *Surah al-Araf* 7:143.

² This narration is quoted by the author of “Wasail” from Shaykh TusI's “TahdhIb”, vol. 6, p. 121, *hadIth* 3. It has not been mentioned in “Kafi.”

Serving a martyr is superior to all other services

The Martyrs' Foundation is superior to all other foundations because a martyr himself is superior to all others. Service in the Martyrs' Foundation is at the top of the services. Of course, everybody renders service and it is for God. It has merit and worth for everybody in the sight of the Lord. Serving the war-stricken people is serving the self-sacrificers. Whoever serves the war victims now in Tehran or away from the country is serving the devotees. But service to the martyrs has more worth than all the other services. A disabled person who has risked his life but has not succeeded in attaining martyrdom has also made his own sacrifice. You who serve the martyrs and your foundation which is the Martyrs' Foundation, should appreciate it and the service it is doing. The distinction attributed to a martyr does not apply in the case of others. The martyrs have been connected to the prophets. Serving them is serving the Noble Messenger and the prophets. You should know that you are rendering service for the sake of the martyrs. This foundation of yours is the Martyrs' Foundation. A martyr is superior to everybody else. Martyrdom, likewise, is superior to everything. There is another narration which says that there is a good above every good, ending in (the greatest good of) being killed in the way of God; being martyred for His sake. There is no other good above martyrdom. The point underlying this narration is clear because there cannot be anything above this beneficence and goodness in that one has offered his everything in the way of the Lord and has also given his life which is his dearest possession in this world. You render service to the people and those who are connected to the martyrs. The martyrs have affection for them. They too are martyrs now. According to such narrations, your service is the most valuable kind of service imaginable.

Recommendation to the nation to serve the martyrs' families

I hope that our nation and every individual throughout the length and breadth of the land, serve this country and the Islamic Republic. Their service is their holy war in the way of the Lord. I hope that everybody will join the holy warriors in the way of God, because they, too, are struggling for His sake. That old woman in the remotest town in the country is serving the holy warriors. That old man in the most distant town is serving the martyrs, their survivors and the holy warriors. I hope that God will give them the same reward that he gives the holy warriors.

The main thing is that you must serve sincerely and truly. Do not think that you are doing them a favor by serving them. Seek their favor, serve

them, and respect them. They are the martyrs' families. They are the disabled persons and their families. Their worth is so great that we must be their servants as they also struggle for God. Every action of yours and every service you render them is acceptable to God. We must go under their obligation most happily. We must serve them. We must be careful not to utter a harsh word to the martyrs' families or to these disabled persons and their families. Bear in mind that what you do must be sincerely done, and done for the sake of God; and for him who has devoted himself to God and has offered his life for His sake. By serving him you are serving God. Just as we seek God Almighty's favor and worship Him, and just as we are under His obligation and owe Him a debt of gratitude and are guided by Him, and just as we are obligated to Him but He is not obligated to us, so also is our service a service to the Blessed and Exalted Lord, to the holy warriors and the martyrs in His cause. We must render service with all our hearts. We should never think that we have done something. The martyrs have given their lives. You are using the strength you have in serving them. I hope that when you start serving for the sake of God, the Blessed and Exalted One will bestow upon you the same reward that He gives the holy warriors.

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

Speech

Date: January 12, 1981 [Dey 22, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Rida Khan's colonialist mission of crushing the clergy and the tribes; the plot to disband the army

Audience: Various classes of people, the martyrs' families of Rudsar, Kashan and Tabriz, members of the educational staff of, Jihad Sazandegi, (Reconstruction Jihad), Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Crushing the tribes in order to plunder (the country)

These photos of our martyrs and the energetic youths of our nation that I see in your hands are a matter of pride to us but also the cause of sorrow and regret. I request the Almighty to have mercy on their souls, to bring the disabled ones back to health and to give you and the bereaved families of the martyrs health, prosperity and patience. We and the whole nation have experienced these bereavements that have overtaken you. They are the nation's children and our brothers.

What I wish to say and bring to your notice is that from the time Rida Khan came to power in Iran until now when your Islamic nation's movement has fructified the big powers that had installed him in Iran, had been taking stock of the situation based on worldly and materialistic considerations. They had not reckoned with other issues. That is, they were not able to focus on other things and take them into account. In the days of Rida Khan, many efforts were made for them to make their way into these countries, particularly Iran, and to dominate them. Many were the means they had to embark on wholesale plunder. One of these was to crush this country's tribes and, stripping them of their tribal status, put a stop to their traditional migrations and, instead, make them reside in one region because, as they saw, these tribes were a source of support to the country. The various tribes of Iran are many. They are everywhere in Iran: in Khuzistan, Kurdistan, Kermanshah, Fars, Sistan and Baluchistan and Azarbayjan. They constituted a backing for Iran. Hence, the big powers attempted to crush the tribes and almost did so through Rida Khan. We now understand what role the tribes have in Iran. Some of them are fighting bravely in the war. These tribes, such as the Bakhtiyaris, the Qashqais of Fars and the like are all faithful to Islam.

They volunteer to go to the war fronts. But it is hoped that there will be no need for all the tribes to go to the fronts. Now we understand that the big powers were aware of the strength of the tribes as they had made a thorough study in this regard. They had been defeated by the Tangestanis.¹ Hence; they were after an opportunity to annihilate the tribes completely. This was a plot drawn up by them at that time. Likewise, crushing clergy, too, was part of the plot. They had suffered long at the hands of the clergy. England, particularly, had come to grief over the Tobacco Agreement.² Therefore, one of their plots was to deprive the nation of this power by crushing it; by separating the clergy from the people and the people from the clergy. One of the other measures adopted in the days of Rida Khan was to ban the groups that take out processions in the months Muharram and Safar, from doing so. This was also a force to reckon with that they had banned at that time. Such examples are many. When his son's³ turn came, he who was similarly a traitor surpassed his father in this regard. Everybody is aware of the things he did—I need not go into details—until the revolution took place.

The enemy attacks those institutions more that are of greater benefit to the nation

When the revolution took place, you saw that the army commanders, who were corrupt, either fled the country or were captured. The army itself remained faithful to Islam and the country as, basically, it is so. Ever since, it has been said that the army should not exist as it is the army of *taghut*. Following this allegation, one can hear such things even today. In this war, the army has shown the extent of its loyalty and power. Seeing that the army had taken the nation into account and joined it, they began to look upon the army as a thorn in their side. Because of the elements that were at their back and call that were in league with them, they had been saying ever since the revolution occurred that the security forces and the military are all *taghuti*. They said that the army, the police and the gendarmerie must be disbanded

¹ The TangestanI episode concerning the struggle of the people of Tangestan, led by Ra'Is Ali DelwarI, against the Brithish colonialists. Though a great number of the brave people of the Tangestan region were martyred in this struggle, the British, on becoming aware of the resistance of the local people, subsequently lessened their unjustified demands.

² A reference to the shameful agreement between NasiruddIn Shah Qajar and the British Company Regis. By this agreement, monopoly rights over tobacco were given to England for a period of fifty year against a paltry sum of money as a bribe. This agreement was, however, rescinded by the "*fatwa*" (decree) issued by the late MIRza-ye ShIraZI.

³ Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

and formed again from the beginning. This was a plot. Its purpose became clear to us. Now we know as to what they used to be afraid of and what their intention was. Today, the army, the police and the gendarmerie have the most important role. Now that we are at war with the heretic Baathist forces, they want us not to have anything while the enemy should have everything. More than all this was the issue of the *pasdars*. All their efforts were directed at getting the *pasdars* disbanded, saying that they were not necessary at all and that the other forces were sufficient. They wanted them out of the picture. We saw the role the *pasdars* have played in this war. Thank God that, today, the *pasdars*, the police, the gendarmerie, the army, the tribes and all the volunteers and the popular forces are together bludgeoning the forces of falsehood and will continue doing so. Such were the plots that they had hatched. They are doing such things even now. You must not be oblivious to the things they disseminate. You should bear in mind that the groups which were subjected to greater assaults, have been and are being attacked more by these perverted people as they are useful to the nation and detrimental to the enemy. If you see them attack the guards more, it means that they fear them more. If you see that they want to crush the army or separate it from the people, it means that they are afraid of it as well and so on. If you see that they want to oust the clergy from the scene, you should understand that they fear the clergy, and also feared them in the past.

The enemy being oblivious to the influence of the spiritual factor in the success of the Revolution

You are our brothers. You are the honorable heirs of those who brought honor to Iran's history and filled its pages with glory. Rest assured you the disabled ones, who brought pride to Iran, that your names are registered in this world and the next (for the meritorious services that you have rendered). You have changed the course of history. Our nation changed the current of history. They had taken everything into account. They used to take everything into account except the spiritual factor. They held a crooked view of the world; they were blind to it. Both the leftists and rightists looked at spirituality, which a person beholds with the right eye, with a squint eye. They both had a distorted view of the tribes. They reckoned wrongly with the clergy, the army afterwards, the military, the security forces and the *pasdars*. But spirituality was the one thing that they had not taken into account at all. They had never thought about the people's attachment to God and Islam; the attachment that makes them take the lead in seeking martyrdom and sacrificing themselves. I get visitors daily. They come to me; they cry. They

request me to pray that they attain martyrdom. I pray for them to be prosperous and to get the reward of a martyr. The enemies had not considered this factor. Either they had ignored the history of early Islam or were unaware of it. Weapons and the implements of war did not bring victory for Islam in its early days over the two vast empires because the Muslims did not possess weapons. They had a camel. Some had horses. There were only a few horses in the whole army. They also had swords, either blunt or sharp. The other side—whether the Persian or Roman Empire—had everything. They had all the equipment and implements that were customary in those days. They possessed all the paraphernalia of war. But one thing they lacked—faith! Since they had no faith, orders would be passed in some of the battles that their army must be bound together to prevent the soldiers from running away. According to history, they would be chained together and taken to the battle front. You, my brothers, ought to know that our enemies have everything except faith. You have faith which is above all things. You have everything thank God.

I hope that just like in the early period of Islam, the power of faith and the Islamic army, with faith in itself and belief in God and the Day of Judgment, overcame those great empires that had dominated almost the entire world of the time, and had possessed all the powers, you—while being nothing in comparison with the big powers and the superpowers according to worldly standards—too will take the lead, God willing, on the spiritual plane and stop these powers from interfering in (the affairs of) your country. I hope that you will dispatch this corrupt Baathist regime, which is in its death throes, to the cemetery. You must, however, be careful in safeguarding this faith and the unity that it has brought you. We have given many martyrs and many of our youths we killed and disabled. But our people, the men and women, the young and old, have not lost their faith, thank God. They are sure that with their faith, they will overcome all the powerful countries that intend to commit aggression against us. May God give you victory. May He bless the souls of our martyrs and make our disabled ones recover quickly. May He reward our people and safeguard their unity of expression.

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

A List of Assets and Possessions

Date: January 14, 1981 [Dey 24, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 7, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Possessions of the honorable Imam Khomeini¹

Addressee: Supreme Court

Name: Ruhullah

Family: Mustafawi—known as Khomeini

Identification Card No.: 2744

Issued: Khomein

Profession: Clergyman

1. Unmovable property (with particulars):

a. One house consisting of men's quarters and private quarters in Qum, in Bagh Qalah as it is known.

b. A plot of land, a patrimony. According to Mr. Pasandideh, it is of joint ownership between me and him and the heirs of late brother (Mr. Hindi). Again, according to Mr. Pasandideh, the value of my share of the rent is four thousand rials per annum which is not being paid.²

2. Movable assets including cash bank cash balance or bank deposit shares and other unmovable assets with their approximate values:

a. There is a little money in Tehran which has been either gifted or given to me in fulfillment of vows.

B. I have no furniture. There are a few household things in Qum and Tehran that belong to my wife. There are two carpets in the house which have been given to me to be counted as "*khums*" in case I wish to do so. As such they do not belong to me, nor to my heirs. They should be given to the poor

¹ Imam Khomeini declared his assets and possessions as per clause 142 of the Constitution. Apart from showing his plain and simple way of living devoid of formalities, the declaration of assets is an indication of his abiding by the provisions of Constitution, Article 142 of which reads as follows: "The assets of the Leader or the members of the Leadership Council, the president, prime minister, ministers and their wives and children, will be checked, before and after their term in office by the country's Supreme Court lest there has been any unlawful increase in assets.

² As per the decree dated 12/26/1362 AHS, Imam Khomeini donated his share of patrimony in Khomein to the poor and needy ones there.

Sayyids. There are a few books remaining from the ones that were looted in the days of the deposed Shah. I don't know as to how many there are. Besides, there are a few books presented to me by their authors during the time of my stay in Tehran. I don't know their approximate price. But they are not so many. The furniture now in the house in Tehran I am living in, belongs to the landlord of the house, Ahmad knows about it.

3. All the sums of money in the banks or in the house or with persons which Mr. Pasandideh is aware of, are religious in character, except the small amount already referred to. They are not mine, and nor do my heir have any right to them. I have specified in my will as to what has to be done about them.

Dey 24, 1359 AHS, Rabi al-Awwal
7, 1401 AH
Ruhullah al-Musawi

Speech

Date: January 15, 1981 [Day 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The bazaar's role in supporting Islam; Islamic tenets must be observed in the bazaar

Occasion: The martyrdom of Imam Hasan Askari (a)

Audience: The guilds and merchants of Tehran; a group of youths from Khuzistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of the bazaar in supporting Islam

The country's bazaars, the Tehran Bazaar in particular, have been a source of support to Islam in the course of history. It will continue to be so, God willing. Some of the elderly people might remember even if you don't, that in the past, most probably in the regime of Rida Shah, they had come to the conclusion that the institution of the bazaar of Tehran must not exist in Iran. They were afraid of these covered complexes. They were afraid of these walled, covered complexes where the believers, the pious and the committed youths would collect. They were afraid of the mosque, the place where these bazaaris would gather, and of the bazaar itself, the place where the people used to assemble. The bazaar has always championed Islamic causes. It has been a strong and sturdy pillar of support where the advancement of Islam and Islamic economy is concerned. And it is the same even at present. In the past, because the governments under the previous regime and the past regime itself was not with the people and the people not with it, perhaps Muhammad Rida did not have the courage to visit the bazaar even once. But now it is not like that because the government and the bazaar, the president and the bazaaris are brothers. They are from the bosom of the people. It is not that they, in their own words, are high ranking but, in reality, low enough for the people not to accept them. Whatever difficulty arose for Islam and the distinguished Islamic spiritual leaders, it provided sufficient grounds for half the bazaar to be shut over the matter until the difficulty was resolved. The bazaar is a great support to Islam. The bazaar merchants should very meticulously maintain this support.

In all the classes of people there are some who are against the general interests of the Muslims and whose activities are directed towards filling their own pockets. In the bazaar, too, there are some godless, perverted

individuals who at such a time when our country is involved in a war, and the old men and women of the villages are contributing all they have to the cause of Islam and that of the war, are obstructing the work of the government and the war effort. It is a matter of regret that while millions of people in the towns, cities, districts, and villages are worried about the war and are supporting the war, the war victims, the army, and the *pasdars*, a few people are to be found in various places and in the bazaar itself who are confronting this great multitude of people and are opposing Islam and the Islamic country. You must try; the bazaar merchants should see to it that such people do not accuse the bazaar or soil its reputation. The bazaar of Iran enjoys a good reputation. It has always had been a support to the country the nation and Islam. In every difficult situation, the bazaar has been instrumental in solving the problems. It has always been a part of the nation. It is the same nation and they are the same people who gather in the bazaars and are engaged in the economic activities of the country and in performing good deeds. You should exercise care in not allowing a small group to incriminate the bazaar or attribute any statement to it because they have lost their interests; that is, their illegitimate interests, or fear losing them. If at any time they (the opponents) publish something and attribute it to the bazaar, the merchants should protest. They must tell them to mention their own names in their announcements. We should be very vigilant about such matters nowadays. If the people of the bazaar follow the Islamic path—which they are doing, thank God—they will keep the country from harm. This is the bazaar that supports the army, and has been supporting the country and the government in these (troubled) times. If there be any discord in the bazaar, and if the sowers of dissension are allowed to engage in their activities, they will, God forbid, destroy this sturdy pillar supporting Islam. You ought to be vigilant. You are aware that all the problems that have existed since the time of Mirza-ye Shirazi¹ up to now, used to be solved in the bazaars. If one of the *ulama* of Tehran wanted to leave Tehran because of the bad behavior of the governments of the Qajar period, the bazaar used to be closed down which would make them repent, and by beseeching that clergyman, they would keep him from going. It is the bazaar that must pay attention. It is the various types of merchants that should pay attention and fill the mosques with their own numbers and so make them thrive. In the countries of the Sunni sect, as I

¹ The late Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Hasan Shirazi, the Shah religious reference authority during the era of Nasir ad-Din Shah, who, by issuing his historic decree, caused the famous Tobacco Agreement to be abrogated. He passed away in the year 1312 AH.

have seen in the Hijaz, when the call to the noon prayer is given, the shops are either shut or remain open with the police guarding them. The merchants go to either the MA¹sjid al-Haram or the Prophet's Mosque to pray.

The bazaar must be the absolute manifestation of Islam and justice. It should avoid the things that are contrary to Islamic precepts, while taking to those that are in accordance with them. The bazaar must be cleansed of the practice of usury. In case there be individuals among the bazaaris, who, God forbid, practice usury, the bazaaris themselves must advise them. Let not this disease spread and devastate our country. Taking interest will destroy the bazaars and ruin the people. God forbid, that such a great sin be prevalent in the bazaar which God has placed above all sins, even above adultery,¹ and amounts to warring with Him.² Let there be no such thing in the bazaar. It is not fair that there be overcharging in the bazaar. At a time when the people of Iran, the women and children of Iranians, are foregoing their own benefits for the sake of the war-stricken people, and are donating whatever they have to them, there should be nobody in the bazaars who overcharges the people and thereby inconveniences and paralyzes them. If, God forbid, our actions lead to a setback for Islam, we will be held responsible to a very great extent by the Blessed and Exalted Lord.

Issues concerning the army, the courts, the police, the *pasdars* and so on that could undermine them should not be raised in the bazaar, particularly in the case of the (personnel of the) army, the guards corps and the gendarmerie that are now fighting in the war on the front line and are offering their lives and getting killed. Issues should not be raised in the bazaar or other places that could undermine their morale. It should be borne in mind that the laypersons are not conversant with the art of war. It is the army that knows it; a top-class one only and not every army. They advance one day and retreat on another. Such issues should not be raised in the Majlis or the bazaar. In other places, too, they should not be mentioned in speeches and questions raised as to why such-and-such thing happened. You are not acquainted with the methods of warfare. They call for advancing one day and retreating another day. These matters should be left to the experts to carry out. Those who cannot understand these things and are sitting in their houses should not come among the people and raise such questions repeatedly. These are topics that should be avoided at the present time. Regarding this war in which we

¹ Furu-e Kafi, vol. 5, p. 144, *hadith* 1.

² A reference to *surah* al-Baqarah 2:279. "And if ye do not, then be warned of war (against you) from Allah and His messenger. And if ye repent, then ye have your principal (without interest). Wrong not, and ye shall not be wronged."

are embroiled, I would advise everybody not to express opinions by saying, "In my view, it is like this." Whatever be your views, you must not air them. You must not say anything that causes the army chiefs, the president and the government to feel uneasy, or say things without knowing what you are saying. You think that you are doing a service, but actually it is not so. You must pay heed to all these matters. Whoever goes to the front should not, on his return, shout about the situation there. You and I cannot determine as to what should be done on the front. Only the experts can say what ought to be done, how the position on the front should be maintained and the tactics of war put into effect. We will all be held responsible if, God forbid, any slackness or despondency emerges on the front because of our words and actions.

The bazaar must cater wholeheartedly to the front and provide back-up support. The Majlis must provide behind-the-scene support and strengthen the front. The orators, the writers, the newspaper columnists, the print media and the radio and television must all be in quest of victory. They should not just sit around and find fault with our security forces and undermine them. I would like to give the good news to the military and security forces that are now fighting devotedly in the border areas, and also to all the categories of the people, whether the tribes, the ordinary civilians, the army and the other armed forces such as the police, the *pasdars* and all the rest, that Iran is right behind them. This land of Iran stands behind them. They should pay no heed to certain things that are said sometimes. It is possible that some of these people utter such things out of malice. But perhaps most of them bear no grudge. They have not considered the issues. Our forces, fighting devotedly in the border areas at present, must rely on God. They must know that there is no army in the whole world that has the nation's approval to this extent. The Iraqis are now totally opposed to their army whereas our people are absolutely in accord with our army and support it. All the Muslim bazaars support it. The masses support it. If there are some people that are the remnants of the past regime, the dregs of that corrupt system, or some that are the devoted servants of the superpowers and are causing disturbances and despondency, they are not of the nation. Those that constitute the nation are the Muslim bazaaris. Those that constitute this nation are the ones in the fields and factories; the ones who are working for the people. They are in line with you. Do not feel dejected if somebody says something. By relying on God, concentrate on your work with all your power in the way that your plans necessitate, and move ahead. I am hopeful that all our problems will soon be solved, that all our bazaars will turn Islamic and all of us be guided

towards Islam. May God, the Blessed and Exalted, keep you safe and healthy and make you prosperous. May He give you success in serving Islam.

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

Statements

Date: Morning, January 18, 1981[Dey 28, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Predicting Saddam's defeat

Addressee: Sad Mujbir (Secretary of the People's Representative office of the Republic of Libya in Tehran)

Saddam Husayn has imposed this war upon the Muslim nation of Iran. We do not regard as Muslims the people who deviate from the principles of Islam and the Holy Quran, and massacre the Muslims.

Iran will make Saddam face defeat. Why? Because we neither fear East nor West, and hold fast to God alone.

Speech

Date: Before noon, January 19, 1981 [Dey 29, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Misleading the Third World countries in order to exploit them; the need to be vigilant and to make efforts to get rid of our dependence on others

Audience: A group of the staff and workers of 17th Shahrivar Press, the employees of National Defense Industries, the personnel of the Air Force and Qasr-e Firuzeh warehouses, the personnel of Isfahan's Islamic Guard Corps and the Islamic Revolutionary Committee of Borazjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A plot to mislead the third world countries

Pointing out this issue and paying attention to it is, first of all, necessary. A nation that desires to be its own master and takes the reins of its country into its own hands must be vigilant first. The state of alertness is the first stage in the caravan heading towards God. This is what the wise people say.¹ Efforts had been made throughout history, particularly in recent centuries, to keep the countries of the Third World in a state of slumber and unawareness. They wanted the people of these countries to remain oblivious of their own individuality and to look upon themselves as being essentially dependent on others. This situation had existed for many long years. It had been going from bad to worse, becoming the worst possible in recent times. I have heard of a case which took place perhaps a hundred years ago. More than a hundred years ago, our shaykh, the late Ayatullah Hairi²—May God bless his soul—was reported to have said that when he was a boy in Yazd, some lamps of those days were brought there. Arrangements were made for the people who came and gathered where the lamps were to be lit up. Some ladders were placed with the lamps on top of them. It was the first time that the people had seen such lamps. The earlier ones were of a different kind. Every few minutes or every once in a while, a European who was there

¹ The person who held this opinion was Khwajah Abdullah Ansari. The text of "Manazil as-SairIn" (printed with explanations given by TalmasanI) Chap. "Awakening", p. 53.

² The late Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Abd al-Karim HairI Yazdi, one of the greatest religious reference authorities of the Shi'ahs and the founder of the Qum Theology Center (*Hawzah-ye Ilmiyyah* Qum). He was Imam KhomeinI's main teacher in "jurisprudence" and "*usul*." He passed away in 1355 AH

would go up the ladder and operate the control whereupon the lamp would become somewhat brighter. The people would invoke blessings on the Prophet and his progeny. The man would come down and, after a while, he would go up the ladder again while the crowd watched. On turning on the lamp, they would express their wonderment again. This occurred in those days when we were not even able to operate a wick. A European had to do it. They had to come from abroad and demonstrate with their hands the way of making the wick go up and down. This notion gradually gained strength among all the classes of the people. When I was living in exile in Turkey, I saw a photograph of Ataturk's¹ statue. It was facing the West with its arm raised. I was told that it symbolized that whatever we had to do should be done by the West. Ataturk was said to be a so-called enlightened person, for instance; that kind of person. Even in our own country some of the so-called intellectuals² had said that we ought to be westernized and Anglicized from head to toe in order to survive. We must realize that we are something ourselves and that the Muslims, too, are an entity possessing personality and the ability to do things by themselves. Until we do not want to do anything, we will not be able to do it, and until we do not wake up, we will not want to do anything.

We had been kept in a state of unawareness and oblivion which made us feel that we were not equal to industrial undertaking, and that our people were able to make a "lulheng"³ only. They could not make anything else. This unfortunate nation of ours had come to believe such things because of the propaganda carried out by the big, advanced countries, and also the propaganda made in Iran, by the people connected to those countries, to the effect that all our requirements had to come from abroad. We, or most of us, had become convinced that the people of the West were of a superior race. As I have heard, Hitler used to say that the Germans were a superior race. Some of our writers had written about the laborers in Germany standing by the roadside; shovel in hand, ready to do some work. Many believe that the blue-eyed people can work better and more than the people of this country in managing the affairs of a nation like ours, for instance. Such thinking had kept us backward to such an extent that we were led to believe that we were good for nothing. If our army had to be turned into a proper one, it needed

¹ Turkey's first president following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. He banned religious propaganda in his country and did not allow the clergy to be involved in political affairs. He was absolutely westernized and supported the West. He secularized Turkish society.

² Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh.

³ A variety of ewer.

foreign advisors for the purpose. They had to come from Europe or America to train it. As for industries, we did not have the right to even mention them. We being the makers of “lulhengk” had no right to talk about industries. They, in their entirety, lay in the domain of the Europeans and Americans.

The Third world must wake up from the slumber of ignorance

Unless we wake up from this slumber and acknowledge that we too are human beings, that we possess our own individuality and are counted among the big nations, that we are Muslims with a combined population of approximately one billion souls possessing all the means; unless we believe all this, we will not do anything for ourselves. If a nation sits idle with outstretched hands asking other countries to supply it with its requirements—all their (West’s) efforts were directed towards making us get all our things from abroad, and for them to take away our resources in lieu of what they would give us—and if such a nation were to live for a million years, it will find itself in the same situation in which it was initially. It will develop into a lazy nation lacking in determination. All this widespread propaganda that they have been doing should not sway you. You must rise from this slumber of more than a hundred years into which you had been lulled. The first step is to understand that we too are human beings. No countries, no regimes, no races are superior to ours. But through their propaganda they so altered our outlook that we always had our hands extended to the East or the West in order to obtain our needs. If we wake up to the fact that we, too, exist like the others, that we too are like the other human beings and our race is like the other races, then, following our awakening, we will develop the will to provide the needs of our society by ourselves and through our own efforts. To this end, the realization must dawn on us that we ourselves have to procure our life’s needs, to work for ourselves and not to approach the East, or West but to get busy with our own affairs, to learn and after learning, to do everything by ourselves and not seek to import things like rugs, blankets and guns. We must give thought to all these issues. We must wake up.

We ought to perform our own work in which case our country will soon become industrialized. The people who set up big industries are men with one head and two ears like all other men. But they awoke before we did. They left us to sleep. They woke up earlier than us. They made efforts to lead us astray either directly or indirectly through their lackeys. They wanted to make us negligent, to make us think that we were not capable of doing anything. They even made us think that we were not able to govern or to have a proper ruling system. They said that we were not able to industrialize

the country. Whatever we loudly claim (about our capabilities) will be to no avail unless we wake up from this sleep. Raising slogans is of no use. The slogan which is useful is that based on knowledge and careful thought. There are slogans, of course, that are raised at the beginning of revolutions or movements they propel them. A revolution cannot make headway in the absence of slogans. The time to act comes after its successful culmination.

We must be particular about not extending our hands always; one hand towards the East, the other towards the West. As long as these two hands of ours be stretched, we will be dependent. We do not want to be dependent. Hence we must first wake up to the fact that we, too, possess our own personality and are able to accomplish our work.

All-out efforts to cut our dependence

Before the successful culmination of this movement, this revolution, you saw that there was hardly anybody who thought it even possible to overcome the big powers. This was particularly so with regard to a nation that was dependent on others for everything. Everything that it needed had to come from abroad; it had nothing itself. This (revolution) was something that nobody believed could happen. But you saw that it happened after you had made up your minds and the people made up their minds. When the people woke up and decided that the superpowers and all those tied to them must not rule here, these same bareheaded and barefooted people of the streets and bazaars, these same people from the universities and other places rose and by means of their alertness and unity of expression, drove the enemy out of the arena though, at that time, it possessed power to the utmost extent. Had our people been what they were during these last twenty, thirty years; from twenty years ago up to now when they used to fear a policeman or be afraid of going to a police station in case they had to do so, or fear (taking) the Shah's name, if they had been the same as they used to be, they would not have been able to stage an uprising and bring about this revolution; this miraculous revolution. They were first awakened by the speeches of the orators and the writings of the writers; the committed writers. Then they made up their minds. They wanted the revolution to happen. The campaign then followed. So you can see that when a nation wants something to happen; it happens. Our people did not want the oppressive monarchy. They wanted a humane Islamic order, they demanded it, and it came about. We, of course, do not claim to have a genuine Islamic system. But we do say that the tyrannical regime that sold everything of ours to others and destroyed everything is no more in existence. The big powers have no influence over

our affairs now. This is the first step. All of us, the whole nation, everybody wherever he be must try not to be dependent on others. The farmers in the fields and elsewhere ought to understand that they should make efforts not to be dependent on others. Every dependent person is a captive. It is possible that his captivity may get prolonged. If those who are (working) in the fields perceive this point, they will make up their minds not to be dependent. They will become determined to provide the country with foodstuffs. If this note of warning is sounded in the factories that they must not be dependent, and that they ought to work for themselves, they will then try to run the factories better. The people who are experts in industrial matters will make use of their expertise. The realization that all of us ought to work for ourselves and set up industries, big and small, by ourselves, will be the starting point—subsequent to that awakening and this determination—for them to take action, to get busy, to think and put their brains to work and perform their own work by themselves.

The need for people to be hopeful

You should not expect to manufacture an aircraft or a MIG now itself. Of course, it cannot be done at present. But do not get disappointed; it can be done. You must wake up and pursue the matter of setting up advanced industries by your own means. If such a thought occurs to the people and such a resolve arises in them, they will make efforts following which their purpose will be achieved. Hopelessness is the trait of Satan's army. That is, devils create despair in man. These devils that you see have been disheartening the weak nations throughout the course of history. They are the same ones that have been instilling into the minds of the weak nations that they know nothing and can do nothing. They are the ones that, because of their links to the West, have been telling the weak nations that they must become westernized; that our army's advisors must come from the West and that experts from the West must come and commission our factories. We must sweep aside this army belonging to Satan. We have to revive hope that springs from God's army. We must have hope in ourselves. We must rely on our own determination (to do something). We must not let others decide for us. But we must all be collectively determined so that a task is performed. There should be coordination between the army and the other armed forces. They must strive to make themselves strong and run their own armed forces and their army by themselves. They can do it; you can see that they have been able to do it, and can do it. The ones in the factories, the workshops and

also those that are involved in industrial affairs should tell themselves that they will do their own work and that they can do it.

Create hope in yourselves. Our writers, our orators, should all be after this aim and that is to inject hope in our people. Don't disappoint them. Tell them that we are capable; do not say that we are not. Say that we can do our work ourselves. And the fact, too, is that we can. Determination is required. The greatest service that our writers can render is to give hope to this nation that is standing up to the East and the West and does not want to be under an eastern or western system, that it can be independent of them until the very end. Instead of finding fault with one another, instead of assailing one another, these writers and orators must instill hope and self-confidence into the people. They must create self-reliance in them. If our press and the media, our writers and orators render this service to the nation and create this self-confidence in it, we will always be victorious. It is a pity that our orators and writers and those that write articles for the newspapers or give talks on the radio and television have not been thoughtful about giving these people hope and assurance considering that they stood up and offered the blood of their youths while sacrificing everything of theirs for the sake of Islam and the country's independence.

Be sure that things can be done if you so want; that if you wake up, you will want to accomplish things. Wake up and understand the point that they mean by saying that there is no race superior to the German one; the Aryan race. The people of the West are not superior to us; they started their activities earlier. Get busy and do your work. Japan had the same problem. But on waking up, it made up its mind and became an industrialized country so much so that it is competing with America. India also woke up and although it belongs to the races that are not German or western, it was able to advance when the people so desired irrespective of the fact that it used to be said that the western countries are super countries and that they (the Indians) are not capable of accomplishing things. You too can achieve if you want to. You wanted the oppressive Pahlavi dynasty to go and it happened so. You wanted no other power to control you and your resources and so it was. There is nobody dominating you now.

The need to refrain from undermining the officials holding positions of responsibility

It ought to be your desire to manage your own country. It should be your desire to help your own government. Do not weaken the government or those that are serving the country. All these persons who are working are serving

you and the nation. Do not wish that this group prevails over that group, or that group over this one. Think of working together in managing the country, and also in awakening the people. I am on the side of all the classes of the people that are serving this country. It is, however, a matter of regret to me that the persons who want to push this country backwards have pitted the ones who are serving it against one another, with each one of them censuring the other. Instead, be firmly determined to take the country ahead. Wake this nation up. Support the judiciary, support the army. They, of course, need to be reformed. Support the high court judges so that they are able to carry out their work. Lend your support to the chiefs of the army and the other armed forces so that they may run the army and the armed forces better, thus enabling these forces to perform their duties in a better manner. Support the Majlis that is at the helm of all the affairs. You must aim at possessing a powerful legislature so that it takes the country along the right path.

I have no relationship with any of these groups. I am not related to anybody of them. But I do approve of all of them as long as they conduct themselves well in their posts. You must know that there are persons and groups amidst our masses who want those that are working for this country to fall out of the people's favor, and to separate them from the nation. When somebody approaches you and tells you something about somebody, ask him as to what proof he has in saying such a thing about the person in question. See what answer he has. If it is said that somebody in the army, or the army commander, has done something, press him to present you with the proof as to his assertion. If they find fault with the head of the judiciary, ask them for their reason in doing so. Thereupon you will understand that they have no proof and that it is just propaganda that they are doing so as to dent the prestige of the people concerned, and profit by it. Unfortunately, many of our people hardly pay attention to this matter. They believe the malicious propaganda that they spread against some of these clergymen who are engaged in serving the nation. They are defaming people whom I have known for more than twenty years. I know what personalities they are. These are the defects existing in our country. There are people serving at present in the army, the gendarmerie, the Islamic Guard Corps, the Volunteer Corps (*Basij*) and the committees. All of them are the country's servants. Some incompetent persons are to be found, of course, in every category and group. But this does not mean that we should censure the entire group for the sake of a single incompetent person. We must not accept anything without a witness or proof. Some philosophers say that if one accepts something

without proof, he has departed from his human nature.¹ They are right. Man, according to his innate nature, cannot automatically accept a thing just like that, which he hears. Those who want to discredit the personalities that are at the helm of affairs and are busy in serving the country, aim to empty it of the important and influential people. They want to bring about the situation of the past. Our nation should be vigilant. It should not accept anything without rhyme or reason. When a person says that so-and-so is like this and like that, he must be asked as to why he is saying such a thing. He must be asked the reason. Those that accept blindly are beyond the place of human nature. Proof must be presented for everything that one hears. We acknowledge the existence of God on the strength of proof; not without it. We accepted the prophets on the basis of proof; not in the absence of proof. It is on the basis of evidence that we consider as traitors those people that are treacherous. The evidence concerning the ones, who persecuted and oppressed this nation, was that which you used to see. But if a person, whoever he be—farmer, trader, merchant, office-goer—tells us that so-and-so is this or that, he must offer proof to substantiate his allegation. We must be careful lest it be said, God forbid, that (the people of) our country and this government are not competent to rule, to reform the judiciary or manage the Majlis. These are issues that have dire consequences and which go unheeded by the people. Usually, the people who make such statements either bear a grudge or have been deceived.

Islam being a trust in the hands of the nation

My sisters and brothers! Pay attention to the fact that we bear a responsibility today. Our responsibilities are great. We will be held responsible if we fail to maintain this campaign and this revolution that have reached this stage or this Islamic Republic that has come into being. If the writers who write things against one another in the newspapers contribute to the termination of the Republic, they and we will all be responsible for it. Islam is a trust in our hands. Islamic precepts are held in trust by us. We must not betray them by the nibs of our pens; and neither should we betray this trust with our tongues. We should not betray it by means of our pens and our actions. You must eschew these disputes if you want your country to be independent and stand on its own feet, if you want to be free. You must all show goodwill. You must help one another in a brotherly manner so that this country achieves its purpose.

¹ The one who said this was shaykh ar-RaIs Abu Ali bin SIna in “Al-Asfar al-Arbaah”, vol. 1, p. 364.

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

Message

Date: January 21, 1981 [Bahman 1, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: An eleven-point announcement concerning the armed forces and the affairs of war

Audience: The armed forces and the people of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At this destiny-determining point in time and in this critical situation brought about by the war imposed on the armed forces of Islam by the superpowers through their satellites, it is necessary for me to bring certain points to your notice by way of warning. It is obvious that nonconformity with them will entail the most dangerous consequences for Islam and our Islamic country. As such, offenders are liable to legal-religious prosecution.

1. It is necessary for the military and civilian forces of whatever category they be to maintain strict discipline, and refrain from acts of indiscipline. They must be heedful of the great responsibility that has been trusted to them. Anybody in breach of the desired standard of discipline will be held accountable and is liable to prosecution.

2. Obeying the commanders is one of the blessings of discipline. All the personnel of the armed forces must obey their commanders which they, thank God, do. Those who disobey, whether they be in the military or security forces, or the Islamic Guard Corps, the Volunteer Corps (*Basij*) or the popular forces, will be called to account and are liable to prosecution.

3. Unity in the command structure is one of the important, destiny-determining issues, without which attaining victory is not possible. Inattention to it will be disastrous, and those who do not comply with this requirement will be held accountable.

4. Desertion is regarded as one of the big sins in Islam. Deserters will be held accountable and liable to prosecution in this world, and subjected to great torment in the hereafter. The commanders must arrest the person or those few persons who, God forbid, desert the army—which they do not—and hand them over to the court.

5. Coordination among all the military and civilian forces is one of the important issues that build the future. If an individual or individuals obstruct

this vital matter, they ought to be identified so that they be handed over to the court.

6. Just as it is necessary to obey the commanders, and not doing so amounts to a crime, it is, likewise, necessary for them to behave in a humane and Islamic manner with the soldiers and the personnel subordinate to them so to speak. By showing them affection, they must make them hopeful, and by their own praiseworthy practices, they must turn them into more devoted soldiers.

7. All the commanders and individuals in the armed forces must exercise utmost vigilance to see that no anti-revolutionary elements infiltrate into their strongholds and the fronts. They must not be allowed to undermine our strong warriors by their false propaganda. If any such elements resort to such treacherous acts, it is everybody's duty to arrest them and hand them over to the commanders so that they hand them over to the court.

8. Those who desert the Iraqi army that has been beguiled and take refuge in Iran will be pardoned and shown affection and indulgence. They will be treated like our own brothers. Nobody has any right to treat them other than in a humane-Islamic way. It is hereby announced to all the Iraqi and non-Iraqi soldiers, officers, non-commissioned officers and high-ranking officials that they will be pardoned in case they surrender to the army of Islam. After the war ends, they can stay in Iran if they so desire, or if they want they will be returned to their country with respect. I would like to advise all those who are in the Iraqi army not to allow themselves to be deceived by the pagan Baath Party of Iraq, and not to fight their own Muslim brothers. They should be mindful to my Iraqi brothers! Before it gets too late and divine chastisement descends upon you, take refuge in Islam's lap. Islam is a religion of forgiveness, mercy and toleration.

9. In line with my Islamic and moral obligation, I would like to give fatherly advice to the groups in Iran, including the ones in Tehran, Kurdistan and also in all the other places, wherever they be, to return to the caring arms of Islam and the Muslim nation. They should lay down their arms and become reconciled with their brothers and sisters. In such a case, I assure all of them that nobody will trouble them as long as they serve their country in peace and tranquility and remain loyal to the Islamic Republic. There is nothing better than all the strata of the nation making efforts and working in a calm and peaceful atmosphere to rebuild our dear country that has been ruined by the defunct Pahlavi regime over the long period of its rule. It is a matter of regret that our brothers in the army, the guards and the other dedicated classes of the people should make sacrifices for the sake of God

and our dear Islamic country in order to drive out the enemies of Islam and the country from its soil, while the deluded groups, coming under the influence of some perverted people, create obstructions and take up arms against their Muslim brothers, thus helping the enemy directly or indirectly. I once again remind them that a day will come when they will rue their actions. On that day, which is not very far away, repentance will be of no use. Today, the door of mercy of God the Almighty is open to you. There is nothing better than for you to join the tightly-knit nation and continue with your dignified life in the refuge of Islam.

10. Once again I would like to reiterate that the army, the guard corps, the gendarmerie, the volunteer corps as well as all the military and civilian armed forces should rush the enemy in full coordination. They should eschew differences that arise from satanic inveiglement and can only benefit the satans. They must obey their commanders. By trusting in the Almighty and relying on Him, they, with unity of expression should rescue their country from the mischief of the satans. Like the soldiers of early Islam, they must continue with the war and our dear country's defense with patience and self-assurance. The Exalted Lord is their Protector and Refuge and by His will, they will emerge triumphant.

11. Once again, I most emphatically recommend that our friends, whether the government officials or the various strata of the nation, that are serving behind the fronts, refrain from activities that could possibly dispirit our dear, devoted fighters—may God be their companion - on the fronts. They should realize that if they and our dear Islamic country are harmed in any way because of our words and deeds, we will be held responsible. We will not stand exonerated in the court of divine justice, nor of the Islamic nations.

In conclusion, I offer my salutations to all of you and the sisters and brothers who bravely are leading their lives in a war environment without any fear of being killed in the way of God by the enemies of God. You are defending your dear country by tooth and nail for the pleasure of God, thereby giving hope to the warriors of Islam. You have placed everything of yours in the tray of sincerity. With the sacrifices you have repeatedly made, you have recorded and are recording, in history the scenes of courage and valor displayed in your relentless struggles. By the lessons you have given in devotion and bravery, you are teaching the world's oppressed the truth of God's promise of the meek ruling the world. I greet you who have so disgraced the superpowers and the other powers with your struggles against them. I feel humble in relation to your resistance perseverance and patience.

Khomeini, who is in the last days of his life, has pinned all his hopes on you the warriors of Iran; you people who have never been, and, God willing, will never be swayed by minor and major differences; you who rose for all you were worth against the world-devouring eastern and western powers. My dear ones; you will be victorious by the will of God. You brave and vigilant people are paragons for the nations living under foreign domination. You should know that you are face to face with many difficulties in the field that you have stepped into. There is nothing to rescue you save your own resistance. Do not give way to fear and dread on any account. Your punishing campaigns show that you do not. Unite! Your victory commensurate with your power is certain under the shadow of unity. I pray to God, the Almighty, for the victory of Islam over heresy and for the victory of the warriors of Islam. May God's peace be upon the virtuous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini