



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

SAHIFEH- YE IMAM

The Institute for Compilation and
Publication
of Imam Khomeini's Works
(International Affairs Department)

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

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AHS]**

Transliteration Symbols

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

| <i>Symbol</i> | <i>Transliteration</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|
| ء, ا | 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 |
| ط | d |
| ظ | t |
| ظ | z |
| غ | gh |
| ف | f |
| ق | q |
| ک | k |
| ل | l |
| م | m |
| ن | n |
| و | w |
| ه | h |
| ی | y |
| آه | ah |

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 |

Long Vowels

Note:

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

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

Table of Contents

| | | |
|-----------|--|----|
| 1/22/1981 | <p>Speech to the various strata of people, revolutionary guards heading for the battlefield, and school students from Tehran: Foreign conspiracies instigating deviation in the scientific-cultural centers of the country</p> <p><i>Significance of the birth of the Holy Prophet of Islam (s)</i> <i>The sway of imperialism from kindergarten to university</i> <i>National welfare depends on welfare of the centers of learning</i> <i>Aims of the foreign agents: deviation of the youth and intensification of differences</i></p> | 1 |
| 1/24/1981 | <p>Speech to the ministerial cabinet and the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis): The divine purpose of appointing messengers (a): the nurturing of human beings; the great danger of self-love; the criteria of human judgment; hope and encouragement for the nation</p> <p><i>The Prophet of Islam (s), the noblest of beings and the most perfect human being</i> <i>The nurturing of human beings—the divine purpose of appointing messengers (a)</i> <i>Self-love: the biggest danger</i> <i>Attachment to the world: The root-cause of man’s destruction</i> <i>The criteria for right judgment in man</i> <i>The role of power and determination in training the carnal self</i> <i>Duty of the officials: offering hope and optimism to the nation</i> <i>The path of the prophets (a) for social reformation</i> <i>Social reform depends upon judicious words and actions</i></p> | 6 |
| 1/24/1981 | <p>Speech to ambassadors of Muslim countries: Unity of the Muslim countries under the banner of the Qur’an</p> <p><i>The secret of the empowerment of Muslim countries</i></p> | 19 |
| 1/29/1981 | <p>Message to the general public: Message of commendation to the Armed Forces</p> | 21 |
| 1/29/1981 | <p>Speech to the families of the martyrs and the wounded personnel of the navy, the families of the martyrs, and the revolutionary guards of the Qazvin, Takistan, and Rasht committees, the Muslim Kurd volunteers, tribe members from Sistan and Baluchistan, and a group of citizens of Ashtiyan: Overall national support of the Armed Forces of the country and the necessity to ignore rumors spread by the enemy</p> <p><i>National support to the Armed Forces and their sacrifices</i> <i>Weakening the Armed Forces is equivalent to opposing Islam</i></p> | 22 |

| | | |
|-----------|---|----|
| 1/30/1981 | <i>Rumor-mongering: one of the major conspiracies of the enemy</i> Speech to religious teachers from all over the country: The importance of the teaching profession and the duties of the teachers in training students | 27 |
| | <i>The pure primordial nature in children</i> | |
| | <i>The dangers of education without ethical training</i> | |
| | <i>The importance of the job of teaching</i> | |
| | <i>The duties of teachers in the training of students</i> | |
| 2/01/1981 | Decree to Abu'l-Qasim Khazali: Appointment of a member to the Council of Guardians | 35 |
| 2/01/1981 | Letter to Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister): Attending to the maintenance of the families of those involved in the aborted Nuhid coup d'état | 36 |
| 2/04/1981 | Letter to Muhammad Husayn Lavasani (Director General on Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs): Disavowal of representation | 38 |
| 2/04/1981 | Speech to the mine workers of the steel industry, Chief of the Kerman Steel Industry (Engineer Salur), Representatives of Kerman and Zarand in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, All-Iran Directors of the Mustadafan Foundation, employees of the shipping organization, physicians serving at the southern war fronts of the country, members of the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults of Shiraz, and members of the Islamic Association of the Prime Minister's Office: The importance of orderliness; the difference between Iranian and foreign political parties | 39 |
| | <i>The importance of orderliness everywhere</i> | |
| | <i>The difference between Iranian and the foreign political parties</i> | |
| | <i>The religious duty of the nation is to avoid divisive groups</i> | |
| | <i>Role of the press</i> | |
| 2/05/1981 | Speech to the Members of the Supreme Council of Islamic Propagation; Muhammad Salamati, the Minister, the Deputy Minister, Undersecretaries, and the Directors General of the Ministry of Agriculture: The importance of publicity and the negative propaganda methods used by the West against the Islamic Republic of Iran; defending the Islamic Republic against negative propaganda | 45 |
| | <i>The importance of publicity</i> | |
| | <i>Negative propaganda methods used by the West against us</i> | |
| | <i>Defending the Islamic republic against negative propaganda</i> | |
| | <i>An honest and fitting representation of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>The revolutionary women encouraging the men</i> | |
| 2/07/1981 | Speech to the Editor-in-Chief and the members of the editorial board of the magazine, "Puyandegan-e Rah-e Zaynab" (Ittila'at-e Banuvan): Steadfastness in the pursuit of goals; putting a check on deviation | 51 |
| | <i>Steadfastness and persistence in the pursuit of goals</i> | |
| | <i>Putting a check on the influence of deviated elements</i> | |
| | <i>The need to scrutinize the contents of the articles in the press</i> | |
| 2/08/1981 | Speech to the Defense Minister and Air Force Commander Fakuri, and the representatives of the Air Force personnel: Value of the endurance of hardship; military personnel to refrain from political leanings; disregarding negative propaganda | 54 |
| | <i>Values are tested in times of hardship</i> | |
| | <i>Military personnel to refrain from political leanings</i> | |

*The Islamic government is based upon human ethics and values
False claims of the self-proclaimed supporters of the masses
and nationalism*

The undying national allegiance to Islam

| | | |
|-----------|---|----|
| 2/10/1981 | Decree to Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of Iran): Granting pardon to prisoners | 60 |
| 2/11/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation and the Muslims of the world: An analysis of the conditions of Iran and the world on the threshold of the third year of the victory of the Islamic Revolution (A Nine-Point Recommendation) | 61 |
| 2/11/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation and the families of the martyrs: Paying tribute to the martyrs and their honorable families | 68 |
| 2/11/1981 | Speech to the foreign ambassadors, diplomats, and military attaches based in Iran: Refusal to oppression and struggle against oppression <i>The essence of the teachings of Islam: Neither oppress anyone nor be oppressed by anyone</i> | 70 |
| 2/13/1981 | Speech to the graduates of the Military Academy and the personnel of the Second Department of the Islamic Republic of Iran Army: Need to preserve unity and the precious victory of the Revolution; the source and the characteristics of dictatorship <i>The plan of the superpowers to create rifts within the nation The values of 22 Bahman More difficult to sustain victory than to achieve it Relationship between a dictatorial nature and a deviated upbringing The characteristics and evils of dictatorship</i> | 74 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Muammar al-Qadhafi, Leader of Libya: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 81 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Chadli Benjadid, President of Algeria: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 82 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Ali Nasir Muhammad, Head of the Supreme Council of Yemen: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 83 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 84 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Suharto, President of Indonesia: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 85 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to John Paul II, Leader of the World Catholics: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 86 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 87 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 88 |

| | | |
|--------------------|--|-----|
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Erich Honecker, Leader of East Germany: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 89 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Yumzhagiye Tsedenbal, President of Mongolia: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 90 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Chun Doo Hwan, President of South Korea: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 91 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Gustav Husak, President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 92 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Pal Losonczy, Chairman of the Pres. Council of the People's Republic of Hungary: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 93 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Todor Zhivkov, President of Bulgaria: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 94 |
| 2/14/1981 | Message to Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of Vietnam: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2 nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution | 95 |
| 2/14/1981 | Letter to Muhammad Imami Kashani: Imam Khomeini's acceptance of the formation of the Supreme Council of Islamic Propagation | 96 |
| <i>Unspecified</i> | Note to Abdul-Ali Qarahi: Participation of the members of Imam Khomeini's office in the funeral service of Mr. Chehel Akhtarani | 98 |
| 2/14/1981 | Reply to a query of Muhammad-Kazim Sayfiyan, Mayor of Tehran: Ownership of barren lands | 99 |
| 2/15/1981 | Speech to the acting Petroleum Minister and his deputy-ministers, managing directors from the National Oil and Gas Corporation, the petrochemical industries, and other affiliated companies: Need for self-assurance and using economic sanctions to promote self-sufficiency | 100 |
| | <i>Foreign attempts to alienate the Iranian nation from its national identity</i> | |
| | <i>Economic sanctions: an opportunity for self-sufficiency</i> | |
| | <i>Self-assurance and self-reliance</i> | |
| 2/16/1981 | Speech to Members of the cooperative society affiliated to the production and development center of the Sistan and Baluchistan province; members of the Miyandoab <i>Jihad</i> for Reconstruction; the Quds Islamic Center of Tehran; personnel of the Revolutionary Guard Corps of Naqadeh, Mazandaran, East Azerbaijan, and Ahwaz; a group of the citizens of Ahwaz; and the war-stricken ladies residing in Qum: A comparison between the Islamic Republic and the monarchical regime; Condemning those who use their pens to dampen down the spirits of the nation | 104 |
| | <i>A comparison between the Shah and the President of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>A comparison between the Shah's government and the government of the Islamic Republic</i> | |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----|
| | <i>A comparison between the Shah's Parliament and the Majlis of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>A comparison between the judiciary of the Shah's regime and the judiciary of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>A comparison between radio and television of the Shah's regime and the radio and television of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>The Armed Forces of the Shah's regime and the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>The status and the dignity of the Revolutionary Guards</i> | |
| | <i>Dimensions of transformation of the nation with the Islamic Revolution</i> | |
| | <i>In criticism of writers who thwart national enthusiasm</i> | |
| 2/18/1981 | Speech to Mr. Sad Mujbir (Secretary of the Libyan People's Office), a delegation of Libyan members of parliament and other Libyan guests, and the Acting Director in charge of organizing programs for honoring the families of martyrs and the war-injured: Islamic governments and not the Islamic nations are the bane of Islam | 117 |
| 21/18/1981 | Speech to Mahdi Karrubi (Chairman of the Martyrs' Foundation) and families of martyrs of the Muslim countries: Negligence of the Muslim countries toward the problems of the world of Islam; false claims of the so-called champion of human rights | 119 |
| | <i>False supporters of Islam and the Muslims</i> | |
| | <i>The false claims of the "champions of human rights"</i> | |
| 2/23/1981 | Speech to the general public, the representatives and disseminators of religio-political thought of the police department, representatives of the Tehran police stations, and the personnel of the Tehran Police: The role and the responsibilities of the armed forces and the police; condemnation of all forms of terrorizing; the greatest human virtue; standing up for truth for the sake of truth | 123 |
| | <i>A word to the police forces</i> | |
| | <i>Unity among the Armed Forces for the security of the Islamic Republic</i> | |
| | <i>Unity of the forces will safeguard this country</i> | |
| | <i>Armed Forces should refrain from political involvement</i> | |
| | <i>Condemnation of all forms of terrorizing</i> | |
| | <i>The greatest virtue—seeking truth for the sake of truth</i> | |
| | <i>Creating rifts and pretension in the country is a major sin</i> | |
| 2/24/1981 | Letter of condolence to Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari: Condolence | 132 |
| 2/26/1981 | Speech to the members of the Islamic Associations of the Defense Ministry, representatives of the religio-political office of the army, and the representatives of the Youth Organization of the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Spiritual affinity among all the strata of the nation; sympathy toward the victims of the imposed war | 133 |
| | <i>The importance of spiritual kinship and affinity</i> | |
| | <i>A Qur'anic upbringing and the straight path</i> | |
| | <i>Unity of purpose and goal leads to victory</i> | |
| | <i>Sympathy toward the war-victims</i> | |
| | <i>Need for alignment among all the strata of the nation</i> | |
| 2/27/1981 | Letter to Husayn-Ali Muntaziri: Formation of the Managerial Council of the Qum Theological School | 139 |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 3/01/1981 | Speech to the members of the Commission for Reviewing the Iraqi-Imposed War against Iran; Ahmad Sekou Toure—President of Guinea; Dawda Jawara—President of Gambia; Ziaur Rahman—President of Bangladesh; Gen. Zia ul-Haq—President of Pakistan; Bulent Ulusu—Prime Minister of Turkey; Habib Shati—General Secretary, Organization of Islamic Conference; Yasir Arafat—PLO Chairman; and the foreign ministers of Turkey, Senegal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan: Iran’s stand in the Iraqi-imposed war and the need for an unyielding confrontation with the aggressor 141 <i>From mere lip-service to wise action and putting Islam into practice</i> <i>Iran’s plight in the Iraqi-imposed war</i> <i>Peace between Islam and kufr is meaningless</i> <i>Islam calls for the trial and punishment of the aggressor</i> |
| 3/01/1981 | Speech to the various strata of the people, employees of Shahid Muthahari School, Members of the Islamic Associations of the Girls’ Schools of Damghan and Semnan: The importance of self-purification and its priority over education 146 <i>Priority of ethical values over education</i> <i>Covetous teachers are the cause of all misery</i> |
| 3/03/1981 | Speech to the supervisory council and the editorial board of the daily, <i>Mizan</i> : Exercising restraint in journalism; the enemy’s aim in causing differences; steadfastness toward commitments 149 <i>The basis of action</i> <i>Dangers of the disease of egotism and self-centeredness</i> <i>Need for restraint in journalism</i> <i>The enemy’s aim in causing differences</i> <i>Steadfastness toward commitments</i> |
| 3/04/1981 | Speech to the members of the Commission for Reviewing the Iraqi-Imposed War against Iran, Abu’l-Hasan Bani Sadr (President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces), Mr. Fallahi (Deputy Chief, Joint Staff of the Army), Mr. Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air Force), and Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini 155 <i>Ruling over hearts</i> <i>Ruling over hearts brings invincibility</i> |
| 3/05/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation: Commemorating and paying homage to the memories of the martyrs 157 |
| 3/05/1981 | Message to the war-disabled soldiers of the Iraqi-imposed war and the Iranian nation: Honoring the war-disabled soldiers 158 |
| 3/05/1981 | Speech to the clerics from the Bureau of Propagation of the Qum and Mashhad Seminaries and soldiers of the 1974-78 service batches: Imperialist conspiracies for isolating the clergy; the great responsibility of the clerics; need for unity between the seminaries and the universities 159 <i>Involvement of the clergy in socio-political affairs</i> <i>The enemy’s conspiracy to isolate the clergy from politics</i> <i>Need to strengthen relations between the seminaries and the universities</i> <i>Duty of the clerics is to act according to religious laws</i> <i>Dangers of an Islam without the clergy</i> <i>Enemies aim upon creating dissension</i> <i>The necessity of unity among the nation, the clergy, and the</i> |

| | | |
|------------|--|-----|
| | <i>university</i> | |
| 3/07/1981 | Letter to Grand Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani: The Esfand 14 Incident at the Tehran University | 167 |
| 3/07/1981 | Letter to Ayatullah Shaykh Baha'uddin Mahallati: Wishing health for Ayatullah Shaykh Baha'uddin Mahallati | 169 |
| 3/16/1981 | Speech to women from the Farvardin 12 Institute of Qum: Conspiracies of the previous regime against women; importance of the significant role of women in society; abstaining from intensifying differences | 170 |
| | <i>Conspiracies of the previous regime against women</i> <i>Importance of the significant role of women in society</i> <i>Abstaining from intensifying differences</i> | |
| 3/16/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation and government officials: A ten-point statement on the interests of the country; the Iraqi-imposed war; resolving differences between the top officials of the country | 174 |
| 3/19/1981 | Speech to Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly) and members of the Majlis: Man's desire for Absolute Perfection and his self-centeredness | 176 |
| | <i>The role of women and the blessings of the imposed war</i> <i>Man seeks absolute perfection</i> <i>Narcissism: the source of all problems</i> <i>Aiming to serve all the various strata of society</i> | |
| 3/20/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation and government officials: Declaration of the Year of Compassion, Brotherhood, Rule of the Law and Confronting Aggressors (including 13 points of reminder to the officials and people) | 185 |
| 3/1981 | Reply to a query: Verdict on the use of the parts of unlawfully slaughtered animals and unlawful (<i>haram</i>) meat in the animal husbandry, poultry, and other industries | 191 |
| 3/1981 | Reply to a query: Verdict on the construction over usurped lands and its legal consequences (in reply to the query of Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh) | 192 |
| Circa 1981 | Letter to the students of the Spring D High School of the American State of Arkansas: Human merit is based on the level of pious self- restraint (<i>taqwa</i>) in the individual and not upon the color of his skin | 193 |
| 1981 | A hand-written invocation: An invocation for the success of the employees of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance | 194 |
| 3/21/1981 | Radio-television message to the Iranian nation, world Muslims, and the oppressed nations of the world: Hoping for unity among world Muslims; governmental endeavors for overcoming problems; rule of the law in the country | 195 |
| | <i>Defeat of the world-devourers, the auspicious day</i> <i>The year of brotherhood in faith and unity of expression</i> <i>Governmental efforts for national progress</i> <i>Year of the rule of the law</i> | |
| 3/21/1981 | Speech to the Commanders of the Ground Force, the Air Force, the Navy, the Gendarmerie, the Police Force, and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps: Importance of unity among the armed forces and the peoples; duties of the armed forces | 199 |
| | <i>Unity among the armed forces and the people: a top priority</i> <i>A comparison between the Islamic government and the Pahlavi regime</i> | |

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| | <i>Unity of the forces against internal and external mischief</i> | |
| | <i>Wiping out past grievances is the duty of the armed forces</i> | |
| 3/25/1981 | Message to Paul Losoniz (?), the Head of the Council of the Republic of Hungary: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of <i>Nuruz</i> | 205 |
| 3/25/1981 | Message to Gustav Husak (?), President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of <i>Nuruz</i> | 206 |
| 3/29/1981 | Telegram to Abd ar-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi, Imam Khomeini's representative in the Fars province and member of Jury of the Council of Guardians: Foiled assassination attempt | 207 |
| 3/31/1981 | Speech to the representatives of the school students' Islamic Associations from all over the country: The mission and the responsibilities of Islamic associations | 208 |
| | <i>Mission of the Islamic associations</i> | |
| | <i>Commitment of the associations to Islam and its laws</i> | |
| | <i>Islamic associations should serve as role models</i> | |
| | <i>The great responsibility of the Islamic associations</i> | |
| 4/01/1981 | Decree to Muhammad Rida Mahdawi Kani: Appointment of a commission to resolve differences among officials | 213 |
| 4/01/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation: A seven-point statement on the priority of sacred defense and keeping away from the differences among the authorities (referring to the differences that prevailed between Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr and his prime minister and other authorities) | 215 |
| 4/02/1981 | Speech to the families of the martyrs and the imposed-war disabled soldiers of Khuzestan: Honoring the valor and the sacrifices of the people of the Khuzestan province and the other war-stricken areas of the country | 221 |
| | <i>Honoring the sacrifices of the people of Khuzestan province and other war-stricken areas</i> | |
| | <i>Martyrs are the flag-bearers of the caravan of salvation</i> | |
| 4/05/1981 | Telegram to Grand Ayatullah Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran | 224 |
| 4/05/1981 | Speech to the various strata of people from south Tehran: Oppressed people pioneered the Revolution; in appreciation of the sacrifices of the Air Force pilots | 225 |
| | <i>The deprived and downtrodden people: the forerunners of the Revolution</i> | |
| | <i>In appreciation of the bravery of the Air Force pilots</i> | |
| | <i>The anxieties of the rich and the contentment of the poor</i> | |
| 4/07/1981 | Speech to Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air Force), Mustafa Chamran (The Imam's representative to the Supreme Council of Defense), Air Force pilots and other personnel: Bonds between the armed forces and the clergy and abiding by defined duties | 229 |
| | <i>Bonds between the armed forces and the clergy and abiding by defined duties</i> | |
| 4/08/1981 | Speech to Muhammadi Gilani, Chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts and its other authorities: The importance of judgment in Islam | 232 |
| | <i>The importance of judgment and the problems involved</i> | |

| | | |
|----------------|---|-----|
| | <i>Informing people about the problems and difficulties</i> | |
| | <i>Prison should serve as schools for criminals</i> | |
| 4/09/1981 | Speech to Ayatullah Hakim, the combatant clerics of Iraq, and the expelled Muslims of Iraq: The crimes and the tyranny of the Baathist regime of Iraq and the need for the Iraqi nation to rise up against this <i>kafir</i> (faithless) regime | 237 |
| | <i>The kafir Baathist regime: the cause of the problems of the Iraqi and Iranian nations</i> | |
| | <i>Struggle and uprising: the only means of liberating the Iraqi nation</i> | |
| | <i>The infidelity of Saddam and the Baathist party of Iraq</i> | |
| | <i>Saddam's illusory claims of power</i> | |
| 4/11/1981 | Letter to Wali Allah Fallahi (Deputy Chief, Joint Staff of the Armed Forces): Determination of the policies of the Political and Ideological Organization of the Armed Forces | 242 |
| 4/11/1981 | Decree to Ghulam-Rida Safa'i: Appointment of the head of the Political and Ideological Office of the Armed Forces | 243 |
| <i>Unknown</i> | Decree to Ghulam-Husayn Karbaschi: Appointment of the Head of the Political and Ideological Office of the Gendarmerie | 244 |
| 4/11/1981 | Speech to the employees, revolutionary guards, and the prisoners of the Evin Prison; employees of the Department of Justice and the Revolutionary Courts; inhabitants of the Maku frontiers and the Bakhtiari and Masjid Sulaymani ethnics: Need to be actively present on the scenes in order to thwart external and internal conspiracies | 245 |
| | <i>People's presence on the scenes will thwart conspiracies</i> | |
| 4/12/1981 | Decree to Ali Quddusi, the Attorney-General of the Islamic Revolution: The necessity of preventing promiscuity | 247 |
| 4/13/1981 | Speech to agriculturists and the inhabitants of Gorgan, the clerics and the inhabitants of Ali-Abad, the inhabitants of Gonbad and Turkman Sahra, and the <i>Basij</i> of Shahrda | 248 |
| | <i>Ploy of the enemies of the Revolution to spread differences and hypocrisy</i> | |
| | <i>Attaining the sublime Islamic goals through unity and peace</i> | |
| | <i>A warning to corrupt dissension-causing elements</i> | |
| | <i>The need for a peaceful environment in the universities</i> | |
| 4/14/1981 | Speech to Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air-Force) and the air-force pilots: Armed forces are the guardians and protectors of the country | 253 |
| | <i>Armed forces are the guardians and protectors of the country</i> | |
| | <i>The importance of order and discipline in the army</i> | |
| 4/15/1981 | Speech to the Majlis representative of the people of Miyaneh and a group of people from Miyaneh: Interference and conspiracies of foreign-connected groups and the need for national awareness and perseverance | 255 |
| | <i>Groups take advantage through pretension and differences</i> | |
| | <i>Need for national awareness against conspiracies</i> | |
| | <i>Following in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (a) in withstanding and eliminating difficulties</i> | |
| 4/16/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation and the armed forces: Importance of maintaining discipline and hierarchical order in the army; honoring the Islamic soldiers | 258 |

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| 4/16/1981 | Speech to the members of the Council of Guardians: Islam opposes both capitalism and communism <i>Islam agrees neither with capitalism nor with communism</i> <i>The oppression of the land overlords and feudalists toward the poor</i> <i>Laws should be formulated to protect the rights of the poor</i> | 260 |
| 4/19/1981 | Statements to clergy's assembly and the Golpaygan Islamic Propagation Office: Advising the clergy to win public satisfaction | 263 |
| 4/20/1981 | Speech to personnel of the military industry and members of the Maktab az-Zahra of the Yazd city: Self-confidence and self-reliance <i>Big powers harp upon the incompetence of the nations to exploit them</i> <i>Self-confidence is the foundation of the Iranian Revolution</i> <i>Self-confidence is the key to independence and liberation from dependence</i> | 264 |
| 4/21/1981 | Commendation: The foreword to a book entitled, "Payam-e Khun" [The Message of Blood] | 267 |
| 4/21/1981 | Speech to the pilots and personnel of the Air Force: Need to safeguard unity and prevent dissension and differences <i>Maintaining unity and solidarity in the Armed Forces</i> | 268 |
| 4/23/1981 | Speech to the Deputy Director Generals of the Ministry of Education from all over the country: Need to show forbearance in the face of post-revolutionary problems <i>Gearing up to face problems and difficulties</i> <i>The Prophet (s) and the Imams (a) are the most excellent exemplars</i> | 270 |
| 4/24/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation: The position and status of women in society | 273 |
| 4/27/1981 | Speech to members of the Islamic Association of the teachers of the Mazandaran province, helicopter and airplane service staff, Directors General of the Tehran Post, Telegraph and Telephone Office, staff-members of the Ministry of Education, some people from Larijan: A comparison between the military officials of the Islamic Republic and the <i>taghuti</i> regime <i>Two main features of the Islamic Revolution</i> <i>Popular officials of the Islamic government</i> <i>Important duty of Islamic associations in choosing individuals</i> <i>Commitment of Islamic associations toward their responsibilities</i> | 275 |
| 4/29/1981 | Message: In commemoration of Martyr Mutahhari, his services, and his works | 281 |
| 4/30/1981 | Message to the laborers, the Iranian nation, and the oppressed peoples of the world: Importance of the role of laborers in the self-sufficiency of the country; alertness against the conspiracies of foreign agents | 282 |
| 4/30/1981 | Speech to various strata of people; Mir Muhammad Sadiqi—Minister of Labor and Social Affairs; and laborers from various industries: Importance of the role of laborers and farmers in the self-reliance and independence of the country <i>Laborers and farmers are the foundations of the independence of the country</i> <i>A warning to the deceived elements and the conspirators</i> | 284 |
| 5/10/1981 | Telegram to Mahdi Bazargan: Expressing condolences | 287 |
| 5/10/1981 | Permission to Muhammad-Ali Fayyazbakhsh—Advisor to the Health Minister and Head of the Organization of Medical Welfare: Granting permission for the Imam's Share of <i>khums</i> to be used for the alleviation of the medical problems of the war-injured | |

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| | and disabled | 288 |
| 5/11/1981 | Permission to Muhammad-Ali Fayyazbakhsh—Advisor to the Health Minister and Head of the Organization of Medical Welfare: Consenting to Mr. Mahdawi Kani’s membership in the country’s Council of Medical Welfare | 289 |
| 5/11/1981 | Speech to the clerics from East and West Azerbaijan: The importance of judgment and its difficulties; a categorical stand against the MKO group | 290 |
| | <i>Need for alertness toward possible conspiracies</i> | |
| | <i>The great responsibility of judgment in the Islamic system</i> | |
| | <i>Unwarranted criticism of judicial affairs</i> | |
| | <i>Internal opponents of the Islamic system should be fair</i> | |
| | <i>A categorical response to the MKO Group</i> | |
| 5/14/1981 | Letter to Sayyid Husayn Khomeini: Advice and prohibition from involvement in political affairs | 298 |
| 5/17/1981 | Telegram to Sayyid Ibrahim Haqqshenas: Expressing concern over the ill-health of Mr. Haqqshenas | 299 |
| 5/17/1981 | Message to the participants of the Congress: Highlighting upon the greatness of the various aspects of Imam Ali’s (a) personality as well as the <i>Nahj al-Balaghah</i> | 300 |
| 5/18/1981 | Speech to Bahram Afdali—Naval Commander-in-Chief; navy personnel; members of the Political-Ideological Office of the Navy; personnel of the Revolutionary Guard Corps; and some people from Hormuzgan: Efforts for the establishment of an Islamic rule | 303 |
| | <i>The soundness of religion and soul, emphasized by all the Saints of God</i> | |
| | <i>Need for government bodies to refrain from violations of law</i> | |
| 5/21/1981 | Message to the combatants of Islam: Congratulatory message on the victory of the Islamic combatants (the message being conveyed by the president at that time) | 306 |
| 5/23/1981 | Speech to the women members of the Jihad of the Isfahan University: The role of women in the Revolution and in all areas of the country | 307 |
| | <i>The role of women in the Revolution and in all areas of the country</i> | |
| 5/25/1981 | Speech to the members of the Islamic Association and the Jihad of the Ilm va Sanat [Science and Technology] University; members of the Organization for Scientific and Industrial Research; and a group of inventors and innovators: Importance of knowledge in Islam; responsibility of the university in an Islamic society; duties of the Islamic associations of the universities | 309 |
| | <i>Great importance of knowledge and learning in Islam</i> | |
| | <i>Negative propaganda against Islam is an imperialistic plan</i> | |
| | <i>Universities should ensure independence of the country and be at the service of the nation</i> | |
| | <i>Islamic associations of universities need to stay alert</i> | |
| 5/26/1981 | Decree to Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran): Granting pardon to prisoners | 314 |
| 5/27/1981 | Speech to the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly: The importance of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis) and the responsibility of the MPs | 315 |
| | <i>Majlis should serve as an exemplar for the nation</i> | |
| | <i>Necessity of being truth-oriented in passing opinions</i> | |
| | <i>Insidiousness of corruption and destruction</i> | |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| | <i>Need for complete understanding within the Majlis</i> | |
| | <i>Importance of the Majlis and its ratification</i> | |
| | <i>Nation chooses Islam and not personalities</i> | |
| | <i>Writers advised to harness their pens</i> | |
| | <i>Islam and the clergy should be appreciated</i> | |
| | <i>Necessity of abiding by the law</i> | |
| | <i>Caprice of the soul is the source of all disputes</i> | |
| 5/30/1981 | Speech to the Sunni clerics from Kurdistan: Safeguarding unity and preventing dissension | 328 |
| | <i>The wicked Ta'if plot</i> | |
| | <i>Safeguarding unity and preventing dissension</i> | |
| 5/31/1981 | Speech to the editorial board, writers, and employees of the magazine, "Urwat al-Wuthqa" (published for school students by the Islamic Republican Party): The mission and role of the press in society | 330 |
| | <i>Press to exercise caution</i> | |
| | <i>Role of writers in rectification of social morals</i> | |
| 6/01/1981 | Speech to various strata of the people of Tabriz: <i>Bithat</i> , the purpose and outcome of the <i>bithat</i> , and our responsibility toward it | 333 |
| | <i>Purpose and outcome of the Bithat</i> | |
| | <i>Self-purification for the proper understanding of the divine book and wisdom</i> | |
| | <i>Self-purification grants freedom from the rebellious carnal self</i> | |
| | <i>Negligence toward self-purification breeds differences</i> | |
| | <i>Need and significance of self-purification among the statesmen</i> | |
| 6/02/1981 | Speech to the editorial board and the employees of the <i>Kayhan Daily</i> : The great responsibility of the writers and the role of the press in the Islamic system | 340 |
| | <i>All human beings need sermonic guidance</i> | |
| | <i>All man's actions and thoughts are in the Divine Presence</i> | |
| | <i>The great responsibility of the writers</i> | |
| | <i>Headlines could be devious</i> | |
| | <i>Need for factual criticism through the newspapers</i> | |
| 6/03/1981 | Statements to the teachers of the Qum seminary: Teaching in Qum preferable to the present position (as Leader of the Revolution) | 345 |
| 6/05/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation: Futile efforts of the groups connected to the Eastern and Western blocs against Islam and the Revolution | 346 |
| 6/06/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation and the Muslims of the world: The great responsibility of the revolutionary guards; appreciating their sacrifices and endeavors | 349 |
| 6/08/1981 | Decree to Sayyid Abdul-Majid Iravani, Sayyid Ali Hashimi Golpaygani, Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli, Haydar-Ali Jalali, and Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khurramabadi: Appointment of representatives for handling the <i>Hajj</i> affairs | 352 |
| 6/08/1981 | Speech to various strata of society; members of the Islamic associations of the Health Ministry: Significance of the service provided by doctors and nurses; law and legislation; warning to conspirators | 354 |
| | <i>Significant responsibility of doctors and the nurses</i> | |
| | <i>Respecting and abiding by the law</i> | |
| | <i>Strong warning to conspirators and mischief makers</i> | |
| 6/09/1981 | Decree to Muhammad Mahdi Muwahhidi Kermani: Appointment | |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| | of a representative to the Department of Police | 359 |
| 6/10/1981 | Decree to the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Bani Sadr's dismissal from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces | 360 |
| 6/11/1981 | Decree to Wali Allah Fallahi (Deputy Chief of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces): Appointment of the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces | 361 |
| 6/12/1981 | Message to the Iranian nation: Need for aid for the earthquake victims of the Kerman province | 362 |
| 6/12/1981 | Decree to Muhammad Saduqi: Dispatching a commission to the Kerman province | 364 |
| 6/13/1981 | Decree to Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of Iran): Granting pardon to prisoners | 365 |
| 6/13/1981 | Speech to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Cultural Revolution and the Supreme Council of the <i>Jihad</i> of the Universities of Tehran and other cities: Importance of the role of the university in the independence or lack of independence of a country | 366 |
| | <i>Importance of the role of the university in the country</i> | |
| | <i>Importance and need for a cultural revolution in the universities</i> | |
| | <i>Sinister goals and aims of those who oppose the Cultural Revolution</i> | |
| | <i>Need for awareness and wakefulness among the students</i> | |
| | <i>Independence of the country depends upon the independence of its cultural centers</i> | |
| 6/14/1981 | Speech to Sayyid Ali Khamene'i (The Imam's representative in the Supreme Council of Defense); Wali Allah Fallahi (Chief, General Staff of the Armed Forces); Qasim-Ali Zahirmezhad (Commander of the Army); Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air-Force); Bahram Afdali (Naval Commander); and other military commanders throughout the country: Deviant trends through the course of the Revolution; advising the army to refrain from involvement in political affairs | 372 |
| | <i>Army regains honor and independence through the Islamic Revolution</i> | |
| | <i>Deviated elements gullible toward the West</i> | |
| | <i>Alertness on the presence of deviation</i> | |
| | <i>The Armed Forces prohibited from entering into politics</i> | |
| | <i>Conspiracies of groups for disbanding the army</i> | |
| | <i>Advice to strengthen bonds between the army and the nation</i> | |
| 6/15/1981 | Speech to the various strata of people, clerics from the Mazandaran province, some Sunni clerics, a group of people from Mashhad, and employees of the intercity bus services: Strong warning to the opponents of the Retaliation [<i>qisas</i>] Bill; declaring those who oppose the necessary laws of Islam as apostates | 382 |
| | <i>Hypocritical attitude of the groups</i> | |
| | <i>The National Front's invitation to rebel against the Qur'an</i> | |
| | <i>Bani Sadr dishonors agreement</i> | |
| | <i>Advising the "Freedom Movement" to distance itself from antagonists</i> | |
| | <i>Calling God's decree "inhuman" will establish kufr</i> | |
| | <i>Raja'i more wise than knowledgeable</i> | |
| | <i>Apostasy of the "National Front"</i> | |

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| | <i>The Islamic university to serve the people</i> | |
| 6/16/1981 | Decree to Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of Iran): Granting pardon to prisoners | 396 |
| 6/17/1981 | Message to Muammar al-Qaddafi, Leader of Libya: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 397 |
| 6/17/1981 | Message to Chadli Benjadid, President of Algeria: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 398 |
| 6/17/1981 | Message to Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 399 |
| 6/17/1981 | Message to Chun Doo Hwan, President of South Korea: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 400 |
| 6/17/1981 | Message to Yumzhagiye Tsedenbal, President of Mongolia: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 401 |
| 6/18/1981 | Message to the Muslim nation of Iran: Felicitations on Shaban 15; warning over the joint conspiracy of the anti-Revolutionary groups | 402 |
| 1981 | Message to the families of the martyrs and the Iranian nation: Commending the martyrs and their noble families | 406 |
| 6/22/1981 | Message to the Iranian and Lebanese nations and the family of Martyr Chamran | 407 |
| 6/22/1981 | Decree to the Iranian nation, the Speaker, and members of the Majlis: Dismissal of Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr from presidency | 409 |
| 6/22/1981 | Message to Suharto, President of Indonesia: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 411 |
| 6/22/1981 | Speech to the various strata of the public, personnel of the Base IV of the Air Force, members of the <i>Basij</i> of Khomeinshahr, members of the Qum Dissemination Office, some people from Damghan, and some teachers from Masjid Sulayman: Following the dismissal of Bani Sadr; warning and advice to those deceived by the deviant groups; cautioning the group, " <i>Nahdat-e Azadi</i> " (Freedom Movement) | 412 |
| | <i>Consolidated national presence on the scenes</i> | |
| | <i>Advise to youth deceived by certain political groups</i> | |
| | <i>The supporters of America exposed</i> | |
| | <i>Advising the "Freedom Movement" to dissociate itself from the conspirators</i> | |
| | <i>Chamran ensured honor in this world</i> | |
| | <i>Suggestion and advice to Bani Sadr</i> | |
| 6/23/1981 | Message to Todor Zhivkov, President of Bulgaria: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province | 422 |
| 6/23/1981 | Speech to Karrubi (The Imam's representative and Head of the Martyr's Foundation), the family of Martyr Ali Mazandarani, and the editorial board and the employees of the monthly, " <i>Shahid</i> ": Freedom from cultural dependence and the impact of the press on the culture of a nation | 423 |
| | <i>Overall national transformation with the Iranian Revolution</i> | |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| | <i>People should prepare themselves to thwart conspiracies</i> | |
| | <i>The ruffians dread the spread of the Islamic Revolution</i> | |
| 6/27/1981 | Speech to the combatants leaving for the warfronts: Appreciating their sacrifices of the Muslim combatants | 427 |
| | <i>The importance and value of sacrificing for the cause of Islam</i> | |
| | <i>National support to the Armed Forces</i> | |
| 6/28/1981 | Message to Sayyid Ali Khamene'i (The Imam's Representative in the Supreme Defense Council and the leader of the Friday congregational prayers in Tehran) | 429 |
| 6/28/1981 | Speech to the clerics from Pakistan and Mufti Jafar Husayn: Aims of the big powers in creating dissension and disunity among the Muslims | 431 |
| | <i>Enemy fears unity among the seminaries and universities</i> | |
| | <i>Pakistani clergy advised to strive toward unity</i> | |
| | <i>Conspiracy of the enemies to destroy the Qur'an</i> | |
| 6/29/1981 | Telegram to Husayn-Ali Muntaziri: Acknowledging Martyr Muhammad Muntaziri's efforts for Islam | 435 |
| 6/29/1981 | Decree to Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili: Appointment of the Chief Justice of Iran | 437 |
| 6/29/1981 | Decree to Muhammad-Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi: Appointment of the Attorney-General of Iran | 438 |
| 6/29/1981 | Decree to Hadi Barikbin: Appointment of the Friday congregational prayer leader of Qazvin | 439 |
| 6/29/1981 | Speech to the judges of the Supreme Court and the heads and advisors of the various branches of the department of justice: The Tir 7 catastrophe and the persecution of Martyr Beheshti | 440 |
| | <i>Beheshti lived a life of persecution in this country</i> | |
| | <i>Introducing Mr. Musawi Ardebili as the head of the Judiciary</i> | |
| | <i>The important responsibility of judgment</i> | |
| 6/29/1981 | Speech to the various sections of people and the members of the central board of "Jihad for Reconstruction": Appreciating Martyr Beheshti's personality; struggle and <i>jihad</i> in Islam; the shameful acts of the hypocrites | 443 |
| | <i>The persecution of Martyr Beheshti</i> | |
| | <i>The path of struggle and the path of compromise existed throughout history</i> | |
| | <i>The Shiah school: The school of confrontation and sacrifice</i> | |
| | <i>The foolish acts of the MKO</i> | |
| | <i>Advising the masses to remain alert</i> | |

Speech

Date: January 22, 1981 [Bahman 2, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 15, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Foreign conspiracies instigating deviation in the scientific-cultural centers of the country

Audience: Various strata of people, revolutionary guards heading for the battlefield, and school students from Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Significance of the birth of the Holy Prophet of Islam (s)¹

We are approaching a blessed day and an auspicious *Id* on which the greatest personality of the universe came into this world for the salvation of mankind and to bring about the most supreme transformation ever as well as the auspicious birthday of his grandson Imam as-Sadiq² (*a*)³ who furthered the cause of religion and presented true Islam to mankind. (They brought about) transformation from various kinds of polytheism, atheism, fire-worshipping, and all sorts of deviation to stability, monotheism, and worship of the Supreme God; right in the heart of where idols and idol-worshipping had replaced monotheism and the rule of God and where fire-worshipping had replaced the worship of the Almighty God.

It is an auspicious day that we are approaching and is a day which heralds man to the call of resistance and toward guidance unto the Straight Path for mankind. And the followers of that great one [the Prophet (s)] are

¹ The abbreviation, “s”, stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *sallallahu alayhi wa alihi wa sallam* [may Gods salutation and peace be upon him and his progeny], which is used after the name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (s).

² Imam Jafar as-Sadiq: Jafar ibn Muhammad (*a*) entitled, *as-Sadiq* [The Truthful],” is the sixth Imam from the Prophets Progeny (83-148 AH). Many of the Sunni and Shiah *ulama* and scholars attended his teaching classes and seminars. Narrators of tradition have quoted the number of Imam as-Sadiq’s students as four thousand. The socio-economic conditions of his time necessitated greatest efforts to be made by His Holiness in the areas of expanding authentic and original Islamic teachings and in the training and education of faithful students. For this reason the books of tradition and other books quote and cite more traditions from Imam Jafar as-Sadiq than from any other infallible Imams. See Shaykh Mohammed al-Husayn al-Muzaffar, *Imam Al-Sadiq*, trans. Jasim al-Rasheed (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1998).

³ The abbreviation, “a” stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *alayhis-salam, alayhimus-salam, or alayhas-salam* [may peace be upon him/them/her], which is used after the names of the prophets, angels, Imams from the Prophets progeny, and saints (*a*).

those who follow the same path and tread in the same footprints and first begin with themselves and then go on to others. You young students and all you dear ones who have come here from all corners are the hope of this nation and are expected to complete this mission that has been placed before you. And to continue this movement for which countless sacrifices have been made. This is the Straight Path that the prophets of God (*a*) have placed before mankind. This is the path that the gracious Prophet of Allah (*s*), the last of the prophets, and the most noble of them all has placed before mankind and he has invited them to this Straight Path and has guided them to the path of humanity and toward freedom from all kinds of disbelief and atheism and freedom from all forms of darkness to the Absolute Light. You young ones should pursue the same path in order to be the followers of the Noble Prophet (*s*) as well as the worthy followers of Imam aS-Sadiq's (*a*) school of thought.

The sway of imperialism from kindergarten to university

My dear ones! Those who have gone astray and those who want this religion to fail in its mission and those who have faced humiliation at the hands of the school of Islam and those who see the religion of Islam as being against their personal interests as well as the interests of their lords and masters are first aiming to bring about deviation within the schools in which our children, our youth, as well as our adolescents are seeking to gain perfection. They are lurking for the opportunity to bring about deviation in schools which are the fountainheads of all progress and to lead astray our adolescent youth who should be carrying this country toward its optimum growth and who should rescue it from the clutches of strangers. And that is why you can see that the primary schools right up to the university have become their centers of conspiracy and you are their targets and they want to lead you astray from the precious path of Islam; and to turn the universities and the secondary schools and the primary schools and all the centers of education and moral training into centers in which, if education is offered, it would only be for the benefit of the superpowers. And that whatever is gained in those places and in those sacred centers is to the benefit of the superpowers. They begin right from the kindergarten and as our youth and our children move forward they have plans to chase them there. The kindergarten schools, right up to the universities, are under the detestable sway of imperialism and they know very well that if they manage to lead these youth away from the straight path and from the Path of Allah, they will attain to their wicked goals. And that is why their attempts and their targets

begin with the kindergartens and continue up to the universities. And those centers which should be used exclusively for social welfare—for spiritual welfare in society and for material welfare in society and to secure the future of our beloved country—are dragged by them into corruption and then they stand aside and watch our youth because these misled ones have done their job and want to spread corruption at your hands.

National welfare depends on welfare of the centers of learning

You youth all over the country, right from the kindergarten school levels in which children study, up to the universities which should be the centers for education, learning, and morals should stay alert and should protect these centers from corruption. For those who enter these centers and are involved in propagation activities, you should—our youth should, the teachers of these youth should—check out what their backgrounds have been and where they stand today and what was their thinking in the past and what they are actually propagating. Today your nation, your country is the target of conspiracies. This is because your country has caused great damage to the interests of the superpowers and has brought about such humiliation to those big powers and their roots of corruption that they will not rest until they revert it back, or so they think, to its former state and into corruption. And they know that if they manage to mislead our children right from the beginning, this deviation will stay with them for life. And that if they lead our adolescents astray this nation will be led astray. And that if they deviate our secondary schools and our universities this country will be deviated.

The biggest safeguards for Islam are these centers in which you are spending your lives and in which you are gaining education. These are the centers, on the welfare of which depends the welfare of the nation and with the destruction of which the nation will be led to destruction. Our youth and our children should open their eyes and their ears wide and big so that these devils do not mislead them; and so that they are not coerced everyday by them into creating chaos and leading protests. No matter where you are studying, wherever all our youth and children all over the country are studying, you should always keep in mind that no matter which educational centers you are attending, education must always be accompanied by ethics, moral commitment, and lofty human values in order to have a life worthy of a human being and to free our country and make us self-reliant. If you youth pursue education simply in order to gain a certificate or a degree to put at the disposal of your material needs, this is exactly the deviation that they are aiming at. And if those of you who are studying in these centers adhere to the

right trend of thought and follow a desirable goal and pursue your education in order to attain to this goal and to reach the aim that Allah, the Almighty, wants us to - which is purification of the soul and the sole worship of Allah and warding off all kinds of polytheism, deviations, and atheism from yourselves and from your centers—you will emerge victorious. All the deviation and all the problems that a country faces are because its centers of learning and education are not centers that teach moral virtues. And this applies for both the traditional schools of learning and the modern schools. So long as there is no ethical development and moral commitment and if man has not found his path at the onset, i.e. his Straight Path, and if his education is not abiding by the pure Islamic trend of thought this itself will cause deviation and this is what causes us and the Muslim countries to incline either toward the left or toward the right; either toward communism or toward the commands of America. These trends begin from the schools. They begin from the schools and the universities. They intend that whatever is achieved in our universities, schools, and secondary schools and whatever is achieved by the prolonged struggle of this nation and our youth should be to their benefit.

I wonder if you heard what this man “Hamid”¹ who they showed on television last night said on radio and television! If you haven’t heard him yourself, ask those who have heard him and (see for yourself) how and with what tricks those criminal hands drag our educated youth into their traps. And the youth who should be the capital for their own country and who should endeavor toward the progress of their own nation are ensnared by them and are forced to struggle against their own interests. This is only one instance that you have witnessed; there are many such cases. This is because this trend was covertly rampant in the previous regime. Our universities were encouraged to follow this trend. To corrupt our young children right from the time they entered kindergarten schools up to the time that our talented youth who are the capital of this nation left the universities. Plans were to bring them up in a manner that would leave them totally influenced either by Moscow or by Washington. Such was the case and now that you dear young ones and all the school and university students want to take the reins of your country into your own hands, to protect its independence, to attain freedom, and to stride on the path of humanity and to reach human perfection and to attain to the goal of the creation of mankind, these devils are struggling to lead you astray.

¹ It refers to a member of one of the anti-Islamic revolutionary groups who exposed the anti-human and anti-national policies of his group in a public confession.

Aims of the foreign agents: deviation of the youth and intensification of differences

Those who step into schools, and with their misleading propaganda compel our youth to act against what they learn through education and do not want them to get educated and do not want them to grow up into youth who are assets for their own country, find various excuses to drag them into staging protests and into differences and then stand aside and laugh at you and at us. Their attempts to re-open the universities before any proper planning was done were because they wanted to tender our society the same former conditions that prevailed when people like them were in power in those days. That is what they wanted. And they enter the kindergartens and the secondary schools with their own propaganda and their own instigation in order to compel our youth and our children to involve themselves in violence and fights instead of seeking education and instead of involving themselves in the purification of the soul, and instead of imparting Islamic ethics, leave them to face corruption, which is nothing but their former strategy. Our children, our youth, all of them—boys as well as girls— should put in all their efforts to recognize them and to understand what their aims are. They should recognize who those people were in the former days. They should know that they are busy causing corruption behind the scenes while our youth from the army and the revolutionary guards and the gendarmerie and all strata of people, tribes, and others are busy sacrificing themselves in the war centers and at the battlefronts. They are busy helping their lords and masters. They should know that they are supported by the foreign radio stations and by all the corrupt radio stations while the Islamic Republic is condemned by them. And they want to eliminate the Islamic Republic. In the same manner that Saddam and other such deviants have attacked our country and have started war. They are also waging the same war although in a different form in the schools, the colleges, and the universities. They are all foreign agents and you should stay very alert, wherever you are, on these matters lest you suddenly open your eyes and find that you have been deceived; in the same manner that “Hamid” confessed last night. May Allah protect you for the future of this country! May Allah guide our youth on the right path and may He place us at the service of Islam and our Islamic country!

Speech

Date: January 24, 1981 [Bahman 4, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The divine purpose of appointing messengers (*a*): the nurturing of human beings; the great danger of self-love; the criteria of human judgment; hope and encouragement for the nation

Occasion: The birth anniversary of the Noble Messenger (*s*) and Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (*a*)

Audience: The ministerial cabinet and the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Prophet of Islam (*s*), the noblest of beings and the most perfect human being

Today is a very great day because it was on this day that the leader of the great Islamic *ummah* and the great leader of the Jafari school illuminated the world with their auspicious light. We probably have no or very few days as auspicious as this one. I felicitate all the Islamic nations and the Muslim countries and the honorable members of the Majlis and the ministerial cabinet as well as the other brothers who are present here and pray to the Almighty Allah for your health, success, and victory.

The universe was never before and will never after be graced with a blessing such as the sacred being of the Noble Messenger (*s*) of Islam. This auspicious being is the noblest of God's creations, the most perfect human being ever, and is the greatest guide of mankind. And the ones who elucidated upon the Islamic laws and the message of the Noble Prophet (*s*) were none but his Purified Progeny (*a*), and particularly, Imam Jafar ibn Muhammad as-Sadiq (*a*).

The nurturing of human beings—the divine purpose of appointing messengers (*a*)

The efforts of the prophets of God (*a*) and the purpose behind their appointment throughout the ages has been the nurturing of the human being. The being which is the most elite of all creation and with the proper nurturing of whom, the universe gets nurtured and with the corruption of whom the universe gets corrupted. The efforts of all the divine messengers (*a*) from the first one to the last one have been to invite and lead this being

to the Straight Path—and not mere verbal guidance and sermonizing but rather as serving as exemplars and by setting examples through their own deeds, acts, and words—in order to reach this being to the perfection that he is worthy of. Alas! Their vision did not materialize as per their intentions and even in times to come the dream that they had for humanity will not come true. This has been because they face a being which is known by none except Allah and by those who have received their knowledge from the Almighty Allah, man is an intricate being who does not even know himself. And in all likelihood, the Prophetic saying, “The one who has known himself has known his Lord,”¹ hints at this very reality. A knowledge of the self in man and an awareness of the attributes and the instincts that are innately present in him are either impossible or are nearly impossible to reach, except by the Infallible Ones who have been purified completely by Allah. Since man is full of self-love and wants everything exclusively for himself, he is left without the awareness of many realities because of this intense self-love; or in other words, he cannot truly know himself under the influence of this self-love.

Self-love: the biggest danger

There are three basic ways to view the world. The first one is to view creation or part of the creation through self-love and the other is to view the world and everything through bias while the third view is free from, both, self-love as well as bias. The first two views are held by those who are not free people. The biggest problem of humanity and all of us is this problem that we all have and has been created by us. The ones who look at other people and at things through either self-love or through bias and enmity can never be free people and are always caught up in their own opinions. The one who views things, or people, or communities through self-love is not free and can never possess clarity of judgment. Man believes that whatever he says is through freedom and non-prejudice; but even if someone claims this, do not believe him. This man cannot be freed from selfish desires and self-love which is the root of all problems. There are many people who claim to have freed themselves from such problems but in reality there are very few such people. It could be possible that many people may not even themselves be aware that they are slaves to their own carnal selves and not to God; they believe themselves to be free and purified, which is again due to the presence of self-love in man. This self-love veils all man’s shortcomings in his own eyes. He is blind to his shortcomings because of this self-love and at times

¹ *Ghurur al-Hikam, hadith 4637, p. 232; Awali al-Laali, vol. 4, hadith 149, p. 102.*

also believes his shortcomings to be virtues. And unless and until man does not free himself from this trap and the enslavement of his carnal self through strife and by following the teachings of the prophets (a), he will never succeed in purifying himself nor will his judgments and views be correct or based on reality. He may occasionally manage to succeed in doing so, but not always. Bring to mind a certain situation in which someone commits a certain act, in a certain place, and at a certain time. If two people were to view this single situation, one an enemy and the other a friend, the one who is an enemy considers the act as repulsive while the other who is a friend commends it. It is the same act performed by the same person, at the same time, and in the same place, and in the same situation—everything is identical—but because of the predicament of the viewer, and because of his lack of freedom and owing to his entrapment in the prison of self-love, he approves of the action if he is on good terms with the person and views this act as bad if he is not on good terms with him. Man is himself unaware of this phenomenon. Yes, there are some people who are honest in expressing their rejection or approval. There are such ones too, but there are many others who, because of their enslavement to the carnal self and because of this internal affliction and because of the devil that is active within them, cannot judge freely and cannot perceive the truth of the matter and express things truthfully. They either do not perceive the truth of the matter or they simply refuse to admit it even if they know it to be the truth because of this enslavement to the self and because of the hold that the devil and their own evil instincts have over them. The same holds true in the contrary situation. The commendations or rejections that we as ordinary people hold or express are through this same love of the self and love for near ones—which is itself also because of self-love—and because if someone is “my” son or “my” brother or follows the same school of thought as “me”, they are all part of “me”. All these things, in the ordinary man, find their root in the “I-ness” of man and if one praises someone else, it is because that person is in some way connected with him.

If someone wishes to do a self-examination, he should isolate himself and should sit on his own and bring to mind two people: one who is his friend, his relative, or someone close to him and another who is his opponent or enemy. He should sit and interpret an act committed commonly by someone who is a friend and someone who is an opponent and he should observe how, when he attributes this same act to a friend, he starts praising it or at least tries to cover up its flaws with all kinds of tricks but if that same act were to be committed by an enemy, he would exaggerate and make much

ado. If one really wishes to know where he stands, he should take into consideration these factors. He should try to appreciate a good act even if it has stemmed through an opponent and should commend him for his skills. If an ugly act has been committed by his own group, he should disapprove of it and should consider it as objectionable. I am not talking about exposing people's secrets, but he should at least admit this to himself. Certainly, it is against the principles of Islam to expose other people's secrets. Back-biting and slander are aberrations that afflict man but the worst of them all is being entrapped by one's own self. It is possibly because of this that if man sees an exceptional act committed by someone else he tries to undermine it and tries his best to denigrate the creditable act. But if a creditable act is committed by a friend or someone close to him, he tries to magnify it out of proportion. All these are due to the "I-ness" and are not related to anything beyond one's own self; the entire world revolves around "me"!

Attachment to the world: The root-cause of man's destruction

This material world or the world of nature is one of God's creations and is one among the many manifestations of God. Attachment to this world of nature or attachment to the world results in man's destruction. There could be a person who is more attached to his prayer beads than someone else is to an entire kingdom. This first one is more attached to this world than the second one. Prophet Sulayman ibn Dawud [Solomon (*a*)] was a king—a king who governed over one and all. However, his kingship did not have the power to enslave the heart of the king—the Prophet Sulayman ibn Dawud (*a*)—to itself. Similarly, even though the Noble Prophet (*s*) was the chief of a nation as well as its ruler, his supremacy did not succeed in alluring him into its entrapments. He was by no means under the sway of his position and instead had it completely under his own control. If man succeeds in gaining control over himself as well as life, he is no longer world-oriented even if he owns the entire world; just like Prophet Sulayman (*a*) and the others like him. And if this self-control has not been developed and if man is in a state of heedlessness like most of us, he is a captive of the world, the hollow and worthless world. Whether it is the material world or the hereafter or God or life, whatever we focus upon becomes our "world". When we are attached to anything we become its captive. When we are attached to the material world, and are under its sway and dominance—whether it is attachment to posts or attachment to positions—all these are the "world" for us and we are its captives. The more the attachment to power the more we are entrapped; and even though we are in its captivity we are completely oblivious to that fact. If

man succeeds in freeing oneself from the dominance of the carnal self (*nafs*), according to the teachings of the Prophets of God (*a*), and if he succeeds in liberating himself from the clutches of his worst enemy (i.e. the dominance of his carnal self) and in freeing himself from its captivity then such a man reaches a state in which he has power over everything and nothing has any hold over him; and even all that which he has under his power is worthless in his eyes. It does not mean anything to him. In the same breath that he wishes the best for his friends, he wishes the same for his enemies. The prophets (*a*) were like this. The prophets (*a*) burned with sympathy at the state of the unbelievers [*kuffar*] and at the plight of the hypocrites [*munafiqun*]. All the efforts of the prophets (*a*) were in order to liberate the unbelievers and the hypocrites and the pervert people who were trapped in the captivity of their own “self” and the love of the world which is the fountainhead of all evils. And what a trying mission this was! And of course they did not gain a complete success in their missions. And that is never going to be possible. This man will never reach the worthy status of becoming “human” (Adam). There was a famous (Persian) proverb that said: “How simple it is to collect knowledge and how difficult it is to become “human”!” To this our Shaykh¹ (may Allah have mercy on him) added: “How difficult it is to gain knowledge and how impossible it is to reach the worthy status of becoming “human”!”

The criteria for right judgment in man

If man wishes to pass a judgment on a certain matter, or if he wishes to verify facts within himself, he should first evaluate himself. It is easy for him to sit in judgment over the faults of others or to criticize the merits of other people or to even eulogize the shortcomings of some others. And all this as a bystander. He criticizes those who are fighting at the warfronts. He finds faults with those who are working in government offices and yet does not take it upon himself to make any contribution. He just stands aside and engages in criticism and fault-finding. How common and simple this is! However, if one sat by himself and evaluated his own self and examined his own thoughts and intentions over an issue, like the victory and gains of Islam over its enemies, what would he discover? Would such a victory gladden his heart? Would the joy that he expressed stem from the depths of his heart or would he be offended at the victory of Islam, simply because it was gained at the hands of someone else!? Most people would rather forego the victory of

¹ It refers to Haj Shaykh Abd al-Karim Hairi Yazdi, the founder of the Qum Theological School.

Islam than seeing their rival succeed! If a person were to inwardly regret that the victory was not gained at his own hands and if he found that it makes a difference at whose hands this victory was gained, could such a person be considered a well-wisher of Islam?! Is the interest of Islam on his mind?! The one who is a true well-wisher of Islam would welcome any victory for Islam, even if it were to take place at the hands of an unbeliever [*kafir*]. Of course, he would not approve of the unbeliever per se but he would certainly appreciate his action and he would appreciate him, simply because his victory has resulted in the victory of Islam. Furthermore, one should also examine his own reactions over a blow dealt either by him or someone close to him to the cause of Islam? Does it evoke any response or does it not? One should check if he turns a blind eye toward the truth and sacrifices the truth for his self-interest when he picks up the pen to write about a matter or when he decides to publicly discuss something that happens in the outside world, or in whatever else he does. He should check if this self-love and subsequently the love for his own interests or the love for his close ones have blinded him to such an extent that he cannot speak out the truth and sacrifices the truth for his own interests or not. If he finds that such is the case, then he should know that his pen and his tongue are at the service and in control of the Satan while if he finds that he can appreciate a noble act, no matter who it stems from, and if he can praise it because it is a good act and if he can focus on the action instead of its doer then he is fit to pass a fair judgment. Then he can pass a judgment about our Islamic Consultative Assembly [Majlis] because if his focus is on the Majlis itself and not on its individual members and if he can focus upon the process that is taking place within the Majlis, then he is fit enough to pass a fair judgment since he is not attached to individuals. But if individual members are involved and if that makes one change his judgment—most often heedlessly—about the rightness or the wrongness of a certain issue, contrary to a judgment that was passed before taking individuals into consideration that would show that a personal judgment based on friendship or otherwise has influenced the person. It is quite possible that the person himself believes that he has judged the situation well whereas the truth is that he has not gained a correct picture of the situation. Since his judgment is tainted either by his affinity or his dislike for an individual, his perception of the situation is flawed. We should first examine our own selves and should only then proceed to pass judgment on whether an act is right or wrong. When there is animosity among two groups, they normally focus upon the weaknesses in the actions of the rival group and remain silent over their merits. And even this silence is maintained only

by the best of them, since the other sick and pervert people would go to the extents of even portraying its merits as flaws. They would even go to the extent of striving to prove its positive aspects as negative. However, if one can pass an unbiased judgment then he is a free man and the highest form of freedom is freedom from the self and freedom from bias and prejudice. Our biggest problem is this very self-love, and the love for position and the love for fame. (The common attitude is) “I desire this act to occur at my own hands so that I get the applause from everyone”! Such a person dislikes any praiseworthy act to take place at the hands of others because he desires that it should only take place through him so that people stand up and applaud him. Moreover, even if a wrong act had to be committed by him, he would still expect to be applauded for it. This is because such a person is blind since “the love for anything makes a person blind and deaf”.¹ He turns so deaf and blind that he cannot see any good and can only find faults. And at times, he is blinded to all faults and is focused only on praise. Moreover, if he is a mischief-maker, he goes to the extent of projecting the good as bad and the bad as good. If someone is in his good books, no matter how defective his deeds are, he projects them as good. All this is against the essence of being human and is against the Straight Path, to guide to which, the Noble Prophet of Islam (*s*) as well as all the other prophets (*a*) were sent to mankind. If people succeed in freeing themselves from the clutches of these whims and fancies of the carnal self and if they succeed in defeating it, they have emerged victorious. If they fail to do so, then no advice, no counseling, no books, and no reasoning will have any effect upon them. Philosophical reasoning, too, has no effect on people who are biased. Someone who considers the Noble Prophet (*s*) as an enemy is bound to find faults with even his most reasonable principles no matter what reasoning is put before him. There is a Prophetic tradition [*hadith*] which more or less mentions that occasionally the denizens of hell experience a cooling and enquire about its cause. They are told that it is because the Prophet of Islam (*s*) is passing by. However, on hearing this, they say: “Close the doors (of hell). We prefer this torment over him.”

The role of power and determination in training the carnal self

The nature of the carnal self is such that if man is deeply attached to this world or to his wife, children, wealth, honor, and position and other similar things, one of the biggest and the most deadly dangers he faces is that during

¹ *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 1, *hadith* 149, p. 290; *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, vol. 5, p. 194.

the time of his death, when he discovers that God Almighty is taking him away from all his beloved possessions, he turns into His enemy. I once heard that a very respectable and pious scholar of Qazvin, may Allah have mercy upon him, said: “We once went to visit someone who was on his deathbed. This man was saying: The injustice that I have been meted out by God (We seek refuge in Allah!) has never been experienced by anyone else. How much effort I put into the upbringing of my children! And now He wants to take me away from them!” This is the danger! What brings disaster upon man is that his love of the self, his love for position, and his love for other things bring him to such a state that even if the Messenger of God (*s*) were to take him away from those things, he would turn into his enemy. And even when he hears that it is God Who wishes to strip him off these attachments, he would turn into His enemy. Unless we do not mend our own ways we will never be able to do anything for our country. I am not suggesting that one should be completely freed up from all desires. This is not going to be possible for you and me; it is only possible for those who have been protected by God. But we do possess the power to have a hold over our tongues. We cannot claim that we have no control over our tongues. We do have the power to control our pens. None of us can claim that we have no control over what we write. We do have the power to control our tongues, our expressions, our pens, and our actions. And it is because of this free will and choice that we shall be held accountable and no matter how much one loved or hated someone, his pen should remain under his control. He should at least have the power to refrain from finding faults and weaknesses in everything and putting his pen to their service.

Duty of the officials: offering hope and optimism to the nation

Today we stand in the need for offering hope and optimism to this nation. We owe everything we have gained to it. Whatever we have achieved today is thanks to these great masses. We should not forget that so many people have lost their lives right from 15th Khordad¹ to this war. So many

¹ On June 3, 1963, Imam Khomeini delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating former denunciations of the Shahs regime and warning the Shah not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran. His arrest prompted a major uprising in many Iranian cities, which resulted in the deaths of not less than 15,000 people in the span of a few days when the Shahs troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators. The date on which this uprising began was 5th June or 15th Khordad according to the solar calendar used in Iran and became known as the uprising or movement of 15th Khordad.

people have turned handicap and so many have lost their homes only to secure the independence of this country; to gain freedom for this country and to ensure that we are liberated from our earlier miseries and so that we can have an Islamic country. A country which follows God and His Commandments!

We should not debilitate our people because we are still facing many problems and have not really gained complete victory. We should not create problems in the Majlis. Let us not forget that we have never had such a good Majlis and such sincere members of parliament. I am not claiming that there is absolutely no corrupt member in the parliament. There may be some but the number of sincere members is certainly more. We must protect this Majlis and we must not make our people lose faith in it. We should refrain from writing against it day in and day out and from defaming it by fault-finding. The need of the hour is not to disappoint our people to the extent of making them hopeless, whether they are traders, workers, or whatever because all of them are respectable. We should not dishearten our farmer to the extent that he gives up his enthusiasm to work. We should not dispirit our representatives to the extent that they quiver in their speech. We should not disempower the soldiers who are guarding our borders such that their hands get cold on duty. We should all strive to breathe optimism into this nation. It is with hope that we can gain victory. It is with hope that a farmer is empowered to work harder. It is with hope that the army and the revolutionary guard corps are able to withstand the onslaught of the enemy at the borders. As per our own claims, we are not the enemies of Islam. And, of course, we are not the enemies of our country. We do not oppose the interests of our own country. We wish that, God-willing, this country and Islam gain victory. This is the common aspiration held by all of us. Well, if this is what we all wish for, why should we weaken our Islamic government? Why should we weaken our Majlis? Why should we weaken our army? Why should we weaken our revolutionary guards? Aren't they all engaged in serving this nation? Surely they are all at the service of this nation, right from the president of the country to this simple cleric (referring to himself) as well as the other government bodies that are serving the nation. Let us stay away from pessimism. Personal bias and prejudice should not make you pass wrong judgments in your speech and in your writings. Stick to reality!

The path of the prophets (a) for social reformation

Of course, I am not asking you to give your consent to moral corruption. This is against the laws of Islam and is among the major sins. But if you wish

to urge someone to the truth and to make him aware, point out calmly toward the weaknesses. Do not use your pen to provoke them to get worse. And if you address an issue with bias and insult someone in the bargain, that person, too, may not be so polite as to ignore the matter. He will also retaliate with some prejudice. In fact an opponent may even go a step further. If we really want our country to remain independent and if we do not want it to fall into foreign hands, all our various groups will have to join hands in cooperation. We should give up our personal bias and prejudice which stems from the same self-love. We should gain some control over this self-love even if we cannot eliminate it completely—and even if it is for a short while—until we gain this victory. Harness your pens for a short while, and if you wish to advise someone, do so gently because he may take your kindly advice but if all of you are harsh he will not be able to tolerate it. We should take our lessons from the great ones. You have all heard the story of Malik al-Ashtar¹ and of how someone abused him in his presence, oblivious of the fact that it was Malik himself that he was speaking to. On learning that it was Malik, the man started following him (fearing the consequences that lay in wait for his rude behavior). He found Malik busy praying in the mosque and went over to apologize to him. Malik calmly disclosed to the man—this is what we are told—that he had come to the mosque only to pray for his forgiveness!² Just notice their method of training people. See how such people trained others. According to another story, someone had once written a letter regarding a certain problem to Khwajah Nasiruddin,³ may Allah be pleased with him. He had insulted him in that letter and had called him a “dog” [*kalb*]. In his reply, according to what we have heard, Khwajah responded to all the problems

¹ Malik al-Ashtar: more fully, Malik ibn Harith from Nakhaa and famous as al-Ashtar, was among the prominent commanders of Imam Alis army and the governor appointed to Egypt by Imam Ali. He accompanied the Imam in the Battles of Jamal and Siffin. On his way to Egypt, he was killed through the conspiracy of Muawiyah. For the text of the Imams famous instructions to him before setting forth to Egypt, see *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53, pp. 426-445. A complete translation is contained in William C. Chittick, *A Shiite Anthology* (Albany, N.Y., 1980), pp. 68-82.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 42, p. 157.

³ Nasiruddin Abu Jafar Muhammad at-Tusi (595-673 AH) famous as Khwajah Nasiruddin was a famous scholar of the seventh century AH and was a minister in the court of Hulaku Khan, the Mongolian ruler of Iran. He was a great scholar of his times in astrology, geometry, astronomy, logic, and philosophy and had written 130 books and treatises on different subjects. Some of his outstanding contributions include an observatory in Maraghah and a large library of 400 thousand books. His most important books and treatises include *Tahrir Usul Hindisi Uqlidus*, *Risalah Arud*, *Sharh-e Isharat-e Ibn Sina*, *Tahrir-e Majsati-ye Tajrid al-Aqaid*, *Awsaf al-Ashraf*, *Akhlaq-e Nasiri*, etc.

raised by the man, one by one, in a very wise manner until he reached the point in which he had called him a “dog”. Here he said: “No, there is a difference between my characteristics and qualities and those of a dog.” He added that a dog has such and such a characteristic which I do not possess while I have such and such a quality that a dog does not possess.¹ What a wise manner to handle such an issue so well! If Khwajah, too, had instead replied back saying that you are a dog and your father, too, is a dog, tomorrow he would have received another letter with even more abuses. When it is possible for us to reform people with a soft tongue, with advice, and with a few gentle and unbiased words that do not sting and if in this way we can add to our friends for the cause of Allah, then where is the need for us to use our pens indiscriminately!? Many people think that by talking against a particular person, they can bring him down. Least do they realize that before anyone else, they are bringing themselves down. And people, too, will see through this and will start hating them for their biased writings.

We can invite people to the right path with gentle words, a soft pen, with advice and with friendship, just like the prophets (*a*) did. The prophets (*a*) refrained from using the sword except against those who refused to mend their ways and who spread corruption in society. The one who corrupts society, refusing to change his ways, should be segregated from society. He is like a malignant tumor that corrupts society.

The prophets (*a*) were like physicians who strived to reform the society. If a surgeon were to pick up his scalpel and slit the stomach of an ailing person in order to remove a malignancy, would you raise a hue and cry and call him a murderer? No, in fact he would be respected and even paid for his action. You may even kiss his hand in gratitude and relief for removing a malignancy that could have proved to be fatal. Such were the prophets (*a*)!

The Prophet (*s*) was so compassionate and eager to guide people to the right path that even when God, the Almighty, said to him: “*It may be that thou tormentest thyself (O Muhammad) because they believe not,*”² he continued to invite people to goodness but when he would find that a particular group of people was corrupting the society he would resort to the sword which in this case was just like a surgeon’s knife. As the healer of all mankind he is bound to reform the society and especially because of his all-encompassing compassion it becomes inevitable. The Prophet (*s*) had said

¹ Muhaddith Qummi, *Al-Kuni wal-Alqab*, vol. 3, p. 252; Safdi, *Al-Wafī bil-Wafīyyat*, vol. 1, p. 180.

² *Surah ash-Shuàra* 26:3.

that the worth of a single strike of the sword of Ali ibn Abi Talib¹ (*a*) was greater than that of the worship of all man and *jinn*² together because his strike was for the sake of reform and not for the spread of corruption.

If we truly want this society to progress and this country to get reformed our pens and our tongues should first take the lead. But we are all caught up in our own stuff and need to do something to at least free people from the problems that we create with our writing. This is after all a big and major problem.

Social reform depends upon judicious words and actions

If we wish to bring about social reform, we should realize that it is time we harnessed our pens and advised people. If we choose to write, let it be for the sake of reform. Let us refrain from hunting for faults and writing about them. If you find faults with others and write about them, your rival will also do the same with you. And this will turn into a vicious circle. If someone stands round the corner and starts abusing a person, and if that person just

¹ Imam Ali (*a*), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophets uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophets house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (*s*). In the early days of his mission when, at Gods command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: "He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me." He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only Ali (*a*) declared his faithfulness. On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophets life, Ali (*a*) slept in the Prophets bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadir, introduced Ali (*a*) as the master and guardian [*wali*] of the Muslims, after himself. Ali was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophets spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, Ali (*a*) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was the observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, Alis disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to Ali (*a*) and elected him as the caliph. The Imams period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (*s*) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the 3rd Caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (*a*). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar at Kufah, Iraq.

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

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, pp. 1-2, *hadith* 1; Hakim Neyshaburi, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 32.

passes by without paying undue attention or maybe clarifies his position pointing out to the misunderstanding, the matter will come to an end. But if he starts abusing back in retaliation this reaction will only intensify the issue. We should all do something about this. Our writers, our thinkers, and the well-wishers of society should all sit together and work toward creating optimism among our people. Our people are in need of hope. There are people who are creating despondency among them and there are also those who claim that everything here is in shambles and that there is no hope for this country. It is upon all of us to strive and prove that contrary to what they claim, the system of our country is better than any other. Where else can a system be found in which even an ordinary grocer can stand up and criticize the President or the Prime Minister or the Speaker of the Parliament? Do go and take a look at the leaders of the other countries. Check out their dealings and how they treat their people and compare them with what we have. In spite of knowing this, why should we create rifts among our officials with our pens? Why should we blow matters out of proportion? Even if there were some rancor among certain people, we should strive toward resolving matters with our pens and our words. We are all brothers and should stand together in unity. All of us want to reform this country. We should be cautious not to harm our country and the Islamic Republic through our pens, actions, or words in a way that we end up proving the others right in claiming that we are unable to govern our own country and its affairs. Why should we do that? Simply because of certain personal bias why should we speak in a way that will create a negative impression for the Islamic Republic in the world? The world is anyway spreading negative propaganda about the Islamic Republic. Let us at least try to abstain from doing things that propagate a negative image for the Islamic Republic that you have all opted for. Do not give others the grounds to take undue advantage of our words. We must pay attention to this matter. Mankind is full of problems. May Allah rescue us from these problems and may He salvage us from the evil of our own selves!

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

Speech

Date: January 24, 1981 [Bahman 4, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Unity of the Muslim countries under the banner of the Qur'an

Occasion: The birth anniversaries of the Noble Prophet (s) and Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a)

Audience: Ambassadors of Muslim countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The secret of the empowerment of Muslim countries

I felicitate all the Muslims from all over the world on this auspicious and blessed day. I also felicitate you, the honorable ambassadors of Muslim countries. And how blessed will be the day when the goals of Islam and the goals of the great Messenger of Islam (s) get actualized in the Muslim countries instead of being limited to slogan-calling and lip-service! I am hopeful that in these times in which the world has undergone a transformation and the oppressed peoples have opened their eyes and many countries have gained independence from external domination, the Muslim countries and the Muslims constituting the major chunk of world population, with the maximum resources, and possessing great and prominent people can stay consolidated under the banner of Islamic unity and the teachings of the Glorious Qur'an. While yet respecting the independence of our own individual countries, we can remain consolidated under the banner of Islam and *tawhid* without allowing the superpowers to rule over our countries or being under their dominance.

Those of you honorable gentlemen who are present in Iran and are witness to the Iranian situation and the Iranian government and the regime of the Islamic Republic—that was once again not allowed the opportunity to widely promote all the goals of Islam—can see that this government is greatly different from despotic governments and from the erstwhile monarchical system. And as soon as that puppet government was ousted from here, all the doors were flung open toward the Muslims and all kinds of freedom came to be actualized and Islam was fundamentally established in this country that was freed from the clutches of the superpowers. And we should know that nations can achieve everything they strive for. Our nation wished to oust the 2,500-year old despotic monarchy from Iran and they succeeded. And we wished to free Iran from the clutches of the superpowers

and we succeeded. And you are now witness to the fact that they have launched a direct and unexpected military attack on this country¹ and have now attacked Iran with the help of Saddam and you are all witnessing how they have captured, killed, and displaced so many Iranian women and children, the young and old alike. And in case you have not, I would like you all to visit the frontiers and the war-torn areas and these ruined cities and see the situation for yourselves and inform your own countries because they rely upon the information that you pass on to them. And I am hopeful that the Muslims will condemn this situation and this despotism. And I am hopeful that the Iraqi nation will achieve its goal of eliminating this corrupt government and will succeed in forming their own government by their own peoples.

And I seek refuge in God Almighty and pray to Him for the awakening of the Muslims and for success in reaching our Islamic goals. May He sever the hands of those who wish to create dissension among the Muslim countries! May there be unity among all the Muslim countries, as per Islamic edicts, without the interference of racial or lingual prejudices. And if they gain consolidation, no harm will touch them and no country will be able to violate their right.

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

¹ It refers to the Tabas military attack by the US in the year 1980 that was aborted as a result of an unexpected sandstorm (a sign of Allahs power) in which a number of US aircrafts and forces were destroyed.

Message

Date: January 29, 1981 [Bahman 9, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Commendation to the combatants

Audience: General public

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 9, 1359 AHS

I thank and commend all those who are fighting for the cause of Islam and for the independence of the Islamic country for their dedication and self-sacrifice. Our heroic and awakened nation appreciates the sacrifices of the personnel of its Armed Forces. I pray to God Almighty to shower His Mercy upon them and I pray for the health and prosperity of their families.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: January 29, 1981 [Bahman 9, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Overall national support of the Armed Forces of the country and the necessity to ignore rumors spread by the enemy

Audience: Families of the martyrs and the wounded personnel of the Navy, the families of the martyrs, and the revolutionary guards of the Qazvin, Takistan, and Rasht committees, the Muslim Kurd volunteers, tribe members from Sistan and Baluchistan, and a group of citizens of Ashtiyan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

National support to the Armed Forces and their sacrifices

You gentlemen who are present here from the various groups of society are the living exemplars of sacrifice and are the living proof of the crimes of the superpowers. These photographs exposing the major crimes of the superpowers that have been committed at the hands of the Baath Party of Iraq and these beloved ones who have lost their health and are sitting before me are the biggest and the most commendable evidence of self-sacrifice for the Muslim country and for beloved Islam and are the best proof of the crimes committed by the likes of Saddam and their lords and masters.

I find myself wanting while expressing my thanks to these forces that have been dedicated to the cause of Islam and these young members of the Islamic forces and particularly the Air Force that probably took a lead over the rest. I must thank and commend the entire Iranian nation—those who are at the war fronts as well as those who are supporting them from behind the fronts—for their selfless participation in what can be called a *jihad*.

My brothers and beloved ones! I acclaim the services of all of you who have participated in this *jihad*, whether you belong to the Armed Forces, the Army and its other bodies, or the revolutionary guard corps as well as the civilians from among you whether you are from the tribes or from the towns. And those of you who are at the warfronts—whether you belong to the Air Force or to the Navy or the Army or whether you are revolutionary guards or ethnics or others—you are all witnessing that the entire Iranian nation from every nook and corner—women, men, the young and the old—are standing in support of you. And this is an absolutely unprecedented spiritual and

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it has been dated as Bahman 16, 1359 AHS.

Islamic phenomenon, the like of which can not be found anywhere else. These youth from the different towns, from the tribes, and from the other sections of the nation who come to the battlefronts to support you are not in any way compelled to do so. This support stems from the love that they have for Islam and for the Islamic country.

If, God forbid, there are some people or groups among the Armed Forces or the Revolutionary Guard Corps or from among the others who are at the battlefront that claim that the nation is not with you or some section of the nation is not with you or if they claim that you do not have the support of the clergy, do know that they are forces that do not want this country to settle down. Stay aware and decide for your own selves. Switch on the televisions and the radios and see for yourselves that all strata of the country—the women, the men, the youth, and the adolescents—all of them are expressing their support and are taking due action. Also know that those elements from the Armed Forces, the Police or the Revolutionary Guard Corps who tell you things that are contrary to what your own hearts, eyes, and ears are witnessing are not your well-wishers. They are either speaking out of ignorance or they are the agents of vested elements. They are either appointed to create rifts between the Army and its various bodies or to create opposition between the Army and the Revolutionary Guards or then they are ignorant people who are inflicting harm to this Islamic country out of their ignorance. You are witnessing that the nation is with you in support and the nation is witnessing that these armed forces along with all their various bodies as well as their personnel are selflessly devoted to Islam and Iran. The evidence is in the photographs of the youth who have been martyred or disabled at these warfronts. These evidences have been put before the nation so that they are not under the misconception that, God forbid, there are people at the warfronts who are neglecting their duties. At the same time, you can see that the nation is behind you in support so do not think that you have been left alone and that the nation or some groups from the nation are against you. The present Army is very different from the previous one. You should know that in the days of the previous regime if the Army had to fight against a group or a government, neither did the army show any enthusiasm or willingness nor did the various sections of the nation support it. It is the blessing of Islam and the Qur'an that is with us today. Only the power of Islam can unite all the strata of society and can create such a popular movement.

Weakening the Armed Forces is equivalent to opposing Islam

All those who do not leave you at peace at the warfronts and all those who want to present a distorted and unreal image of you to the nation are the enemies of this revolution, knowingly or unknowingly; and are at the service of the superpowers. It is a major crime to choose to be at the service of the superpowers knowingly, and it is a similar crime to be at their service out of ignorance. Today, if a word is uttered in order to demoralize the Armed Forces, the Police, the Revolutionary Guards or the ethnics, it is a word directly aimed against Islam. And even if an undue word is uttered against the organizations that are serving this country it is against Islam. Whenever Islam is faced with danger and the Muslim countries are faced with danger it is a duty to show forbearance and to push behind one's selfishness so that the country does not face defeat and the Army, God forbid, is not disintegrated.

Those who take any action or write or speak for the sake of their own vested interests should not think that they have grasped the true message of Islam; they are in fact the enemies of Islam, knowingly or unknowingly. But our vast nation of millions of people living in the different parts of this country as well as our Armed Forces and the Police who are at the warfronts or are serving behind the fronts should be certain that they are all working for the cause of Islam and they should not listen to people who intend to cause dissension among them or intend to create a rift between them and the nation or to separate the clergy from them. You should judge and decide for your own selves and should not pay heed to what the others say, whoever or wherever they may be. Judge for yourselves and see whether this nation supports you or not and see for yourself whether the clergy is with you or is against you.

Pay attention to the speeches of the clergy and the national representatives as well as the actions of the nation and then do not believe anything or any talks that stand in contradiction. Similarly, I request the Islamic nation and the honorable Iranian nation not to pay heed to rumors. Consult your own hearts and witness that those who are making sacrifices on the borders and are giving up their lives at the battlefronts for the cause of Islam are truly the armies of Islam and they are the ones who are protecting this Islamic country with their sacrifices. If someone speaks against them in your presence you should know that he is either an ignorant simpleton or a corrupt scholar.

Rumor-mongering: one of the major conspiracies of the enemy

Today one of the major conspiracies of those who wish to plunder this country and our resources and who have lost hope in other strategies is to spread rumors. Wherever you go, you will witness that they have spread some rumor against a group or against individuals. Rumor-mongering has become very rampant. Refrain from giving ear to these rumor-mongers. Do not listen to those who speak out of bias and self-interest. Check out for your own selves. If you are told that a certain group is against you, check out for yourself if it is true or not. In order to verify the truth, you should examine the words, the actions, as well as the writings of that group.

If someone disagrees with you within of himself, it will not cause you any harm but if someone openly declares his opposition to a certain group, then you need to judge for yourself. If someone comes and tells you that a certain section of our Army, our Gendarmerie, the Police, the Revolutionary Guards or others who are busy making sacrifices at the warfronts are, God forbid, negligent or treacherous, you should know that these words are from people who intend to create rifts between you and the Armed Forces and you should consult your own conscience. Those who are standing at the sidelines without involving themselves and are speaking against those who are making sacrifices each day and are getting killed or disabled each day, intending to create rifts among the nation—between the Army and the other parties or between the Revolutionary Guards and the Army—are the same ones who are spreading corruption and rumors and are resorting to such things in order to return the country to its earlier plight. Never lend your ears to such rumors. Check the truth for your own selves and if they make allegations against someone do not pay heed to them and instead check out that person's actions for yourselves. If you find that his actions are deviated, no matter who praises him, he is in the wrong. And if his actions are good, any allegations against him are unwarranted. We should be capable of judging independently and all the groups and the whole nation and all the forces—the Army and the Police and the Armed Forces as well as the civilians—should be able to judge for themselves. Do not accept what others have to say about this and that group without checking out for yourselves. Surely there are corrupt people in all groups who have infiltrated these groups to cause dissension among you and to breathe in differences in order to benefit themselves or their lords and masters who are those superpowers.

We have many enemies today and shall always have enemies. The blow that you have dealt out to the superpowers has been unprecedented in history. So do not expect them to remain spectators. When they can, they launch a

military attack on us and if not, they attack us by spreading negative propaganda in our country. They intend to cause rifts among us. According to certain media sources, some of the leaders of the Muslim countries—whose countries are Islamic but not their heads—had participated in a conference in Ta'if where some of them, although not all, had said that we should cause differences between the Shiah and the Sunnis in Iran and should do something that will make them kill each other so that this Islamic government falls.

Our Shiah brothers and our Sunni brothers! Stay alert and if someone comes to you from among yourselves and speaks against your Shiah or Sunni brothers, know that it is the same plot which was laid during that conference and that they are putting into action that same plot that was proposed by those most corrupt leaders along with some governments. Stay alert and foil that evil plot! You are all brothers and the Qur'an has commanded you to have brotherly relations and all the believers are brothers.¹ It is not right for anyone to lend his ear to someone who wishes to cause a rift between him and his brother. Remember that if ever a rift is caused, God forbid, it will neither benefit the Shiah nor will it benefit the Sunnis and it will in fact end up benefiting the unbelievers and those who want to trample the message of Islam. May God grant health and happiness to all the various groups of our nation! May He inundate all our martyrs in His Mercy and may He grant recovery to all our disabled ones! I beseech God to grant health and happiness to the entire nation!

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

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:10: "The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to Allah that haply ye may obtain mercy."

Speech

Date: January 30, 1981 [Bahman 10, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal, 23, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of the teaching profession and the duties of the teachers in training students

Audience: Religious teachers from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The pure primordial nature in children

I thank all of you for taking the trouble of being present here in this tiny place and in this freezing weather. May Allah grant everyone with the success of serving Islam and his country!

I am sure you have all realized that these small children who are studying in the primary schools and who will later go onto other levels like secondary school and university are the capital of this country or in other words, they are our assets in the fields of knowledge and the future-building of this country. And as you all know, these children enter the world of learning with a pure, healthy, simple, and open mind that can absorb any kind of training that is offered to them. And right from the time they enter the kindergartens, they are “divine trusts” that have been put into the custody of those who teach them in the kindergartens. And these same “trusts” will go on to other levels of learning and into the hands of other teachers until they have attained growth and are capable of entering into higher levels of learning and the universities.

If from the very beginning, you train these children in a way that they are kept away from deviation and if they are given the training that is worthy of human beings and does justice to the pure primordial nature that lies within human beings, it is with this very training that these children will later enter into the higher levels or say the secondary schools after being trained initially at the hands of the primary school and kindergarten teachers. And at this level too, if they are trained according to the principles of that same Straight Path and if their teachers guide them as per the same system that their pure primordial nature demands—considering that they are young and were first children and have now grown into youth—if the method of training is the method that is worthy of human beings, bearing in mind that they are easily adaptable to any kind of training that is given to them at a tender age and in their youth, they will then enter into the next stage of growth. Whenever a

training that is worthy of human beings and is conducive to the human disposition—which is the same disposition that is given as a trust to man and is “the nature made by Allah in which He has made men”¹—is imparted also in the universities, then when those youth enter society and when the fate of the society is consequently given into their hands, they succeed in taking their country out of gloom into light and make it worthy enough for human beings to live in and mould it as per the primordial nature and cause it to progress.

The dangers of education without ethical training

If you simply want to impart education to children without bothering to give them ethical training besides their general education, they will pass all the stages of learning, gaining knowledge without any moral training. And knowledge devoid of moral and ethical training will drag most of them toward corruption. It is not as if man is born corrupt into this world. Man first enters into this world with a pure primordial nature; “all beings are born into this world with a pure nature”² which is the nature of a human being, the nature of the Straight Path, the disposition of Islam, and the disposition toward monotheism [*tawhid*]. It is ethical training that causes that disposition to bloom out or then it stands as an obstacle in the blooming of the primordial nature in man. It is this kind of training that can offer the society a desirable perfection, making it a “human” society in its truest sense, and can make it a country based upon Islamic principles. And it is this same learning or gaining knowledge devoid of ethical training that could drag the country to its doom when the fate and the reins of the affairs of the country fall into their hands.

You honorable teachers and the other teachers throughout the country as well as the university teachers are responsible for this trust that has been placed into your hands by Allah Almighty and the parents. Do not look at those five or ten or maybe fifty students who you are teaching and possibly imagine it to be an insignificant number and think that there are “others” who will do the job. It is possible that from among these very ten students who are before you or from among these fifty students whom you are teaching, someone will eventually reach to a very high position and maybe become the president of a country or a prime minister and it is possible that a high

¹ *Surah ar-Rum* 30:30: “So set thy purpose (O Muhammad) for religion as a man by nature upright—the nature (framed) of Allah, in which He hath created man. There is no altering (the laws of) Allahs creation. That is the right religion, but most men know not.”

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

position in the country will fall into his hands. Or it could be that this very single student who was placed in your custody and who was later put into the hands of other teachers, finally gains a crooked training—that is he was given knowledge without bothering alongside to train him to become a worthy human being, or if, God forbid, the teacher is himself deviated and that child, from the beginning and then in the later stages, has been under a deviated training, it is possible that this same student may later on lead a country to its doom.

Rida Khan, too, was only one person. And even when he came down to Tehran, he was only a single individual who was part of an army and held an insignificant position in some section. However, those who wished to usurp this country with force had discovered that this was their man. This is why they had selected him and as per their own radio announcement, that is the British radio that announced when they had banished him from Iran, that “we had brought him to power”. And that later on when he “spoilt matters for us and when he messed up and betrayed us, we eliminated him from the scenes”. There is a chance that someone in your custody is not given a proper training and he emerges as a Rida Khan or maybe a Muhammad Rida. You do not know what this child who has been placed in your hands—even if he is say the child of a farmer or the child of a small-time trader—will eventually become. Rida Shah was also “just one child” who belonged to a lowly family. But simply because he was not given an Islamic upbringing and a training worthy of human beings, he emerged as a corrupt person and dragged an entire country into corruption for long years. And as you saw, because the father and the son lacked a worthy Islamic and human upbringing, in spite of being “just one person,” they turned out to become pawns only to be empowered by foreign hands. Therefore, do not think that just because someone is the child of a small-time trader, he will not end up becoming anyone important and that he will eventually choose his father’s profession; and similarly for a farmer’s son who you are teaching. You should instead keep in mind that maybe some day this child may end up becoming the head of a country or perhaps the chief of an army. And maybe then he could end up dragging an entire country or a whole army to destruction.

There are always some rare people who come up and either lead a country to progress or to ruin. You should keep in mind that if your training was, God forbid, against an Islamic and human training, whatever evil that person ends up doing later on, you, too, are his partner in crime. And if your training was a worthy human training based upon the primordial nature in

man, you will hold a share in whatever good that person ends up doing. A teacher is a trustee and unlike all other trustees, what he is entrusted with is a "human being." Any betrayal of trust even as far as general matters are concerned is sinful. For example, if someone is entrusted with a carpet that he does not take proper care of, he has not really harmed the entire society although he has inflicted loss upon a particular person, which he is duty-bound to compensate for. But if he were to be entrusted with a human being or a child who is capable of receiving human training, and if, God forbid, there is a betrayal of trust on his part, this betrayal will amount to the betrayal of an entire nation or the betrayal of a society or the betrayal of Islam. It is for this very reason that while teaching is a noble and worthy profession, since it is in the same lines as the mission of the divine prophets (*a*) who had been sent for building the human character, it is therefore a great responsibility as well; just as the responsibility of the prophets (*a*) was also great.

The importance of the job of teaching

You should seriously bear in mind that you are not like other ordinary human beings. There is a great difference between the misconduct of an office employee or maybe a government employee and a violation committed in places where education and training are imparted. An offence committed by an individual in a ministerial office is not likely to cause an upheaval in a country unless of course it is a rare case. However, if a child turns out to be corrupt, or if a child is trained to hone out his evil and egotistical characteristics, this child with an evil and selfish character could ruin an entire country and ruin the lives of a large number of people. And throughout all of this, you people who are involved in this noble profession are partners in all the good and evil that is committed by them. At times you may be partners in their crimes and at others you could share in the goodness that you have brought about in them. You should always keep in mind that you cannot afford to be like other ordinary people. You are the teachers of a generation of children into whose hands the fate of the nation will eventually be entrusted. You are the trustees of such a generation. Your education should go hand in hand with ethical training. This responsibility is not exclusive to religious teachers. This is the duty of each and every school as well as university teacher, no matter what subjects they teach.

In the same way that if a religious teacher who only suffices with academic education without paying attention to ethical or religious training or without paying attention to the overall progress of his students could

possibly cause mayhem and bring a country to its ruin, a general teacher could end up doing the same. If, God forbid, in any field of study a deviation occurs or if there happens to be some teachers who cause deviation, not only are they partners in the crimes that are committed at the hands of their students but their own country, too, could be led to destruction. As religious teachers your responsibility is not limited to imparting knowledge. Not only should you impart education to these children who are in your hands but you should pay even more attention to their ethical training than you pay to their education.

The duties of teachers in the training of students

Train your students to develop human and Islamic characteristics and to remember God in all their activities; and train them to abstain from the corruption that takes place in decadent societies. Cause them to realize that if they were to imbibe an Islamic and human upbringing, it would end up being beneficial to them as well as their society. You should warn them against the decadent nature that leads man toward degeneration and should warn them against the love for position, post, and material possessions. Warn them against things that act as obstacles on the human path blocking their human progress. Explain to them that as long as man is caught up in the narrow trough of nature he has not attained the worthy status of a human being. Those who exert all their efforts in gaining material benefits in order to make a comfortable living for themselves are still caught up in the trough of nature. They will finally be treated as animals whose heads are caught up in their troughs. You should teach them the value of a noble life, worthy of a human being. You should forbid them from enslaving themselves to anyone besides Allah and should train them to serve only Allah. If one serves society with the intention of serving Allah, all his acts are like worship.

If one only bows in the service of Allah and refrains from enslaving himself in the service of other persons or things, and if he even engages in worldly matters or answers the call of his instincts or attends school or government offices or is active anywhere in society for the cause of Allah, every act of him would become like worship because it originates from his intention to serve Allah. As you must have all noticed in the Noble Qur'an as well as in your daily prayers, the servant [*abd*] aspect of the Messenger of Allah (*s*) precedes his Messengership.¹ And this may refer to a fact that the Prophet (*s*) attained his Messengership through the course of divine servitude

¹ In our daily prayers in the *tashahhud* we say: "I testify that Muhammad (*s*) is Gods servant and Messenger."

[*ubudiyah*] He is freed from everything and is dedicated only to the service of Allah and not anything or anyone else.

Only two ways exist and, thus, one is either in the service of Allah or then he is enslaved into the service of his carnal self. If one frees himself from enslavement to others and submits himself to the service of Allah—Who is worthy of man to be His servant—all his actions will end up being free of deviation, or in other words, he will not have any deliberate deviation.

All those who are crooked—including those who are deviated in their beliefs, deviated in their actions, deviated in their writings, and are deviated in their words—are so because they have not passed through the channel of serving Allah. They are the slaves of the whims and fancies of the carnal self.

These small children who are entrusted into the hands of the school teachers of the lower classes have the potential to emerge as human beings; they have the potential of becoming “human” in the fullest sense; and they also have the potential to turn either into devils or into beasts.

It is upbringing that causes a child to traverse either the path of humanity or the path of beastliness. If a child is taught to focus only upon worldly positions and if his heart is filled with attraction toward worldly positions, posts, statuses, etc., he will grow up focusing simply upon such things. Since he has only learnt these things, only they are reflected in his heart—because the heart of a child is very pure and luminous and is very vulnerable—and so in the later stages of life, he strives to legitimize all his lawful and unlawful actions.

If you fill the minds of children only with worldly concerns and incentives like positions, statuses, material possessions, etc., all their attention comes to be diverted only to such matters. As if nothing else matters! However, even if you train them to live in their country with human dignity and to serve Allah, they will finally be able to achieve all that others gain through unlawful means. But there is a difference between these two. While one has managed to build a house through treacherous means, the other has gained the same through the service of Allah. His focus was not upon gaining a house but since it was a legitimate need, he has attained it. For the other, his entire focus was only on attaining the house and he was not concerned about anything else. If one is not guided to the Straight Path that Allah Almighty has shown us, all the other paths lead to deviation and crookedness. If the reins of the country fall into the hands of corrupt and deviated elements, the country heads toward deterioration and deviation. And if virtuous and accomplished scholars take the matters of the country into their hands, the country is bound to be filled with human values. This is

because people are generally accustomed to giving importance to people of high position and their words have a powerful influence on the minds of the masses. An influential person could easily lead a society either toward corruption or toward righteousness. You honorable teachers play an important role in this matter. Do not regard your students as insignificant individuals. This very ordinary-looking child may end up as the head of a country and reach to high positions in the future. That will be the acid test. If he has emerged as a deviated person and has become crooked under your training as well as the training of those who influenced him in the higher levels and onwards, even though he is only a single individual, he could corrupt an entire society. Each of the prophets (*a*), too, were only a “single individual” but since they had attained their Messengership through the course of serving Allah, all their qualities were human and they succeeded in reforming large societies during and even after their own times. They were “just one person” but a person who could reform his society. If the world and humanity were devoid of divine messengers (*a*), we could have been facing unimaginable indignities. Similarly, all the blessings that are present in the world, too, are because of the endeavors of the prophets (*a*) who honored the human race with their teachings and training, despite all the opposition they faced at the hands of the deviated people who invited people to their crooked paths. If you were to scrutinize all the countless cases that are left pending in the world courts, you would discover that none of them belonged to the believers and followers of the divine teachings of the prophets of Allah (*a*). All the cases of crime— material and non-material—belong to people who have ignored the training of the prophets (*a*), and even if they spent a lifetime in prayer, their prayers were not in the service of Allah. And even if they indulged in some good deeds, they did not stem from traversing the straight path of service to Allah. All their actions stemmed from selfishness and self-love.

If you train children to love Allah from the very beginning and to focus themselves upon serving Him and being connected with Him—knowing that children are very adaptable to this learning—and teach them that Allah is the source of everything, you have served this society and your efforts and endeavors will bear value. But if—God forbid—the case is contrary to this, no matter who it is, it is an act of treachery. And this treachery is unmatched because this is a treachery toward Islam, humanity, and the service of Allah.

Pay heed to the fact that although the profession that you have chosen is very noble, you also need to pay due attention to the responsibility that lies inherent in it. It is moral and ethical training which is of importance. Mere

knowledge does not benefit anyone and in fact is very dangerous. When rain, which is divine mercy, falls upon flowers, a fragrance emanates; and when the same rain fall upon filth, a stench arises. Such is also the case for knowledge. If it enters the heart of a virtuous person, its benefits reach the entire world. And if it enters a corrupt heart, it corrupts the entire world. It is said that “a corrupt scholar corrupts the world”. Conversely, a virtuous scholar emanates peace, goodness, and welfare for mankind. You are in charge of such affairs. You are responsible for carrying the world from darkness to light. You are vested with the responsibility of bringing out the inner luminosity of children. You are charged with the important responsibility of giving them a proper Islamic training so that, God willing, your country will find its way toward prosperity.

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

Decree

Date: February 1, 1981 [Bahman 12, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a member to the Council of Guardians

Addressee: Abu'l-Qasim Khazali

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1401 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abu'l-Qasim Khazali—may his graces last:

Taking into consideration that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Rida Mahdawi-Kani, honorable member of the Council of Guardians, is unable to attend the sessions of the council due to other important engagements, on the basis of the Article 91 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran that stipulates the formation of a council to safeguard the Islamic laws and the Constitution by ensuring that the bills passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly [Majlis] are not contradictory to them and since as per the stipulated conditions, the appointment of the members of the council falls under my purview, I appoint Your Eminence as one of the six jurisprudential members of the Council of Guardians.

I pray to Allah Almighty to grant you further success!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 1, 1981 [Bahman 12, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Attending to the maintenance of the families of those involved in the aborted Nuhid coup d'état

Addressee: Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Imam Khomeini,
Leader and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

Based upon your instructions as regards attending to the maintenance of the bereaved family members of those involved in the aborted Nuhid coup d'état, three of the Air Force personnel, the Nuhid brigade and the Ground Forces of the Islamic Republic were instructed to look into the matter. Following are the actions taken in this regard and the proposals suggested:

1. Since the residence of this group at the Army headquarters was against security rules, keeping in view their convenience, it was decided that they be evacuated from these premises.
2. Taking into consideration the expenses incurred for housing and other expenses, each family comprising one child receives a stipend of thirty thousand rials while an extra five thousand rials is received by families with every additional child.
3. Housing loans are extended to these families for the repayment of which a small amount is deducted from their monthly stipend.

Furthermore, the report of the commission appointed to look into the problems of the families of these people is enclosed for your esteemed perusal and further instructions.

Air Force Col. Jawad Fakuri
[Defense Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The above-mentioned suggestions have been approved. It is hoped that the families of these people will be able to live comfortably under the

protection of Islam and the Islamic nation and can ensure their success in this world as well as the hereafter.

I pray to Allah Almighty for the prosperity and health of our Muslim nation.

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

Letter

Date: February 4, 1981 [Bahman 15, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Disavowal of representation

Addressee: Muhammad Husayn Lavasani (Director General on Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The Office of Imam Khomeini:

Following the letters no. 1958/4 dated 8/18/1358 AHS (November 9, 1980) and no. 2056/4 dated 9/6/1359 AHS (November 27, 1980) regarding Mr. Mahdi Khorasani's claim to the representation of Imam for the collection of donations in America, enclosed please find a photocopy of the letter no. 660-3/13966 dated 9/26/1359 AHS (December 17, 1980) for your perusal and further instructions.

Muhammad Husayn Lavasani
Dir. Gen. on Political Affairs]

In His Most Exalted Name

The said person is not my representative and you do not have my permission to pay any attention to his claims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, February 4, 1981 [Bahman 15, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of orderliness; the difference between Iranian and foreign political parties

Audience: Mine workers of the steel industry, Chief of the Kerman Steel Industry (Engineer Salur), Representatives of Kerman and Zarand in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, All-Iran Directors of the Mustadafan Foundation, employees of the shipping organization, physicians serving at the southern war fronts of the country, members of the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults of Shiraz, and members of the Islamic Association of the Prime Minister's Office

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of orderliness everywhere

I may not be able to individually address the various groups that are present here today—among which there are also some war-disabled members—owing to my weak condition and shall therefore limit myself to a few general words.

A very important matter that our workers in factories and mines as well as our government employees should pay serious attention to is the observance of orderliness in every area of their lives. If the mine and factory workers or the employees of a government office choose to function in a disorderly manner, their disorderliness will prevent them from delivering their Islamic and national duties. It, thus, becomes inevitable for all our workers and government employees to observe serious orderliness and to abide by the instructions of their superiors so that, God willing, they achieve success.

You are well aware that in the past fifty years, all our factories and mines were not at the service of the nation. All the pains were taken by our nation whereas our enemy would reap the benefits. You would slog laboriously in the mines like the workers of the petroleum industry while the benefits of your toil would be enjoyed by the enemies of this nation. Now that your country is in your hands today and now that the benefits of your labor are reaped by you, the situation is completely different. It is our duty today to serve this country and to lead it to economic progress so that we are not left

dependent upon others. What I am saying is not limited only to a particular group of workers or factories. All the efforts of those who are involved in production work throughout the country are in the interest of their own country and their own nation and they should, thus, work selflessly paying attention to the maintenance of orderliness. If, God forbid, there are any mischief-makers and others who want to create turmoil in the factories do not allow them to succeed and stay wary of all their black propaganda. Any calls for strikes, non-cooperation, and neglect nowadays are treachery to this country and to the Islamic Republic.

These times are unlike the earlier days when you were called upon to go on strike. The strikes in those days impacted the fate of the country. You were asked to go on strikes in order to expel the plunderers from your own country; and with God's grace, you responded positively to those calls and achieved your aims. Today, it is altogether a different story.

Any call for negligence, turmoil, and anti-Islamic actions will be detrimental to you and to your country. Thus, you should remain alert and all the workers and government employees throughout the country should stay alert and refuse to respond positively to any calls for negligence, non-cooperation, strikes, and turmoil and anything that is against law and order. Eliminate those elements that encourage you against working for your nation. This is a general rule applying to one and all.

The difference between Iranian and the foreign political parties

Another important point that I have repeatedly mentioned earlier and which I once again remind you of today is that we are engaged in a war. We are engaged in a war with the superpowers. And since our enemies intend to enslave our nation and to eliminate our leaders, our nation should get together and exert the same unity that it exhibited in the early days of the Revolution and witnessed its great outcomes. The various groups, parties, and individuals should refrain from creating rifts and disturbances at a time when we are all in need of the unity of expression. Those who intend to eliminate this movement and this revolution and to return our country to the same plight of the days of the *taghuti*¹ regime are sitting abroad and instigating some internal elements to resort to actions, writings, and words in order to create a split in this revolution and to divide our great nation into various communities, each of them holding the banner of a particular group.

¹ *Taghut*: one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself, whether explicitly or implicitly.

These are the external instigations aimed at individuals or groups, many of whom may even be unaware of their conspiracies.

The evil elements that are sitting abroad and plotting our doom intend to make us cut off our own roots. Bring to mind that following the victory of the nation in the early days of the constitutional revolution various parties were formed and these parties got to each other's throats and ruined the country in the bargain. Do not think that the political groups of the other countries like the parties that were active in the early days of the constitutional revolution in Britain and were busy plotting rifts among us through their group games were acting against their own countries? None of their parties acted against the interests of their own countries. Even if they had differences of opinion in matters of action they were never unreasonable and maintained respectable limits. It was never as if one party would weaken another party to such an extent that it would work against the interest of their country. It is most unfortunate that those same parties that were active in their own countries suggest to us that a country should have various political parties that work against one another and in this way they instigate our various parties to stand in confrontation and to speak and write against each other resulting in loss for our country. The condition of the political parties in other major countries like the Soviet Union—if at all there are any parties there—and Britain, France, and America are different from that of the countries like ours.

You will never find two parties in America, either one of them or both, working against the interests of their own country. You have witnessed how during the recent elections in America, both the parties worked for their own candidate to be elected as the president and yet when one of them won and elected their president the other group did not get busy in demeaning him. Instead they extended their congratulations and busied themselves in serving their country and working toward its progress in unity. However, if countries that lack a powerful political insight form political groups or parties, they do not act the same way when a candidate from the rival party wins on any particular point and neither do they extend their support to him. Instead they stand in opposition and try to undermine him. This nation should open its eyes. These political leaders and statesmen should gain political acumen which is what they lack. They are not sharp enough to gauge what is in the interest of the country. They are instigated by people who are not committed to Islam, from both within and outside of the country, to stand against each other and to work against the interests of their own country.

Let me refrain from quoting a famous proverb. Our behavior is, however, reflective of a condition in which they want to enslave us, our country, and our nation while we are only aiding them in achieving their goal. We are pulling each other down. We are working hard to weaken our own country. As a consequence of our factionalism we weaken the morale of our army, our workers, and our government employees. And this is our gravest error. Even if we have differences of opinion and political differences we should get together peacefully and discuss our issues and resolve them. We should resolve our issues in an atmosphere of understanding instead of undermining each other. We should refrain from standing along with our parties on opposite sides endeavoring to weaken one another and our Islamic country. All this reflects a lack of Islamic commitment and a lack of political insight. If you claim to be Muslims abide by the Islamic decrees. And even if you, God forbid, do not believe in Islamic commitments, you should at least deal with matters with a political insight. What is happening today in the areas of writing, action, and speech is far from a good political approach and totally stem from a non-political and a non-Islamic attitude. I caution the entire country and the entire nation that if you follow those who wish to create rifts between you, no matter who he is, your country will fall into the hands of America.

The religious duty of the nation is to avoid divisive groups

If the nation finds some individuals or groups that are indulging in factionalism against the interests of the country, one group condemning the other and vice versa, the religious duty of the nation is to avoid them and to reject them.

Check out what is being said or written and see who is ultimately being harmed in the process. Isn't the blow being dealt to the entire nation and the government bodies? You will find that some newspapers have turned into battle grounds and are indulging in non-Islamic means. We have thousands of war-disabled people, some of whom are present here today; we have given thousands of martyrs who have sacrificed their lives and we are sitting in the security of our own homes being sarcastic toward each other, engaged in a battle through our pens and words. Our leaders should take lessons from the old ladies, the youth, and the children of our country. They should know that these people are committed to Islam and they are the ones who support this nation. If you switch on your television you will find that those who are supporting the war as well as those who are war-stricken are none but the weaker sections of the country. They are from the same social classes that

you consider as weak and call them the downtrodden. They are the ones who made the Revolution succeed in the first place and made you the leaders of this country. These are the people who are striving to make your country victorious and, whether knowingly or unknowingly, many of you are working toward the destruction of your own country. Stealing the morale of any individual or section of society who are busy serving the country will only work in the favor of the enemies of Islam. The nation should keep its eyes open and should refrain from paying heed to instigation and mud-slinging and should condemn the individuals and groups that are fighting among each other and are weakening each other to the detriment of Islamic interests. The leaders—that is if they have the magnanimity of leaders—must learn from the masses and from these large groups from among us because they are truly devout and are sincerely serving God. Learn from these youth who plead tearfully to me to pray for their martyrdom. Learn from these soldiers who are sincerely sacrificing their lives for Islam and for the Islamic country at the war fronts. You shall all be answerable to God and to mankind tomorrow for the innocent blood of our martyrs. We do not expect anything better from the likes of Saddam. It was quite expected for him to come up with such absurdities at the Ta'if conference. We do not expect anything better from the leaders of the countries that have fallen into the hands of the superpowers; those who supported the Shah and were partners in his crimes and those who are partners in the crimes committed by Saddam today. They can only act upon what their inhuman nature prompts them to do.

Instead of sitting together and discussing ways of supporting Islam, the Muslim countries, the Palestinian cause, and our Islamic movement they are busy plotting on how to create rifts among the various groups of an Islamic country that is striving to introduce the Islamic teachings in all its affairs and wants to abide by the Islamic laws. They are plotting to cause enmity between the Sunni and Shiah brothers. We have no expectations from such people. Their evil nature is bound to coerce them into such actions. However, our pain is because of the unexpected behavior of our own friends and the children of this very nation; the ones who have been brought up in this land, and those whose well-being depends upon the welfare of this nation and vice-versa. It is they who hurt us with their most unexpected behavior. We certainly do expect you to honor the blood of these martyrs and to show concern toward these beloved war-wounded people, the war refugees, and to work toward the progress of Islam instead of your selfish heedlessness.

Role of the press

You must keep in mind that the weakening of any stratum of the society, any individual who is serving the country, or any government body that is busy in service to the nation leads to the weakening of the entire nation. It is just like suicide. All these newspapers that are at war with each other and are in search of new ways and means of criticizing the country, criticizing the Islamic Republic, and criticizing different individuals or groups are evil and their pens are also ignorantly at the service of the satanic force. The newspapers and the press should be serving the interests of this nation and Islam. They should share brotherly relations and even if they have differences they should settle them amicably. The newspapers and the press should stand in unity and their pens should not be caustic. Their tongues should not sting like scorpions. You should know that if the human tongue starts stinging like a scorpion, that person will take the form of a scorpion in the other world. The tongues of those who undermine others and gossip about them shall become so long on the Day of Resurrection that it will fall under the feet of the others. This is exactly what is happening today and people are busy stinging each other like snakes and scorpions, either unknowingly or out of spite. I sincerely hope that their behavior is not deliberate and that they are not damaging this country knowingly. I hope I am not compelled to take any severe action. I advise such people to maintain peace and to stop lashing out at each other. I advise them to stop attacking each other. Work jointly toward the progress of this country and resolve your differences in an amicable way. Do not force me to take any strong action in which case I will dismiss you all of the responsibilities I had earlier handed over to you.

I pray to Allah Almighty for the health of all the brothers and sisters of this country and all those who are at the service of this country. And I request Allah to shower His attention and His mercy upon us and to resolve these differences for us.

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

Speech

Date: February 5, 1981 [Bahman 16, 1359 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of publicity and the negative propaganda methods used by the West against the Islamic Republic of Iran; defending the Islamic Republic against negative propaganda

Audience: Members of the Supreme Council of Islamic Propagation; Muhammad Salamati, the Minister, the Deputy Minister, Undersecretaries, and the Directors General of the Ministry of Agriculture

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of publicity

Publicity holds a very important place and it could be said to hold the highest priority in today's world. We have, unfortunately, not succeeded thus far in giving this matter its due attention. Of course the problems that we have been facing since the early days of the Revolution as well as the problems that were imposed upon us from external sources have prevented us from paying it due attention although we cannot deny the negligence on our own part. As a result, the others—whether the superpowers or their stooges—got busy propagating against us and did their best to portray a distorted picture of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Let me narrate a story that will highlight the significance of representation even in the olden times. It is said that there was once a poet who was asked who the best poet was. He replied: "Come along and I will show you the best poet." He took the man to his own home where he found an extremely dirty man sucking upon the udder of a goat. The poet introduced the man as his father saying: "The best poet is the son of this man who is too stingy to even milk the goat lest a drop of the milk goes waste in the pot! And you can well see the rest. The best poet is the one who has taken pride in such a father for long years and has portrayed him as holding virtues such as generosity etc.!" Such has been the impact of the propaganda against us. They are propagating things that are against human values, the human intellect as well as international conventions. Through their propaganda they are introducing corruption into the world in most attractive forms.

Negative propaganda methods used by the West against us

As you know our revolution has inherently been the best and the greatest of all revolutions. The essence of this revolution has been Islam, Islamic ethics, human ethics, and the growth of man on the basis of human values such that even those who lived under the conditions prevailing during the previous regime have the opportunity of being transformed into the kinds of people who lived during the early days of Islam and made sacrifices along with the Prophet (s) in order to spread the Islamic teachings. However, we fell short in presenting our wares. Our enemies offered their lies to the world as the truth; and presented their worthless wares as valuable stuff while they propagated our truth as something horrific! When you had handed over some evil people for trial and the courts pronounced the death sentences for them because of the long years of oppression they had committed over this nation—some of whom had even indulged in murders while others had ordered killings or were deviated in other ways—despite being aware of the internal truth about Iran, these foreign propaganda machines began to portray that Iran was indulging in a killing spree! It was not that they did not know that those who were sentenced to death here were actually beasts, murderers, and criminals; they knew very well what kind of people these agents of theirs were. And it was because of those very qualities that they had chosen them for their jobs. Yet when it comes down to propaganda, Iran is portrayed as a criminal, savage, and uncivilized country by them. All their own stuff is portrayed as good. Take for example Saddam's speech at the Ta'if conference, which according to sources lasted for eighty minutes, in which he covered up all his own crimes and portrayed himself as a well-wisher of the Iraqi nation and the Arab world, introducing his government as blameless. Even those who were present at that conference, some of whom are also the agents of the same sources from whom Saddam takes orders, supported his stance portraying that all his crimes against our country, our nation, our children, our aged, and our young ones as "progressive move" to the benefit of Islam and the Arabs! Yet, most unfortunately, because of all the turmoil created at the hands of the anti-revolutionary sources as well as all the anti-Islamic acts that are committed at the hands of the deviated elements falsely alleging the Islamic Republic, we have not been able to introduce our noble reasons for staging this revolution and ousting the previous regime. We have not been able to express what we are working toward and what the aims of our nation are and what we stand for.

If only the corrupt people from within as well as their external counterparts gave us some respite and if those crooked anti-revolutionary

elements gave this country and this Islamic Republic an opportunity, this nation would be able to revive Islamic justice in Iran for the first time in the history of this country. In the name of Islam and in the name of freedom, they committed cruelty and oppression; and under the farce of freedom for men and women they indulged in indignities and treated our women in a manner that the Mongols treated their enemies. We have been unable to inform the world and those who either know little or nothing about the conditions in Iran and about what we have to say and what we stand for. Unfortunately, there are also some deviated or ignorant elements inside our own country that intend to introduce this revolution as a corrupt one. We have also had some people from whom we had other expectations mention that the Shah's regime was better than the present one; "religious" people who are far from the realities of the previous regime. Just because a few deviated people have approached them claiming that they have been wronged, unaware of the truth and not out of any malice, they have said that the previous regime was better!

If we do not take quick measures, we will face great problems at the hands of the internal forces that have picked up their pens to defame this revolution, whether deliberately or out of ignorance. And despite the fact that our nation had witnessed everything with their own eyes, gossip-mongers spread that the previous regime was better than this one! This reflects our weakness in the area of propaganda. They rely upon the big powers and their grants for their propaganda. On the other hand, despite knowing that we are in the right we have neglected propagating our truth. They are busy propagating against us and the Islamic Republic. At times, they resort to writing or speaking against the Islamic Republic in the name of Islam while at other times they directly target this Islamic Republic without referring to Islam. They spread fresh gossip all over the city each day. We have been unable to even propagate our views within the country. We also have to admit that the message of our revolution has spread abroad on its own strength and we have not really had any role to play on this front. The Islamic nations abroad that have become acquainted with the happenings of this revolution did not come to feel passionately about our revolution because of any powerful publicity on our part. The message of the revolution spread almost naturally and those who did not harbor any bias or prejudice have, to some extent, come to understand what you and our nation stand for. They have recognized that our aspirations are not different from those of the other nations; both, the oppressed as well as the Muslim nations of the world. It was not as if we succeeded in propagating our message powerfully; we just

sat and watched the truth spread on its own strength. In fact, we did not do our duty well. If we had, right at the beginning of the victory of our revolution, sent out the groups that we are sending abroad today our case in the foreign world would have been quite different. The biased foreign governments would not have been able to propagate all the negative stuff about us so freely. If we had taken the precedent in conveying to the world the audacity of Iraq and its attack on us and if we had sent our representatives to the different parts of the world to inform everyone about what this savage was doing to our people and to these lovers of Islam, today none of the foreign governments would have been able to spread so much negative propaganda about this nation. All this is because we failed in this area. On the other hand, this world-famous Saddam promptly sent out various groups to all the Muslim countries and many other non-Muslim nations and propagated against us and gave a distorted picture regarding this imposed war against Islam and against humanity claiming that it was Iran who started the war! However, all well-informed people despite all the attempts of the foreign mass media have realized the truth and have declared that it was Iraq that had attacked us without any warning. The very fact that they have the audacity to make such false claims against us reveals that we have not been able to present our case to the world powerfully and have not effectively propagated the foreign aggressions against us. Well aware of the lack of knowledge among most people of the world, these forces started propagating against us and introduced us as the aggressors. Our only intention, however, was to defend ourselves. All that we are facing is owing to our weakness in the area of propaganda and the fact that they managed to present their own lies powerfully as the truth while we even failed to spread what was true.

Defending the Islamic republic against negative propaganda

If what our honorable authorities have embarked upon now—and may Allah grant them success—had been done immediately following the revolution, we would have been saved from a lot of trouble. If only some internal elements from among our writers and orators would carefully refrain from aiding foreign propaganda and if only they would refrain from supporting the crimes of others! If only they would harness their pens for the cause of Islam, Allah, the Islamic country, and the Islamic nation!

They really need to check the flow of their pens instead of instigating people to bad-mouth the government. As if they are not active enough, they call upon others to confront and to swear at the Islamic government. They want others to go around saying that the Islamic Republic is not Islamic by

any means and that the government bodies of Iran are all non-Islamic! They surely need to pay more attention to their responsibilities instead of defaming our Islamic system. No one is claiming that we are not facing any problems. There are also some corrupt people who have infiltrated all the government offices, the committees, the courts of law, as well as other places and are misusing their positions in order to defame the Islamic Republic; therefore there is no denying that there are occasional mishaps. But why are they overlooking all the good work that has taken place here? Only yesterday, one of the members of the Majlis was pointing out to the places of corruption—based upon his own information sources—totally ignoring all the countless centers of corruption that have been eradicated from this country as well as all the service that has been rendered to this nation and to Islam. They either ignore these services or else they present a distorted image of everything, blaming all the crooked activities of some corrupt individuals upon Islam and the Islamic Republic. These people should take a break and they should give their own actions a good thought; and they should instead be defending the Islamic Republic failing which it is bound face a setback because of the endless external and internal misrepresentation. You do believe yourselves to be part of this nation and you are committed Muslims, too. But do not forget that there are baseless grievances all over the place that you need to ignore. You have not faced any harm at the hands of Islam and do wish that Islam gets established in this country. So work toward this cause instead of blowing small matters out of proportion and distorting the image of the Islamic Republic in the world.

An honest and fitting representation of the Islamic Republic

I pray to Allah Almighty to grant success to you and to all those who wish to serve Islam. Keep in mind that the best means to make this revolution successful within the country and to spread its message abroad is an honest and unexaggerated representation. What we have to offer to mankind does not call for any kind of exaggeration. You should work toward confronting all the negative propaganda that the others have spread about our cause as well as all the lies they have spread against us. You should also spread the message of Islam as well as the vision of our nation—may it always be kept alive—exactly as it is. Our embassies should take up this cause that has unfortunately been neglected thus far. They may have recently taken this on to some extent but there were also times when this area was totally neglected. In fact, there have also been cases in which the opposite was being done. All these things should be given due attention. You need to give importance and

priority to proper representation in order to foster certain aims and as preventive measures. May you all succeed increasingly in this great mission, God willing!

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

Speech

Date: February 7, 1981 [Bahman 18, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Steadfastness in the pursuit of goals; putting a check on deviation

Audience: Editor-in-Chief and the members of the editorial board of the magazine, "*Puyandegan-e Rah-e Zaynab*" (*Ittila'at-e Banuvan*)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Steadfastness and persistence in the pursuit of goals

It is not very realistic to expect everything to go as per your desires from the very first days that you embark upon any mission. Even though you may feel that you have not achieved anything significant, your very intention to do something good has been the greatest achievement. The guidance of a nation is surely a great task and its most challenging aspect is the guidance of women who comprise half of the entire population and it is bound to be difficult. Even forming the intention to take on this task is an important step and once you have decided upon taking on a mission it is important that you do not give way to doubt and despair. This is because if man takes on a task with a shaky intention and then harbors doubts about his ability to see the job through to its desired end he is bound to be unable to do the job well. With the same enthusiasm that you decided to take on this mission, it is important for you to remain resolute and optimistic about your ability to succeed in this task, keeping in mind that you can succeed in achieving anything that you set your intention upon. You are seeing for yourself that many big achievements have been made within these two years in this country and the major transformation that has taken place here after centuries of oppression; and in spite of being a big task that many of these thinkers and intellectuals had thought would be impossible, it nevertheless became possible because the nation was determined and was unshakably resolute in its determination. Once again, the nation needs to stay determined and, God willing, stay resolute about finally achieving success and its very intention and determination will make it emerge victorious.

Putting a check on the influence of deviated elements

Now that you ladies have got involved in an Islamic and humanistic mission, you need to remain firm, keeping in mind the fact that since you are doing all this for God, you are bound to ultimately emerge victorious. First of

all, put in your utmost efforts to ensure that those who have deviated from the path of Islam and the course of the Islamic Republic do not infiltrate into your affairs. It is not as if these people will approach you declaring that they are deviated and have come to join you. In fact, they may even appear more enthusiastic than you, about wanting to work along with you for the cause of Islam.

It is important that you have previously known the people that you choose to work with well enough and that you are clear about their condition as well as the situation of their families, what path they have been pursuing, their university records if they have attended university, and all the other information about them like what jobs they have held and other such details and only then select people to work with you in this big mission. And as regards your method of operation, refrain from paying any attention to the criticism that these deviated elements aim toward you or even toward the name that you have chosen for your magazine. Stick diligently to the path that you have chosen!

The need to scrutinize the contents of the articles in the press

Make sure to form a committee to carefully scrutinize all the articles that are sent to you by people who are not on your editorial board. It may just be that an article may begin very impressively and yet there may be matters included elsewhere in it that may be against your ideology. Thus, all the articles must be examined thoroughly by a whole committee and not just by a single person. And only once you are ensured that it falls completely in line with your mission should it be published in your magazine. The same applies to the photographs you publish, if any. Although it cannot be generalized, it is important that you pay the utmost attention to the pictures you use in your magazine so that you are not tricked into including photographs that your magazine should not contain. Stay persistent in your mission and expand it. And if there are some people in your office who are against your principles either dismiss them or at least do not give them the permission to get involved in your work. I pray to Allah to grant you success in this great and much needed service! Yes, there are people in our country who are against your mission. You do remember what the women of our country went through during the times of the Shah and his father and how they had converted this large stratum of the people who should have been at the service of Islam and the Muslims into puppets in their hands. You should pay serious attention to these matters and should avoid such people who were earlier at the service of the previous regime. Make sure that they do not

infiltrate among you. May Allah grant you success in the continuation of your great work!

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, February 8, 1981 [Bahman 19, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 2, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Value of the endurance of hardship; military personnel to refrain from political leanings; disregarding negative propaganda

Occasion: Anniversary of the historical parade of the Air Force officers before Imam Khomeini on February 8, 1978

Audience: Defense Minister and Air Force Commander Fakuri, and the representatives of the Air Force personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Values are tested in times of hardship

Human values are not revealed in normal situations. In the peaceful times in a country, when people are living their routine lives, the values of individuals and groups are not really exposed. During such times anyone can claim to be a man of values and a revolutionary. It does not hold any weight to speak of individual and group values after a revolution is staged and victory is achieved because once victory is gained, various groups come up and claim to be revolutionary offering their allegiance. All kinds of groups from all over the place gather to reap the fruits of the ready-made revolution. And more often than not, these groups or individuals who come to reap the fruits are not even prepared to share them with the actual owners of the orchards! They want everything exclusively for their own selves. You witnessed how, following the victory of the revolution, some groups and individuals surfaced and introduced themselves as revolutionaries, wanting to partake in the benefits of the revolution. And unfortunately, they refused to even recognize the actual revolutionaries as their partners. The real values of individuals and groups are revealed and proved in times of hardship and during danger.

On the day that you, honorable Air Force personnel, took to the scenes and opposed the *taghuti* regime, your true worth was recorded in the annals of history, the rewards of which are also safely preserved with Allah Almighty. Your action on that day is incomparable with your actions today. On that day, if you or anyone else chose to join the masses under the banner of Islam he would have to face hardship, the danger of death, and the satanic force of regime. On that day you emerged victorious from your test.

Similarly, people like you who appeared on the scenes and went on strike against the *taghuti* regime or demonstrated against it revealed their worth and value. However, since you were the personnel of the Air Force of the *taghuti* regime in those days, you proved your merit more than the others, by cutting off from the regime and joining Islam. The revolution owes its victory to the entire nation and to your efforts as well as those of the other forces that followed you and joined the banner of Islam, thus proving their worth and value. That day, too, should be counted as a *yawmullah* [The Day of Allah]! A day on which Allah Almighty mobilized you brothers and this great mass of people, and you obeyed the divine command and joined this human-Islamic nation and the banner of Islam. All of us value that memorable day! That was a day which has been recorded in the annals of history and in the history of the air-force. And I express my thanks to all the forces—the Air Force, the Navy, and the Army—and all the armed forces that joined into the service of Islam even though they were then in the service of the *taghuti* regime. The entire Islamic nation deeply appreciates the services of all those forces.

Military personnel to refrain from political leanings

A matter that I would like to remind our armed forces and especially the Army and the Gendarmerie as well as all those who are connected with the military forces is to be watchful of the presence of political leanings and political propaganda in Iran. Some groups or individuals may penetrate among you and may try to instigate you with political views that are not in alliance with Islam; or in other words, the politics of the East and the West. I suggest that you keep yourselves aloof from these political leanings and political issues. You may, of course, keep your political views and stay well-versed with political issues. However, the political leanings that these vested elements may discuss with you and may instigate you with by infiltrating into your groups may unknowingly separate you from the path that you have pursued thus far and through which you have left the *taghuti* regime and joined Islam. Politicians have access to certain political information that the common people do not. Some people may perhaps approach you from among such people who have political inclinations that may not fall in line with the politics of our country and may, God forbid, cause deviation among you with their propaganda, and deprive you of the precious reputation that you have in the world and in Islam and in your country. You should remain very alert against such evil forces that wish to swerve you—either toward the left or toward the right—even if it is under the name of Islam, Iran or under the

name of this country. Stay very alert so that they do not—God forbid—succeed in causing you to deviate and part ways with beloved Islam.

The Islamic government is based upon human ethics and values

Islam has brought along with itself a gift for you and for all mankind and for all the peoples of the world. A mutual gift for one and all! And alongside the Islamic agenda there is guidance that will guide you on a path that will salvage both this world as well as the hereafter for you. No other regime and no other government will be committed to human ethics and values like the Islamic government and the Islamic regime. There are many claims and no matter where you go, the leaders of countries, and especially the superpowers make a lot of claims; claims like concern for mankind and the welfare of the masses and the workers. There are many such claims and there have always been such claims; claims like respect and loyalty to human rights. Such claims are countless. They always existed and exist in our times too. However, examine the actions of these claimants and not their words. Their words are very appealing but their actions are more bitter than poison. Those same so-called champions of human rights and all those who claim that international agreements should be honored are the very first ones and the very first governments who pay heed neither to human rights issues nor to all those organizations that have been formed by them. Look at the actions of those who claim to have revolted for mankind and for the oppressed people and you will find that they are the ones who are anti-human in the first place and are even against the interests of their own nations. All their propaganda is in order to gain power. All the Eastern as well as the Western propaganda is polluted with the insatiable selfish desires in man. They trick people with their impressive words and their very appealing talks. They use people and enslave them to gain power for their own selves. Those same people who claim to be from the masses and for the masses, have imprisoned and killed millions of common and oppressed, once their revolution gained victory. And those same people who claim to be the champions of human rights have ruined mankind and have deprived all the oppressed people of the world of even their most basic human rights once they have gained power.

Lend your ears to neither the Western propaganda nor to the Eastern propaganda and do not pay heed to the political groups that wish to lead you and this nation to a path that is different from the path of Islam.

Open your eyes and your ears! Pay attention to the talks of people who approach you and may try to infiltrate among you and check if what they say is the same as what the nation had said at the beginning of the revolution;

that is, unity of expression and focusing on God. Even though you were quite a small number, this same unity of expression ensured your victory against the superpowers and liberated your country from the prolonged domination of the foreigners and the despotic kings. It brought you independence and freed you and your country from the clutches and domination of others. You should stay alert and pay attention to what some people whisper into your ears and see whether they talk about disunity among different groups or they invite you toward unity and solidarity. If you notice that their invitation is toward unity among the various strata of the nation and if they do not intend to create rifts between you and the revolutionary guards, between you and the clerics, between you and your leaders and in fact invite you to what Allah Almighty invites you to, which is invitation to unity, Islam, and the cable of Allah and warn you against disunity, then you should know that they are sincere and what they say is Islamic and acceptable.

If, on the other hand, you notice that what some individuals or groups say is in contrast with the words of Allah Almighty: “*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah,*”¹ and that they intend to create rifts among you and a certain group of the nation or to instigate you to confront a particular stratum of the nation or the entire nation, do know that their invitation is against the call of Islam and the prophets of God (*a*) as well as Allah’s invitation to general unity. Groups that wish to make their presence felt in Iran, like what they attempted to do a couple of days ago, are the same ones who claim to be working and “sacrificing themselves for the masses” while you can clearly see that they have never been and are never present anywhere at the war fronts but are instead involved in creating problems for those beloved ones who are busy defending our country at the fronts. As a matter of fact, they have nothing to do with Islam, humanity, and the masses. They are the enemies of the masses and yet they call themselves the “*fada’iyan-e khalq*” [sacrifices for the masses]. They are using the same trick that the superpowers use in order to suppress the nations including their own. They claim to be the comrades of the masses and refer to each other as “comrade” while they are actually the enemies of the masses. Both the East and the West are against humanity and are not concerned with anything other than themselves and their own power.

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

False claims of the self-proclaimed supporters of the masses and nationalism

Make a comparison between the leaders of the powerful countries and the early leaders of Islam, who commanded even more power; and see the vast difference between the two. Notice the difference between the Islamic and the non-Islamic rulers. It is most unfortunate that the evil forces did not allow Islam to be established in its true sense. They did not let the real face of Islam blossom. Islam was misunderstood from the very beginning and is misunderstood even now. And now that you, the Iranian nation and the beloved soldiers of Iran, intend to revive Islam in this country and to establish it for good, you can see that almost all the big powers are opposing you and condemn you whenever and wherever they can. Even though it is clear with this war that you have been afflicted with and with Saddam's invasion on our country and the massacre of many of our children, youth, women, and the aged that it was Saddam who first attacked our nation, he pleaded innocent at the Ta'if conference! And yet there was no one among them to remind him that it was he who waged the war upon Iran. It was a conference in which different countries got together and made an agreement to rise against Islam and the interests of the Islamic nations in the name of Islam itself. Many of them are known to us and you all know what they inflicted upon their own nations and Islam during their monarchies and premierships. Their alliance with the Zionists is also well-known. And yet they all get together for a meeting in which that person (Saddam) addresses them and gains approval from many of them. There are many claims and yet the truth is quite the opposite. There are many people who claim loyalty to Islam but when their actions are examined they are found to be completely in contradiction with Islam. There are many people who talk about nationalism and claim loyalty to their nations. But when they gain power, their actions are against the interests of their nations and against their claims of nationalism. One of such examples was Bakhtiyar.¹ He was a member of the "National Front" and was a so-called nationalist and yet you all saw what he did with our nation. And had you all not stood up and restricted him, it is not known to what extent he would go. Do not let words and claims deceive you. Think for yourselves. Open your own eyes and know that it is only Islam which supports nations.

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar was the last Prime Minister of the Pahlavi regime.

The undying national allegiance to Islam

It was only the early Islamic governments that provided support to the nations and were concerned about the masses. The rest just pay lip service while Islam takes action. The others simply sermonize on human rights while they act against them. Islam both respects and acts according to human rights. It does not undermine anyone's rights. It does not deprive anyone of the right to freedom. It does not allow anyone to dominate over others and to deprive them of their rights to freedom in the name of freedom and their rights to independence in the name of independence. Stick to Islam and strengthen your ties with Islam each day. Stay alert not to, God forbid, allow those evil forces that wish to sever your ties with Islam, to create rifts between you and the nation, and between you and the clerics who are your well-wishers, to succeed.

May Allah take our victory to its final destination and may He grant you dear brothers from various strata with success to see this journey on the Straight Path which is the divine path of humanity to its end! The final destination is Allah and His grand blessings. May you be blessed with endurance with His Will!

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

Decree

Date: February 10, 1981 [Bahman 21, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting pardon to prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of Iran)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

Enclosed herewith is the list of the names of eight prisoners from the revolutionary military court who deserve to be pardoned according to the verdict of the judge of the said court.

Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

You have my consent.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 21, 1359 AHS

¹ It is based on the Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Message

Date: February 11, 1981 [Bahman 22, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: An analysis of the conditions of Iran and the world on the threshold of the third year of the victory of the Islamic Revolution (a nine-point recommendation)

Occasion: Second anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution¹

Addressees: The Iranian nation and the Muslims of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I extend my felicitations to the blessed presence of the Imam of the Age—may our souls be sacrificed for him—and the noble and victorious Iranian nation at the beginning of the third year of the victory of the Muslim Iranian nation.

During the past two years, this beloved nation has witnessed many sad and happy events including its great victory over the satanic powers and the establishment of the Islamic rule in all its aspects; the elimination of the aggressive and covetous domination of the right and the left blocs and their loyal stooges; the freedom of the pious scholars and the committed intellectuals from the infernal prisons; the closing down of the centers of widespread corruption and deviation of the youth; the expulsion of the pompous, corrupt, and destructive military advisors and overlords; the executions of the criminal, treacherous, and greedy leaders; the expulsion of treacherous, opportunistic, and criminal parasites; the astonishing transformation of the various strata of our beloved nation from sheer apathy to commitment toward Islam and the country, which has been demonstrated in the course of the holy war with the satanic powers and their lackeys, and particularly Saddam; thousands of development projects and the formation of training centers in the rural areas for the masses that had been kept backward; the eradication of suppression and the creation of an atmosphere of freedom, as well as many other achievements that cannot all be enumerated here. Alongside these positive achievements, our country has also faced some bitter problems like the armed uprising of the parties supported by the evil forces; the plunders and the massacres of our Muslim Kurd, Turk, and

¹ This message was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, for hundreds of thousands of the people of Tehran who had gathered at the Azadi Square after a long rally in commemoration of the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

Baluchi sisters and brothers; the disorder created by the treacherous mercenaries that have infiltrated into the various strata of the society and government bodies, and unfortunately at times, the youth who lack awareness of the Islamic governance and consider their wrongdoings as Islamic behavior; and most importantly, the imposed war and the inhuman attack of the criminal Baath regime of Iraq resulting in the plunder and massacres of our innocent inhabitants of the border areas and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of our beloved sisters and brothers; as well as some other tribulations which are the unavoidable repercussions of every revolution. However, with the grace of Allah Almighty, these repercussions have been negligible compared to the other revolutions—including the ones that have taken place in some other Muslim countries—even though some misinformed and delusive elements have and are magnifying them out of proportion and are either knowingly or unknowingly contributing to the defeat of Islam.

Now that, by the grace of Allah Almighty, the great Islamic Revolution is entering the third year of its victory and is progressing against all odds and despite all the attempts of its ill-wishers and the corrupt groups which are the agents of either the East or the West, who had hoped to see the defeat of the Revolution in less than six months, and were looking forward for our nation to get disillusioned and turn its back upon the Revolution so that the doors would open once again for the lackeys of the previous despotic regime and the criminal America as well as the other plunderers who are lying in wait with their evil conspiracies to take undue advantage of the situation, our great nation should work for increasing solidarity and unity of expression. Today, the awakened Iranian nation is witnessing great human and Islamic cooperation all over the country and the sacrifices of wealth, life, and beloved ones for the victory and for the expulsion of the Baathist unbelievers from its beloved country; and the venomous pens of the malicious enemies and the negligent friends have had no adverse effects upon the morale of the masses of the millions of noble Muslims of Iran and the world. At this point I deem it necessary to draw your attention to the following points:

1. My first humble word of caution is to the orators and the writers, both from among the clergy as well as the members of the press and the mass media. My dear ones! As you all know, your achievements including the elimination of the *taghuti* regime and its replacement with the establishment of Islamic Republic has not come to you easy and has in fact been achieved at the cost of the blood of thousands of young believers as well as the

sacrifices of thousands of those who have been invalidated and handicapped, for which we shall be indebted to them all our lives. Do not squander off this great divine blessing for a small price. You honorable gentlemen who contributed to the victory of the Revolution and to whom Iran and Islam belongs should try to employ your pens and your tongues in serving the cause of the Revolution and to ensure its freedom and independence under the aegis of the Islamic Republic and the grand banners of *tawhid* and Islam. Put in all your efforts in boosting the morale of the nation and strive ceaselessly against the invectives of the deviated elements aimed at demoralizing the nation. Refrain from demoralizing those who are at the service of the Islamic Republic because that would amount to serving the interests of the world imperialists who are lying in wait to take undue advantage of your pens and your words.

It would be most unjust if we just stood aside and hurt the illumined hearts of the beloved Islamic youth from the army, the revolutionary guards, the gendarmerie, the *basij*, the police, the tribal volunteers, and the other dear ones from the various cities and rural areas of the country who are sacrificing their lives and their blood for the cause of Islam and the Muslims. Take an honest look to compare our contribution toward Islam and the Islamic country with that of our dear selfless youth from the universities, the theological schools, and the rural as well as the urban areas, right from laborers to the traders. Right from the onset of the Revolution it has been this cadre of people that has shouldered all the burdens and responsibilities and have selflessly offered their lives and it is to them that we owe everything we have today.

Our true leader is that twelve-year old boy—whose tiny heart is much larger than hundreds of our pens and words—who threw himself with a grenade under the enemy's tank and destroyed it, and attained the sweet blessing of martyrdom for himself.

O God, forgive me! Our beloved children and youth are sacrificing themselves for our welfare!

2. I remind the personnel of the army, the revolutionary guards, the gendarmerie, the *basij*, the police, and all the paramilitary forces that you are divine soldiers and are engaged in the service of Islam and in the protection of the Islamic country. The Muslim Iranian nation deeply appreciates your services and believes you to be an inseparable part of itself. No other country in the world today shares such a strong relationship with its armed forces. The army and the police that severed their ties from the *taghuti* regime and joined the cause of Allah with all their fervor, at a time when the price of any

sort of rebellion was no less than death, have delivered upon their responsibility toward Islam and their country and have earned the satisfaction of Allah. Similarly, our beloved revolutionary guards and the other paramilitary forces that made our sacred revolution victorious with the support of our great nation can hope to stand with their heads held high in the divine presence for bringing honor to the Islamic Republic.

My beloved ones! Stay alert because there are ungodly people who intend to create a rift between you and the nation in order to drag the Revolution to its destruction and to enslave the country to the superpowers. Stay away from the evil instigation of these agents of the East and the West with all your might and resist them powerfully. Although the armed forces should be politically aware and should never act blindly, they should, however, refrain from getting involved in the affairs of the politicians because their involvement in political affairs could provide the seasoned politicians with an opportunity to create rifts among them and to attain to their ultimate goal of enslaving the country and could destroy the foundation of the Army which can only serve the country effectively under complete internal unity. O you dear personnel of the armed forces who are determined to serve your country! Beware of any involvement in political games because you will then be deprived from serving your homeland and will be dragged either toward the East or toward the West! Any political games will only force you to take sides and will make you cynical toward some sections of the nation and will eventually take their toll after creating rifts among you.

Today the entire nation has faith in you and considers you to be at the service of Islam and the country and extends its support to you. As you can see, behind the warfronts, millions of people—young and old, female and male—are engaged in action and service for your victory. Our orators and speakers today feel deeply toward you. In case deviated people infiltrate among you and try to disillusion you about the clergy and the religious people in order to create a rift between you and the nation, you should know that they only intend to achieve their own evil goals. Stay alert and drive away such devils! It is necessary for you to strive with all your ability to maintain unity among yourselves. Keep in mind that there is no distinction among the armed forces and all of them are engaged in making sacrifices for God, Islam, and their beloved homeland and those who intend to create a rift among the Revolutionary Guard Corps and the Army and the other cadres of the armed forces do not have the welfare of their homeland and Islam in mind. And they are only waiting to, God forbid, disintegrate you from within before striking the final blow.

3. My word of caution to the clergies who are serving in the courts of law, in committees, in the *Jihad* for Reconstruction, and in other official bodies is not to interfere in affairs that they are not qualified for and that do not concern them because besides the fact that such interference would be illegitimate, it would also result in the disillusionment of the nation at the hands the clergy and would cause a rift between you and the nation. This is to be counted as a big blow to Islam and the Islamic country and will be among the unpardonable major sins. The devils who instigate you to indulge in such interferences are the sworn enemies of the clergy and Islam and by such actions they aim to eventually achieve their evil goals following which they will isolate you and will drag the country to destruction. Any kind of interference in administrative affairs or in the processes of appointment and dismissals or in similar affairs, except those who have been directly authorized by the government to do so, amounts to illegitimate interference and will lead to turmoil in the affairs of the country and should, thus, be strictly avoided.

My greatest fear is that some of the young clergies who are responsible for safeguarding the honor and dignity of Islam and the clergy may end up portraying very distorted pictures of Islam and the clergy through their actions even if they are well meaning. I dread that the devils who are sitting ready with their venomous pens to blow things out of proportion in order to bring down the Islamic Republic may blame the Islamic Republic for the misdeeds of some individuals and may bring ill-reputation to the Islamic Republic under the pretext of saving Islam.

4. There is no doubt that there have been many instances of unauthorized interferences by some so-called “clergics” as well as some others who have given themselves the undue permission to interfere in the affairs of the country. The authorized officials of the country should seriously prevent such interferences and the proficient writers and orators should also strive for the same by providing brotherly advice and healthy criticism. However, this should not be done in a spiteful manner and out of personal malice or in order to distort the image of the Islamic Republic which is itself a major sin because not only are such actions futile but they also end up invoking detrimental reactions. Unfortunately, instead of offering healthy and positive criticism and guidance some of the writers and orators are seeking to disappoint people with the Islamic Republic through their spiteful criticism. Such people have resorted to slander instead of constructive criticism and are themselves caught up in destructive action instead of forbidding it. May Allah guide all of them!

5. I once again warn the world, and Iran and the region in particular, against the dangers of America. All those who have united against the Islamic Republic of Iran have direct or indirect ties with America. The Iranian nation should resist this danger with all its determination. As soon as America found that the military attack on Iran through one of its agents—i.e. the Iraqi government—only ended up strengthening the unity of our people, it once again resorted to escalating the internal differences in Iran. The heroic Iranian nation should foil this evil plan through its unity like it did with their earlier conspiracies.

6. The threat of international communism should not be treated lightly. Although the superpowers are blatantly sucking the blood of the oppressed peoples under different pretexts, notwithstanding all their claims, and are only concerned with their own material welfare, the threat of communism is no less of a threat than Western capitalism and the Iranian people should stay aware of their conspiracies.

7. Today Israel and its close ally, Egypt, are contemplating upon the formation of a central nucleus in the region for the extermination of the Muslims and their lofty values; and now even Iraq and some of the heads of the countries of the region have consented to this plan. It is for almost twenty years now that I have been warning against the dangers of international Zionism. Not only has its threat to all the liberation movements of the world and the Islamic Revolution of Iran not waned but also I believe that these greedy leeches have equipped themselves with various tactics and are taking steps toward ruining the oppressed peoples of the world. Our nation as well as the other free nations of the world should stand up with courage and awareness against their dangerous conspiracies.

8. I once again extend my support to all the liberation movements of the world and sincerely wish that they will succeed in attaining freedom for their societies. And it is hoped that the Islamic government will come to their rescue whenever necessary.

9. My message to our great nation and to the great masses of people at whose blessed hands the great victory was attained and who brought about the revival of Islam in this century and to whose invaluable services we are indebted is that this great miracle of the century and this unique victory and this Islamic Republic needs to be safeguarded and protected. And that can only possibly be through your able hands that are supported by Allah, the Omnipotent. Your beloved great nation selflessly sacrificed everything for the satisfaction of God and gained this grand celestial blessing. Effort and forbearance will be required to ensure the safety of this achievement. The

wicked elements, perhaps most of them belonging to the affluent stratum of society connected with the previous regime, intend to dampen your spirits through rumors, fabrications, and deception and to deprive you of this great achievement that fell into your hands through the sacrifice of the blood of the martyrs and our beloved youth. They wish to cause despair among you through excuses like the shortage of petrol, kerosene, sugar, and such things only in order to deal their final blow. Indeed, falling prey to such rumors and deceptions is rather a blow to your human dignity. These blind-hearted people think that you have sacrificed your youth and your beloved ones to gain petrol and kerosene and that you are serving Islam and your beloved homeland only to fill your stomachs! Drive away such people who are the enemies of your honor and dignity and do not allow them to succeed in their conspiracies. Take your inspiration from the struggles of the great Prophet of Islam (s) and his companions and the hardships and shortages they faced and yet made Islam victorious by sacrificing their lives and their blood. Follow in the footsteps of those great souls and strengthen Islam and protect your beloved homeland. Reject malicious people and do not fear anything, for you have God's support. I pray to Allah Almighty to support Islam and the Muslims and for the speedy victory of the army of Islam over the unbelievers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 11, 1981 [Bahman 22, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Paying tribute to the martyrs and their honorable families

Occasion: Beginning of the third year of the victory of the Islamic Revolution¹

Addressees: The Iranian nation and the families of the martyrs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At the onset of the third year of the victory of the Revolution, which is indebted to the brave sacrifices of the nation, and particularly, to the martyrs and the war-handicapped, I beseech the perpetual mercy of Allah Almighty for the ever-living martyrs and health and vigor for our beloved war-disabled and injured and send my endless greetings on them. Our nation is greatly indebted to these heroic soldiers who hoisted the banner of “*La ilaha illa Allah*” [There is no god but Allah] all over this beloved country and ensured the human dignity of this great nation with their strength and their blood and dealt a humiliating defeat to the leaders of unbelief and atheism with the support of the masses of millions, thus purging our country of their corrupt presence. May divine mercy and the endless gratitude of the beloved nation be showered upon their souls and the souls of the other selfless defenders of Islamic and human justice!

Our country has been facing many difficulties in the past two years, all of which it has, with the grace of Allah, victoriously overcome with dignity. We are hopeful that with the blessings of Allah Almighty and by resorting to unity of expression it will be able to overcome the other difficulties that are an integral part of every revolution and will withstand every hardship with patience and forbearance. Our nation and the armed forces of the Islamic Republic have proved in these two years that they are not prepared to let go of what they have achieved with great difficulty even if it is at the cost of their lives or the lives of their beloved children. You, the families of the martyrs and the war-disabled and injured, have proved that you will never tolerate the dominance of the colonial powers on the destiny of this country.

¹ This message was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, for thousands of the members of the families of the martyrs of Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, Algeria, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Afghanistan, and the Iraqi freedom fighters who had gathered at the Azadi Indoor Stadium to commemorate the anniversary of the Islamic Revolution.

You, the families of the martyrs have, by proudly sacrificing the lives of your beloved ones, proved to the world that you will give up everything for the cause of Islam. You are the heart and soul of this nation; May Allah's Help be with you! By sacrificing your children, your youth, and your beloved ones you have proved to everyone that no internal or external conspiracy can overcome this determined nation.

The struggles of our country are based upon our beliefs and such struggles can never be defeated. It is only this struggle, which is founded upon our beliefs, that motivates the entire nation and clears their path off all problems and hardships. A nation that has discovered the true and Straight Path of humanity and has taken on a holy war for this cause is victorious. You are bound to emerge victorious. O our beloved martyrs! Rest assured that most surely your nation will not squander your achievements. O the survivors of the blood-ridden martyrs and O you war-handicapped beloveds who have ensured yourselves with eternal life by sacrificing your wellbeing! Rest assured that your nation is determined to safeguard this victory till the establishment of the rule of Allah and until the return of the Imam of the Time (may my soul be sacrificed for him)! May you be eternal and may the Islamic Republic be victorious!

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

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, February 11, 1981 [Bahman 22, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Refusal to oppression and struggle against oppression

Occasion: Second anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Foreign ambassadors, diplomats, and military attaches based in Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The essence of the teachings of Islam: Neither oppress anyone nor be oppressed by anyone

I thank the honorable ambassadors and the other gentlemen who are present here today on the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic nation and their grand revolution. I also felicitate all the oppressed nations of the world on this day that marks the beginning of liberation from the clutches and the subjugation of the dominant superpowers.

The nation of Islam follows a school of thought that can be summarized in two phrases: “Oppress not, and ye shall not be oppressed!”¹ Our nation has been subject to the tyranny and the oppression of internal and external powers through the course of history. Especially so in the last fifty years, in which it was the big powers that brought the previous regime to power; Rida Khan who was appointed by the British and Muhammad Rida who was brought to power by the Allied Forces. We had been subject to all kinds of force and oppression through these fifty years—oppression and cultural invasion, oppression and military invasion, oppression and economic and social invasion. In the past fifty years, we lived in a country that was under foreign domination through their local stooges. We have witnessed oppressions that would call for the penning of an entire book if only they were to be recorded in the annals of history. We were subjected to all kinds of religious and national oppressions; the oppression of women, the oppression of the youth, the oppression of intellectuals and the oppression of Islamic scholars, the magnitude of which cannot possibly be described in a day or two. Our nation staged their struggle when these pressures had reached unbearable heights. They gave many sacrifices during this struggle which lasted for more than fifteen years and rose in protest when the

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:279.

widespread oppression had become intolerable and they managed to eliminate that tyrannical puppet regime from their country at the cost of the lives of their youth and after facing great massacres. Similarly, they managed to cut the hands of those who plundered this country and carried home everything for free in the name of trade.

We simply wish to implement those two principles as per the guidance of the Prophet of Islam (s) and choose neither to oppress anyone nor be oppressed by anyone. We have been oppressed throughout the course of history; oppressed from all angles. Today, we choose neither to be oppressed any more nor do we wish to oppress anyone. Based upon the principles that have been imparted to us through Islam, we shall never encroach upon the rights of any country and nor shall we ever violate the rights of any individual. However, it is also incumbent upon us to resist any kind of external aggression. Today, our people—women, men, the young and the old—are determined to rise up against all the oppressions that they have faced so far and are ready to sacrifice their lives for freedom, independence, and liberation from oppression. And we do have some moral expectations from all the nations and from all the world governments. If they are Islamic governments and follow Islam, then it is an Islamic injunction to neither oppress anyone nor to tolerate oppression from others. If they are the followers of Jesus Christ (a), then he has never endorsed oppression. And if they are the followers of Moses (a), then even he has never given any sanction to oppression and nor did he ever tolerate it. This is the message of the prophets (a); this is the divine message that has come to mankind through the prophets (a) who had taught that no one should ever become oppressive even to the slightest degree. And neither should they tolerate oppression. And the same applies to us who have tasted the bitterness of oppression. I have personally witnessed the oppressions that this nation was subjected to during the previous regime. The kinds of inhuman oppression that we were witness to during the ominous Pahlavi regime was not even inflicted upon animals! The savages that we were subjugated under did not have any regard for us or for our human dignity. These beasts murdered our youth under the worst kinds of oppression, torture, cruelty, and savagery. They even brought in torturers from Israel for training them. Today we have overpowered all those oppressions and our nation has overpowered that regime and all those internal forces that intended to exploit this country and to plunder its resources, including its human and its underground and land resources. They had plans to deprive us of all our resources for free. Our nation rose up and cut their hands off. And we will not lose our achievements

at any cost whatsoever. If you examine the historical background you will realize that contrary to Saddam's hollow claims Iraq was a part of Iran. Ctesiphon, in fact, belonged to Iran, evidence to which claim is available even now in Ctesiphon as well as in Taq-e Kasra,¹ which is still present close to Baghdad. However, since we are the followers of Islam and since we honor international agreements, we do not ever intend to infringe upon even a span of the Iraqi territory which now belongs to Iraq. At the same time, we shall never concede even a single span of our own territory to others. Neither shall we oppress them nor shall we be oppressed by them.

The humanity of the Islamic Republic and Saddam's atrocities

The honorable ambassadors who are present here and who are witness to the crimes that are being inflicted upon us through Saddam's regime and who have heard and seen these aggressions through the various radio stations and the press should know that this regime has committed violations against our country. And these aggressions and violations should be compensated for and what is rightfully ours should be returned to us before we can decide upon what to do with him (Saddam). And let us also see how the world reacts to their violations. This person has committed violations against us and our country and against all international agreements; he has acted against all human ethics and has massacred a large number of people who were dear to us—our children, our youth, our old men and women—and has rendered many of them homeless. Moreover, for a long time now he has been expelling multitudes of Iraqi citizens, simply because their forefathers had once migrated to those regions from Iran, leaving them homeless. However, as per the demands of humanity and Islam we have accepted those people with open arms and have treated them just as we treat our own people.

We have a large number of captives from this war which they have imposed upon us but we treat them quite differently from the way others treat their captives. We have treated them like our brothers even if they have been torturing our POWs. In fact even our minister of petroleum² is under their

¹ Taq-e Kasra or the Kasra palace of Ctesiphon is an important monument built during the reign of the Sassanid king, Anushirvan. This palace, the ruins of which can still be found near Baghdad, was the palace of a number of Sassanid kings proving the fact that the present Iraq was a part of ancient Iran.

² It refers to Engineer Jawad Tondguyan, the then Minister of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who, during his official business in Abadan, became captive of the Baathist forces. Due to the tortures he suffered in the Iraqi prison at the hands of the Baathist forces, he was martyred. Many year after, Tondguyans corpse was transferred to Iran and was buried at the Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery in the midst of the peoples intense sorrow. What is amazing is that in this speech, Imam Khomeini has predicted his martyrdom on account of tortures at the hands of the Baathist agents.

torture presently, to the extent that according to the newspapers of the last two days, his life is in danger because of their torture and he could, God forbid, even lose his life. This is the same regime and the same person who spoke such nonsense in Ta'if and feigned innocence. And yet there is no one to hold him to account or to even ask him whether he is actually the oppressor who is portraying himself as a victim or whether he is a traitor proclaiming loyalty to the Arab nations! Is there no one to ask him whether the Iraqi nation even approves of him! Just let him loosen the grip over the Iraqi nation for a couple of days and then see if the people of Iraq even approve of him. The damned Shah of Iran also made such tall claims of support from the nation! And yet you all saw how much support he received from the masses! The same applies for the Iraqi nation. If only the iron grip is loosened then the world will see who supports this person. All Saddam's talks about strengthening pan-Arabism¹ are against the very essence of Islam. All the races—whether Arab, or Turk, or non-Arab—have their own place in our view, and not as implied by the Baath party of Iraq, which demands that everyone should be Arab and not Turk or non-Arab. This is the same belief that Hitler held. He considered his own nation and his own race to be superior and we all have heard and seen what he inflicted upon the world. We will never oppress anyone and nor shall we ever be oppressed by anyone. All this talk about our plans to violate all the nations and all the governments is evil and is nothing but a false and malicious accusation that this criminal and his wicked party are laying upon us. We have repeatedly stressed that based upon the principles of Islam, neither will we ever oppress anyone nor shall we tolerate any oppression. Neither can we allow anyone to oppress us nor can we oppress anyone. And neither do we lust for even a span of anyone's rightful territory even if we may have the power to do so and even if we may have the power to overtake the entire world we would never think of doing so. Any kind of violation is against the principles and plans of Islam. And we will also never concede even a span of our land to anyone else. We have put Saddam right back in his own place and shall do so even more firmly.

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

¹ Pan-Arabism is an extremist form of Arab nationalism.

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, February 13, 1981 [Bahman 24, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to preserve unity and the precious victory of the Revolution; the source and the characteristics of dictatorship

Audience: Graduates of the Military Academy and the personnel of the Second Department of the Islamic Republic of Iran Army

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The plan of the superpowers to create rifts within the nation

Bahman 22 was the day on which the Army and the nation united together. And it was the day on which the Army turned back from the service of the *taghut* to the service of Allah and with trust in the greatness of Allah and with the support of the nation overpowered the *taghut*. This lesson should stay with us throughout our lives and we should always keep in mind that if all the people of a nation join hands and stay united, no power can stand against it or harm it.

If any superpower wishes to overpower a nation and to exploit it, it would either need to have the entire nation along with all its people on its side so that it can exploit them altogether or then it would need to play games with all the various groups of the country in order to create a conflict among the people of that country and its various groups. They know very well that if they want to exploit a country they would need to let it exist and they know that in order to succeed in their plans to exploit any nation they would need to get it to surrender to them in some manner instead of eliminating it completely. If an entire nation rises against the big powers of the world jointly, these powers would not dare to face them or to exploit them. It is impossible for them to exploit a country if the entire nation stands up hand-in-hand against them. Therefore, their primary efforts are focused upon creating rifts within the different strata of a nation in order to be able to subjugate them. Once they gain dominance over a nation they appoint a bully over it so that they can succeed in their goals of exploiting the country. Our nation has had an experience of this reality and through its unity of expression and its unity of purpose has managed to overcome all the powers

that supported the deposed Shah of Iran and his wretched successor-to-be as well as his unlawfully appointed prime minister whom he had left behind.¹ It was soon realized that none of these powers can overpower a united nation. It was proved on Bahman 11 [February 22, 1979] that it is impossible to subjugate a united nation that has been inspired by a divine purpose rather than a materialistic one. And they saw how the nation instead overpowered them. And all the foreign superpowers as well as their lackeys could not succeed in retaining the one they wanted to (the ex-Shah).

The values of 22 Bahman

When they saw that the entire nation refused to tolerate the corrupt *taghuti* regime, they had to concede and they were forced to carry away their stooge from here. It was you people who threw him out of here. There is a historical lesson in this for all of us. If we intend to achieve our objectives and to lead our country toward our own goals and to achieve the purpose for which all the blood was shed, losses were suffered, and lives were lost, we all need to stay united. This is the lesson we got from Bahman 22 and we should protect and sustain this lesson with all our might. Bahman 22 should remain as a moral for us throughout our lives and for our future generations who should also preserve this victory of Allah over the *taghut* and this victory of Islam and faith over disbelief and should hold it important. Let us honor this day on which God Almighty favored our nation and graced it with unity and victory. I thank all the armed forces—the military, the police, the gendarmerie, and the revolutionary guard corps—all of which are presently at the service of Islam; and if there are any exceptions they are negligible in the endless ocean and the great waves that have overtaken Iran today. The entire Iranian nation is deeply grateful to the armed forces, whether they are the ones that earlier served the former regime and later joined into the service of Islam and are from among the *tawwabin* (those who have returned to Islam in repentance) and shall be rewarded by Allah Almighty, or whether they are from among the forces that emerged from the masses; all of whom are dear to our nation. I am sure that the Army and the entire armed forces, too, are faithful toward the nation, toward Islam, and toward their own country.

More difficult to sustain victory than to achieve it

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

Although it takes great effort for a country to overthrow a major power and to attain victory, it is even more difficult to sustain this victory than to attain it.

At the time of victory the various groups existing within the country do not express any opposition to the common aim of the nation even if they do not agree with it. They either keep silent or if they are wise enough they go further and even express their agreement. You all saw that during the great uprising of the nation there were no overt opponents and all the opposition had stopped at that time and thus achieving victory was easier than sustaining it. After the victory of the nation, however, the various groups that were not aligned with you and intended to use this victory in favor of their own objectives began to express their opposition overtly and at times even attributed this victory to their own efforts.

Some sociologists as well as others have said that if a nation is victorious it unites and if it is defeated it splits up. This theory, however, goes against what we have learnt through our practical experiences. In fact our observation proves that after a nation emerges victorious, since its various groups have varying objectives they start opposing each other. We saw for ourselves that following the victory of the Iranian nation even all those various groups and fronts that were silent at the time of the uprising began their oppositions in order to attribute this miraculous victory to themselves and to exploit it for their own ends. In Kurdistan, the democrats claimed to have a share in the victory and, thus, set out to plan what to do next. In other places, too, the various groups—whether they were stationed in Tehran or were scattered all over the country—began their opposition and broke the existing unity of expression. All of them, believing that the final victory was achieved through their own efforts, now wanted to reap its benefits for themselves. Each of them began thinking in terms of eliminating the others so that they could become the sole inheritors. This is because many individuals as well as groups that could not earlier declare their existence in the face of that great uprising of the masses or those who silently watched the fall of the previous regime suddenly cropped up and began attributing the victory to their own struggles once it was achieved. Only about a couple of days ago either one of the newspapers or maybe one of the foreign news agencies had claimed that the victory of this revolution was achieved at the hands of the communists! This is because the opportunists only remain bystanders and wait to watch who succeeds. If the nation succeeds, they claim that it was through their efforts that the Islamic Republic was formed and if the foreigners succeed they claim that it was through their support that

this victory became possible. If the East wins they claim to be the true communists! And if the West wins they claim that they were only pretending to be communists while they were aligned with the West all along! Once victory is achieved these opportunists stand up in opposition in order to register the victory under their names so that they can reap advantages from its achievements. And even if we had faced defeat there would have been some other kind of opposition through which each party would blame the defeat upon the others. Of course those oppositions would be short lived, starting out with a hue and cry—each blaming the others—and would have soon faded away. However, victory brings along with it many aspirations and ambitions. In order to take advantage from the victory and to register it under their own names in the annals of history, the democrats claim that they made it happen. The communists also claim the same and many other groups, too, may end up claiming that it was through them that this victory was achieved. However, it would only take a short look to realize that these opportunists had no role to play in the achievement of our victory. It was this nation, and the Army, and the revolutionary guards and the other forces that united together to make this victory possible.

Relationship between a dictatorial nature and a deviated upbringing

Gentlemen, personnel of the Army and the other armed forces, officials! An important point to which I would like to draw your attention is that no human being is born with all the qualities that are manifested in him later on. No human being, with the exception of the men of God—like the prophets (*a*)—is born with any knowledge. It is only later on in life, as a result of their own efforts, that they gradually educate themselves each choosing a certain branch of knowledge. Likewise, no one is also born with a dictatorial nature. Even as a child gradually grows up, it is not as if the quality of dictatorship is inherent within him. However, as a result of a deviated upbringing right within the small environment in which he grows up, traces of dictatorship begin to gradually manifest in his behavior. If he is provided with a healthy upbringing, the quality of dictatorship does not strengthen its roots within him but if he is exposed to a corrupt upbringing, those traces of dictatorship in his behavior begin to grow. Similarly, as for those from the armed forces or even some other officials for that matter whether from our country or from the other countries who end up being dictators were not born like this. This trait grows in human beings gradually. Such a person start out believing that he is opposed to dictatorship but it so happens that at times he starts imposing his views and beliefs. He begins to impose his ideas upon

others. He does not bother to rationalize his opinions but rather only imposes them forcefully upon others. It is dictatorial to expect others to bow down unquestioningly to one's views. A rational behavior demands that we discuss our views with others and also seek their opinions. But it sometimes happens that the trait of dictatorship that has been nurtured within the spirit of some people—even if they may be unaware of the fact—demands that everyone agrees with their views and their understanding of things forcefully. This is where it begins and gradually when such people start gaining power, they step further and begin to impose themselves, depending upon the extent of their authority and the environment they are within. Once a person gradually enters into society, and maybe enters the army and becomes an army commander, that quality which is within his spirit begins to grow. To start with, even he is unaware of the matter and does not know that his behavior is dictatorial. He believes that his behavior is humane and Islamic but he keeps going further. As he advances, this trait, too, grows within him. It was not as if Rida Khan was a dictator right from the beginning. Or even Hitler for that matter. Do you think that wherever Rida Khan and Hitler were born, they were dictators right from the onset? As they gradually entered a wider social life and gained power, that dictatorial quality that was ignited within them, began to grow and gain strength until they emerged as dictators like Hitler; or like Rida Khan in our country. Muhammad Rida was also a dictator but functioned in a manner quite different from that of his father. He was also a dictator and disgraced others under the subjugation of his dictatorship. Those who brought him to power and made him ruin this country were well aware of this. They knew very well that his father was also a dictator. The son, too, must have made some commitments to them for them to bring him to power. It was not as if such people were born dictators. Similarly, no one is born freedom-loving. All these qualities are latent at the beginning. Generally, it is only as man goes further that he suddenly realizes that he is trapped in the throes of dictatorship.

The characteristics and evils of dictatorship

All of you who plan to, God willing, progress in the system and to grow in power should pay great attention to this point and should make sure to question yourself if when you gain power and maybe head a group or a garrison in the future, will you choose to guide your personnel or will you simply force yourself upon them, even if you are in the wrong. Are you going to be willing to accept your mistakes when you realize them or then re you going to carry in error right up to the end?

One of the evils of dictatorship is that when a dictator says something, he cannot and does not have the power to withdraw his views, even if they end up running against the interests of his own country or his own army. He simply insists on going ahead with whatever he wants. One of the biggest forms of dictatorship that one may fall prey to is to insist on what one wishes even if it carries a country to its doom. The dictatorship of Hitler and others like him was of this kind. Even when he saw that he had committed a mistake in attacking the Soviet Union, he refused to accept his folly and instead believed that since he had set out to do something he must see it to the end. And we all saw what disgrace such obstinacy brought upon him.

Even you who will, God willing, play active roles in this country in the future and will be known as the personalities of Islam should keep in mind that if you do not gain control over these qualities that lie latent within you, you will emerge as dictators at some point of time. Make sure that you do not end up turning so self-centered as to insist upon having your own way and refusing to accept your faults or mistakes even if you realize them.

A perfect man is the one who, when he knows that he is right, expresses himself rationally and explains his matter in a rational manner. When we read in the Qur'an that "*there is no compulsion in religion*",¹ it is because you cannot impose your views upon anyone. It is not possible for anyone to simply impose his beliefs upon others. It takes a lot of conspiracy to portray bad things as good. If a man is worthy of being called human and if he has had a good upbringing he should explain his views rationally to others instead of imposing himself upon them. He should inform people about the right path but should not force them to tread upon it. You should pay attention to eliminating this trait that is within man as you will, God willing, go on to become chiefs and commanders. You should stay aware right from now so as not to become inflicted with this self-centeredness which is the root of dictatorship and all other evils. If you find that you have really made a mistake do admit it. This confession will not diminish you in the eyes of the nation but it will only make you bigger. Any persistence in one's follies only degrades man further. If one commits a mistake and realizes it but yet insists on gaining some validity for his mistake he is indulging in an evil kind of dictatorship even if it may not appear to be so. Such behavior ends up in making a Hitler or a Rida Khan out of man.

You who are students of the army schools should keep this matter in mind and should make sure that your education is not only focused upon

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:256.

gaining a position for yourselves. It should instead be for the sake of serving the nation, the independence of the nation, the freedom of the nation, and the protection of the boundaries and the territories of this country. The aim should not be to reach commandership, irrespective of what happens to the nation. It is dictators who are only interested in gaining great power even if it is at the cost of the future of a country or even if it carries an entire army to its doom. You should make certain that this quality does not grow within you or is not, God willing, within you from the beginning. However, even if you do, God forbid, see it within yourselves do not allow it to grow any further because dictatorship is the worst trait that can degrade man and can carry a country to disaster.

May Allah bring further unity among the armed forces! And may He bring you in closer unity with the nation because it is only with unity and with unity of expression and with unity of goal—which is the same divinely-inspired goal—that the independence and the freedom of the country lie and the freedom of the people and all the desires of mankind that we shall achieve.

May all of you jointly, along with the nation—men, women, the old and the young—remain united among yourselves and with the entire nation so that you will be able to lead this country to where God Almighty wishes it to reach.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muammar al-Qadhdhafi, Leader of Libya

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Col. Muammar al-Qadhdhafi,

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the Muslim and revolutionary Iranian nation and thank you for your warm greetings. I hope that under the committed and compassionate leadership of their Muslim leaders and through their unity and solidarity all the Islamic nations will be able to regain their lost glory and will succeed in severing the hands of the plunderers and imperialists of the East and the West from their sacred countries and their rich and vast resources and to liberate the Muslim masses from this sorry plight. I pray for you and for the success and prosperity of the brotherly nation of Libya. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Chadli Benjaidid, President of Algeria

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Chadli Benjaidid,
President,
The Democratic Republic of Algeria

I was pleased and grateful to receive Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the beloved Iranian nation. Your Excellency has stressed upon the need for greater unity and the expansion of international relations among the Muslim countries. You will be pleased to know that we have been constantly pursuing this objective and are hopeful that with the Grace of God Almighty and with the awakening of the Muslim nations this wish gets materialized and the path is paved for the globalization of the pure religion of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad, Head of the Supreme Council of Yemen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ali Nasir Muhammad,
Head of the Supreme Council of Yemen,
Aden

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the noble Muslim Iranian nation and thank you for the same. I pray for the grandeur and glory of all the Muslims of the world and particularly your brotherly Muslim nation. May God's peace be upon you.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Yasir Arafat,
Chairman,
The Palestine Liberation Organization

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the grand Islamic Revolution of the Muslim Iranian nation and thank you for your warm greetings.

I pray for the victory of the heroic combatants of Palestine over the Zionist enemies and the enemies of all humanity. Verily He is All-Hearing and All-Responsive!

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

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Suharto, President of Indonesia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 25, 1359 AHS

His Excellency Gen. Suharto,
President of the Muslim country of Indonesia

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and thank you for the same.

I pray to God Almighty for the glory and grandeur of all the Muslims of the world and their unity and solidarity against the imperialists of the East and the West.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: John Paul II, Leader of the World Catholics

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence John Paul II,
Leader of the World Catholics,
Rome

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Eminence's telegraphic congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the great Iranian nation and thank you for the same. I hope that all the oppressed nations of the world can regain their true independence through their faith and reliance upon God Almighty and succeed in gaining victory over the arrogant powers.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Leonid Brezhnev,
General Secretary,
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the noble Iranian nation and thank you for the same. As mentioned by Your Excellency we, too, on our part look forward to a friendly relationship among all the nations of the world with due consideration to individual independence and mutual respect. I pray to God Almighty for the complete freedom of the oppressed nations of the world.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi

I was pleased to receive your warm congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the grand Islamic revolution of our great nation and thank you for the same. It is hoped that under the committed and compassionate leadership of their leaders all the oppressed nations of the world regain their rights and the right path.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Erich Honecker, Leader of East Germany

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 25, 1359 AHS

His Excellency Erich Honecker,
Secretary General of the German Democratic Republic

I thank you for Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. I pray to God Almighty for the success of all the oppressed nations of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Yumzhagiye Tsedenbal, President of Mongolia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Yumzhagiye Tsedenbal,
President,
Council of the People's Republic of Mongolia

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegraphic congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the noble Iranian nation and thank you for the same. I pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the oppressed nations of the world.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Chun Doo Hwan, President of South Korea

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 25, 1359 AHS

His Excellency Chun Doo Hwan,
President,
South Korea

I thank you for Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. I pray to God Almighty for the success and victory of all the oppressed nations of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Gustav Husak, President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Gustav Husak,
President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegraphic congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the brave Iranian nation and thank you for your warm greetings. I pray for the victory of the oppressed nations of the world over the arrogant powers.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Pal Losonczi, Chairman of the Pres. Council of the People's Republic of Hungary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Pal Losonczi,
Chairman of the Pres. Council,
The People's Republic of Hungary

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegraphic congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and thank you for the same. I pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the oppressed nations of the world and their victory over the arrogant powers.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Todor Zhivkov, President of Bulgaria

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Todor Zhivkov,
President,
Bulgaria

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of the great Iranian nation and thank you for the same. I pray to God Almighty for the success and victory of all the oppressed nations of the world.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of Vietnam

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Pham Van Dong,
Prime Minister,
The Socialist Republic of Vietnam

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegraphic congratulatory message on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and thank you for the same. I pray to God Almighty for the victory of all the oppressed nations of the world.

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

Letter

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Imam Khomeini's acceptance of the formation of the Supreme Council of Islamic Propagation

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence last:

As you already know, I am in charge of Islamic propagation at the Shahid Mutahhari School. Enclosed herewith please find a brief report of our activities thus far. Keeping in view the propagation activities of the Qum Theological School as well as the expansion of propagation outside Iran it was deemed necessary to form a council in order to grant better coordination and quality to our activities. In this regard, I have invited Hujjat al-Islam Jannati (Member of the Council of Guardians), Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Jawad Bahonar (Member of the Council of the Cultural Revolution), Hujjat al-Islam Shari (Representative of the Qum Theological Teacher's Society), Hujjat al-Islam Aba'i (Representative of the Qum Propagation Office), and Hujjat al-Islam Haqqani (In-Charge of liaison between the Supreme Council of Propagation and the Council of Coordination), all of whom belong to various cultural branches, the revolutionary institutions of Qum, and the Shahid Mutahhari School and along with them have established the Supreme Council of Islamic Propagation to support the Council of Coordination between the various branches of Islamic culture. The members of the council look forward to benefit from the paternal guidelines presented by our grand leader! May your benign existence endure!

Muhammad Imami Kashani]

In His Most Exalted Name

I consent to the formation of the proposed council. I am personally acquainted with the gentlemen whose names have been proposed and know that they are reliable. I am hopeful that they shall put in their best efforts toward this important task and shall endeavor toward the spread of Islamic propagation in all its dimensions. I trust that the people chosen to implement this important task will prove to be capable and trustworthy. I pray to God Almighty for everyone's success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Note

Date: *Unspecified*

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Participation of the members of Imam Khomeini's Office in the funeral service of Mr. Chehel Akhtarani

Addressee: Abdul-Ali Qarahi

[Haj Aqa Ali Chehel Akhtarani, the father of Mr. Kawthari, who used to recite *rawdah* on the day of Ashura has passed away. Make a call to Farideh¹ to inform the Office that there is a funeral service in Chehel Akhtaran.²]³

Call up Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali⁴ and request him to attend the funeral service of Haj Aqa Ali along with some of the members of the Qum office. The funeral service is scheduled to be held tonight.

¹ Mrs. Faridah Mustafawi is the daughter of Imam Khomeini residing in Qum.

² Chehel Akhtaran is one of the old localities of the Qum city where a famous mosque is located.

³ This note was written to Imam Khomeini by his wife.

⁴ Mr. Abdul-Ali Qarahi was Imam Khomeini's accountant in Najaf and was one of the members of the Imams Office in Qum.

Reply to a Query

Date: February 14, 1981 [Bahman 25, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ownership of barren lands

Enquirer: Muhammad-Kazim Sayfiyan, Mayor of Tehran

[The Great Leader and the Grand Religious Reference Authority, His Eminence Ayatullah Imam Khomeini,

I humbly request you to declare your verdict on the act passed by the Council of the Islamic Revolution on the annulment of the ownership of barren lands.

Yours respectfully,

Muhammad-Kazim Sayfiyan]

In His Most Exalted Name

Barren lands [*aradi mawat bi'l-isalah*]¹ cannot be owned by anyone unless and until they are made cultivable by the claimant. Any registrations and transactions of such lands are null and void. These lands only fall under the ownership of the Islamic government.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Aradi mawat bil-isalah*: barren lands never been cultivated and exploited, such as the deserts.

Speech

Date: February 15, 1981 [Bahman 26, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for self-assurance and using economic sanctions to promote self-sufficiency

Audience: The acting Petroleum Minister and his deputy-ministers, managing directors from the National Oil and Gas Corporation, the petrochemical industries, and other affiliated companies

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Foreign attempts to alienate the Iranian nation from its national identity

The biggest blow that we suffered at the hands of the big powers was the blow to our identity. All their efforts were focused on alienating us from our own Iranian-Islamic identity and replacing it with an identity dependent upon the East, the West, or the European world. The corrupt upbringing that had become prevalent in the previous regime and was growing stronger by the day attempted to create grounds for making our children reliant upon outsiders right from kindergarten on to high school and further. During that phase in which Iran had succumbed to this trend it was infected with the belief that “we are not capable of anything”. We either have to import everything from abroad or then we need their support. Even if we have to operate upon an appendix we either need to call for a surgeon from abroad or then we have to send our patient outside the country! You all saw how during Muhammad Rida’s times even for very ordinary problems like an appendix operation or something similar, a foreign doctor needed to be summoned. For someone who claimed to be the leader of this nation and who wished to convert it into a great civilization and for the aggrandizement of whom so much propaganda was done, such an attitude was bound to be a national disaster both internally and externally. The message that it would give to the foreigners was that if we had a specialist doctor for such problems in our own country we would not have needed someone from outside. Internally, such acts resulted in discrediting our own doctors and physicians. It is obvious that it was not the man’s fond attachment for his family member that prompted him to make this move. It was in fact a calculated act aimed at stripping this country of its self-assurance. Even if a road or a highway needed to be asphalted, they would depend upon foreign experts to come and do the job. This was not because we lacked experts but it was because the

aim was to ignore the core issue. The basic aim was to inculcate the belief that we are incapable and incompetent and that we needed to import everything from abroad including the asphalt for building our roads! Great amounts were spent for this purpose but what was of real concern was that it was being inculcated into the minds of the masses that we are incapable of handling even such small matters without the help of foreign experts. And this was part of the agenda. They wanted all our Iranian brains to become dependent on foreigners. Even our doctors were expected to lose their self-assurance with a fear of incapability and to depend upon foreign hands for everything.

Economic sanctions: an opportunity for self-sufficiency

You all saw during the imposed war and because of the economic sanctions imposed upon us, how the Iranians and our army personnel managed to manufacture all the needed spare parts. In the earlier days they could not even produce one of these parts simply because they had lost their self-assurance and were made to believe that we need to bring in foreign experts for everything.

It is my conviction that if we can only persist through ten to fifteen years of economic sanction, we will succeed in regaining our lost confidence and all the minds that had earlier become stagnant and inactive will become active again. It is only natural that if someone gets used to being spoon-fed he loses his ability to think and cannot even perform simple jobs to earn his living. If someone is used to being served his breakfast, lunch, and dinner effortlessly and if all his needs are taken care of by others, he then turns into a vegetable and gets paralyzed. What they wanted was to create vegetables in this country. Extensive propaganda and stifling efforts were made to make us believe that we are good-for-nothings and are incapable of anything. On the other hand, the plans were to import everything, including expertise, from abroad. Whenever any nation finds that all its needs are managed by foreign sources it does not even bother to take an independent step.

It is only when our nation realizes that if it does not take its agriculture, its petroleum industry, and its manufacturing industry seriously, it is bound to perish helplessly and it is only when it recognizes that it has to take its reins in its own hands since no one else is going to care about its well being will our local brains get active again and will we start producing experts in all areas and find capable hands to handle all kinds of jobs. Our agriculture will begin to flourish with our own efforts and we will be running our own factories.

We can already see how our people have started running our own factories. We can also see this on television along with their innovations. These innovations are thanks to the economic sanctions. If all our needs were catered through foreign hands our youth would never have stood up on their own feet. They would never have bothered to do anything constructive because they were being spoon-fed. I believe that this economic sanction which many people dread is like a gift to our nation because it means that we will no longer be spoon-fed. And it is only when this spoon-feeding stops that we will learn to get up and work for our own selves. It is quite likely that we will have to work hard for about ten years and may even have to face various hardships. But the final outcome will be that at the end of those ten years we will emerge self-reliant and will no longer need to stretch our hands out for the help of this and that nation or institute. The problem is that in the previous regime they had operated in a manner that had trained us and our youth to see themselves as completely incapable and had turned us into mere consumers who even took pride in the fact! Some people even went to the extent of saying: 'What's wrong in this! The others are our servants and provide for our needs.' Least did they realize that these people had in fact turned into their masters. They carried off everything that belonged to you with the pretext of catering to your needs!

Self-assurance and self-reliance

It is vital that we realize that no one is going to provide anything for us and only we have to learn to cater to our own needs. If only our farmers realize and believe that nothing is going to reach us from outside, they will start working for themselves. The nation will start working for itself. I had once heard that in the earlier days, the Chinese planted wheat even on their rooftops, besides their fields and backyards. If a nation wishes to become self-reliant and independent in every area, it simply has to discard the thought of importing everything from abroad. It has to inculcate the idea of becoming independent of the need to import from abroad. And even if we lack something, we will forego the need for it until we can manufacture it domestically. Even if we find that we cannot presently manage to set up a certain industry, we should not depend upon foreign help. We should pursue the matter on our own strength until we gain success which is bound to come eventually. There is absolutely no difference between "Iranian brains" and "European brains" except that they were brought up in one manner and we were brought up in another manner. We were brought up to be lazy. Fine! But for how much longer are we going to tolerate the idea of being a lazy lot

that is completely dependent on other lords and masters to provide for its bread, its meat, and to even administer its offices and its army. There has to be an end to this. A human being cannot remain a parasite forever.

What is important is that we believe in ourselves and our capabilities. Before anything else, it is necessary to have faith in oneself and in one's ability. Once this belief is firm, we can become determined. And when this determination emerges in a nation, everyone gets up and starts working. In any case, we need to get all negative beliefs out of our minds and our writers, our orators, and our public authorities should strive to inculcate self-assurance within our peoples; in the same manner that they inculcated the belief in the Eastern minds in the past few centuries through their propaganda that unless we rely upon the West or the North, we will not be able to do anything. This was simply a belief that even our writers and orators of those times endorsed. Some people, even if it was without any malice, believed that this is how it should be. Even today, there are many who believe out of goodwill that we should link up with them in some way or the other. And yet, there were other mercenaries who spread this belief. Today, notwithstanding all the negative propaganda, a nation has been formed beyond everyone's imagination and in spite of the fact that many believed that it would not be possible for a small and dependent nation to withstand and eliminate America with all its might and its prime position in the world. I had not come across a single person who believed that such a thing could be possible. They would either remain silent or would call it an impossible thing to achieve.

Well, you all saw that once a nation became determined everything became possible! When a nation is determined to achieve something, it is bound to succeed. They are once again attempting to surface this belief that we are incapable and that we lack the necessary expertise and that we lack the know-how. All those countries that ultimately succeeded, like Japan, started from scratch and labored hard and are now able to compete with America. America is a market for many Japanese products today. They did succeed in making the impossible possible. Another example is India which has advanced today because it adopted a belief in self-reliance...

Speech

Date: February 16, 1981 [Bahman 27, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A comparison between the Islamic Republic and the monarchial regime; condemning those who use their pens to dampen down the spirits of the nation

Audience: Members of the cooperative society affiliated to the production and development center of the Sistan and Baluchistan province; members of the Miyandoab *Jihad* for Reconstruction; the Quds Islamic Center of Tehran; personnel of the Revolutionary Guard Corps of Naqadeh, Mazandaran, East Azerbaijan, and Ahwaz; a group of the citizens of Ahwaz; and the war-stricken ladies residing in Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Since various groups are present here today and are cramped in this rather small place, I apologize for the inconvenience; and I thank you all at once because since we have many dear guests it will be difficult for me to greet all the groups individually. I appeal to God Almighty for health and prosperity for all of you; and will say a few words related to current affairs.

As you all know, since the very beginning of the victory of this Revolution, it has been under military attacks and still worse, under negative verbal and written propaganda which may possibly continue. One such propaganda that our enemies are attempting to instill among the various strata of the society is that this Revolution has not succeeded in offering them anything and that this Islamic Republic is no different from the erstwhile monarchial regime and that the change is only in name. Today I want to say a few words regarding the Islamic Republic and our officials so that we can examine whether as per their claims, it is just like the previous regime that many of these writers hope to revive, or if it is even worse than that. My aim is not to totally vindicate the individuals or the government organizations since just like all others and like the other officials, I too know that there are some shortcomings, and many acts that are against the laws of Islam and the Islamic Republic are taking place in the different parts of the country. No one denies this. However, I would like to say a few words regarding whether this Islamic Republic has any credibility or whether it is an Islamic Republic just in name while being no different from the earlier monarchial regime or if it is, as some people claim, even worse than the erstwhile regime. As regards their claim that the Islamic Republic is no different from the earlier

monarchical regime except for a replacement in name from a monarchy to an Islamic Republic and that it is actually the very same, although I do not wish to endorse anyone absolutely, I do want to compare the erstwhile monarchy and its officials with the present regime and its officials so that we can examine whether there is any credibility to what is being claimed or whether these are claims made by those same people who belonged to the earlier regime and reaped benefits from it and now find their interests threatened.

A comparison between the Shah and the President of the Islamic Republic

At the top of the erstwhile monarchy were Mr. Aryamehr¹ and his relatives; the deposed Shah and his relatives. Let us compare Mr. Bani Sadr² with him since the highest post in the Islamic Republic is that of the president. Let us make a comparison between these two individuals and their families and let us see if, as they claim, the Islamic Republic is the same as the previous monarchy. Even though not in absolute terms, the one who is heading the government today is certainly different from the ex-Shah. I am not saying that the officials today are absolutely ideal but I do want to highlight the extent of the unfairness of these claims by making a comparison between the officials today and the officials of the Pahlavi regime and reveal the truth about their lifestyles and their financial exploitation and how they pilfered off the wealth of this nation into their own foreign bank accounts and how they lived out here and the large amounts of property that they had accumulated in this country and the simple lifestyle of the President of the Islamic Republic today. Are these two comparable in any way?! That one was an all-powerful “His Majesty” who ruled despotically over this entire nation and pilfered off all the income of this nation for himself as well as his relatives, doling out our oil to the foreigners, much to our loss. Has our nation expelled one “His Majesty Aryamehr” only to replace him with another “His Majesty President”?! Are the systems of both these the same? Is this President a plunderer like the erstwhile Shah was? Does this President’s family enjoy a lifestyle anywhere similar to that of the ex-Shah’s? And mind you, you and I hardly have any information about their lifestyles. But you have all seen their palaces in Tehran. And they had similar palaces in other places, too; and also abroad. Even if “His All-Powerful Majesty” wished to spend a few hours in a year in any particular city, elaborate arrangements would be made for his comfort with the wealth of this nation; just because

¹ Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, the deposed Shah of Iran.

² Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr, the first Iranian president.

“His Majesty” wished to spend a few hours somewhere each year! Now check out if this also holds true in the case of Mr. Bani Sadr. Have any elaborate arrangements been made for his comfort in every city with the wealth of this nation, for him to spend a few hours in luxury? Does this person even own a house of his own except for the one that he had—as I have heard—inherited from his father? Is his family in any way comparable with that of the erstwhile royals? Does he have someone like Ashraf Pahlavi¹ in his family? Does he have someone like Farah² in his family? Does he have someone like Shams Pahlavi³ in his family? Does he also have brothers ruling this country that we are unaware of? Let me ask those who claim that nothing here has changed except in name, if the system of the Islamic Republic is the same as that of the erstwhile monarchy. Can they not see the lifestyle of the highest official of the Islamic Republic? Can they not see how he has dedicated his life to the service of this nation; something the monarchs did not do even for a single day! So such is the situation as far as our President is concerned.

A comparison between the Shah’s government and the government of the Islamic Republic

Another body that was common among both the governments was the office of the prime minister and his ministerial cabinet. Is the government system of the Islamic Republic the same as that of the earlier monarchy with just a change in name? Can Mr. Raja’i⁴ be compared with Azhari,⁵ or Mr. Bakhtiyar⁶ or Mr. Sharif Imami,⁷ all of whom placed this nation under fire

¹ Ashraf Pahlavi was the twin sister of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and was world famous for her corruption and promiscuity. Field Gen. Husayn Fardust has discussed her life in details in his book, “The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty”.

² Farah Diba was the wife of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi who was introduced to him by his son-in-law, Ardeshir Zahidi. In his book, “The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty”, Gen. Fardust has also discussed certain aspects of her moral corruption.

³ Shams Pahlavi, another sister of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, headed the Red Lion and the Sun Society of Iran and a few other rich organizations and lived in a luxurious palace near the Karaj city and had converted to Christianity along with her husband.

⁴ It refers to Muhammad Ali Rajai, the prime minister of the Bani Sadr administration, who won the presidential election with a landslide victory after Bani Sadrs impeachment. He was finally martyred along with Prime Minister Bahonar in a bomb blast at the prime ministers office orchestrated by the MKO.

⁵ It refers to Ghulam-Rida Azhari, Chief of Staff of the Shahs Armed Forces, who was appointed prime minister after Sharif Imami. He, too, could not withstand the great waves of the Islamic Revolution and fled the country after handing over his resignation.

⁶ Shapur Bakhtiyar, the last prime minister of the Pahlavi regime.

⁷ Jafar Sharif Imami, the former Senate Speaker of the Pahlavi regime, who was appointed prime minister after Jamshid Amuzegar in the midst of the Revolution. After declaring curfew in Tehran as well as eleven other major cities and massacring thousands of innocent and defenseless people of Iran he resigned from his office and fled the country.

and committed countless crimes? Or is that Mr. Raja'i also has some secret set-up that is massacring this nation without our knowledge, which these unfair writers are aware of?! Are the lifestyles of Mr. Raja'i and the other ministers like the Interior Minister and the others anywhere similar to the likes of the Azharis and the Sharif Imamis and the Bakhtiyars? Is he also committing crimes like them under the banner of the Islamic Republic? Is that so? Does our nation believe this about Mr. Raja'i? Do those who claim that nothing has changed believe Mr. Raja'i to be like Bakhtiyar, who issued an order for massacring the masses even as he was fleeing the country? Do they consider him to be like Azhari? Has nothing really changed except in name? Is Mr. Raja'i just like Sharif Imami and does he operate just like him? Have we deceived the people by appointing him as the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic although he is exactly like the prime ministers of the ex-regime? Do they really think so? Go and take a look at the lifestyles of the Prime Minister and the other ministers who are busy serving the nation and compare it with the lifestyles of the ministers of the ex-Shah's regime. Compare their actions with those of the earlier ministers and check out if the Islamic Republic is just like the monarchical regime! There is a world of difference between the two. And even if the people do have some grievances against this government, they are very different from what our enemies are claiming. They are claiming that not much has been done by us. They accuse us of failing to rectify the problems that were created for this nation in the past fifty-odd years within a few days! In other words, they accuse us of having been unable to perform such a miracle! Neither Mr. Raja'i nor anyone of us have ever claimed that this government can perform miracles. But yes, you can see how they are all serving the nation and you are all witnessing how they are striving hard. You are also aware of their simple lifestyles. And you can well see that what is actually happening is quite different from what these gentlemen are sitting in their homes and writing as regards the Islamic Republic.

A comparison between the Shah's Parliament and the Majlis of the Islamic Republic

Let us now examine the condition of the Majlis. The Majlis is one of the bodies that existed during the ex-Shah's regime and it also exists in the

Islamic Republic. I have a great deal of knowledge of what transpired in the earlier parliaments and am sure that you, too, have some idea of the same. Is the earlier parliament and are the speakers of the earlier parliaments in any way comparable with the present Majlis and its speaker¹? Do you think that the conditions of the present Majlis and its members who have been elected from among the people are similar to the *taghuti* personalities who formed the erstwhile regime's parliament? Are they saying that the Iranian nation has voted for those same *taghutis* and have granted them positions with which they are now occupied with the same illegalities that they were rampantly engaged in during the regime of the ex-Shah? Is the Majlis of the Islamic Republic the same as the ex-Shah's parliament with only a change in name and is it that we have only changed its name from the National Consultative Assembly of the Aryamehri Monarchy to the Islamic Consultative Assembly of the Islamic Republic? Is this what the nation believes? Or is it that these writers are simply spreading such stories because the Islamic Republic is not working out to the benefit of their personal vested interests and they, in reality, wish for the same old monarchy to prevail so that they can continue to reap the same benefits that their counterparts did during the previous regime? Are they saying that our nation had united and expelled the monarchical regime only to replace it with another monarchy?! Are not they trying to question the self-respect of our nation by making such accusations? Do they think that this Islamic Republic which has been established with the votes of the people and whose President has been elected by the people, and whose members of parliament have also been elected by the people's votes, and whose ministers have taken their offices through the people's votes is just the same as the monarchical regime? And is it that this nation was simply craving to sacrifice its youth and to be left with a considerable number of war-injured and handicapped people only to replace a monarchical regime with another similar monarchy? Do they think that our nation would wish to sacrifice its own youth only to re-establish the same monarchy with another name? The truth is that these people are simply squandering away their time and resources to their own humiliation. Is the speaker of our Majlis just like the speakers of the parliament of the ex-monarchy who all claimed to be very "nationalistic" but were in fact from among the so-called aristocrats who lived highly luxurious and extravagant royal lives? Are the claims made by these people true?

¹ Hujjat al-Islam Hashimi Rafsanjani.

A comparison between the judiciary of the Shah's regime and the judiciary of the Islamic Republic

Now let's come to the judiciary. Are the judiciary council, the judges, and the heads of the judiciary bodies of the Islamic Republic the same as those of the monarchial regime? Are Dr. Beheshti¹ and Mr. Musawi Ardebili² like the judges of the previous regime? Don't our people know about the judicial conditions of those days? Of course, there were a few exceptions among them and those judges are still in office today. Compare those who have been dismissed with those who are in office today. Is Mr. Musawi Ardebili, who led a powerful Friday congregational prayer a few days ago with such sincere concern for the people, like the public prosecutors of the earlier regime? And do you believe that the people who prayed behind him in the congregational prayers—something they had never done with the earlier public prosecutors—just wanted to fool the world or fool themselves?! Is it that one *taghuti* was removed only to be replaced by another one? Are they claiming that our people have removed one undeserving judge to replace him with another undeserving one? Have they removed one chief justice only to replace him with another *taghuti* one? Are they the same people? Do they operate in the same manner? Are their lifestyles similar in any manner? The nation really needs to check out if things are as they are portraying them to be. Is this nation trying to take the whole world for a ride? Or is one group of people from this nation trying to fool another? All these matters need to be evaluated so that we can check out whether their claims of our having replaced one *taghuti* regime with another *taghuti* one are justified. Such is the case as regards the judges. I do not want to get into a description of the judges of the previous regime and I do not need to remind you that some of them were also communists. The judges in an Islamic state who were supposed to judge on the basis of the laws of Islam were actually communists, and even worse! Is this true of today's situation? Are the members of our judiciary council like the judges of the previous regime? Are our courts of law today the same as they used to be in those days? I am not claiming that all the judges of our country are ideal people. No, I am certainly not saying this. What I am pointing out is that the claim that only

¹ Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti, the former chief justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran who was martyred along with a number of the supporters of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini on June 28, 1981 in a bomb blast at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party.

² Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, the former attorney-general of Iran who was appointed the chief justice after the martyrdom of Dr. Beheshti.

the name has changed and that this is the same monarchical regime needs to be examined and verified. Are we trying to make any false claims? Were the people of our nation stupid and uncultured enough to remove one monarchical regime and bring another one to power with their own hands? Is this how it is?

So this was another issue that I wanted to draw your attention to. Of course, there are some judicial shortcomings all over the country but matters are still nowhere close to what prevailed in the previous regime.

A comparison between radio and television of the Shah's regime and the radio and television of the Islamic Republic

Next let us evaluate the conditions of the radio and television. Even though the radio and television of this regime has not yet succeeded in reaching its desired goals, is it anywhere like the radio and television of Rida Khan's and Muhammad Rida's regime? You have all experienced the radio and television of Muhammad Rida's days. Now would you all say that today's radio and television is the very same radio and television of the ex-regime and that all that we have done is to give it a different name? Are the programs on radio and television similar to the programs, shows, and films that were broadcasted and telecasted during the erstwhile regime? Or no, there is a difference between the two! Although we have not yet managed to achieve all that we have set out to do, are the radio and television of today the same as what you had all experienced in those years? Are they the same radio and television of the times of the *taghut* except for a change in name? Or no, it is these writers that are deviated.

The Armed Forces of the Shah's regime and the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic

Let us now move to the Armed Forces. Let us begin with the Army before we come to our friends who are present here today. Is today's army and are its commanders anywhere close to the army and the commanders of the Shah's regime? Are the lifestyles of our generals today similar to the lifestyles of the generals of those days? Do we have anyone like Major Gen. Batmanqilich¹ in our army simply under a new name? Did our people unite to throw out one Batmanqilich only to replace him with another one? Are the conditions within our army just like they used to be in the previous regime without any difference whatsoever? Or is there a vast difference between the two? And even if there are some shortcomings, you can be assured that

¹ It refers to Major Gen. Batmanqilich, the Commander in Chief of the Iranian armed forces after the August 13, 1953 American-led coup d'état.

attempts are being made toward their rectification. So you can see that it is not as if the commanders of our army are just like the commanders of the army of the ex-regime. There is a world of difference in their ways of thinking, acting, and in their daily lifestyles. So even these are not the same, for the deviated writers to claim that the difference is only in name.

The gendarmerie of those times was such that even when Rida Khan entered one of its garrisons he put his hands into his pockets to prevent anyone from picking them, notwithstanding the fact that he was the biggest thief of them all! All those who have had an experience of the gendarmerie of those days and have had an encounter with them know the truth of the matter. Can they say that things are the same today or are they otherwise? Is the gendarmerie of this regime also busy looting and robbing people? Did our nation jointly throw out a group of looters and thieves only to replace them with other plunderers or is it merely that these deviated writers cannot bear to see the success of this Republic? There are various motives behind the foul attempts of these vile people.

Well, now what about the police force? I have had some personal experiences of the police force and the police stations of those times in my youth. And I am sure that all those of you who have had personal experiences with those police stations of the previous regime know what I am talking about and how they used to treat people. Such was the condition of the constables who were supposed to protect this nation! Is it the same today? Do the constables today also throw their weight around our people? Just one of them could terrorize the entire Tehran Bazaar to a close! Today, would even their entire force be able to do something like that? The police force has the consent of our people today. During those days people were even hesitant to go to the police stations with their own complaints lest they got into trouble. The people were as afraid of the police stations of those times as they were of the thieves and the ruffians. Is that the case today and are the people in this regime afraid of police stations and the police force? Are the conditions of the police force and the police stations like they used to be in the earlier times? Or is it simply that these wicked writers are wishing in vain for a reversion to the older days?

The status and the dignity of the Revolutionary Guards

Why were there no real “guards” [*pasdaran*] at that time? No one from the people could think of rising up as guards, simply because the *taghuti* regime did not really have their consent. A true guard can never side up with oppression and tyranny. There were no true guards from among the people

because the nation was against the monarchical regime and the *taghut* and because they considered it religiously unlawful to support the *taghut*! They considered it against Islam as well as the Qur'an. Following the Revolution, these forces emerged voluntarily from among the masses in order to protect this country and are in service of it now. Are they, too, the same *taghuti* forces under a different guise? Are the chiefs of the revolutionary guards like the chiefs of the Shah's guards? Are the *pasdars* today the same plunderers under a different name? Is this what the nation believes? I am not claiming that all the *pasdars* all over the country are ideal since I, too, have complaints against some of them and want to seriously draw their attention to the fact that these venomous pens are waiting for them to make the slightest mistake so that they can blow it out of proportion in their writings. So we can see this about the *pasdars* and how they were non-existent during the ex-regime because they rejected the *taghut*. After the elimination of the *taghut*, a number of committed believers emerged in order to maintain law and order in Iran. It is not as if all of them and all of you present here are the same *taghuts* of yore who have emerged under a new name.

Dimensions of transformation of the nation with the Islamic Revolution

Now let us check out if the nation is the very same one as it was during the previous regime or if it has actually seen a major transformation. As regards this nation, there are various aspects that need to be addressed but I will suffice by mentioning a few. We are talking about a nation that could not dare to refuse to place flags on its shops if commanded by a mere constable during the celebrations of Aban 4.¹ And if anyone did not comply by their orders they were sure to be detained and harassed. What transpired for this nation to literally arise and to hold demonstrations in order to declare their rejection of the Shah's monarchy? Please do not underestimate this move. It is not a small achievement to overthrow a monarchical regime that had ruled over this nation for more than 2,500 years with all its might and wickedness. Even the monarchs from among them who are now famous for their "justice" were some of the worst criminals of history. In our own times, we have all witnessed what crimes they committed against this stifled nation. What transformation dawned upon this nation for it to stand up powerfully and hopelessly overpower a 2,500-year old mighty regime supported by major powers like America and the Soviet Union as well as other big powers?! Do

¹ Aban 4 (November 5), the birth anniversary of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, on which day the police used to force all the businessmen to illuminate their workplaces and the government spent extravagantly in celebration.

they say that the spirit of this nation is the same as it was during the monarchical regime excepting for a change in its name? Or has some major transformation actually taken place? There was a time when a single constable could petrify the entire Tehran Bazaar to close down and then there came a day when the same Tehran Bazaar, along with the entire nation, fell out on the streets boldly rejecting a monarchical regime in spite of all their threats, their tanks, and their machine guns. The entire nation—men as well as women—came onto the streets with the courage of their human dignity and ousted the monarchical regime.

Are our women today the same as the women of the days of “His Majesty”? Are women today, in any way similar to those women who used to appear on television during the times of the *taghut* and who roamed the streets in those days? Or have they all gone to hell? Our women emerged like courageous heroes and brave lionesses and established the Islamic Republic with their own efforts and with the efforts of their brothers. Then it is not as if things are just the same except for a change in name. Are they trying to claim that our women today are the same as those “dolls” who walked the streets during the previous regime and that we have only changed the name of the regime? Or no, there has been a radical transformation. Those writers who claim such things only want to vent out their own frustrations with the help of their pens or then they wish to bring back the same monarchical system or something even worse to Iran and take hold of power and enslave our people. These pens which write that nothing has really changed fundamentally, and that this is still the same monarchical regime under a different name need to take a proper look at the streets of Tehran and the other cities to see that things have really changed radically and not only in name. Do you still find our streets and other places lined with those same brothels? Are those earlier bars still anywhere to be found all over Iran? Are the conditions of our cinema today the same as they used to be? Is it really as if there is no radical change except for a change in name? Who are these writers trying to fool? Are they trying to fool this nation that was actively involved in all the affairs right from the beginning? It was not as if the nation was sidetracked with simply a certain group taking over the reins of power and the destiny of the country in their own hands without bothering to take the nation into consideration. Does this look like a nation that came into the warfronts with full awareness and even sacrificed their own children, their youth, and their brothers with full awareness only to replace one *taghuti* regime by another *taghuti* one? Do you still see our streets lined with those same bars to be able to justify that everything is still the same except for the

name. Are those centers of corruption that were rampant during the Shah's regime still open here albeit under a different name?

In criticism of writers who thwart national enthusiasm

The fact is that these writers simply sit within closed walls and write whatever they wish to, either to please their friends and allies, or then to conspire against us. Yes, we are well aware of all their conspiracies. These are sick people and it would be better if they came up with their actual problems. Yes, their main grouse is that with the coming of Islam, they have lost access to all their vested interests. What their actions are actually saying is that we are frustrated with the Islam that has deprived us of gaining our vested interests. It is not as if I believe that you brothers as well as this nation are not well aware of all these matters; I just feel that it may help to draw our attention to them. It is quite possible that there may be some people who may not be aware of all these conspiracies and may fall prey to them. These so-called "writers" are actually trying to play tricks on us and their pens, too, are devious. They want to rob the enthusiasm of this nation by hook or by crook and by telling this nation that nothing has changed here except the name. What they are trying to say is that you people who have jointly voted for a president and for the Islamic Republic as well as the members of the parliament have simply brought those same old people back into power who are still doing exactly what they did in the earlier monarchy! Although I am sure that all of you are well-aware of the lies in all this but I am only worried about those who may be caught unawares and fall prey to these tricks by believing some of their lies.

I repeat that there are shortcomings and that there are many shortcomings but you cannot expect us and the country to succeed in rectifying all the problems that have been imposed upon this country throughout history and during these past fifty years in particular, in order to make this country dependent and to bring about its overall corruption and destruction, in a couple of years time. Especially with all these great conspiracies against us and with all the problems of this imposed war. By the way, we have in our midst some of our war-ravaged brothers who have taken the trouble to be here today. You all know that they have ruined this huge country. They have destroyed its agriculture in the name of land reforms. They have forced our entire industry to become dependent upon alien technology. Everything in this country and our entire nation, including our culture, economy and our army, were all made dependent. Considering all this, whatever you have succeeded in achieving thus far has been a miracle in itself. The

achievements that this nation—which has been a great support for the government and the government bodies—has made so far have all been miraculous. This country faced a lot of destruction in the past fifty years even though some negligible civil work was done, while in the last two years, a lot of work and service has taken place in this country, especially in the rural areas which had been completely forsaken. Today, many things have been achieved or are in the process of being achieved in most of these rural areas.

These writers only wish to de-motivate this nation. Despite the fact that the entire nation is participating actively in all areas, they still publish and spread their false tales about nothing having changed! They are claiming that even this Islamic Republic has proved to be fruitless and that there is no hope even in Islam. This is what they wish to spread outside our country so that those who live there, unaware of our real situation, believe in their lies. They are happily trying to spread such false stories with the hope of duping the foreigners into believing them and with the hope of attracting some support from them, in order to revert Iran back to its earlier days so that they can once again get busy doing whatever they want in this country.

I have bothered you with all these obvious details simply in order to draw your serious attention to them because these parasites, who wish to eliminate Islam and the Islamic Republic, mainly because it has harmed their personal interests, are now busy spreading such false stories among our people, our youth, and our schools. Their biggest insult to the dignity of this nation is their claim that this country has eliminated one *taghut* only to replace it with another one. This indeed is a big insult to this nation because no one has imposed the Islamic Republic upon it!

It is you who have yourselves voted for the Islamic Republic. Nearly 22 million people voted for the Islamic Republic. Are they trying to say that these 22 million people took all these pains merely to establish an Islamic Republic in name, and to actually have the same ex-regime in operation?! Or were these 22 million people fooled into casting their votes and that all they wanted was that the Islamic Republic should pick up from where the old monarchical system ended. Were these 22 million people fooled by one, or two, or maybe a hundred or two hundred people to the polling boxes? The biggest insult to this nation is to tell them that they have been duped by a couple of people! Who were those “handful” of people that have cheated this entire nation?

In any case, our eyes and ears need to be kept wide open. Do not think that these foreign powers and their internal parasites will leave us alone so soon.

We can expect years of struggle against them. Equip yourselves powerfully to develop your nation. It will be worth all the effort for us to work hard for ten to fifteen years in order to make our country independent and to liberate it from the clutches of these man-eating wolves.

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

Speech

Date: February 18, 1981 [Bahman 29, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Islamic governments and not the Islamic nations are the bane of Islam

Audience: Mr. Sad Mujbir (Secretary of the Libyan People's Office), a delegation of Libyan members of parliament and other Libyan guests, and the Acting Director in charge of organizing programs for honoring the families of martyrs and the war-injured

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank you for all your appreciation and respect. All the Islamic nations and some of the Islamic governments are on the right path of true Islam for which we thank them all. It is certainly the responsibility of the Muslims to strive on the path of Islam and to sever the hands of the powers that are busy conspiring to eliminate Islam and to misuse the resources of the Muslims. I am hopeful that Allah will support these governments and nations that are struggling against world imperialism so that the divine promise bears fruit. One of the problems of the Muslims is their governments—governments that have been imposed upon their nations and which work in the interests of the big powers. Islam is faced with the problem of the Islamic governments and not the Islamic nations. It is these Islamic nations that should rise up to sever the hands of the intruders with the help of their governments. Unfortunately, some of the governments work against the interests of their own countries and nations only to remain in power and to exert pressure upon committed governments and nations in alignment with international criminals. And this is a major misfortune that is facing the Islamic nations. It is the awakened nations and governments which are aware of the problems and are in alignment with all the rest of the Muslims that should awaken the nations as well as the other governments to stop conspiring against the Muslims and to

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it has been dated as Esfand 2, 1359 AHS, but based on the report of newspapers on Bahman 30, 1359 AHS, Bahman 29, 1359 AHS has been the date of the meeting.

quit opposing the interests of the Islamic governments and nations so that they can free themselves from the clutches of the big powers.

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

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, February 18, 1981 [Bahman 29, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Negligence of the Muslim countries toward the problems of the world of Islam; false claims of the so-called champion of human rights

Audience: Mahdi Karrubi (Chairman of the Martyrs' Foundation) and families of martyrs of the Muslim countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

False supporters of Islam and the Muslims

Today, I am seated across the innocent faces of the victims who have become orphaned and homeless under the oppression of the big powers, at the hands of their stooges. We find many tall claims all over. All the heads of the Muslim countries make false claims of loyalty to Islam while the heads of other countries make tall claims about philanthropy and championing human rights. There is nothing new about such claims; history has heard many such false claims that did not pass the acid test even in the early days of Islam. The Kharijites, too, made many tall claims about Islam and the likes of Amr ibn al-As also did the same. Even today, Saddam claims loyalty to Islam and the Arab world and his treacherous brothers like Sadat, too, make the same claims. However, a glance at their actions reveals that there is a world of difference between their claims and their acts. These very same so-called “loyalists” and “supporters” of Islam gathered in Ta’if—a part of Hijaz that was the center of the emergence of Islam—and said and did things there that you are all aware of! Did they ever make any mention of these innocent children who have been orphaned at the hands of the Zionists? Did they make any mention of Lebanon or any of the other Muslim countries that are under the suppression of the big powers and their stooges? Don’t these self-proclaimed “loyalists of Islam” see that Islam in all the Muslim countries is being crushed under the boots of these big powers and their stooges? Were they unaware of the situation in southern Lebanon, Palestine, Iran, Iraq, and the other Muslim countries and what the big powers have been inflicting upon the people of these countries and how many innocent little children they have orphaned and made homeless? Was the Ta’if Conference unaware of all these issues? They all gathered there in that conference in the name of Islam without the slightest concern for Islam. All that happened was that

large amounts of money were spent in extravagance and in luxurious overindulgence without any concern for Islam and the affairs of the Muslims. Has the Prophetic saying, “The one who wakes up without any concern for the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim,”¹ not fallen upon their ears? Did these people show any concern for the affairs of the world Muslims? What did these heads of the Islamic states who had gathered in Ta’if, the place in which the Messenger of God and the Prophet of Islam (s) had commenced his divine mission, contribute toward Islam? What concern did they show toward the affairs of Islam and the Muslims? With reference to this Prophetic saying, can these people even be considered to be Muslims? Did they make any mention of the people of the Muslim countries who are being suppressed by the big powers and are being rendered homeless and are being massacred and orphaned by them and their stooges, in spite of being well aware of all these atrocities? Did they make any mention of the Israeli aggressions against Lebanon and Palestine? Did the Ta’if Conference make any mention of the Iraqi aggressions against the Islamic country of Iran whose only crime was that it had expelled the *taghut* and is struggling to establish Islam in its place and is striving to establish an Islamic regime in place of the earlier *taghuti* regime?! Or then are they just making tall claims? All these talks of being Islamic are also tall claims rampant among all the heads of the Muslim countries.

The false claims of the “champions of human rights”

All this focus upon human rights issues are also false claims that are rampant among the heads of most of the countries of the world. Carter also claimed to honor human rights but did he actually do so! Did the deposed Shah of Iran honor human rights for them to support him? Did those countries that imposed the Pahlavi dynasty upon us—these same “human rights champions”—not see what they inflicted upon Islam and the Muslims? Were they unaware of what Zionism was inflicting upon the people of Lebanon and Palestine? Or were they also partners in the whole thing and are just making false claims? There are very few people who are Muslims and are concerned about the affairs of the Muslims. The peoples themselves need to do something about Islam! We have lost hope in the leaders of most of the Muslim countries but we have not lost hope in their peoples and it is they who need to do something. Even as far as the Iraqi attack upon Iran was concerned, it was the peoples who expressed their support for Iran; hardly

¹ *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, *hadiths* 4-5, p. 164.

any government did so. They either gave their approval to the aggression of Islam by *kufir* and they gave their approval to the Iraqi Baathist unbelievers or then they sat unconcerned and silently witnessed the aggression of *kufir* over Islam. These same people who make tall claims about their concern for Islam indifferently witnessed the Israeli aggressions over Lebanon and Palestine and their countless other crimes. Do you think that they are concerned about the affairs of the Muslims? Or is it that the Muslims are being crushed under the suppression of the supporters of the big governments in all the countries and these people are completely indifferent? How can we accept their tall claims? Even those who murdered the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (*a*) in the prayer niche claimed to be followers of Islam. Even those who formed armies and attacked the army of Ali ibn Abi Talib (*a*) claimed to be the followers of Islam. They fought Islam in the name of Islam! These leaders of today also claim to be the followers of Islam and commit all their treachery in the name of Islam. Saddam also claims to be a follower of Islam and has attacked a Muslim country in the name of Islam. And he has martyred thousands of our youth in the name of Islam and has rendered almost two million people homeless. In the name of Islam, he is committing the same atrocities on the Islamic scholars in his country that the Mongols committed over Iran. There have always been tall claims and it is no different today.

I express my condolences to all you children who have been orphaned at the hands of these criminals. We share your grief. We share your anguish over having no news of the whereabouts of Mr. Musa Sadr.¹ We share the grief of the Iraqi nation over the manner in which Mr. Sadr² and his dear sister were tortured and murdered. We share the grief of all the oppressed peoples of the world and we extend our support to all of them. The oppressed of the world need to rise up against world arrogance. They should not wait for their governments to do something; they should themselves rise up.

¹ Imam Musa Sadr, the leader of the Lebanese Shiah of Iranian origin, who was abducted on his way to Libya and despite all the efforts on the part of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Lebanese Muslim groups, is still missing.

² Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sadr and his sister Bint al-Huda who were martyred on Saddam Husayns orders for opposing the anti-Islamic and the anti-human acts of the Iraqi Baathist regime.

May Allah empower Islam and the Muslims and may He grant victory to you sisters and brothers who have been rendered homeless!

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

Speech

Date: February 23, 1981 [Esfand 4, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 17, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The role and the responsibilities of the armed forces and the police; condemnation of all forms of terrorizing; the greatest human virtue; standing up for truth for the sake of truth

Audience: General public, the representatives and disseminators of religio-political thought of the police department, representatives of the Tehran police stations, and the personnel of the Tehran Police

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A word to the police forces

I will first say a few words to you dear gentlemen who, as per my information, are the heads of the police departments and the police stations of the different parts of the country and will then go on to address some other general issues that concern everyone.

You are aware that conditions have changed for you as well as the other dear ones who are involved in maintaining law and order throughout the country from what used to be during the times of the *taghut*. Our nation had quite a different opinion about the police force during those days but today our nation relates to you in a very positive, friendly, brotherly, and supportive manner. Today you are the police force of an Islamic country and your and our leader is the Master of the Age, the *Baqiyyatullah (a)*. You as well as all of us should act in a manner that wins the consent of that great master, which in turn reflects the approval of God. Your duty is to steadfastly maintain law and order in all the cities of our country. Today, the entire nation supports you and you can confront the mischief that sometimes comes up in some cities with this support and through good counsel or force. You should stay alert toward those who want to create mischief either while certain personalities are addressing the public or in the lawful gatherings that take place after gaining the permission of the Interior Ministry. The revolutionary guards who are placed in the cities should also work in cooperation with you to prevent troublemakers from entering into these gatherings in order to create disturbances. There are also certain elements that intend to trouble people and create problems in the streets. You as well as the revolutionary guards from the different cities are duty-bound, as per the law, to prevent such disturbances that result in creating disunity among

people and in disempowering them; and the general masses, too, should also support you in this mission. Such issues should be dealt with powerfully and with the support of the people so that our people can live their lives peacefully. And some of these troublemakers who assassinate innocent people or place bombs in various public places should be identified, prosecuted, put on trial in the courts of law, and should be punished according to the laws defined by Islam; and let me tell you that these punishments can be severe.

Unity among the Armed Forces for the security of the Islamic Republic

Dear brothers! Today you share brotherly relations with all the people of the nation. Your country is being threatened by the *kuffar* and the troublemakers who intend to create turmoil within the Islamic Republic, in which, by God's grace they are bound to fail. However, you—the police force—should be on full alert within the cities and the gendarmerie should maintain inter-city law and order while the army should protect the borders from internal and external troublemakers. This country belongs to all of you. This is not the time for the different forces—the police, the gendarmerie, the army, and the revolutionary guards—to be in conflict with each other. All of us today are faced with a common goal which is in everyone's interest and that is the protection of the Islamic Republic which is equal to protecting Islam and this Islamic country. At such a crucial time, any conflicts among the various forces and especially the police and the armed forces will only prove to be disastrous for the solidarity of this nation. Any blow to our solidarity will prove to be fatal. You are all duty-bound to maintain unity among yourselves as well as the other armed forces. And especially in this very sensitive stage, all of us and all the people of this country are obliged to prevent foreign hands and those who intend to reinstate the earlier conditions within this country and to, God forbid, ruin everything in this country, from gaining their motives.

Unity of the forces will safeguard this country

If ever this Islamic Republic, God forbid, faces defeat it will be a defeat for all the Muslims throughout history. If the Islamic Republic succeeds in attaining its goals today, and if it manages to sever the hands of the big powers from this country forever and if it succeeds in eliminating the remaining elements from the previous regime and succeeds in establishing an Islamic Republic as per divine ordinances, it will ensure the safety of all the Muslim countries and especially your own country and no one will ever be

able to harm it again. And this will only be possible if all the forces remain united. All the armed forces should remain united. None of the forces should imagine themselves to be independent of the rest and especially today, in these crucial times, we should function as one single group and prove to be a blow to the superpowers.

I am hopeful that you will succeed in maintaining complete law and order wherever you are stationed and shall powerfully curb mischief and disorder. At this crucial time, all the forces need to contribute at the warfronts as far as possible and each one of you stationed there should function in alignment with the rest of the forces so that, God willing, we gain ultimate victory which is for the prosperity of the entire nation, both in this world as well as the hereafter. What I am saying to all the armed forces is not limited to them and applies to everyone. While serving at the fronts where so many of our friends and beloveds are making valuable sacrifices, none of us should look at ourselves individually as a “revolutionary guard”, or a “gendarme”, or an “army man”, or a “policeman” because in such times of emergency, talks like these are completely out of place. As per my information, there are people from the fifth column that enter into our ranks only to create dissension among the various groups. They intend to cause a split between the revolutionary guards and the rest of the forces and, thus, they penetrate into their files and ranks and instigate them against the army. On the other hand, they penetrate into the army and instigate them against the revolutionary guards, whereas in reality, the revolutionary guards, the army, the gendarmerie, and the police force are all serving a single common cause and should, thus, ignore these conspiracies that have only come into being to cause turmoil. If today, while our beloveds are busy serving at the warfronts, any such disruptive talks either against the revolutionary guards or against the army are being spread, they are only with the intention of creating rivalry between them and you should all be aware that these are the blows that the foreign forces wish to deal out to us through their agents from within and outside the country.

O our dear youth who are making committed sacrifices for the cause of Islam! Know that any kind of rifts between the various armed forces can only be due to the satanic plots of the big powers put into action, unfortunately, by their corrupt agents within the country. And if at all, God forbid, they succeed in their evil plans, neither will you survive nor the revolutionary guards and nor will the country survive. Therefore, be very careful not to fall prey to their instigations.

Armed Forces should refrain from political involvement

I strongly believe that all the armed forces should keep themselves away from political involvement. You are all honest, sincere, and honorable people while some of the politicians who have managed to infiltrate into certain positions with the help of foreign support can be very wicked and wish to drag you all into their evil politics and create rifts among you. You should keep yourselves aloof from such matters and should not get into group games. You are all from the army of the Imam of the Time (*a*) and are, thus, part of a single force which is the Army of Allah. Pay no heed to their instigations. If you all remain united and if all the forces work in alignment alongside each other, and if there are no differences between the army and the other forces, your victory is not far off.

Condemnation of all forms of terrorizing

Let me say a few words to our writers and orators. All of you and our entire nation know very well that we should all strive hard toward creating unity and coordination among all the different political fronts and groups. I must however say that some tongues can be more harmful than physical force. Terrorizing and the undue use of physical-force were among the worst of the evils of the latter part of the reign of Muhammad Rida. As he discovered that he was getting weaker, he started to use physical force to strengthen his position. This terrorizing became widespread and came to be used even in the Qum seminaries during and immediately after the Revolution with the false notion that it can bear fruit.

Matters are not very different even today. However, today, pens and stinging tongues, which are much more detrimental, have replaced the use of physical force. Those who wish to speak in public—and especially since such orators are growing in number these days—should ask themselves before addressing the people if their tongues are going to work as harmful swords against a certain group or if they are going to serve as a mercy to inspire unity among the people. And if these people believe that they have their tongues completely under their own control, let me warn them that such claims are only simple to make as regards such important matters as control over the self. Yes, the Prophet Musa (*a*) made such a lofty claim and he proved to be true to his claim. He confessed to God, to have no control on anyone else, except over himself and his brother.¹ This is a very big thing to claim and only befits divine prophets (*a*). We have no real control over

¹ Surah al-Maidah 5:25: "He said: My Lord! I have control on none but myself and my brother, so distinguish between us and the wrongdoing folk."

ourselves, over our brothers, our children, or our friends. All we can aspire to do is to gain control over our own selves. When anyone worthy of being called “man” wishes to speak, he should have his tongue under his own control and he should not allow the *shaytan* [devil] to gain control over him and his tongue and allow his words to be sharper than swords and other weapons that are even worse than the weapons of Saddam.

The greatest virtue—seeking truth for the sake of truth

All those who wish to address others should ask themselves if they are speaking for the cause of truth and for the sake of truth. One of the greatest virtues that any human being can hope to aspire for is seeking truth for its own sake—to love truth for its own sake and to hate falsehood purely because of its falseness. Even if his enemy is in the right, he should have the power over his self to be able to admit and admire it. And even if his own child or his own friends are in the wrong, he should have the power of distaste for it and should be able to express his disapproval of it. There are very few people who strive for truth purely for its own sake. Similarly, there are very few who are averse to falsehood simply because of its falsity. And it is not so simple for man to be able to know his own true position as regards this matter. It is necessary for a man to be able to gain his own enemy’s opinion about himself in order to truly know his own weaknesses. It is not possible for us to learn only through our friends. We should take our lessons from our enemies. When we speak, we should carefully examine the reactions of our enemies, with a belief that they can see our shortcomings more clearly. No matter what our shortcomings are, because our friends are not really interested in truth for the sake of truth and are not averse to falsehood because of its very nature, approach us and praise our work and talks. They even praise what they refer to as our “battering” of the rivals and even glorify our “overwhelming” of the rival, even if they were in the right! Our friends can be the worst of our enemies in reality while our enemies can eventually prove to be our true friends. We should learn to take lessons from our critics. We should know that the praise we receive, especially in matters that should rather have deserved criticism, only comes from the inspiration of the devil and such approval is evil in nature. Our speakers, orators, and writers should pay attention to whether they are really in control of their selves. Can they also rightfully make the same claim as the great prophet Musa (a)? We should not forget that his brother, too, was a divine prophet and so prophet Musa’s (a) words were also addressed to him as divine commandments. However, for those who have not attained to such a lofty

status, it would only be more appropriate for them to say, “Verily, neither do I control my own self and nor do I have any control over my brother”.

O our brothers! Keep in mind that if, as a result of your words or writings through which you think you are only criticizing your own rival, any rifts are caused and if they result in de-motivating the army, the revolutionary guards, or the police force, and if such de-motivation results in any killings then you are also partner in such crimes because you approve of such killings. There is a prophetic saying which says that even if someone gets killed in the east and if there is someone in the west who approves of such a killing, he is also his partner in crime¹. Make sure that your pens do not prove to be daggers that stab us in the back.

Make sure that your same pens that write in condemnation of terrorizing do not end up terrorizing others. Make sure that your pens and your tongues do not serve as machine guns that pierce the chests of our own youth while you are claiming that we are being attacked! It is not only Saddam who has attacked us; you too may end up doing the same. Prior to making any speeches or writing any articles or before presenting any headlines in the newspapers, do spend some time asking yourselves why you are taking such a step and what your purpose is in taking such an action. Do you want truth for the sake of truth or are you hesitant to accept the truth if it is at the hands of your rivals? Are you averse to falsehood for its own sake or would you gladly extend your approval to false actions if they were committed by your friends. Check this out for your own selves and you will be sure to see that man is a strange being and can never know himself, right until the end of his life. Man is afflicted by this malady right until the end of his life and even if he is to be killed at the end of his life, he will prefer to be killed in a *taghuti* manner! History has recorded that when some evil *kuffar* were beheaded during the early days of Islam, they would ask to be beheaded along with their entire necks, simply so that when their chopped heads would be put up on the spears they would stand the tallest of all! Yes, man is indeed afflicted with this sickness right until the end of his life. Do not think that self-purification and reaching the station of “manhood” is a simple matter. According to our Shaykh,² it is a very difficult task if not impossible.

In fact quite often, man acts, thinking that he is doing something good whereas he is indulging in something wrong because his base nature is like a veil that prevents him from distinguishing right from wrong. For every incident that takes place you will find that there is always one group of

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 68, p. 239.

² Haj Shaykh Abdul-Karim Hairi Yazdi, the founder of the Qum Theological School.

people who criticize it while there is another group who supports it. Thus, even when any incident takes place in the country, one group of people approves of it and extols it and pens start writing in praise of it while another group opposes it and condemns the incident with pens and words. Why? This is because the incident proved to be in the interests of one group and against the interests of another one. If it has taken place at the hands of friends, it is a praiseworthy development; no matter what it actually is. We judge the rightness of an act according to the involvement of our friends in it instead of judging it according to its true stand. We do not stand for justice for its own sake but we stand up for justice for the sake of our own friends. And we consider all the acts of those who oppose us and whom we treat as our rivals as bad and we criticize them. But if these same acts had taken place at the hands of our own friends, we would sit and approve of them. Thus, we do not seek truth for its own sake and we do not seek justice for the sake of justice. If someone truly wants to stand up for truth for the sake of truth, he should stand up for it and express it even if it proves to go against his own self interests. And if something wrong has taken place at his own hands he should despise it and should admit it. Do you think that these people who are raising all this hue and cry are standing up for truth for the sake of truth and falsehood for the sake of falsehood? Or is it that they want to claim that whatever they do is right and even if something wrong is committed at their hands or through their own friends, they want to portray it as the very truth. And even if their imaginary rivals are in the right, they want to portray them as wrong. Man cannot so easily free himself from the evils of his carnal self which is even worse than the evil of the Satan. But he can surely hold back his pen and he can surely take control of his tongue. He can certainly take the responsibility of checking the basis of his speech before opening his mouth. This attitude is generally found everywhere and since "I" is normally the criterion, whatever stems from "me" is good while whatever my "rival" does is bad, simply because it has stemmed from my "rival". Even something good that has taken place at the hands of a rival is bad whereas if "I" have done something bad, it is good! This is a disease and a problem to be found in man and it can only be cured with much effort. We should try to approach those who can help us cure this disease and should seek their cure. We should go to spiritual doctors and seek a remedy for our problem. Before lifting our pens to write something or before opening our mouths, we should examine our own selves and should pay attention to the political and social problems that we are facing and should check whether our input will cause turmoil and terror or if it will have a positive effect. We should examine

whether our newspaper brings about the much-required peace in this country or if it creates further turmoil. If it creates turmoil then such a newspaper is spreading terror and if it creates peace for people then it is mercy and is appreciated by God.

Creating rifts and pretension in the country is a major sin

Fear God, O you writers, O you orators, O you government and non-government employees, O you farmers—everyone! Fear God! He is present everywhere! Your tongues are moving in the very Presence of God. Your eyes are in the Presence of God. All your various faculties are within the Presence of God! Do not sin in His Presence! The biggest sin in our country today is causing rifts and pretension. The biggest mercy and in fact a duty for all of us is to create peace and prosperity.

No matter how good and committed our writers and orators may be, let them not think that they have been completely purified from that internal mischief and from that devil within. Keep in mind that the devil within man is alongside him right up to the end. Sometimes this devil instigates a person to go ahead and destroy himself simply so that he can destroy someone else. You must have all heard this story. A man once owned a slave and was very kind toward him. One day, the master told the slave that he had just one request of the slave, in return for all the kindness he had shown him. He asked the slave to behead him on the rooftop of his neighbor simply because the neighbor was also his rival! This is what man can do! He can willingly lose his own head simply in order to destroy a rival. Yes, man can be willing to cut his nose to spite his own face! Man is a creature that even the divine prophets (*a*) did not succeed in redeeming; but for a few. Wherever divine prophets (*a*) brought the divine message, only a very small group of people responded positively to their lofty training and redeemed themselves. However, we can surely at least work on minimizing this evil tendency within ourselves. It is not as if we are under any compulsion. No, we have been granted free choice and it is we who create all this corruption with our own choices. It is we who choose to use our pens in order to vilify others and in order to destroy our rivals. All these are intrigues and maneuverings that are within man himself. Man usually believes that he is doing something good even when he is causing harm. He thinks his acts are for God even when they are actually in service of Satan.

May God Almighty grant success to all the Muslim nations and may He help them to free themselves from slavery to external forces and from the evil of the devils and may He especially assist them to free themselves from

the incitement of the devil within themselves! May God Almighty protect our country from the mischief of the evil elements, the foreign powers as well as from the pens, acts, and harmful words!

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

Letter of Condolence

Date: February 24, 1981 [Esfand 5, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Condolence

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Khwansari—may his blessings last:

It was with regret that I heard about your great loss today. I pray to God Almighty to shower His mercy and forgiveness upon the departed soul. I also pray for deep patience, a mighty reward, and health and success for Your Eminence as well as the other survivors of the honorable deceased. I hope you will pray for our success in this world and the hereafter. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: February 26, 1981 [Esfand 7, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Spiritual affinity among all the strata of the nation; sympathy toward the victims of the imposed war

Audience: Members of the Islamic Associations of the Defense Ministry, representatives of the religio-political office of the army, and the representatives of the Youth Organization of the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of spiritual kinship and affinity

I hope that this unity among people leads to a deep kinship among the souls which is what is important. Although it is good to organize seminars and it is also very important to invite people toward cooperation, these physical gatherings and seminars should eventually pave the way for unity of spirit, thought, and purpose. It is not enough that we and you get together for such gatherings but remain negligent toward the true purpose of Islam and obedience to the divine commandments for which all the divine prophets (*a*) have been sent. All discussions should lead man toward spirituality and a unity of purpose and for the purpose of *tawhid*. It is simple to organize seminars and gatherings in which people from various strata of society like the clergy, the military personnel, and the members of Islamic associations get together but such gatherings are not enough to reach us to our destination. Attempts should be made during and following such gatherings to pursue and achieve the unity which is vital for an Islamic *ummah* and upon which all the prophets (*a*) had laid great stress as per the divine commandments. Such a unity is simpler to achieve among the common masses of a nation as compared to the elite class because if man is left unbridled and is left untrained and unchecked, his spirit diminishes further as he advances in age and status and his spirit falls under the domination of the greatest *shaytan* which is the *shaytan* of the “carnal self”. The youth are closer to the spiritual realm and their souls are comparatively pure. If they do not strive hard toward self-purification and if they ignore a divinely-inspired training of the soul, as they grow in age, they grow farther from the highest spiritual realm and their minds become more tarnished. Therefore, self-training should begin early in life and man should be trained right from early childhood; and even later on, no matter where he is, he should always be under the training of

those who can guide him. Man needs to be trained right up to the end of his life. Prophets (*a*) were also sent by God for guiding and training man. The very purpose of the books of all the prophets (*a*) and especially the Holy Qur'an is to train mankind because it is only with the training of man that the world gets redeemed. The dangers that the human society face at the hands of uncouth human beings are worse than the dangers of any *shaytan*, beast, or any other creature. And the benefits that mankind can achieve at the hands of a divinely-trained man cannot be gained even through the angels or any other creature. The foundations of the world are based upon the training of man. Man is the essence of all beings and is the cream of the entire universe. divine prophets (*a*) have come to convert this potentiality into reality so that man is transformed into a divinely being. This divinely being possesses all the lofty qualities of God and is the place of the manifestation of the sacred light of God.

A Qur'anic upbringing and the straight path

Try to make sure that your meetings and seminars are based upon a spiritual purpose. Stay heedful to the guidance of the divine prophets (*a*) in all walks of life. The very first *surah* (chapter) of the Holy Qur'an begins with the words: "*Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds*";¹ so we can see that the Qur'an refers to the word, "Lord" (*Rabb*), Who is the Source of all human training right at the very onset. It is a divine obligation upon us to repeat this verse several times a day in our obligatory prayers and to pay attention to the fact that the issue of training and Lordship [*rububiyyah*]*—*the highest degree of which belongs exclusively to God Almighty*—*through Whom it descends subsequently upon the prophets (*a*) and other people, is so important, that the name the "Lord of the worlds" [*rabb al-alamin*] immediately follows the name, Allah. We read in this same chapter that the ultimate human training takes shape upon the Straight Path.² And the final destination of this Straight Path is Absolute Perfection and is Allah. We are commanded to seek the guidance of the prophets (*a*), the *awliya'* (divine guides and the friends of God), and other great people so that they can guide us on the Straight Path. It is obligatory on us to seek guidance from God Almighty on the Straight Path several times a day; inclining neither toward the left nor toward the right*—*"*The path of those whom Thou hast favored; Not (the path) of those who earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray.*"³

¹ *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:1.

² *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:5: "*Show us the straight path.*"

³ *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:6-7.

We should keep in mind that man is a creature who, if left to himself, can grow into the worst and the most corrupt being. And only if we take shelter under divine guidance and tread upon the Straight Path, can we reach the unimaginable; the Oceans of Majesty and Grandeur!

These seminars should provoke thought and contemplation in man and should foster unity of purpose or “Allah”. If mankind unites under the name of “Allah” and eliminates all other false “idols” it will achieve all the sublime goals, whether it is in regards with this world and the human society or whether it is the higher goals of the hereafter.

Unity of purpose and goal leads to victory

It has been our experience in the past two or three years that whenever we did not maintain a united focus on God Almighty, even if some of us did so individually, we failed to achieve our goals and we fell under the oppression and the other pressures of the opportunists from all over the world who attacked us from all sides and forced us to spend some disastrous days under their clutches and the clutches of their stooges. The uprising of the Iranian nation was the outcome of a gradual unity after eliminating differences. It was only after achieving a unity of purpose and a unity in body and spirit in every part of the country—right from the villages to the capital city—that our people poured into the streets for the cause of Islam and God, and liberated themselves from the oppression of those who had been looting this country for years. And God Almighty, too, favored us and our entire nation—man, woman, old, and young—that poured out into the streets and jointly chanted the slogans of “*Allahu akbar*” [Allah is the Greatest] and “Down with the Oppressors” and demanded the establishment of Islam and an Islamic Republic which promises both freedom and independence, gained victory. We should take a memorable lesson from the national unity that led to this great achievement.

Do not forget that what earned us this victory with our empty hands was this unity of body and spirit and this unity of purpose and goal. These were the same people of twenty years ago who were helpless under the suppression of foreign hands and their internal agents! And it was this same lot of people who, with the Grace of God Almighty, got transformed into an invincible entity because of their overall unity of body and spirit. These were the same people who transformed from one state into another and attained a miraculous victory. A victory that was almost impossible to imagine, especially within such a short span of time and with the minimal effort as compared to its great results, and could be called nothing less than a miracle!

Therefore, we should not undermine this great national display which reflects the slogans of “Allah is the Greatest”, “freedom”, “independence”, and “Islamic Republic” all over the country and it should remain as a lesson for us and should be handed over to our following generations so that no alien powers can ever gain domination over us. This is important for you, and especially so for our statesmen, who should never forget that the key to our success or our victory has been this unity of purpose and goal. They should bear in mind that whatever posts and positions they have acquired today are because this nation rose up and united together and declared, “Freedom, independence, and an Islamic Republic”! Everyone had the same single purpose. All individuals had forgotten themselves in that phase and no one thought of any selfish goals and everyone had their attention fixed upon a common purpose. Our people did not care if they were unable to get even a piece of bread all through the day. They were least concerned about things like hunger and lack of other means. They were so engrossed in a singleness of purpose that they did not even care if they lost their children because this is what it is like to be “dead” to the self and to live for a divine purpose. What happened as a consequence was that you migrated from your individual “self” and connected with God. You forgot your “self” which is a prerequisite for the perfection of man. You should all bear in mind, and especially our statesmen should keep in mind that as long as one is lost in his own self, he is not worthy of being called “man” and it is only when one forgets his own “self” and enters into the grand purpose of humanity does he become the “great man”. This applies to all beings and all men. This is the ultimate purpose of creation and this is the ultimate purpose for which all the divine messengers (a) were sent.

Sympathy toward the war-victims

My brothers and my beloveds! Please keep in mind that we are facing a very sensitive phase. Today, all the world powers have mobilized their might against us and we are surrounded by internal and external conspiracies. All of you and our entire nation know that if they want freedom and independence they will need to forego all their personal goals—even if it is temporarily—until all these conspiracies come to an end. Everyone needs to focus on a single goal. And those who are at the top of affairs are more responsible; and all of us, too, are responsible.

I want to bring a certain point to your notice. You all know how our youth are sacrificing themselves at our warfronts and how many of them we have lost and how many war-disabled people we are left with and how many

families, now scattered all over the country, have been rendered homeless by our enemies. There is not a single city that has been spared of this plight. Keeping in mind all these disasters that we are faced with, which God willing will eventually bring greatness to this nation, I request all those of you who wish to have New Year celebrations to either forego them or to at least minimize them. It will not be fair, if at the time when so many families have been aggrieved and have lost their youth but are still standing up boldly, that they should be left grieving on their own while the rest are celebrating. Humanity, Islam, and human justice demand that we should not do anything to hurt the sentiments of the mothers, the fathers, and the sisters who have lost their youth. Those who wish to hold lavish celebrations for New Year—something that would probably have been appropriate under different circumstances—should stop for a moment and think about how they would feel if their neighbors would have been celebrating joyously when they had just lost a young member in the family. You should know that your brothers are bereaved and have lost their young ones and are facing difficulties. No matter how brave they are, do not forget that they are after all, facing the loss of a young one! Do keep in mind that you have lost fifty youth all around your city and that many families are in bereavement and if in such conditions you go shopping for lavish celebrations it would not be appropriate considering your humanity, your Islam, your human dignity and your brotherliness. I request you all to have your celebrations on a lower key, and instead of buying unnecessary things for your children, to help the disabled people who are lying in the hospitals and the homeless ones who have lost everything and who are in desperate need for help. Prove true to your claims of brotherhood and your conscience. Remember that even if you do ultimately go on a luxurious vacation for a few days and have a good time, it will finally come to an end; but the effect that such vacations and such lavish New Year celebrations will have on the hearts of the bereaved mothers, will probably linger on. And do not forget that Allah Almighty cares for those hearts! I request Allah Almighty to make us aware of our responsibilities. I pray to Him to grant us a unity of purpose.

Need for alignment among all the strata of the nation

I, once again, request and recommend the army, the gendarmerie, the revolutionary guards, the ethnics, and the other armed forces, who are all the children of Islam and who are all making committed sacrifices, to remain aligned among themselves. If each one of you wants to work independently in the war, it will only delay our achievement of victory. However, if all of

you remain aligned and under a single commandership, and if you all look at yourselves as the soldiers of Islam, victory will come in much sooner. There are no rifts today between our nation and the army and the revolutionary guards and this is how it should remain. It is most inappropriate at this point of time in our country to make distinctions among yourselves as being revolutionary guards, gendarmes, or soldiers. We should all consider ourselves as the soldiers of Islam and should remain in complete alignment. As you can well see all throughout our country, men, women, youth, as well as the elderly men and women are jointly serving you and the other armed forces. Everyone wants to ensure the comfort of the army, the revolutionary guards, and the other armed forces so that they can serve the country in peace. All of you who are putting your lives at risk at the warfronts and who are striving for the cause of God, should stay united and aligned for the sake of God in the same manner that these women, and men, and the young and the old are working jointly at the warfronts, in complete alignment. Know that they are not different from you and are all part of you.

I pray to Allah Almighty for the health and prosperity of the entire nation as well as all the nations and all those who are serving the cause of Islam. May you emerge victorious from this war that all of you are involved in and may God Almighty support all of you!

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

Letter

Date: February 27, 1981 [Esfand 8, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 21, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Formation of the Managerial Council of the Qum Theological School

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

May God's peace be upon you. As you may recall, some time ago I had personally presented you with a report regarding the affairs of the Qum Theological School and the need for organizing and systematizing the educational, ethical affairs and other internal affairs. Your Eminence had made certain recommendations and it was decided that a council comprising some prominent teachers of the Qum Theological School would be formed for this purpose. As per your recommendations and after consulting His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Golpaygani—may his graces last—a council comprising Hujjat al-Islam Rasti, Hujjat al-Islam Karimi, Hujjat al-Islam Tahir Shams, Hujjat al-Islam Duzduzani, Hujjat al-Islam Sabiri, and Hujjat al-Islam Iftikhari—may their graces last—came to be formed and many positive steps have been taken so far. If you have any new guidelines to offer we shall be pleased to receive them in writing. May your benign existence endure!

Husayn-Ali Muntaziri
Esfand 5, 1359 AHS]

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 22, p. 289, it has been inadvertently dated as Esfand 20, 1359 AHS.

In His Most Exalted Name

The mentioned council may proceed with its operations after consulting His Eminence Ayatullah Golpaygani—may his blessings last. May you succeed with the grace of God!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 21, 1401 AHS

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, March 1, 1981 [Esfand 10, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 23, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Iran's stand in the Iraqi-imposed war and the need for an unyielding confrontation with the aggressor

Audience: Members of the Commission for Reviewing the Iraqi-Imposed War against Iran; Ahmad Sekou Toure—President of Guinea; Dawda Jawara—President of Gambia; Ziaur Rahman—President of Bangladesh; Gen. Zia ul-Haq—President of Pakistan; Bulent Ulusu—Prime Minister of Turkey; Habib Shati—General Secretary, Organization of Islamic Conference; Yasir Arafat—PLO Chairman; and the foreign ministers of Turkey, Senegal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

From mere lip-service to wise action and putting Islam into practice

I thank you gentlemen for coming to Iran and witnessing the conditions of this country from close quarters; and if time permits and if you are interested, you could even identify the oppressor from the oppressed and the aggressor from the aggressed. If I had to relate all the problems that Iran has and is still facing as well as the atrocities that this nation has undergone, even very briefly, it would cost me my health and would be too time-consuming for you. However, I will share a few of our problems with you and am hopeful that the Muslims and especially the Muslim leaders will go beyond mere lip-service to Islam—which is a cover-up for not abiding by Islamic principles—and will instead contemplate and act upon the true message of Islam. The problem of the Muslims and the oppressed Muslim nations, thus far, has been that their leaders have not gone beyond paying lip-service to Islam and have pursued their vested interests under the cover of Islam. I am hopeful that the Muslim nations and especially their governments will shift from lip-service to wise action and will seriously think about putting Islamic and Qur'anic principles into practice.

Iran's plight in the Iraqi-imposed war

You are visiting a country that has faced 2,500 years of suppression and suffocation and has been crushed under the boots of unjust monarchs under the pretext of justice, civilization, and humanity. You are visiting a country whose oppressed peoples chose to liberate themselves from the pressures of

tyranny and subjugation and to gain freedom and independence after facing long years of suppression at the hands of the stooges of the superpowers of the East and the West in the name of Islam and under the pretext of progress. The whims and fancies of these stooges of the superpowers did not permit this nation to breathe freely. You are visiting a country that has given about sixty thousand martyrs and which has more than a hundred thousand war-injured people and nearly fifty thousand families of which have lost their bread earners. You are visiting a country in which more than one and a half million people have been rendered homeless because of the imposed war. You are visiting a country that has been attacked by the tyrannical stooges of the superpowers who have violated our borders without any prior notice and have cruelly occupied some of our cities, killing many of our youth and taking some of them as war captives. You are visiting a country whose only crime is that it wants to serve Islam and wants to return to the principles of Islam and to sever the hands of the big powers that were active in this country much against human and Islamic principles and to overthrow a despotic regime and to establish a government of its own choice and to live according to the tenets of Islam. The superpowers that do not want the Muslim nations and governments to unite and who fear the consequences of solidarity among the one billion world Muslims have attacked us from all sides; military attacks, coup d'états, and recently an imposed war through a stooge by the name of Saddam Husayn. You have come to a country whose oppressed peoples are facing atrocities at the hands of a cruel tyrant. You should not refer to any antagonism between the two nations of Iraq and Iran because these two nations share brotherly relations and both these nations are against the Iraqi government. If you really want to go beyond lip-service to Islam, you should come and witness what has happened to our cities, our youth, our women, and our children. You should take a look at our ruined cities that are clear evidence of their crimes. If you as well as the Islamic governments wish to move from lip-service to Islam to wise action according to the principles of Islam, the need of the hour is to move beyond personal whims and fancies as well as tyranny and to unite together.

Peace between Islam and *kuf*r is meaningless

If you stay here for some time and clear your ears of all the negative propaganda that has been spread about Iran a little and if you see the real Iranian situation for your own self and if you observe the aims and objectives of the Iranian government and the nation, you will come to know whether

their call is indeed for Islam or if they are actually only after the promotion of “Persian nationalism” and wish to bring down “Arabism”!

You and all those who were present at the Ta’if Conference listened to Saddam for eighty minutes. In all those eighty minutes, he did not even spend a single minute speaking about something that would win divine approval. Even if he mentioned the name of Islam it was the Islam that has been presented to him by America and Europe and not the one that has emerged from Medina and Hijaz. You spent eighty minutes listening to his absurdities and while his army is busy massacring people in our country he spoke about Iran being the aggressor; and yet, not one of you asked him for any proof regarding his claims of Iran being the aggressor. Are we engaged in war in the Iraqi territories or are we defending our Iranian territory? And if we are merely defending ourselves within the boundaries of our own country, then it is indeed Iraq that is the aggressor. If we have attacked Iraq even once, then we are partners in this aggression. But when we are only defending our national rights, Islam, the rights of the Iraqi peoples, and the Muslims, in that case, the Ta’if Conference should not stay silent. You should not relate to this whole thing as a war among two nations because the Iraqi nation despises the Iraqi government even more than the Iranian nation does. This corrupt regime has exterminated Islamic scholars, youth, elderly people, and even the children of the Iraqi nation. If you are concerned about the Islamic stance then you should refer to the Qur’anic verses and should act upon the holy verse that says, “*And if two parties of the believers quarrel, make peace between them; but if one of them acts wrongfully toward the other, fight that which acts wrongfully until it returns to Allah’s command;*”¹ that is, if we can even consider them to be Muslims in the first place! If you only act upon this divine obligation, we shall not have any other expectations from you. And if you are short of time, then send your representatives to the borders that are under their aggression and get them to witness the situation first-hand; send them to the graveyards that they have built for us and let them witness the graves of our martyrs as well as their homeless families and let them witness the oppressed people from the west and the south of Iran and let them see whether we have been the aggressors or whether they have attacked us. If you conclude that we have been the aggressors, then you may wage a war against us and if you conclude that they have been the aggressors, then you could wage a war against them. It is meaningless to talk of peace between Islam and *kufir*. No Muslim should think that any peace

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:9.

between Islam and disbelief or between the Muslims and the disbelievers is ever possible. The divine command should be acted upon. We should all follow the Noble Qur'an.

Islam calls for the trial and punishment of the aggressor

Do you think that the Iranian nation today is under a despotic government that can make peace with someone whom the nation opposes? Do you think that this country is governed by a despotic president who can negotiate with anyone he chooses and can take any actions against the will of the nation? This country is governed according to a national consensus and it is the nation here that has the government in its own hands. The nation has elected these government bodies and it is not permissible or possible for any of us to go against the will of the nation. If your mission is to put an end to this war—which is the desire of all the Muslims—then you should put the aggressor on trial and punish him. You should compel the Iraqi troops that have occupied our country to leave and you should order Saddam to withdraw from our country and his army to stop its aggression. After putting an end to this aggression, an international commission should be formed in order to survey the crimes that have been committed; and if we are found to be the aggressors, they can take action against us but if Saddam is the aggressor, they should take action against him. This is what Islam demands.

Islam has given us very precise laws and has commanded us to remain united and to avoid dissension.¹ We should go beyond mere lip-service and should actually get united. We should not limit ourselves to merely organizing gatherings and seminars that bear no substantial results. Take a look and see for yourselves if this conference that was held in Ta'if made any difference for the oppressed peoples of Iran, Palestine, or Lebanon. What was done there for the Muslims? Is it enough for us to simply collect together, claiming to be Muslims and claiming to be the supporters of Islam? Such loud claims were even made by Muhammad Rida and they are also made by Saddam as well as those who are illegally dominating and oppressing Islam and the Muslim nations. But if you sincerely wish to check out the facts for yourselves and if you have come here to bring an end to the war, then you should sit in judgment and should visit the border cities for yourselves and you should examine the stances of both sides and you should give an ear to what both nations are saying. You should check for yourselves if the Iraqi nation even approves of this government. You should also check

¹ *Surah Ali Imran* 3:103: "And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate."

if the Iranian nation approves of its government, its President, its Prime Minister, and its Majlis. And if you find that the local government bodies have the approval of the nation then they are legal governments. And if they do not have public support then they are illegal. And if the claims made all over the world about democracy and human rights are genuine, they should not recognize such governments as legal. We are prepared to allow you come to our country and hold a referendum under supervision to check whether our nation approves of this government, this Majlis, as well as this President. You should also somehow manage to take a trip to Iraq and hold a similar free and fair referendum, if possible, and then check for yourselves whether the Iraqi nation, too, approves of its government and whether they approve of their so-called “President”. Then sit in conference. And if you find that their nation does not approve of their President, then know that neither do we and nor does anyone else in the world approve of him, except for a small group that is supporting him, like America and the Soviet Union.

Failing this, all your conferences will bear no fruit and all our talks and your talks will not lead to anywhere concrete. Everyone should truly and sincerely seek refuge under the banner of Islam but not in the form of mere lip-service. And if we truly unite under the banner of Islam then we will be able to serve all our common interests. But if all this remains as a dry formality—some day in Ta’if, some day in Tehran, and some day in another place—then it will go on endlessly and the Muslims will continue to remain under foreign pressure. And we and you will remain under oppression forever. We will succeed in liberating ourselves and our one billion-strong nation along with all our natural resources from the oppression of the big powers only when we realize the true message of Islam and when we discover our true identity and follow the commands of Allah. God Almighty is bound to grant us victory if we obey His commands. The Qur’an says: “*If ye help (the cause of) Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm*”.¹

May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ *Surah Muhammad 47:7.*

Speech

Date: March 1, 1981 [Esfand 10, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 23, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of self-purification and its priority over education

Audience: Various strata of the people, employees of Shahid Mutahhari School, and members of the Islamic Associations of the Girls' Schools of Damghan and Semnan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Priority of ethical values over education

I hope that the sisters and the brothers who are studying in and are representing the Shahid Mutahhari School are present to the fact that this school has been named after a martyr who gave invaluable service to Islam and whose writings and words are and should be guidance for all our youth. All of you sisters and brothers who are part of this school should organize your programs in such a way that you succeed in creating many or at least one Mutahhari. Focus your attention on this aim and keep your mind engrossed in the remembrance of God and do your duty purely for the sake of God Almighty. Make sure to engage yourself seriously in learning as long as you are in this school and keep in mind that what is even more important than learning is the attainment of pure values. Remain true to the message of Islam and adorn your Islamic education with lofty Islam ethics. While you are engaged in a serious study of the Islamic laws and the other fields of learning, make sure to purify yourselves according to the teachings of Islam. All centers of learning as well as the religious schools in the Islamic Republic should ensure that students are trained in values and ethics before everything else. All the Islamic scholars and speakers who have strived on the path of God, each according to his own ability, should go to the various centers of learning all over the country and should form faculties in the areas of ethics, self-purification, and Islamic knowledge in order to supplement regular education with Islamic ethics and Islamic self-purification. If there is no Islamic grooming toward self-purification—whether it is in the theological schools or in the regular universities, which are also Islamic and religious centers of learning—attention should be paid such that the teachers who are engaged in serving in these centers and those who go to teach or speak there, should be people who are purely Islamic and who believe in Islamic laws and teachings so that those who are being trained under them receive Islamic training and education. It is important for you to keep in

mind that if any “scholar”—no matter who he is—is not equipped with Islamic ethics and self-purification, he is bound to harm the interests of Islam. The harm that our country has faced at the hands of deviated people who were not truly committed to Islamic values has been much more than the harm inflicted upon us by tanks and canons or by Muhammad Rida and his father. Such people harm the spirit and any harm to the spirit is much more damaging than physical harm. If a scholar has not worked on self-purification, even if he is a scholar in Islamic laws or in *tawhid*, he causes more harm than good to himself and to his country, and to his nation and to Islam. If you want to serve Islam and the Islamic nation, and if you wish to liberate yourselves from enslavement to the superpowers as well as their affiliates, all the universities and the theological schools and their other centers should give utmost priority to programs on self-purification and ethics so that people like Martyr Mutahhari can be successfully handed out by them to society. And if, God forbid, this is neglected, people who are opposite to such great ones will be handed down to society and such people will bring about corruption in society and will put people under the enslavement of others.

Covetous teachers are the cause of all misery

The damage that has been inflicted upon our country through the university and the theological schools has not been inflicted through anything else. It is very important for these two to be clean. The university teachers as well as the Islamic scholars should share a mutual understanding and should join hands in order to create an Islamic atmosphere in the universities as well as the seminaries. Teachers who are appointed for university jobs as well as the other centers of learning should be committed people who have neither Eastern nor Western leanings. If we happen to have some teachers who hold either Eastern or Western inclinations, this country, too, will end up leaning either toward the East or toward the West and will get distanced from its basic principle of “neither East nor West”. Do not give heed to those who claim that such precautions are not necessary and that it is not really important to take such leanings into consideration. If teachers are left free to train our children and our youth in any way they desire, it is bound to lead to deviation and is also against the sublime teachings of Islam. The stress that Islam lays upon the pure grooming of children and the youth is not given to anything else. As a matter of fact, the very purpose of Islam is the grooming of sublime human beings. The deviated schools of thought rob man of the true human spirit. And they will eventually end up forcing us to take refuge

either in the East and communism or in the West and America. All the misery that this country has faced has mainly been owing to its teachers who lacked the necessary commitment. And these teachers had churned out students who ruined our society and forced our country to lean either toward the East or toward the West. What our country most needs is an Islamic commitment and Islamic values. If the universities and the seminaries are protected by Islamic values, then the rest of our nation will not lean toward this and that side and will instead traverse on the Straight Path of humanity, Islam, independence, and freedom.

I pray to God Almighty to grant you success in moving toward the main purpose of life, which is Islam, and toward the most exalted purpose, which is Allah such that you can also guide others to the same path which is the Straight Path of humanity! And may Allah guide all of us on this Straight Path!

May God's peace be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 3, 1981 [Esfand 12, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Exercising restraint in journalism; the enemy's aim in causing differences; steadfastness toward commitments

Audience: The supervisory council and the editorial board of the daily, *Mizan*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The basis of action

I appreciate the decision taken by you gentlemen to base your daily, the "*Mizan*" [The Scales of Justice], upon the basis of justice. And I thank all of you for your determination to traverse upon the path of Islam. I would like to draw your attention toward the fact that it is important for you to stay committed to the context of the name that you have chosen for your daily. The word "*Mizan*" refers to the same "Criterion" or the divine scales of justice to which you shall return to, at the end of your final journey. If your daily does not succeed in remaining true to its name you will be held responsible there because of your inability or your disinclination to manifest the reality of the name that you have chosen from the noble Qur'anic verse. And if, God forbid, your daily ever happens to present anything unjust written by any of your journalists, the same will be presented to you in your meeting with the Divine Criterion. The true judgment of our actions lies with God and they are all recorded and are being recorded by Him. Each and every word that issues from us is reflected in the other world and is recorded in the balance of our actions. And if your "*Mizan*" happens to weigh positively upon the "*mizan*" or the divine scales (of actions) and if you all have stayed upon the Straight Path and if your daily has succeeded to serve the divine purpose then you will emerge victorious and bright-faced in the hereafter. Sometimes it is quite possible that we may select a certain name or title but may remain oblivious about acting according to its true context. It is also quite possible for one to be able to propagate that he is providing service. Besides, every group believes itself to be the best criterion for evaluating all action. This is the general trend everywhere in this world. Even if you would have approached someone like Stalin, you would have found that he, too, regarded himself as the best criterion, believing that whatever conformed to his personal beliefs was "right" and whatever opposed them was "wrong". And even if you approach America you will discover this same

attitude. We also believe that it is our word which is the true criterion and whatever conforms to our beliefs is “correct” and the vice versa is “false”. So it is the same situation here, too; and this is a basic human attitude. Man regards himself as the main pivot for everything, claiming his own wishes and beliefs to be the most valid, and those of everyone else as invalid. This attitude works against the Divine Criterion which we will all eventually encounter. There can be no pretension as far as that Criterion is concerned. Everything in that world will be vivid and transparent. The hidden aspects of all the hearts will be clearly manifested in that realm. No one in that realm will be able to make any hypocritical declarations and pretensions that are opposite to his actual actions and try to justify them.

Now that you have chosen this noble name for your daily, you should make sure that this *Mizan* does not act against the divine “*mizan*”.

Dangers of the disease of egotism and self-centeredness

Always keep in mind that all human beings and all of us are inflicted by the disease of egotism and self-centeredness except the one who is safeguarded against it by God. Man continues to suffer this disease right until the end of his life unless he gets salvaged or at least minimizes his infliction through the guidance of God Almighty and His prophets (*a*). You should always try your best to keep this fact in mind. Refrain from always believing your own self to be right and all the others as wrong. This disease is certainly present within all human beings and no one can claim to be free from this affliction. The degrees, however, are varied. Some people put in all their efforts to remedy themselves from this disease while there are others who remain oblivious. Now that you all have chosen this name for your daily and intend to present the criterion of truth and falsehood through it, you need to make sure that you, God forbid, do not ever act against this commitment. Keep your focus on justice and truth.

Need for restraint in journalism

Justice, irrespective of who it stems from, remains justice while injustice and crime are unjust, no matter who commits them. A perfect man is the one who makes all efforts to confess and rectify his mistakes without any hesitation. He does not, however, need to come up and publicly announce a sin, which he has committed in private because such a thing is forbidden. But in your case, if you ever realize that an article or an editorial published by your daily has erred in some matter and has gone against the demands of the divine scales of justice, the power of the spirit of a true man would reveal

itself through you only if you accepted your mistake. The point here is that anyone who has the power to accept his mistake becomes his own master whereas if he does not develop this power, then he can never become his own master because he is under the influence of the devil.

Now that you have chosen this name for your daily, you should strive to ensure that your journalists work with integrity. Of course, sometimes the journalists are young and the youth can think differently from the elderly. And among you, there are both young people as well as some older ones. If you ever find that one of your younger journalists has written an article that could have a harsh effect on a particular section of people, in spite of the pure intention of the journalist, and could thus cause disturbances among people or could have a negative effect which we sometimes see these days in society, you should hand over such an article to the older journalists for making necessary amendments. It may not be possible for one to curb his pen or tongue completely but they can surely be controlled. I am not implying that it is not possible for us to have any power over ourselves and that our actions are beyond our control. No, I am certainly not implying this. All of us are indeed responsible for our words, our actions, and our views.

We should all keep in mind not to add to the problems of this country and this nation, and particularly in these times in which our country is already facing all kinds of difficulties. Our efforts should be made toward minimizing tensions instead of adding to them. All our efforts should be directed toward fostering mutual understanding. In case you ever write against a certain group in a manner that goes against the “*Mizan*” or the divine scales of justice, that group which may have called itself something other than “*Mizan*” will begin to counter-attack you. Nowadays, the situation is not like it used to be earlier when whatever “His Royal Majesty” commanded had to be followed silently. Today, even people from what we may ignorantly consider as the “lower” rungs can freely raise objections to the actions of even those who sit in the highest offices. Nowadays, no one can curb anyone else’s rights. If anyone brings up an issue that offends a certain group or section of people, that group, too, begins to retaliate and sometimes even over-retaliate. Such situations can go on endlessly converting all pens into swords and tongues into daggers! All of us—the entire nation, the newspapers, and all forms of media—should concentrate upon minimizing the heavy burden that our country is already loaded with. On the one hand, we are facing this imposed war due to which the homes and lands of many of our people are being violated by mischievous elements. On the other hand, we are faced with extensive sinister propaganda, and even if a

small slip occurs somewhere, it is blown out of proportion by the foreigners and their media.

The enemy's aim in causing differences

We should try our best to ensure that the foreign powers do not gain the opportunity to say that our country is not capable of taking care of its own interests. We should not give them the excuse to say that the seniors of our country are vying for each others' throats while the juniors are also busy attacking each other and that while our country is facing external danger we have started a civil war. They will end up saying that we are not mature enough to realize that when our country is being attacked by an enemy, all our pens and tongues should be employed against the enemy. If they find that such is not the case and that we are engaged in internal differences and are vying for each others' throats while the mischief-makers are busy trying to divert our energies from the war so that it can prolong endlessly and there are yet others who have entered our country in order to cause turmoil and are passing on information about us all over the world, they will interpret all this to mean that we are a nation that seriously needs someone from outside to govern it because we are not capable of doing so ourselves. They will want to appoint an alien to come and take care of our affairs and will try to gain international legitimacy for the same and will consequently enter Iran with that "legal" excuse. If some country were to attack us, humanity demands that the others should condemn the attackers. However, with the use of certain tactics such an attack can be portrayed to have "legitimate" reasons and each one of the foreign powers may enter our country under the pretext of salvaging our situation and in the name of humanity and benevolence. You can all see the situation in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union somehow managed to find some excuse to enter into that country. And before they entered Afghanistan, the Soviet ambassador had come to see me, mentioning that they had received a "request" to go to Afghanistan. My response to him was that even if they had the power to occupy that country, they would eventually regret it since the Afghan nation would never accept them and they would, thus, not succeed in achieving anything significant. And you can very clearly see now that despite all the massacres and plunders they are proving unsuccessful. Anyhow, on our part, we should make sure not to give any excuse to others to interfere into the affairs of our country.

Steadfastness toward commitments

We should all remain united in speech and writing and should endeavor toward alleviating the existing problems instead of adding to them. At least our newspapers should refrain from adding to our problems and this is something that all the newspapers should keep in mind, and especially since you have chosen the name “*Mizan*”, your responsibility is greater than the rest. This is because those who work for this newspaper are people who are committed to Islam. Now suppose that the “*Mardum*” (People) daily were to write whatever it wished, it has, on the other hand never claimed to take on any special kind of commitment. In the same context, our responsibility today is greater than the rest of the world because we claim to be the “Islamic Republic” and, thus, express our intention to act according to Islamic criteria. Similarly, since the “*Mizan*” daily has chosen this particular name for itself and has, thus, expressed its intention to act as a “scale of justice”, it needs to be more cautious about keeping its commitment to the criteria of Islam. We are certainly responsible for the claims we make.

Tomorrow, when we shall all enter into the Presence of God Almighty, those of you who are writers and managers with the “*Mizan*” will be questioned and if you have, God forbid, failed to act according to the demands of the divine scales of justice, you shall be called hypocrites. Besides facing the charges of your crimes you will also be charged with the sin of hypocrisy since you have claimed to have created a “criterion” for action and have expressed an intention to act with justice and have taken on the responsibility of playing the “tongue” of divine justice. If you fail to act as per your claims, in the hereafter, it will be said to you that besides your other crimes, you have also proved to be guilty of hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is associating partners with God, the Revered.¹ In any case, my general advice to you and to everyone else involved in the mass media is that if we really possess even the slightest of political acumen we should join hands and should support each other so that we can make progress. Even if we are a nation of limping soldiers we should all join hands and move ahead instead of adding to our handicap. Today, we are a nation that is being attacked and oppressed from all sides. Under such circumstances, we should join hands so that we can achieve our final goals. Do not forget that every person is responsible for his own deeds and is sometimes also responsible for the actions of others. If a person finds that he can make a difference, he should not refrain from “*amr bi'l-maruf*” (demanding propriety). You have no right

¹ “Hypocrisy is associating partners with God, the Revered” is not a *hadith*. What is a *hadith* is: “Hypocrisy is polytheism.” See *Sunan Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 46.

to say that since a certain newspaper has written something, it is alright for us also to do the same. If someone commits a certain crime, the others do not have the right to follow suit simply because someone has done something! Certainly not! If everyone decides to raise an illegitimate hue and cry over the slightest provocation, this commotion will never end. On the other hand, if something untrue is written about a certain person, and if he exercises patience and responds in a judicious and appropriate manner, the issue will diminish and will soon fizzle out. But if every act of violation was to be responded by similar action, it would create an endless vicious circle.

All of us need to remember that many greedy hands have been cut off from our country and today, even if they may desire to, it is not possible for them to pilfer off the resources of our country. Both, the Soviet Union and America as well as other similar powers would love to gain domination over us. We should, therefore, refrain from internal conflicts so that we do not end up becoming prey to the greedy wolves of the world. At this critical time, we should cooperate with each other in thought, word, and deed and should support one another. If you find that a certain minister is proving to be weak in his duty, extend your help to him. Do not try to push him out of the scene because of his inability since he will surely try to vindicate himself and will end up blaming you instead. Everyone these days is retaliating sharply to the slightest criticism. This could end up in creating turmoil. Why should we create turmoil when the need of the hour is for peace and harmony?! We should all join hands and should ensure that this country moves toward self-reliance and our media and the radio and television should become a model for the world.

I pray to God Almighty for you to succeed in amending your acts and in acting with propriety. Always remember that all of us are in the Presence of God Almighty. Even right now we are in the Divine Presence. Whenever you pick up the pen to write something, remember that your thoughts, your heart, your pen, your hand, and your tongue are all in the Presence of God. May He grant us the success in delivering upon our responsibilities, God willing!

Speech

Date: March 4, 1981 [Esfand 13, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The value and importance of ruling over hearts

Audience: Members of the Commission for Reviewing the Iraqi-Imposed War against Iran, Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr (President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces), Mr. Fallahi (Deputy Chief, Joint Staff of the Army), Mr. Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air Force), and Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ruling over hearts

I feel it is important for me to offer some advice to you gentlemen who are leaders of some Muslim countries. Remember that it is very important for you to strive to rule over the hearts of the people of your countries instead of ruling over their bodies while their hearts are turned away from you. If the Muslims wish to succeed in liberating themselves from foreign domination, their governments should strive to win the hearts of their people. It is beautiful to be able to rule over hearts instead of merely ruling over bodies without the hearts. You have seen for yourself how the people of Iran, in spite of it being a lowly populated country, strive to support their government and to further its goals simply because their hearts were and are with the government.

Even in this war that was unexpectedly imposed upon us with the belief that they were merely going to confront an army, and that too a weak and disorganized one as per their calculations, you saw how they had made mistakes and miscalculations because neither had they taken the strength of our current army into consideration nor had they taken into consideration the national support that is enjoyed here. Our current army as well as the rest of our armed forces are not the same as they used to be during the reign of the *taghut*. During the days of the *taghut*, the hearts of the people did not support the government and the people were literally forced to cooperate with them. Today, however, the hearts support the government and the rule is over the hearts of the people. Our President, our Prime Minister, and our parliament all rule over the hearts of the people. That is why, today, as our army is occupied at the warfronts in the defense of the nation, the entire nation is united in war and is giving its full cooperation to the army and the armed

forces. Almost everyday or at least on most days, we find youth coming here tearfully pleading for permission to go to the warfronts for attaining martyrdom. Even weak old people and children hold this wish in their hearts. This is because it is Islam that is governing this country and the government of this country is not over bodies. It is a government over the hearts of the masses and the hearts of the people are with those who are governing this country. We could even say that it is the peoples who are actually governing the country.

Ruling over hearts brings invincibility

All of you leaders should strive and should also advise the other leaders to strive, like Iran, to rule over the hearts of their people. The problem of the Muslims is that in many of their governments, the rule is over the bodies of the people; and that too with pressure, because of which they are unsuccessful. If we and all the leaders of the Muslim countries rule over the spirits and win the hearts of the people, we will become invincible with all our vast human and natural resources and shall be able to withstand the attempts of the nations that seek to violate us and no country will be able to win against our peoples. Foreign powers can only gain success in countries and governments that do not enjoy a popular support.

You should make all efforts and should advise all your friends to strive to win the hearts of their peoples in the same manner in which the hearts of the people were with the government in the early days of Islam. Islam ruled over the hearts of the peoples in its early days and that is why it was possible to gain victory over major empires even though the Muslims were not too many in number during those times. Today, with God's grace, the total population of the Muslims is close to one billion. And yet, how come in spite of being such a large nation, the Zionists have managed to take over our Quds and are also dictating terms to the other governments. All this is true in spite of the fact that if only we were to unite together, we would be able to form a large nation. Of course, each country would still remain independent in its own territory but they could all stand together under the banner of Islam.

I hope that you will, God willing, accept my advice because it is certainly in your and our best interests in this world and in the hereafter and it is in the best interests of all the Muslims.

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

Message

Date: March 5, 1981 [Esfand 14, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Commemorating and paying homage to the memories of the martyrs

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

May the blessings and the mercy of God Almighty descend upon the martyrs of Islam who bravely sacrificed their lives fighting against the armies of *kufr* [disbelief] for the cause of Islam! The memories of these martyrs of Truth are everlasting and these soldiers have strengthened the cause of Islam by sacrificing their pure blood and have revived and eternalized the sacred religion of Islam. May the blessings and the mercy of God Almighty descend upon the fathers and the mothers who have brought up such children who have proved to be the pride of Islam and this country and have become exemplars for all the freedom fighters throughout history! By the grace of God Almighty, they have entered into the Mercy of God and are in the sacred Divine Presence and have washed away their sins and shortcomings with the first drops of their blood.

O God Almighty! Grace the pure souls of these martyrs with the companionship of those who sacrificed their lives for the Noble Prophet of Islam (*s*) and his grandson Husayn ibn Ali (*a*)! I pray to God Almighty to shower His Mercy upon them and to grant patience and rewards upon their survivors.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Esfand 14, 1359 AHS

Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1401 AH

Message

Date: March 5, 1981 [Esfand 14, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Honoring the war-disabled soldiers

Audience: The war-disabled soldiers of the Iraqi-imposed war and the Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings and peace be upon you beloved ones who have sacrificed your health and well-being for the cause of Islam and have, thereby, secured the independence and freedom of our beloved Islamic country.

The noble nation of Iran takes pride in your service and self-sacrifice. You have revived the memories of the great souls who had sacrificed their lives and property during the first years of Islam. Your great service has eternally etched your names into the annals of the history of Islam and mankind; and your proud struggles will serve as inspiration to all freedom fighters throughout history.

I pray to God Almighty to grant you all with a grand compensation and I pray for your health and well-being. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

A sincere friend to all of you dear ones,

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Esfand 14, 1359 AHS

Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1401 AH

Speech

Date: March 5, 1981 [Esfand 14, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Imperialist conspiracies for isolating the clergy; the great responsibility of the clerics; need for unity between the seminaries and the universities

Audience: Clerics from the Bureau of Propagation of the Qum and Mashhad Seminaries and soldiers of the 1974-78 service batches

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Involvement of the clergy in socio-political affairs

Although we are short of time, I would like to share a few words with you clerics and the brothers and sons of Islam.

The covert hands of the global usurpers have, with the help of local individuals and groups that have penetrated into the various strata of the Muslim nations, been working on a certain evil plan for many years now. And they have unfortunately succeeded in spreading a general belief that the clerics should be isolated in their chambers and in the mosques and that the activities of their seniors should be confined to visits from their homes to the mosques and back, with no involvement whatsoever in social issues. And that any involvement of the clergy in socio-political affairs should be tabooed since it would be against the dignity of the clergy! Subsequently, the duty of the young clerics was to simply crawl into the damp chambers of their seminaries and to study religious books that had nothing to do with social and political affairs. According to them, it would be most out of place for a cleric to ever don a military uniform. Any kind of political involvement was considered as going against the essence of priesthood. And if any cleric ever got involved in political affairs, he would be considered as an outcast. All these were conspiracies to isolate the clerics and to confine them to a corner in the mosque or to the chambers of their seminaries. This plan succeeded in spreading such baseless beliefs among most clerics and the majority of the masses. The clerics were not supposed to get involved in any affairs related to politics and the socio-political problems of an "Islamic" country. They had inherited this plan from the European world where the clergy had been isolated so that vested interests could do whatever they wished with the nation without being answerable to anyone. They tried to implement this same plan in our country and in the other Muslim countries. If ever a cleric tried to involve himself in a political issue, everyone including the clergy,

would stand up in objection. They wanted the clergy to stay away from politics and from the problems faced by Islam and the Muslims, and to leave such affairs in the hands of the monarchs and those connected with them. This plan had been in circulation for long years and had reaped in many benefits for them. It was because of this plan that our country as well as the other Muslim countries—whose clergy should also involve themselves in the affairs of the country and should give priority to the political affairs of their countries in their programs—came to face all these problems. They had realized very well that the clergy could exercise a powerful influence upon the masses and that they would, thus, need to plan in a manner that would instigate the masses to prevent the clerics from involvement in political affairs. The clerics also came to be brainwashed into believing that they should abstain from political involvement. They succeeded in putting the same plan that they had implemented in the Western world with regards to the church—isolating it from the daily affairs of the masses—into action in our country, bringing us to this state of affairs.

The enemy's conspiracy to isolate the clergy from politics

A major transformation has taken place in our nation today. God Almighty has blessed this nation with this transformation through His Power. This transformation has also taken place within the clerics. The clerics today work shoulder to shoulder with our freedom-fighters and many even attain martyrdom. They are present at the warfronts along with the rest of the masses and the earlier taboo that had been placed on their involvement in social, political and defense affairs has been eliminated. With the grace of God Almighty, you gentlemen as well as other clerics and seminarians from all over the country, are active in all fields and even go to the warfronts and make sacrifices along with your brothers from the military and the revolutionary guard corps.

Dear brothers and sons of Islam! Stay alert to the fresh conspiracies to isolate you from your current activities. Do not allow certain individuals and groups that do not want the clerics in this country to breathe in peace, to mislead you and send you back to the seclusion of your seminaries. In the same way that you should be striving to gain knowledge and work on self-restraint [*taqwa*] you should also strive to prepare yourselves for political and social involvement and for the elimination of the problems of the Muslim world as well as defending the Islamic country. As with the clerics, those same elements also had similar plans for our college-going and other youth to prevent them from getting involved in the political and the other affairs of

this country, which is in fact in dire need of their active involvement. They had gone to the extent of employing a large number of school and university teachers who were against Islam and this Islamic nation in order to deviate our youth and to prevent them from working for Islam. They had poisoned the minds of our youth against the clergy and vice versa. They created a rift among the clergy and the university and capitalized on it. By the Grace of God Almighty, this rift has now been eliminated and, today, the clergy and the university people work shoulder to shoulder and are active in socio-political affairs and in defending the country. Both, the clerics as well as the university people should abstain from criticizing each other, keeping in mind that such criticism is in the interest of neither group. It will only serve the interests of the superpowers. They are not going to leave the Muslim countries alone so easily. Nor are they going to leave Iran alone. They have become used to pocketing our oil and our other resources. And those who worked in this country earlier, actually worked in the favor of foreign interests. Now that their hands have been severed from this country they are not going to let go of it so easily.

Dear brothers and sisters and all the strata of our nation! Keep in mind that there are conspiracies at work, striving to present a false picture of the clerics in the minds of the people and to create a rift between them and the people and the university so that they can cater to their own interests even if it means bringing into power a deceitful regime in this nation; a regime that would be totally Islamic in appearance and would cry the cause of Islam much louder than all of you but would be hypocritical in nature and would act completely against the interests of the country. The evil conspiracies of the big powers are at work today attempting to create a rift between the clergy and the people, the university, and the youth. This is the same plan through which they wish to isolate the clergy so that they can further their own interests.

Where are all those who criticize the clergy? Those same people all charged in when the Revolution took place and ransacked our weapons and ammunition. And even now that our country is at war, they are sitting armed on the sidelines, waiting for Iraq or some other power to overcome us so that they can join hands with them. Our clergies are actively present at the fronts and many of them have even attained martyrdom while others have returned safely after serving at the fronts. Have those who are sitting and criticizing the clerics ever served at the warfronts or given any martyrs? They simply pillaged our weapons and ammunition and are now lying in wait for Iran to face defeat. They are waiting for those who have served selflessly at the

warfronts to be sidetracked so that they can reap all the benefits. These deviated elements are neither with Islam, nor are they with the clergy or the university.

Need to strengthen relations between the seminaries and the universities

Both the seminaries as well as the universities should keep in mind that they need to strengthen their mutual relationship. You are the two vital bodies that have a powerful influence on the health of a society. Your isolation would mean that all those who can do something for the country will, God forbid, get isolated. And all those powers that have had to forfeit their interests in this country will consequently enter the scene and will bring in a seemingly popular government that will lead our country to its doom.

Dear brothers! Make sure that the arms that you take up are for the welfare of the society. You should be the guardians of the wellbeing of the society and your actions should present the true picture of Islam. You should keep in mind that any un-Islamic actions reflected in the behavior of the clerics who have donned the robes of religion is bound to isolate the clergy. All pens will begin to write against you and will create a rift between you and the nation and will inflict the same disasters on this country that were common during the rules of Rida Khan and his son.

Today Islam, all over the world and especially in Iran in which the popular Islamic Republic has been established, is a great divine trust that has been placed in our hands. Any treachery to this divine trust shall amount to treachery to Islam, treachery to the pure divine laws, and treachery to the weak nations. The clerics all over the country—those who go to the warfronts and make sacrifices, those who are studying or teaching in the seminaries, the Friday and other congregational prayer leaders, those who are serving in the courts of law and the judiciary, as well as those who are members of various commissions and hold other posts—should always keep in mind that Islam is a divine trust, especially placed in your hands. Any kind of deviation among you or even among some of you will only encourage those who are against you and Islam to attack you with their pens and their words and to even blow matters out of proportion. They may never bother to write about all your services but even the slightest deviation on your part is immediately and repeatedly emphasized in public so that all your sincere efforts are eclipsed. I have never heard them make any mention about your struggles since Khordad 15 or the torture and imprisonment that your leaders have endured; some of which atrocities are not even inflicted upon criminals. None of them has ever bothered to write about all these sacrifices but if they

find even the smallest evidence against you—whether real or fabricated—their agents get busy spreading all over that this is a “dictatorship of the clerics” that has come into power! This is a term that has been invented by the enemies of Islam who wish to sidetrack Islam so that the clerics are pushed into the corners of the mosques and are forced to focus their efforts only on religious matters with no involvement in social problems and issues so that the others can remain active in the scenes and inflict upon us what Muhammad Rida did.

Duty of the clerics is to act according to religious laws

All of you need to wake up! Our nation needs to wake up! Our entire nation, whether it is the common man or the businessman or the factory worker or the agriculturist, should all wake up to the fact that there is a big conspiracy with hidden motives behind the spread of talks regarding the “dictatorship of the clerics”. Let them come out and show us which clerics are dictators! Yes, if their interpretation of the term “dictatorship” is the securing of the rights of the oppressed or the elimination of people like Nasiri, then these are Islamic acts and are based upon the principles of Islam. But if what they are saying implies that the clerics wish to impose things upon the masses or that they want to distress the nation and further their own interests by coming into power then this is a clear lie. Our people should directly ask those who are spreading such stories to exactly point out who they are referring to and precisely what that person has done and what act of “dictatorship” has been committed by him so that they can reach to the roots of this issue.

All of you, from all sections of the clergy, are duty-bound to act according to the laws of Islam and to take care not to deviate in any way and to prevent the enemies from finding an excuse to blow matters out of proportion. It is your duty not to deviate from the laws of Islam and I am sure that you are careful about the same. It is the duty of the nation to honor the word of the clerics and to ignore all the lies that is being spread against them. Our people should pursue the matter and should ask for evidence regarding such claims. Is it the speaker of our Majlis who is a dictator and is oppressing people or is it some other official who is dictating terms? Or then is it that the tongues of these uncommitted people are the real dictators that intend to weaken the clergy and the Islamic Republic? Elements that attack the clergy without any legal evidence and work against the interests of Islam or attack the Islamic Republic without any real proof! It is these people that are the

real dictators who wish to sidetrack the clergy in order to bring in a government that has the approval of Mr. Reagan or the Soviet Union!

Dangers of an Islam without the clergy

I warn the clerics all over the country of an impending danger. I warn the entire nation of an impending danger. I warn the clerics that if, God forbid, there are people among you who act against the Islamic laws, they should be curbed and if they still persist, expel them from your circle. And if you fail to do this, they will tarnish the reputation of the clergy; and if this ever happens, Islam itself will be sidetracked. Islam without the clergy is like a country without a physician. Your scholars and your orators should judiciously and astutely ensure that the seminaries and the other areas in which the clerics are active are left hazard-free so that you do not give an excuse to your enemies who are waiting to eliminate you from the scenes, failing which, their pens will get into action and all your services will get eclipsed. If even one or two of you waver their actions will get reflected upon the entire clergy. You should strive toward self-purification. Everyone involved with the seminaries and especially the teachers should ensure that the seminaries are left free from corruption.

I also warn the nation that there is a conspiracy at hand to eliminate the clergy from the scenes and to create a rift between you and the clerics so that your enemies can inflict upon this nation, the same tragedies that you faced during the years of Rida Shah, but in a new form.

Wake up O people! Wake up O clergy! Wake up O academicians! Wake up O factory workers; O' government employees! O' the senior citizens and the junior citizens of this nation! Wake up men; wake up women! Wake up and thwart this conspiracy! And do not allow the nation and the country to deviate from the path that you have chosen—the path of Islam and the path of God and the path of the Noble Messenger of Islam (s).

Enemies aim upon creating dissension

I have repeatedly warned all of you, including those who are in charge of the affairs of this nation—right from the President downwards, including the military personnel, the gendarmes, the revolutionary guards, the police force, the ethnics, and the other strata of society that are actively serving the nation—to keep in mind that your enemies are trying to create dissension among you. Their tactic is to carry tales from one stratum of the society to the other and back. They stealthily approach our youth who are making sacrifices at the warfronts with the intention of creating rifts between them

and the revolutionary guards and the army. They even try to create rifts within the army. Do not forget that those who approach the President posing as well-wishers and bad-mouth others are devils in the form of man. Those who sneak up to the Prime Minister and the other ministers, carrying stories about the President are also devils in the guise of men. Their only aim is to create dissension and animosity among you. They want to hand over this nation to the foreigners. They want to get rid of all of you and to form a government with the help of America or the Soviet Union.

At this point of time, in order to ensure the peace and harmony of this nation, political wisdom calls for unity among all of you since all of you share a common goal—which is Islam—even if your approaches may be different, so that we can, God willing, succeed in actualizing our true goals for the Islamic Republic. I advise all of you to sort out your differences. Refrain from speaking and writing against each other in public. I am hopeful that all of you will keep your faith firm in Islam and will remain committed to the Islamic Republic. In that case, you shall all share a common goal even if your approaches may differ. However, this is not the right time to focus upon your differences of approach. I sincerely advise all officials—whether they are active in the Majlis or elsewhere—to treat this matter as a divine and religious duty, the deviation from which would amount to a deviation from the path of Islam.

The necessity of unity among the nation, the clergy, and the university

All of us support our army and its commanders. If anyone claims that the nation does not support the army it is an obvious lie. You can see for yourself that the entire nation is serving the army while the army is engaged in defending the country. All those who claim that there is an opposition between the army and the clergy are liars because you can clearly see that our dear clerics from all over the country, some of whom are from the two great cities and centers of learning, Qum and Mashhad, are here in armed presence and have sacrificed their beloveds and their limbs at the warfronts. They have come here today and shall consequently proceed to the warfronts to, God willing, gain victory for the nation. The entire nation should support the army so that they can guard our warfronts. The revolutionary guards, the gendarmes, and the other members of the armed forces as well as the paramilitary forces should all remain united; and the nation, too, should support them strongly so that this imposed war, God willing, comes to an end with your victory. I forewarn you and all the future generations to come and advise you to keep in mind that the nation, the clergy, and the university

should never be disunited because any disunity among them will result in disaster for the entire nation, for Islam, and for the country.

May God's peace be upon you.

Letter

Date: March 7, 1981 [Esfand 16, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The Esfand 14 Incident at the Tehran University

Addressee: Grand Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Golpaygani—may his blessings last:

After offering my sincere greetings I would like to inform you that I have received your telegram¹ reflecting Your Eminence's concern regarding the unfortunate incident that took place in the university on Thursday, Esfand 14, 1359 AHS.² I received numerous telephone calls following this criminal act of the deviated elements. I assure you and this noble nation that severe action will, God willing, be taken against such opposition toward Islam. I have instructed the Judiciary to follow up the case and to identify the criminals and the instigators and to put them on trial and to send me information regarding the outcome so that a verdict based upon Islamic laws can be issued in the case. All the deviated political and non-political elements and groups should know that I will confront them according to the dictates of the laws of Islam and as per the demands of my Islamic duty and I will put an end to their anti-Islamic mischief-mongering. I request for goodwill prayers from Your Eminence. And I request Your Eminence to invite the nation to peace.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Ayatullah Khomeini:

After offering sincere greetings I would like to express my deep concern over the recent conflicts. Keeping in view the sensitive state of affairs in the country as well as the imposed war situation and other foreign conspiracies, I deem it necessary for Your Eminence to take immediate action toward extinguishing these fires before other dangerous mishaps and unpredictable incidents take place. I pray to God Almighty for the victory of Islam, unity among Muslims, and a long life for Your Eminence. May Gods peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Al-Golpaygani

Rabi al-Akhir 29, 1401 AH

² It refers to a riot incident instigated by the supporters of the MKO during Bani Sadrs speech at the Tehran University.

Letter

Date: March 7, 1981 [Esfand 16, 1359 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Wishing health for Ayatullah Shaykh Baha'uddin Mahallati

Addressee: Ayatullah Shaykh Baha'uddin Mahallati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Shaykh Baha'uddin Mahallati—may his blessings last:

I have been informed that Your Eminence has been hospitalized on account of ill-health. This news has saddened me deeply. I pray for your health and request God Almighty to grant you complete recovery and a long life. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, March 16, 1981 [Esfand 25, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Conspiracies of the previous regime against women; importance of the significant role of women in society; abstaining from intensifying differences

Audience: Women from the Farvardin 12 Institute of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Conspiracies of the previous regime against women

Greetings upon you great ladies who are striving to guide us to the right path with your advice! Greetings upon all the women of this country who motivated and are still motivating our men in this noble movement! The agents of the foreign powers tried their best to swerve this noble stratum of our society in whose able hands depends the responsibility of nation-building and grooming and to convert them into “dumb dolls” in the hands of corruption but by the grace of God, failed miserably. Their plot was to force this influential stratum of the society, upon whose laps capable men and women are nurtured and groomed, to forsake their natural responsibility of child-rearing and to instead hand them over to day-care centers and in this way deprive you of expressing your motherly love on them and to deprive them of a mother’s care such that they ultimately end up being useless for their country as well as dear Islam. The conspiracy during the reign of the cruel and ignorant Rida Khan was to make this noble stratum of society a cause of corruption. This plot was not only directed toward you women but it was in fact aimed at dragging the youth and the men toward the centers of corruption and to encourage them to either remain indifferent or to support all those who wished to take over their country.

Even if the only outcome of this movement and the Islamic Revolution was the transformation of our ladies and our youth it has been worth everything. Those who are grouching around that this Revolution has done nothing for the country are only unhappy with the transformation that has arisen among you since it is not in their interests and the interests of the imperialistic powers and are, thus, trying to make you believe that nothing has been accomplished. What greater transformation than seeing you noble ladies engaged in social services for the war destitute and the deprived peoples! In the previous regime, we never got to see such sincere gatherings

for such noble causes. This significant half of our population is indeed influencing the other half so positively!

Importance of the significant role of women in society

Women play a more significant role in society than men because besides being active in all areas themselves, they also groom the other active strata of society. The service that a mother offers to society is more valuable than the services of a teacher or anyone else. This is what all the divine prophets (*a*) had called for. They wished for this section to take over the grooming of society and to hand over great and courageous men and women to the world. Today, all those who wish to deprive this country of Islamic and ethical blessings and to instead drag our women into corruption are finding that you are engaged in serving the society and that all their plots are thwarted and are, thus, raising a hue and cry about nothing having been achieved and are claiming that nothing is different from the times of Rida Khan and his son. All this is negative propaganda and evidently has nothing to do with the real situation. The most important change that has taken place among the men and women of this country is that during the previous regime, dignity and status depended upon all those obnoxious clothes and make-up that they wore and their flashy life-styles while today it is human and ethical values that are honored. At one point of time, our Muslim women even felt ashamed to socially appear in Islamic clothing. Our weaker strata of society were too shy to mix with the rich and corrupt strata. But today it is the other way around. Those same people who were drowned in all that corrupt behavior with their garish make-up and other forms of ostentation feel ashamed among you. This is the greatest transformation that has taken place within our society. The ladies of our society from the days of Muhammad Rida and Rida Khan have reverted back to their true role-models like Zaynab and Fatimah (*a*). In those days they blindly followed European fashion in make-up and dressing while today they follow Islam and honor Islamic values. This is the greatest transformation. Hold on to it! Take care not to allow the corrupt hands and their pens and words to deceive you and make you regress to your earlier plight. Move ahead on this path; our great masses, too, should and shall move ahead on this path! Do not pay undue heed to everything that is being said, written, and spoken but rather think independently. And do not become blind followers to anyone. Strive to benefit your country and guide the men and advise the statesmen. Be good mothers to your children, advise people in the society, and serve the deprived strata as you are already doing by the grace of God. Your services to society in all the areas that our country

needs—like taking care of orphans, serving the deprived strata and the war-destitute and consoling them—are important services that are valuable in the eyes of God Almighty. May God guide all of you men and women on this Straight Path that you have all chosen to traverse upon! And may all the peoples of Iran walk upon that same Right Path that you have all chosen without any ulterior motives or selfish interest.

You and the entire nation should keep in mind that the mistakes that are sometimes committed by our statesmen are not so grave as to injure our Islamic Republic. I pray to God Almighty to eliminate all the differences that exist among the officials as well as the different strata of the people. May everyone concentrate efforts on guiding this country on the Straight Path to progress and in spreading Islamic ethics and morals all throughout the nation!

Abstaining from intensifying differences

My advice to all the strata of our society—the ladies, the youth, and the men—is not to get unduly involved and worried about certain ongoing differences. The differences that possibly exist among our top officials will soon get sorted out by God’s grace. Try to stay out of differences so that they do not get intensified because if you too end up adding fuel to the fire, the existing differences may not find any solution. The people must remain united and they should not get unduly involved in matters that need to be handled by our top officials. They should keep in mind that they can lead this society to prosperity only with unity of purpose. Differences among you could, God forbid, lead to the withdrawal of His special blessings upon you and your country may once again face the same sorry plight that it had been facing for long years. In case the existing individual differences, God forbid, end up in prolonging the war or lead to our defeat, the sin will lie upon all those who create turmoil and intensify differences.

The Muslims and the believers in God Almighty should not permit the leftovers of the previous regime and the corrupt elements to use the situation to their own advantage because if you follow them they will only end up subjugating you either to the East or to the West. Stay alert and sort out your differences. Advise others also to give up indulging in differences.

I pray to God Almighty for success for all the Islamic nations, for you ladies, for all the Muslim women, and for all the strata of the nation! I also pray to Him for the victory of the army and the armed forces of Islam over the forces of *kufr*. May Allah grant you success in serving your fellow-beings!

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

Message

Date: March 16, 1981 [Esfand 25, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A ten-point statement on the interests of the country; the Iraqi-imposed war; resolving differences between the top officials of the country

Audience: The Iranian nation and government officials

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I hereby publicly issue the following points relating to the security of the country and the Islamic Republic as well as the interests of Islam and the Muslims:

1. It is mandatory on all government bodies to act as per the stipulations of the national constitution and no one, including the government and military authorities as well as the general public, is allowed to violate any of its laws. Any violators of the same will be publicly exposed and legal action will be taken against them. Furthermore, any interference by an official in the affairs of other officials is against the law and the violator of this law will be publicly exposed.

2. The Office of the President, the ministerial cabinet, the Office of the Chief Justice, the Office of the Public Prosecutor, the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis), and the Council of Guardians are all legal bodies and no one is permitted to make derogatory or demoralizing comments against them in their interviews, speeches, or through the media. Any violators of this law will be publicly exposed and penalized.

3. I have deemed it appropriate to appoint the President as the acting Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and his position as the same should be duly honored. As per the legal regulations it becomes obligatory on the commanders of the armed forces to act as per his instructions.

4. The (Supreme) Defense Council is formed as per the constitutional laws and my representatives are Mr. Khamene'i¹ and Mr. Chamran.²

5. All defense issues should be discussed and reviewed in the Council and after approval the decisions for the implementation of the same rests with the Commander-in-Chief and it is mandatory on the armed forces to act as per his instructions.

¹ Ayatullah Sayyid Ali Khamenei.

² Martyr Dr. Mustafa Chamran.

6. A commission comprising a representative from the office of the President, a representative from the other side, and a representative from my side will be formed to deal with and to resolve complaints connected with war issues as well as other disputed matters. A majority vote of the representatives on the issues will be considered valid and any in cases of violation, the violator should be introduced publicly and penalized.

7. Since the deviated and anti-Islamic Republic groups create chaos and pandemonium during the speeches of the President, the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice, and the Speaker of the Majlis, these authorities should refrain from speaking in public until the end of the imposed war. There is no restriction as regards positive, productive, and constructive interviews.

8. Taking into consideration that the press and the radio and television could either prove to serve as positive tools for public guidance or as unconstructive tools for causing public dissension, the above-mentioned commission is responsible for supervising their activities. In case any two of the members of the commission identify them as detrimental, the issue will be brought to the notice of the public and will be referred to the office of the Public Prosecutor for further legal proceedings.

9. I categorically request all the authorities to extend their brotherly cooperation to each other in solving the problems of the country.

10. Leaders of the Friday and other congregational prayers as well as other public speakers—may God Almighty assist them all—should strive to maintain peace and harmony within the country through their speeches and sermons and should refrain from making speeches that could result in public apprehension and dissension. They should also encourage the nation to support all the government bodies of the Islamic Republic, the revolutionary institutions, and the armed forces. Peace [be upon you]!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 19, 1981 [Esfand 28, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Man's desire for Absolute Perfection and his self-centeredness

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The role of women and the blessings of the imposed war

Our nation has faced many challenges and problems during the past year. However, experience has proved that man is not liberated from the inclinations of his lower nature to seek comfort and ease in the absence of problems, hardships, war, and other such trials. This war has undoubtedly proved to be severely distressful for our nation but it should be mentioned that our youth and those who serve at the warfronts and all the war-affected peoples exhibited exemplary patience and forbearance, beyond all expectation. These were the blessings that came along with all the privation and hardship of the war. Had the nation been unsupportive of the government and its efforts and had it not shared the problems and difficulties that came with the war and had it instead chosen to stay aloof without any active involvement of the youth and the rest of the nation, this war would have proved to be futile. But today, our entire nation, and not only the youth and those who are serving at the warfronts, but also all the elderly men and women as well as our young girls and even our minors are actively present at the scenes and everyone has taken on the responsibility of defending the country.

The appreciation that I experience within myself when I watch these noble ladies on television, actively supporting the armed forces, is not experienced within me for anyone else. These ladies are offering selfless service without any expectation for posts, positions, or for any other compensation from the nation. They are in fact like the anonymous soldiers who are busy serving at the holy warfront. Even if the Islamic Republic would not have presented any other benefits except for this national involvement and such an active participation in all the national affairs, this in itself would have been an unprecedented divine miracle. This is a divine gift that has reached us through God without any human interference. We should be grateful for this blessing and should learn from these ladies and children

who are serving behind the scenes as well as from those who are present in the ruined or the semi-ruined cities. We should take our lessons from their Islamic behavior, their faith, and their selflessness. We could be doing a lot of social service that could prove to be beneficial for the society but not for our own selves. We could be doing work for the welfare and progress of the society but cause regression for ourselves. In such case, not only would we end up without any divine rewards but we would even suffer great personal damage.

We should follow in the footsteps of those who are serving the country selflessly and should reform ourselves. Were we to develop such a selfless spirit, all our services, too, would gain direction. If everyone were to serve toward a common goal, or in other words if the common goal would be serving God selflessly, there would be no room for any individual differences. All problems faced by humanity have stemmed from man himself. And all our human problems and in fact even the natural calamities that inflict us, like earthquakes, floods, or storms are probably because we have not given enough attention to reforming our unconscious ways. If we only reformed our own ways and especially if those who hold a sway over the masses reformed their own selves and if we were to have a common goal and if all our works were for God then no differences would issue among us. And even if some differences of opinion were to arise, they could be dealt with in a divinely-prescribed manner instead of a wicked one. The key to everything is self-reformation. All our problems stem from our own “self” and reform should begin firstly with our own “self”. No one should expect to reform others before he has reformed himself. This is a baseless expectation. Only if one has succeeded in reforming himself can he succeed in reforming others.

Man seeks absolute perfection

Man has certain characteristics that cannot be found in any other being. One of those characteristics is that man, by nature, seeks nothing short of Absolute Power. He is satisfied with nothing less than Absolute Perfection. His quest is for Absolute Knowledge and Absolute Power. And since Absolute Power cannot be found in anything but God Almighty, man by nature—quite unwittingly—only seeks God. One of the strongest and most evident proofs of Absolute Perfection is man’s love for Absolute Perfection. Man truly loves Absolute Perfection. Not some imaginary “Absolute Perfection” but Absolute Perfection Itself. It is impossible to find the presence of a lover without there first being the presence of a Beloved.

Imagination and selfish fabrication are ineffective in this realm because man's natural disposition seeks actual Absolute Perfection and not a mere imagination for the skeptics to call him deluded. Man's pure primordial nature cannot be fooled. All human beings, owing to the pure primordial nature, seek Absolute Perfection for themselves. Man is acquisitive by nature and seeks monopoly even over Absolute Perfection. However, Absolute Perfection, no matter who or how many seek it, is only One Single Reality. It is not divisible so that any sort of monopoly can apply here. It is only One Single Indivisible Reality. Man is such that if he were to possess authority over an entire city, he would still not be satisfied because he would then desire authority over a province. And if he were to be declared the governor of a province he would still find himself dissatisfied. His heart will now desire to rule over an entire country. Even if that country were to be given into his hands, he would remain unfulfilled. Now he will wish to gain control over other countries too. You can all see how the two superpowers of our times are not happy with their positions. America wants to eliminate the Soviet Union from the scenes while the Soviet Union holds the same desire toward America, both believing that if this desire of theirs would be fulfilled they would experience satisfaction. The truth is that even if this entire earth were to be handed over to someone, he would still remain dissatisfied and would seek something else to chase. This is because man loves Absolute Perfection and Absolute Power. Even if the whole universe along with all the galaxies and all the stars and planets were to come under the control of a single person, he would still remain dissatisfied because none of these are Absolutely Perfect. Unless and until man unites with the Ocean of Absolute Perfection and loses his individual identity in that Infinity he will never attain peace of heart and certainty. The Glorious Qur'an says: "*Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest.*"¹ And, thus, neither presidency or premiership nor the might of the big powers and nor the ownership of all the material and spiritual worlds can satisfy man. That which brings in real certainty and frees the heart from its anxieties and endless desires is only the remembrance of God! Of course, the remembrance of God with an oral litany (*dhikr*) of "*There is no god but Allah*" is not enough. The litany should flow from the heart, with remembrance and a total focus on Him. Elsewhere the Holy Qur'an says: "*But Ah! Thou soul at peace! Return unto thy Lord, content in His good pleasure! Enter thou among My bondmen! Enter thou My Garden!*"² It would be too lengthy to explain what these verses imply so

¹ *Surah ar-Rad* 13:28.

² *Surah al-Fajr* 89:27-30.

let me just offer an allusion. A “*soul at peace*” is a soul that is freed of all individual desire. There is no question here of chasing the presidency now after becoming a prime-minister and so on. Even if the entire universe were to be handed over to him as a single morsel he would see imperfection in it and would find that he is seeking something else. He will only attain complete peace when he reaches Absolute Perfection. Absolute Perfection is attained when only He remains and when there are no traces of anyone else. No desires for kingdoms or rule, no desires for the material or spiritual realms, and no desires for the unknown realms or martyrdom remain within him whatsoever. When remembrance is focused solely upon God, the heart finds peace. And that is when he is told: “*But Ah! Thou soul at peace!*” Now has the heart freed itself of all temptation and now it is that it has no desire for anything else! Nothing else will now quench your thirst, so return to your Lord! *Enter thou among My bondmen!* This verse does not say “enter among the bondmen of Allah” and nor does it even say “enter among the righteous bondmen”—it simply says “*enter thou among My bondmen!*” This is how subtle it is! And then, “*enter My Garden*” and not “The garden”—because that garden is for others! That garden, with all its vastness and expanse, is for the “righteous bondmen” but it is not good enough for “*My bondmen!*” The divine servant seeks nothing but service. And that, too, “His” (*Huwa*’s) service! That is the Garden of Union and the Garden of the *dhat* and not the garden that the others seek. This is the Garden you all seek, God willing, and not the garden of the “righteous bondmen”. This Garden is union with none other than Him! That is when the “*soul at peace*” has entered the Source of Light and Absolute Perfection and has united with the True Beloved! Man does not love anything else; he is only deluded! These big powers are under the delusion that they will be content with domination over this world and everything in it. This is proved by the fact that it is in the nature of man to desire an infinite kingdom which is not owned by anyone else. And yet if he only gets to hear that there is still another kingdom beyond all the earthly and heavenly realms, he will—having no choice of his own—start yearning for it. And even after he has been granted control over all the earthly, heavenly, and spiritual realms, if he hears that there is yet another realm and if he is asked whether he desires it or not, his answer is bound to be in the positive! This is what the primordial human nature is like. No human being can claim to be any different. If you ask a scholar who is well-versed in all the knowledge of this world as well as the hereafter, if he still desires to gain some knowledge beyond what he already possesses, the answer will be, “Yes”. He will start

yearning for that knowledge now. All these yearnings only end when Absolute Knowledge is reached and when this drop merges into that Ocean.

So remember that whatever it is that you are yearning for, believing that attaining it will satisfy you forever, it is never going to be enough. You could believe that what you are yearning for is something quite negligible. An ordinary man may yearn for a home and a meager living and until he does not succeed in acquiring these, he may believe that these are his only wants. But the moment he gains these, he will want something else. Until one has not become a prime minister he may think that this is what he is yearning after but the moment he reaches that position, he will realize that this is not what he wanted. He will now want something bigger. Take for example the President of America. Today, he possesses half the power over this entire planet, and believes that if he succeeds in defeating and eliminating the Soviet Union and if the entire power comes into his own hands, he will then be satisfied. Least does he understand that such is not going to be the case. He does not realize that his love is actually for God and not for these worldly things. What proves this is that even when he reaches all such worldly desires, he is still going to be left with an empty sense of desire! If you then ask him if he desires power over the planet Jupiter, he will say "Yes". Man's desires are endless. It is futile to even try to reach complete contentment within this paradigm. All our differences arise because we are under a misconception and the problem lies with our choice of goals. Our goals are not based upon our primordial nature and we are unaware of that reality. We have not bothered to read the "book" of our primordial nature and since we are not acquainted with it, we end up chasing false goals like endless power etcetera. No matter what goals we pursue, when we attain them, we realize that this is not what we were seeking after and our hearts are still restless and this restlessness grows day by day. The primordial human nature, without any exception, loves Absolute Power and loves God. The greatest problem is that we do not understand this reality and we are unaware of this truth and are under false notions. If we only responded to the true desires of our primordial nature, we would reach Absolute Perfection. The bane of man is that he instead pursues a false notion of perfection. He falsely believes that he will reach perfection if he becomes a big "boss". Least does he realize that even if this entire universe were to be handed over to him, he would still remain restless and dissatisfied. This is because his true desire is for Absolute Perfection. Regarding this, the Glorious Qur'an says: *The nature (framed) of*

*Allah, in which He hath created man.*¹ This primordial nature is *tawhid*; this primordial nature is Absolute Perfection. And until one does not reach them, he keeps seeking. He is actually seeking a lost treasure and the problem is that he does not even know what it is that he is seeking. Everyone looks covetously at what others have. What you are truly seeking is Absolute Perfection and this is the best proof that it very much exists.

There would be no talk of love without the presence of an actual lover and an actual beloved. This is one of the strongest proofs of Absolute Perfection. Do not run around in vain! Do not take all this trouble because you are never going to attain satisfaction in this manner. Pursue something that will grant you true joy and a peaceful soul. What salvages man from all anxiety is the remembrance of God. It is only with the remembrance of God that all anxieties disappear and certainty of heart is obtained. It is only when certainty of heart is attained and when the heart is fixed only upon God that it is addressed in the words: "*O soul at peace!*" It has been narrated that this verse is addressed to the Doyen of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (a).² Then what is it that all of you are striving to attain with your pens or your words? It is only a false imagination! You are only under a false notion that once you attain these goals your heart will find peace. No! In fact, the moment you attain such goals, they will only add to your anxiety and your restlessness will increase. Remember that a dervish sitting in a corner with a small piece of bread is much less anxious than the president of America. Strive to rid yourself of these apprehensions instead of adding on to them. The higher you climb, the more restless you become.

Narcissism: the source of all problems

Strive to remove the veils that are between you and God Almighty. It is you that is the thickest veil! Man himself is the thickest veil! Try to attain a peaceful heart. Put your efforts in seeking comfort and not in gathering restlessness and insecurity. Even in this very world, such anxieties and insecurities keep man in an inferno. These very anxieties are one of the gates of hell. Strive to rid yourselves of this restlessness. Your restlessness is not going to disappear once you attain that additional post. No, it will only add to your anxiety! Try your best to eliminate these deep fears and anxieties which are part and parcel of chasing self-centered goals. Eliminate the mischief of your carnal self. Once you succeed in doing that, all your restlessness will come to an end. All these anxieties that man creates for himself by chasing

¹ *Surah ar-Rum* 30:30.

² *Tafsir al-Qummi*, vol. 2, p. 422.

posts and positions, believing that he wants to serve God through them, are false notions. Since man is drowned in self-love, he believes that whatever he does is good and is for God. But if only he were to consult a God-Knowing man, he would soon learn that all his acts have only been out of self-love. Only if you succeed in putting aside all your selfishness and then work, such work would be selfless. It is only natural that when there will be no “you”, there will also be no hostility. The divine prophets (a) had no hostility among themselves. Even if all the prophets (a) were to gather in one place, they would never have any differences among themselves. This is because all of them have their eyes fixed upon One common Goal and all other selfish goals have been eliminated. There is no ego at work. There is a narration which says that we will all have to pass through a narrow path or bridge in the hereafter. This path will actually be passing through hell and will not be like a bridge suspended over a river under which, hell, which we face the danger of falling into, lies. No! We shall all have to pass through it! Even when a believer has to pass through this path, the fires of hell are very much present. The only difference is that in this case, hell will ask him to pass by swiftly lest its fires cool down! Our narrations mention that the prophets (a) and the Imams (a) have said that such is the case of the “Friends of God” [awliya’ Allah] who have claimed to have passed through the “path” while the fires of hell had cooled down for them.¹ This is because this cooling of the fires begins with the “self” and when the fires of hell within man have cooled down, then all the fires will cool down for him. The fires of hell that eventually burn man have been ignited only by his own self. Whatever we undergo is only because of our own actions. The Qur’an says: *Whatever of misfortune striketh you, it is what your right hands have earned.*² We have created hell with our own hands. A narration mentions that when the Prophet (s) had ascended on his nocturnal journey and ascension [isra’ wa’l-miraj], he witnessed a certain group of angels engaged in building houses in Paradise. These angels worked for some time and then halted for some time. The Prophet (s) asked Jibra’il (Gabriel) why this was so. Jibra’il explained to him that it is the deeds of man that are the raw material required for these constructions and only when these deeds reach the angels can they continue with their construction work. The periods during which man becomes negligent about his actions are the periods when the angles have to stop their work. So whatever eventually comes upon you is wrought at your own hands. God Almighty sent all the divine prophets (a) to salvage you from

¹ Fayd Kashani, *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

² *Surah ash-Shura* 42:30.

this abyss and all of them strived to their very best to prevent you from falling into the same. They did not gain much success because the call of man's carnal desires took precedence over their divine invitations.

My purpose in bothering you all with this conversation was only to point out that the superpowers and all the top officials are not left under the fallacy that once they achieve this and that desire they will be left content. These will only add to your anxieties and restlessness. Why would man want to add on to his restlessness?! Why would he wish to add on to his problems and spin webs around himself like a spider?! All our acts will manifest themselves in the other world like the web of the spider. We are only entangling ourselves with our own hands. Why are you striving to add on to your own problems? Salman was the governor of Mada'in. Once, when that place had been hit by floods, he simply picked up his meager belongings (only a piece of animal skin) and stood upon an elevation, saying: "Salvaged are those whose burdens are light. I have nothing that the floods can carry off!" And mind you, Salman was the governor of that place! But those who have added to their belongings in this world—whether material or positional—are the ones who will have to face the most difficulty in the other world. Why should we add on to our own difficulties?!

Aiming to serve all the various strata of society

Let us all strive for the sake of this nation. Let us put in everything we have in order to save this country from its current plight, brought upon it by all those who have jointly declared war against us. Let us all concern ourselves with salvaging this country instead of seeking our own personal interests. Let us all work together to save our peoples, our nation, and Islam from the evils of the big powers. Even if you want to manage a simple home it is not possible to do so unless all the members—the husband, the wife, the children, and even the servant—are in alignment. And it is impossible to manage an entire nation without alignment even if you have all the determination to do so. Keep the interests of the people in mind. Our people are all working for God. All those who are dying at the warfronts, all those who are afflicted by the problems of war, all those who have been rendered homeless and are living in tents without even the basic amenities are all doing so for the sake of God and they are more dear to God than me. They may possibly even be dearer to Him than you. Why shouldn't we be concerned about their interests? Why should not we think about saving this nation? Why should our hearts not even contain a fraction of what the hearts of the divine prophets (a) contained? The Holy Qur'an tells the Prophet (s):

*“Then maybe you will kill yourself with grief sorrowing after them.”*¹ The Noble Prophet (s) grieved at the ignorance of the *kuffar* [disbelievers]. He could see that they were igniting the fires of hell for themselves. Why should our hearts not contain even a fraction of what those noble “*souls at peace*” contained so that we can work selflessly for this nation?! Everything will get rectified if only we strive for the interests of this nation. In this New Year, let us all resolve to work selflessly for this nation. Even if we take on posts and positions, let it be in order to serve this nation. If we succeed in doing this, even to the smallest degree, this New Year will prove to be prosperous and peaceful.

I pray to God to guide us and to grant us awareness toward our responsibilities and to reveal to us the shortcomings of our souls and to lead us to salvation from its evils.

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

¹ *Surah al-Kahf* 18:6.

Message

Date: March 20, 1981 [Esfand 29, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Declaration of the Year of Compassion, Brotherhood, Rule of the Law and Confronting Aggressors (including 13 points of reminder to the officials and people)

Occasion: The Iranian New Year and the third year of the victory of the Islamic Revolution¹

Audience: The Iranian nation and government officials

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the eve of the third anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic and the birth anniversary of the great Islamic personality, Hadrat Siddiqah Kubra (*r*), all the evil conspiracies of the superpowers of the East and the West, who were determined to eliminate Islam and the Islamic Republic and who believe that the only way to succeed in achieving their evil goals is to create dissension in the noble Iranian nation and to debilitate the spirits of the masses, have been thwarted. Our honorable officials have identified the parties that are connected with foreign hands as well as their last few agents who had infiltrated into our ranks in the name of Islam—that too the Americanized version of it—posing as believers and planning to establish a so-called “people’s” rule and a democratic republic, and have jointly thwarted their evil plans and have revived the hopes of the nation.

I felicitate the noble Iranian nation and especially the ever-living martyrs of the Iraqi-imposed war and their survivors as well as the war-afflicted peoples of this nation on the occasion of the New Year and pray to God Almighty for the victory of Islam over *kufir* and the victory of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic over the deluded forces of the *kafir* Baath party of Iraq as well as all the agents of the East and the West, who are looking forward to the elimination of Islam and the Islamic Republic, and are lying in wait to gain a comprehensive control over its huge resources. Let me now raise a few points that are in the interests of the Muslim *ummah* and especially the revolutionary nation of Iran. I hope that the beloved Iranian nation will achieve a final victory and will succeed in hoisting the proud

¹ This message was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini at the Friday congregational prayers led by Ayatullah Khamenei in Tehran on March 19, 1981 at the Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery.

banner of Islam and eliminating oppression and tyranny by working upon them.

1. Our nation has just succeeded in thwarting yet another conspiracy that had been brought about due to certain recent incidents, because of which our nation almost got hoodwinked into neglecting our main enemies—the Eastern and the Western superpowers—headed by the world-devouring America who is responsible for all the miseries of mankind and who we are at war with and who is also responsible for all the problems of our nation, and instead almost got involved in internal hostility. We should never forget the fact that our great nation is facing major world traitors. Such a confrontation is bound to cause even worse problems. In spite of the fact that our country was neutral during the World War II, we faced such severe shortages, that even bread and the most basic amenities were hard to find. Now that we are involved in such a war, our nation should brace itself to face the consequences of confrontation with big powers and should cooperate with the government and should not lend an ear to the negative propaganda of the deviated elements in order for us to attain the final victory.

2. How auspicious it would be if we declared this year as the “Year of Mercy, Compassion, and Brotherhood”! And strive to bring hearts closer together! And pray to God to bring our hearts closer and to honor us with the blessing of Islamic brotherhood and save us from the dangers of disunity, self-centeredness, and selfishness that, in this world, lead to disgrace and bondage and in the hereafter, lead to darkness and the Inferno.

O Muslim brothers and sisters! If you desire independence, freedom, and an Islamic Republic—for which you have already sacrificed your dear youth and for which you have borne the torments and pressures of the imposed war—strive, in this year, to liberate yourselves from the clutches of the internal devil and save yourselves and Islam, which is dearer to you all than your own selves, from the harm and the evils of the superpowers and their agents through renewed bonds, unity of purpose, and by seeking refuge under the proud banner of Islam; and overpower the satanic powers by clinging to the rope of Allah [*habl-Allah*].

3. I appeal to this great nation and especially to the statesmen to take lessons from the bitter situations that had escalated, making life gloomy and bitter for one and all over the recent months, after the initial unity that had earned you this victory. Strive at least for some time toward the revival of brotherhood and unity and foster affinity, mercy, cooperation, and unity among yourselves even if it may seem difficult. Cooperate with each other for reconstructing the country and forgive and overlook shortcomings. If

these suggestions do not bear fruit, there is all the time and opportunity in the world to alter your approach. But you can rest assured that God Almighty has promised salvation to those who foster brotherhood of faith, friendship, and warmth among one another.

4. I appeal to all the great scholars and the leaders of the Friday and other congregational prayers to relate with mercy and compassion with this Islamic Republic and the officials and develop those who commit mistakes through guidance and kindly counsel. This is the way of the prophets (*a*) and the Friends of God. The effect of kindly counsel is much deeper than criticism and viciousness. It is quite possible for derogatory pens and words to lead some people to further obstinacy and to have a damaging effect on them instead of having a positive one and to generally result in more harm than good. All of you honorable people should know that despite the mistakes and errors committed by some of the officials, their positive contribution, with the help of this beloved nation, has been much more than the harm they may have done. If all the pens and words unite to guide them, and if they treat them with mercy and in the tradition of the prophets (*a*), all the shortcomings will be eliminated with the blessings of the Compassionate God.

5. I appeal to all the officials of this country, and particularly the clergy, to scrupulously follow the path of Islam in administering the affairs of this country and to avoid being influenced by factionalism and ethnocentrism. Interact with people through Islamic justice and the compassion that can be expected of an Islamic Republic so that you do not end up portraying a distorted picture of the Islamic government. Strongly avoid indulging in the misconduct and the red-tape that was characteristic of the previous regime because the Islamic Republic is a divine trust placed in the hands of this entire nation, and especially you officials, making your responsibility toward the Creator and His Creation greater.

6. I request those of you who are involved in the fields of education and I request all the judges and the officials of the Judiciary and the Revolutionary Courts to take this major responsibility that they are vested with seriously because any digression among you can drag the culture of the entire nation toward deviation. The children and the youth who are the hope of Islam and this nation are grand and noble trusts placed into your hands and any treachery as regards this trust is like treachery toward Islam and this country. The future of the country lies in the hands of these children and youth and that is why all our schools should seriously impart a good Islamic training to them to insure our country against all damage. Our Judiciary and the

Revolutionary Courts are vested with a very sensitive responsibility dealing with the lives, property, and honor of the nation. The importance that Islam has given to the issue of judgment, it has not given to much else. Today, our Judiciary and the Revolutionary Courts are the guardians of the reputation and honor of Islam and the Islamic Republic and any aberration in the area of judgment will only cause the people to lose hope in the Judiciary as well as the Islamic Republic. It is the responsibility of the top judicial officials to supervise the complete functioning of the judiciary and the Revolutionary courts and to prevent deviation. The clerics who have been given the responsibility of justice between people should clearly keep in mind that they have taken on the most important responsibility and any deviation on their part will not be dealt with lightly.

I want the officials to supervise over the conditions of the prisons and to instruct their subordinates to deal with the prisoners in a humane Islamic manner. How blessed it would be to have committed people visit the prisons and speak to the prisoners to inspire them to lead an Islamic and ethical life! It is important to plan health and hygiene programs for the prisoners so that besides the torment of being in prison they are not forced to suffer other unwanted agonies. They should be given more visiting hours under the supervision of the prison officials, especially under the Islamic government which regards even the sinners as human beings like the rest.

7. The Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution is required to strive hard and deliver upon its responsibilities by adding on to its committed groups of experts and to put in its utmost effort to ensure that the universities reopen during this year. I pray to God Almighty to grant them success in this important task.

8. I hope that the armed forces, the army, the gendarmerie, the revolutionary guards, the police force, the *Basij*, the voluntary forces, the ethnics, and the *Pishmargan*,¹ who are all involved in making sacrifices for Islam and this beloved country, succeed in purifying this dear Islamic country from the filthy presence of the aggressors who are the agents of the satanic powers, through serious endeavor, mutual support, unity of expression, and obedience to the commanders and in overpowering the army of *kufir* with their bold attacks. It is mandatory that, after evaluating the strength of their forces, the commanders of the armed forces do not lose any time and opportunity because God Almighty is with the Islamic forces.

¹ *Pishmargan*: the Muslim Kurdish combatants who, along with their other countrymen, struggled against the Baathist aggressors and anti-revolutionary groups.

9. I once again extend my support and the support of this brave combatant nation to all the armed forces and assure them that all their sacrifices are appreciated and honored by the nation and that all the commanders of these forces are protected under the proud banner of Islam and the support of the great Iranian nation. And I take on the responsibility of supporting them. It is necessary for me to remind you to ignore the rumors spread by a handful of traitors and to persist bravely and confidently.

10. I humbly request this beloved nation to continue supporting the armed forces and to protect this beloved Islamic nation with its unconditional support to the armed forces against all harm. I strongly request the nation to continue extending its brotherly support to those who have been rendered homeless and have lost their beloved ones in the aggression of the Baathist *kuffar* and to ensure that none of them tastes the bitterness of vagrancy. May God's peace and blessings be upon you precious sisters and brothers who have courageously supported our defense against the imposed war and have proved to be faithful friends to our war-stricken countrymen! Certainly the government, too, has and continues to put in all its efforts in this regard but the support of the nation will further boost the morale of the armed forces and the government.

11. Now that all the devious plots of the internal and external enemies of Islam and the Muslims have been thwarted, thanks to the wakefulness and faithfulness of the nation and the government, and now that all their conspiracies to cause rifts among our officials—which would have resulted in dissension among the different strata of this nation—have been neutralized with the alertness of this beloved nation, they have desperately started spreading rumors and propaganda, naively believing that they can cause despair and indifference in this heroic Islamic nation and in this way sidetrack the nation from the mainstream of affairs and drag Islam and the Muslims to the verge of destruction and pave the path for their oppressive lords and masters. It is upon this wise and powerful nation to pay no heed to the rumors and the toxic pens that are at times, unfortunately, even in the hands of our ignorant friends, and to make sure not to lose our beloved Islam which has reached us through the excruciating efforts of the Holy Prophet of Islam (s) and his great companions, because of the rumors spread by a handful of ignorant conspirators.

12. I remind our thinkers, our intellectuals, and our writers—whether it is those who are loyal to Islam, or whether it is those who love this country and their homeland, or whether it is those who hold human dignity and values dear, or those who cannot remain indifferent toward the ones who have been

rendered homeless because of the imposed war—that your opposition toward the Islamic government is not in your own interest and will not bear you any fruit. You will only end up dragging your country and this nation to destruction by prolonging the war and postponing the final victory. You will not achieve anything except paving the path for the enemies of Iran and Islam. So please wake up and support this nation in this sacred defense so that victory is achieved from the honor of which you, too, are bound to reap benefits. Remember that chivalry lies in supporting this nation and its oppressed people.

13. I hope this year proves to be the year of the rule of the law. According to Islam, everyone, including the Holy Prophet (s) is considered equal in the eyes of the law and the laws of the Qur'an and Islam cover everyone. Human honor and dignity lies in one's abidance by the law, which is the same as pious self-restraint [*taqwa*], and anyone breaching the law is to be considered as a criminal and should face trial. It is upon the judicial bodies to defend the lives, the property, and the honor of God's servants from violators and to ensure that the guilty are punished. I am once again declaring that any group or individuals—even if they are my own kith and kin—are responsible for their own acts and words and if any of them, God forbid, violates the Islamic laws, the judiciary is duty-bound to prosecute them. If any individual or organization, whether it is the judges or the courts or whatever, commits any crimes in my name or takes advantage of his/her proximity to me is a criminal and a calumniator.

I offer my endless greetings to those who strive for Islam, the martyrs of the path of Truth, and those injured or rendered homeless by the imposed war and I pray to God Almighty to shower His endless blessing upon everyone! I appeal to His Sacred Presence to make this New Year auspicious for all the Muslims, the oppressed of the world, and our beloved nation and to make this year the year of the victory of Islam.

May God's peace be upon all His righteous servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Date: March, 1981 [Esfand, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Verdict on the use of the parts of unlawfully slaughtered animals and unlawful (*haram*) meat in the animal husbandry, poultry, and other industries

[In His Most Exalted Name

Addressed to the blessed presence of Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, the great leader of the Islamic *ummah*—may his sublime presence endure:

After extending greetings and prayers for your grandeur it needs to be brought to your esteemed attention that as per the current trend, powdered dead fish, unlawful fish (fish that are *haram* for human consumption), pig-fat as well as the fats of unlawfully slaughtered animals and unlawful animals (animals that are *haram* for human consumption) are being extensively used in the husbandry and poultry industry for feeding chickens and other *halal*-fleshed (lawful) animals. Moreover, pig-fat, the fats of *haram* animals as well as unlawfully slaughtered animals are being used in the soap and some other similar industries. Considering this, is it lawful to use these above-mentioned items? And in case it is lawful, then in matters in which purity is not a condition and considering that the incoming profit thereof is considerably large and lucrative based upon general business acumen, is the buying and selling of these animal parts, for the sake of lawful use, permissible?]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is lawful to use the above-mentioned items in the manner described and so is their buying and selling, under the above-mentioned conditions. It is, however, recommended to avoid involvements in such transactions.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Date: March, 1981 [Esfand, 1359 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Verdict on the construction over usurped lands and its legal consequences (in reply to the query of Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may Allah bless the Muslims throughout his noble presence:

In case a piece of land has been usurped from its rightful owner and a shop and building have been constructed upon it by the usurper, and in case the rightful owner appeals to the judge for a verdict for the demolition of the said constructions, requesting that the land be restored to its original condition, is it obligatory on the judge to issue an order for the demolition and the return of the land in its original state to the rightful owner at the expense of the usurper? Moreover, is the usurper obliged to pay rent for the period of usurpation? A hand-written verdict on this issue is kindly requested.

In His Most Exalted Name

Based on the above-mentioned situation, it is the judge's obligation as per the *Shariah*, to issue an order for the evacuation of the land and for it to be restored to its rightful owner in its original condition. The executive officers are obliged to ensure that the usurper either returns the land in its original condition to the rightful owner or that he returns the land along with the expenses that will need to be incurred for the said restoration. Moreover, they are also obliged to ensure that the usurper pays rent to the rightful owner for the period during which the land has been usurped.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa 1981 [1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Human merit is based on the level of pious self-restraint (*taqwa*) in the individual and not upon the color of his skin

Addressees: Students of the Spring D High School of the American State of Arkansas

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My beloved children from the Spring D High School of Arkansas:

I have received your loving letter and valuable gift. I am aware that the red-Indians and the blacks are facing great suppression and anguish. Islamic teachings do not discriminate between the white, and the red-skinned, or the blacks. That which grants value to a human being is his level of piety [*taqwa*], good manners, and noble actions. I pray to God Almighty for your success and guidance on the Right Path.

I am sending you beloveds a booklet which has also been gifted to the Iranian children, containing some wise sayings of the Grand Prophet of Islam (s). And I pray for your well-being. I wish you success in acquiring lofty human values.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

A Hand-Written Invocation¹

Date: Circa 1981 [1360/1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: An invocation for the success of the employees of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance

In His Most Exalted Name

May all the employees of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, God willing, succeed in performing worthy acts!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Owing to the deep love and affection that people shared for Imam Khomeini, it was common for them to persistently request for either hand-written or autographed keepsakes from the leader during their meetings or correspondences with him.

Radio-Television Message

Date: March 21, 1981 [Farvardin 1, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Hoping for unity among world Muslims; governmental endeavors for overcoming problems; rule of the law in the country

Occasion: Onset of the Iranian New Year [*Nuruz*] 1360 AHS

Audience: The Iranian nation, world Muslims, and the oppressed nations of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Defeat of the world-devourers, the auspicious day

I wish all the world Muslims and the oppressed nations that are under the pressure of the superpowers, as well as the noble combatant Iranian nation, a happy New Year. Greetings upon this alert and aware nation that has put in all its efforts in combating the big powers that are at arms against it! And today, in this New Year, you stand just as united as you did at the onset of this movement. I hope that you will continue to share an ever-increasing brotherhood and a unity of purpose and defensive spirit.

The day on which our oppressed nation as well as the other oppressed nations will succeed in gaining freedom from the world-devourers will prove to be an auspicious one. The day on which all the nations of the world will take the reins of their destinies into their own hands! And when all the governments wake up and see that despite all our manpower and our vast lands and great natural resources we have not acted according to the commands of Islam which fosters a pact of brotherhood among all the Muslims of the world¹ and invites all of us to cling on to the “rope of God” [*habl Allah*]² and to follow the path of Islam.

And I wish that in this new year, too, our nation and our government, and all our officials and the personnel of our armed forces and our statesmen, all share brotherly relations. The Holy Qur’an refers to this great blessing as the “blessing of brotherhood” which protects the *ummah* from all kinds of problems. I am hopeful that this spirit of mutual brotherhood prevails throughout this New Year and that everyone cooperates in forwarding the

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:10: “The believers are naught else than brothers.”

² *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103: “And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.”

interests of the country and in severing the hands of the big powers from their country. I wish that all the world Muslims pay heed to the verses of the Glorious Qur'an that stress upon the unity of the Muslims, inviting them to cling to the "*habl Allah*" which truly is Islam. And I hope that they shall all unite propitiously under the banner of Islam and under the luminous commands of God Almighty and succeed in severing the hands of the big powers that do not care for anything but their own interests, plundering off the resources of the weak nations. I also wish that the Islamic nations and the Islamic governments strive toward unity, brotherhood, and equality.

The year of brotherhood in faith and unity of expression

Governments should abstain from any thoughts of dominating and suppressing their own nations; and the nations should refrain from neutralizing the efforts of their governments. And especially so, if they revert to the principles of Islam and give importance to Islamic laws, like the peoples of Iran who share a friendly affinity with the government and all its bodies such that neither do the government bodies seek to assert themselves or to dominate over the peoples and nor does the nation intend to indulge in actions that would neutralize the efforts of the government. Everyone is united and everyone is, God willing, striving to lead this country to progress and no one will permit the powers that are lying in wait along with their internal agents to succeed in achieving their devious aims.

We hope that this year proves to be the year of brotherhood in faith and unity of expression like it was at the onset of this movement. Needless to say, this spirit already does exist—with the grace of God Almighty—and I hope that it grows from strength to strength. All the people of this nation should show a readiness to serve Islam and this Islamic country so that this year proves to be a fresh and auspicious one in which the victory of Islam becomes a reality with the will of God through which all the official religious minorities in this country, too, can live a prosperous and peaceful life under the Islamic government.

Governmental efforts for national progress

May this country be freed from all the evil effects of the war imposed upon it by Saddam who is an agent of the superpowers! All our people should know that the conditions that our country is facing today are the inevitable effects of a war that has been imposed upon us by our enemies. The government is putting in all its efforts to manage the country and to ensure public welfare even though the war has taken its own toll. I recall, in

Qum, in the days during which the allied forces had occupied Iran, almost all the bakeries had been forced to close down and the country had been hit by a war famine. And I remember walking one day toward the end of the occupation, with a child who was accompanying me, who on laying his eyes on some bread after a long time, suddenly exclaimed, "Look bread"! All of you know that we are currently engaged in an imposed war; and that, too, a war against all the big powers that have forced economic sanctions upon us for quite some time now. However, thanks to the efforts of the nation and the government, the people here do enjoy a relative state of welfare. I am hopeful that this war shall end soon with the victory of the armies of Islam over *kufr* so that this nation, by the will of Allah, can live in prosperity and welfare.

May God Almighty change the states of our hearts and our vision and grant us the luminosity to be able to see things clearly for what they are! There are elements that wish to dampen the spirits of this nation through their detrimental propaganda claiming that nothing having been done in this nation and that this regime is just like the previous one. They keep focusing upon weaknesses and criticize the existing economic situation. They are, however, overlooking the fact that all our energies have, in fact, been channeled in the past two years toward preventing the big powers and their agents from interfering in our affairs and from suppressing this nation. Moreover, the development that has taken place during these two years in this country has been far greater than what was done during the last fifty years. Of course, the blind-hearted people do not take all this into account and simply claim that this government is incapable and that a nation cannot be governed on the basis of Islamic principles, in spite of the fact that it is only because of these Islamic principles that all the people of this country are standing in unity and are not allowing the ill-effects of war to escalate.

Year of the rule of the law

I am hopeful that God Almighty will make this year the year of mercy, blessings, purity, brotherhood, and equality and that the entire nation and the government and all the officials shall unite together and collectively lead this country toward prosperity and welfare and succeed in fulfilling all the needs of this nation; and confront any kind of transgression, which are part and parcel of all revolutions; and I hope that in this current year, our country proves to firmly establish the rule of the law. Everyone should abide by the law and no one should transgress it. No one should act against the law and everyone should act within their own limits.

May welfare and prosperity prevail over all the Muslims, and particularly the peoples of Iran and Iraq, and may this fountainhead of all corruption¹ be destroyed and may the Muslims of Iran and Iraq be liberated by the will of God!

And may Palestine be liberated by the will of God and may the Bayt al-Muqaddas, which is the mosque of all the Muslims, be restored to its original condition and may God eliminate all those who oppress the Muslim peoples!

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

¹ Saddam Husayn.

Speech

Date: March 21, 1981 [Farvardin 1, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of unity among the armed forces and the peoples; duties of the armed forces

Audience: Commanders of the Ground Force, the Air Force, the Navy, the Gendarmerie, the Police Force, and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity among the armed forces and the people: a top priority

I return the greetings extended by you gentlemen and am hopeful that this year proves to be the year of unity, victory, and divine mercy! It is of topmost importance that we ensure unity among all the armed forces and the nation. As you may also be aware, and from what I have heard, one of the strategies of Muhammad Rida was to create rifts between the commanders of the armed forces by carrying tales between them. He did this because he feared that if there was unity between them, they could some day join hands to eliminate him from the scenes. Gone are those times by the will of God! Today, you need to keep in mind that we are left with a country that is facing all kinds of media and military conspiracies from all sides, even though some countries are overtly claiming friendship. However, the Muslim countries and those nations that have been suppressed by their own governments look toward our movement with hope. I hope that all the other countries and the governments, by the will of God, realize that it will be better for them to work in the interests of their nations rather than working against their own peoples only to favor the superpowers. The earlier trend was that they would bring to power certain individuals who would suppress their own nations and would hand over the affairs of their country into the hands of the big powers. They would turn their backs upon the peoples and would look favorably toward those who were the enemies of the nations, and the Muslim nations, in particular. This has been a grave mistake on the part of governments who were under the false impression that it would be better for them to win the support of the big powers rather than that of their own nations. Not only did such acts prove to be treacherous toward their nations but they also resulted in depriving them of the dignity and success worthy of man. Human value depends upon the extent to which a man shows sincerity and steadfastness

toward the school of thought that he claims to follow and protects and supports the nation that he intends to govern rather than in joining hands with some criminals only to lose one's power over the nation that he hopes to govern.

A comparison between the Islamic government and the Pahlavi regime

Just draw a comparison for yourselves between Iran today and what it was in the earlier days. What was Muhammad Rida's contribution to Iran except intimidation?! Almost the entire nation, with the exception of those who reaped undue advantages through his presence were against him, including his own men. Even though he should have, he held no respect among the people. And that is why, whenever he desired to implement any changes on his own strength, even those who were his so-called "loyalists" did not extend their consent and instead foiled his plans. (But today) you should know that in this war that we have been forced to face, and as you can all see, the entire nation—women, men, the young and the old, the clergy as well as the non-clergy—has joined hands and are all supporting the army. This is completely unprecedented. Such a situation was impossible to imagine during the times of Muhammad Rida. I wonder if you can recall—although some of you would surely remember—that when the allied forces had occupied Iran during the last war (World War II), despite facing the real threat of losing everything, our nation was rejoicing and was willing to tolerate all kinds of adversities simply because it had been freed from Rida Khan. The first time I heard the news of Rida Khan's ouster, it was through someone who had just been given what he called the "good news" about Rida Khan's plight! Why was this considered as "good news" by the people? This was because Rida Khan had never come to power with the intention of serving the nation; he had only come to suppress and enslave the nation. And the same was the situation during the times of Muhammad Rida. All of you saw what happened on the streets on the day that Muhammad Rida fled this country. For someone who seeks human dignity—and of course for people like Muhammad Rida such things were irrelevant—it would be of utmost importance to gain the good-will of the nation that one wishes to rule over and it would be natural that the nation should regret losing him. However, if a ruler has dealt with his own people in such a manner, all the streets are filled with joyous celebrations when he is ousted. Now compare this with today's situation and the situation in which you all share brotherly relations with the nation and are all standing together in unity. This means that you have accepted the people as your own brothers and they, too, in return have

done the same. All the people stand up in support whenever the nation is faced with any problems. Everyone cooperates as and when the army is faced with any problems. It is virtuous for a group of people to intend to protect their country. Words like “*paseban*” (constable) or “*gendarme*” unfortunately held no real meaning in the earlier times. The constables in those days were anything but constables; they were in fact elements who simply intimidated the people. Neither were the *gendarmes* anything like what they should be. They used to rob people of everything they had, just like dacoits on the highways. They even worked in unison with the highway robbers. Just today I read that one of the foreign news agencies had reported that rents were actually charged from the *gendarmerie* stations since they were in a position to recover money from the public. The same was also the condition of the offices of the provincial governors. The governorship of every province was actually “rented” out. If someone were to be appointed, for instance, as the governor of the Khorasan province, calculations were made to examine how much could be looted and pillaged from that province since a certain percentage of that amount would need to be paid to the prime minister of the time, to gain appointment as the governor. That province would then become his own fiefdom, after which no matter what oppressions he committed and regardless of the volume of the people’s grievances, the high officials of the country turned a deaf ear to everything. These cases are only a fraction of what actually transpired in those times. Such things took place in those times that I find it impossible to even mention what all I had personally witnessed. But what about today’s times? The conditions today are different. Neither do the *gendarmes* operate like dacoits and nor do the revolutionary guards and the police terrorize people when they approach the police stations for any work. The same applies to the army and the government. Today when the cabinet had come here I noticed that some ministers were seated ahead of Prime Minister Raja’i who was himself seated inconspicuously in a corner. I asked them if they could recall the prime ministers of the pre-revolutionary era and when life would come to a total standstill if a government official only had to come into town. If a *farmanfarma* (ruler) moved out, he had several people escorting him while a number of guards protected his house. And let me tell you that these are among the few things that I had witnessed personally.

Unity of the forces against internal and external mischief

Anyway, praise to God, these problems exist no more. Today, there is no discrimination between the nation, the army, the *gendarmerie*, the

revolutionary guards, the police, and the president. They all stand united. Safeguard this unity. The revolutionary guards should refrain from standing in confrontation against you. Similarly, you should not confront them either. You are all brothers. Why shouldn't brothers maintain unity among themselves and confront each other instead? You as well as the government are the members of one family and should, thus, protect this big family. Even if the heads of a family are disunited they are unable to manage the family while here we are talking about a large country of this magnitude, which is constantly facing opposition from outside as well as their corrupt internal agents. We should not fall prey to the groups that are up to making mischief in this country. They are affiliated either to the Soviet Union or to America. We should not allow them to achieve their aim of deceiving us.

While our men are busy making sacrifices at the warfronts not even one of these so-called people's groups who have armed themselves are present there. They have all gathered in the cities, creating turmoil. As soon as they learn that an official is to deliver a speech somewhere they get busy planning turmoil. They know how to provoke the various groups and to cause clashes among them. They have mastered their lessons of hypocrisy. We should take utmost care lest we fall prey to them or get influenced by them. They work for the superpowers and we should stay alert not to allow them to provoke us into opposing each other. The ultimate desire of all your enemies is to turn you into adversaries.

By the grace of God Almighty you are all closely aligned with each other. There may be some younger people who are not as alert as they should be. But there are others who understand things better. If you continue to support one another and stay united, nothing will ever succeed in threatening this country. You should all keep in mind that you are to serve this nation. No one should think that now that he is in power, he can suppress his subordinates. This was the culture of the erstwhile regime and the bygone governments. This same attitude also exists in many other countries. If we intend to have an Islamic government and to honor our self-esteem, we all need to have a common goal which is to serve this country that is currently involved in an imposed war and that has been plundered and has suffered suppression for a long time under various monarchical regimes. And all those so-called "Paradise-bound" kings were no less criminal than the rest of the monarchs. If you studied their histories, you would discover that even the best of them who were famously known as "just" were equally criminal in spite of holding titles like "The Just"!

Wiping out past grievances is the duty of the armed forces

Another point to keep in mind is that we are still left with memories of a bitter experience from the past. If our people ever had to visit a police station, they would have to undergo all kinds of problems and instead of proving to be a refuge for the people and protecting them from force and oppression, those police stations were such that if one ever had to go to them, they would start mourning their plight. This experience has left bitter memories in the minds of the people. It is for you now to endeavor to turn this bitter experience into a sweet one. It is now up to you to take on this task. People are ready; our people are extremely good and are ready to cooperate. If the authorities hold out their hands for support, the people are prepared to welcome them. Do not turn your backs on these people. Turn toward the people and ignore the superpowers. You should gain your strength from our people; the superpowers cannot give you any power. You should rely on your own power. If the superpowers could do anything they would have protected Muhammad Rida. But even though they wished to protect him they failed to do so.

In any case, today, all the armed forces should get together and they should strive to wipe off memories of the bitter experiences that the people had with the previous regime through their behavior and their actions so that our people can feel that they are protected by the revolutionary guards and the police instead of being afraid of getting plundered by them. This was the image that our people had of the previous regime but now things should be such that they build up faith in the existing forces. They should and they do feel that they are being protected by those who are engaged defending the country at the warfronts. Of course, there are some elements in the armed forces that are corrupting the atmosphere, but we should, nevertheless, strive to gain the confidence of the people, such that when they leave their homes in the mornings, they feel ensured that every aspect of their lives—their religion, their worldly affairs, their businesses, etcetera—are all being protected. They should not be afraid to get out of their houses. You know and I know what the situation was like in the previous regime and since we were clerics, things were even worse for us. Even if we ever needed to go out to visit anyone or to spend some time with friends, we would have to do so secretly, in order to avoid being arrested. There were times when we would go somewhere and had to spend an entire day there. There was a time when I held sessions of discussion for a certain group of people and (I recall how) I once attended the session and to my surprise, found only one person present, who informed me that since the school was being searched the rest of the

people had fled into the nearby gardens. The predominant atmosphere was that of fear and terror. But now, you should endeavor to change the situation from that of fear and terror to that of peace and harmony. When a nation is sure that its army, the gendarmerie, the revolutionary guards, and the police are engaged in protecting it, it experiences peace and this peace is the greatest of blessings. One may possess a lot of property and yet not experience peace. Do you think that the American President is at peace and is free from all anxiety? He cannot tolerate to see another superpower and all his efforts are focused on overpowering it. He is full of fear and anxiety. Your anxiety is much less than his. Similarly, let me tell you that those who have chosen a life of austerity have less anxiety than you do. You should make all efforts to free people from fear and anxiety. They should never need to worry about what will happen to them at the hands of the revolutionary guards or the police when they went out of their homes; or what would happen to them in their own homes even in their very own presence. Ensure people of their safety and security. If and when you manage to provide them this surety, you will have guaranteed both the world and the hereafter for yourselves.

I do hope that this year is going to be a year of unity, a year of ensuring public security, and a year of victory! May you all be triumphant!

Message

Date: March 25, 1981 [Farvardin 5, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of *Nuruz*

Addressee: Paul Losoniz (?), the Head of the Presidential Council of the Republic of Hungary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Paul Losoniz,
Head of the Presidential Council of the Republic of Hungary

I am grateful to receive Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the onset of the new solar *hijri* year. I pray to God Almighty for the victory of all the oppressed nations of the world over the imperialist and colonial powers, and especially over the world-devouring America!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 5, 1360 AHS

Message

Date: March 25, 1981 [Farvardin 5, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of *Nuruz*

Addressee: Gustav Husak (?), President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Gustav Husak,
President,
The Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia

I was grateful to receive Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the onset of the new solar *hijri* year. I pray to God Almighty for the victory of all the oppressed nations of the world over the imperialist and colonial powers, and especially over the world-devouring America!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 5, 1360 AHS

Telegram

Date: March 29, 1981 [Farvardin 9, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Foiled assassination attempt

Addressee: Abd ar-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi, Imam Khomeini's representative in the Fars province and member of Jury of the Council of Guardians

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Rabbani Shirazi—may his graces last:

I was informed about the assassination attempt on your life.¹ This kind of stance toward the committed clerics has always been on the agenda of the deviated elements, the purpose of which is to eliminate committed experts (from the political scene). However, least do they know that throughout the history of Islam, the clerics have always been the forerunners of the political scenes and such assassination attempts cannot drive them away, in order to pave the path for those who are against Islam and the interests of the country. With the grace of God you were saved from this attempt and I am hopeful that you will recover soon and will continue your services to Islam and the country. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ On March 28, 1981 a member of the Furqan terrorist group shot at Hujjat al-Islam Rabbani Shirazi and injured him on the neck. Fortunately, he gained recovery after a few days. In a telegraphic response to Imam Khomeini's message, Hujjat al-Islam Rabbani Shirazi thanked him for his concern and wrote "I have been advised to rest at home for few days. I shall, God willing, pay you a personal visit as soon as I recover".

Speech

Date: March 31, 1981 [Farvardin 11, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The mission and the responsibilities of Islamic associations

Audience: Representatives of the school students' Islamic Associations from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mission of the Islamic associations

I would like to say a few words on the Islamic associations—the ones organized by school students as well as the others—that are, by the grace of God, active throughout the country.

To begin with, the term “Islamic” association signifies a commitment on the part of these associations toward Islam. It is not simply and merely the name for a group of people who have got together. It is a commitment to Islam. In other words, you have made a commitment to act according to (the teachings of) Islam, no matter where you are. Thus, you have the dual responsibilities of living according to Islam and inviting others to it.

As regards your responsibilities toward yourselves, you should stay alert so that deviated elements that are not committed to Islam, and which are in fact the enemies of Islam, do not infiltrate into these associations. Those who have suffered personal material losses at the hands of Islam do not wish for it to prevail in this country and they, thus, try to infiltrate into these associations as well as into the mosques and other Islamic places. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the Islamic associations—school students' and the rest—to be clear about the backgrounds of all those who intend to join the associations as well as to find out about their activities before and during the Revolution and whether their families are committed to Islam or not. You should enquire whether the person who wants to join the association has been committed to Islam before and after the Revolution or not. It may be that the majority of the members of these associations are honest and are committed to Islam and the Revolution, however, even if a couple of deviated elements infiltrate among them they could end up deviating the entire Islamic association. This is one of the important responsibilities of the Islamic associations. I have been informed, perhaps repeatedly, that there are some people in the Islamic associations who are not committed to Islam and who

have infiltrated into them, in the name of Islam, in order to cause deviation among them. Thus, your responsibility is to examine the backgrounds of the people before accepting them into the association. Care should be taken not to allow deviated elements and the enemies of Islam to join in, lest they, God forbid, corrupt your Islamic association and the purpose for which these associations have been formed. This is one of your responsibilities to which you should pay the utmost attention.

Commitment of the associations to Islam and its laws

Another point that I would like to mention concerns the Islamic nature of these associations. Islam is a multi-dimensional religion and due attention would need to be paid to all of its various dimensions by those who really want to be Islamic. One of these dimensions is its belief structure. The Islamic associations should, obviously, uphold the Islamic beliefs. Those who do not believe in and do not abide by Islamic beliefs cannot form Islamic associations. They would never succeed in establishing a real Islamic association and spreading Islam if they did not believe in all the Islamic principles.

Another aspect of Islam is its ethical principles. There may be some people whose beliefs are truly Islamic but they lack Islamic ethics. What is important for you, as the members of the Islamic associations of high schools, is to arm yourselves with Islamic ethics and to abstain from such deeds that are un-Islamic. This is because you intend to spread Islam in your high schools. You do not want to form any odd association in name, simply because some others have done it. You wish for Islam to be given importance in your high schools and this is a function of proper Islamic beliefs and ethics on your own parts.

Yet another dimension of Islam is its actions; i.e. a commitment to the externals of Islam as well as the Islamic commandments and laws. If, God forbid, there is a deviation in the adherence to Islamic actions on the part of those who have formed an Islamic association, they can no more claim to be an “Islamic association” that wishes to spread Islam. Thus, you should first begin with your own selves. Everyone should begin with himself and should ensure that his beliefs, his conduct, and his acts are in conformation with the teachings of Islam. It is only then that you can approach others. This applies more particularly to those of you who are in high schools and are directly involved with children and the youth. A major responsibility rests upon the shoulders of those of you who wish to make the high schools Islamic. This is a great commitment. Those who study in schools and high schools will

eventually enter the universities and the future of the country rests in their hands. If they are trained and brought up in an Islamic way and according to Islamic ethics they will be able to build this country and defend its independence. All the corruption that took place in this country during the previous regime, rendering this nation dependent upon foreign powers, was through people who did not have any commitment to Islam and who instead preferred this country to depend entirely on the superpowers. If people understood Islam and committed themselves to it and if they learnt how to deal effectively with the other powers, it would never allow them to become dependent on foreigners and particularly those foreigners who are against Islam and are its enemies. All our problems are due to the fact that a majority of the officials of this country during the previous regime, including the members of the Majlis, the government officials, and the military commanders were in no way concerned with Islam. Those who were involved in the upbringing of our children did not care to offer them an Islamic upbringing or to ensure that they developed a greatness of soul which would never allow them to fall under the domination of the foreign powers. Since they did not have any commitment to Islam they were naturally bound to bring up our children like themselves. It is because of this very fact that most of our university graduates had nothing to do with Islam or with an Islamic commitment and ethics.

Islamic associations should serve as role models

As founders of Islamic associations you should take care to remain committed to Islam, its laws, its ethics and its practices. You should serve as exemplar so that children can learn from you. Invite them to Islam, its laws, its ethics and its practices through your actions. If you as well as all those who work with children and the youth succeed in imparting this great service they will grow up with commitment toward Islam and its laws. And Islam contains everything that is required for running a country. If one is committed to Islam, he can never tolerate oppression; he can never become dependent on infidels or become enslaved by them. All the corruption that exists in the Muslim countries is due to the fact that Islam has not been practiced in these countries in its true sense and because their school children and their youth were not brought up on the basis of the laws of Islam and, thus, when they entered society and gained control over the affairs of their countries, they had no commitment to Islam and their countries and, thus, they did not find it wrong for their countries to be totally dependent upon foreign powers.

You should begin from scratch, with the intention of gaining independence in every respect—culturally, economically, and in character. Once you enter the scene with this intention in mind you can save your country and ensure its independence forever. We have inherited a country that was independent on others for everything and have just begun our journey. Everything that took place here was an imitation of the foreigners. Even when they established schools or trained the military personnel it was with the intention of making them dependent upon aliens. And when Kennedy¹ was assassinated they made our school children sing elegies! And they even held funeral services for him! Recently a murder attempt was also made upon his brother.² Now whether this assassination attempt was successful or not, it does not make a difference to us and we shall not mourn for him.

In any case, you should break away from the corrupt trends that the previous regime had implanted in every nook and corner of this country to make it dependent on foreign powers. You and the entire nation, and particularly those who work with children and the youth, should endeavor to make them mentally and culturally independent. These children and youth are going to run this country in the future. And if you all invest sincerely in their healthy upbringing, everything good that they will do, will add to your divine rewards.

The great responsibility of the Islamic associations

In any case, you have a great responsibility. The name that these associations have chosen for themselves makes them responsible. One day you will be questioned for it. And you may be told that in spite of calling your associations “Islamic” you were not committed to Islam. Since you have chosen this name for your associations, if God forbid, you deviate or allow deviation into your associations or in the teachings that are being imparted, you will be held responsible. You will be questioned as to why you did not act according to the teachings of Islam. You will be questioned as to why your students were not brought up in an Islamic manner and as to why there was deviation in these Islamic associations.

We are all responsible. We have been entrusted with a great trust and that is Islam and the Islamic country. All of us, including the government and the entire nation, and especially those who work with children and the youth

¹ John F. Kennedy: American president in the early 1960s who was assassinated.

² Robert Kennedy.

are responsible to take care of this divine trust and should, thus, endeavor to spread Islam. We should begin with ourselves and then invite others, God willing!

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

Decree

Date: April 1, 1981 [Farvardin 12, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a commission to resolve differences among officials

Addressee: Muhammad Rida Mahdawi Kani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Rida Mahdawi Kani – may his graces last:

I, hereby, appoint Your Eminence as my representative in the formation of a commission, along with a representative appointed by Mr. Bani Sadr as well as a representative appointed by Hujjat al-Islam Beheshti, Hujjat al-Islam Hashimi Rafsanjani, and Mr. Raja'i¹ to investigate the issue of breach of rights of both sides. I also assign you to investigate into the people who cause differences and tension in the country through their words or actions at this crucial juncture as we are involved in (an imposed) war. At the same time, keep an eye on the press and the media and in case a majority of the members of the commission find anyone breaching the laws in this regard, he should for the first time, be warned to mend his ways, and for the second time, he should be exposed to the noble people of the country through public media. Nonetheless, the public prosecutor² should be presented the reports of the outcomes of each investigation. The public prosecutor is duty-bound, as per the laws of the religion, to follow the necessary religious and legal procedures in this regard with absolute impartiality. The respected gentlemen are strictly expected to discharge the duty that they are vested without any concessions.

It should be mentioned that, for the sake of a greater unity among the members of the commission, none of them is allowed to express his views or to announce his disagreement with the views of the others outside of the formal sessions of the commission and that anyone breaching this decree shall be dealt with, as with the other transgressors, by the public prosecutor. It is necessary that the members of the commission as well as all the writers

¹ Bani Sadr appointed the Imams son-in-law, Shahabuddin Ishraqi and Messrs. Beheshti, Hashimi Rafsanjani, and Rajai appointed Mr. Muhammad Yazdi as their respective representatives.

² Sayyid Abd al-Karim Musawi Ardebili.

and speakers join hands and, within the framework the law, endeavor toward resolving the problems of the society as well as forwarding the exalted goals of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 1, 1981 [Farvardin 12, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A seven-point statement on the priority of sacred defense and keeping away from the differences among the authorities (referring to the differences that prevailed between Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr and his prime minister and other authorities)

Occasion: Anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings upon the revolutionary people of Iran who severed the hands of external and internal criminals through their uprising and established the Islamic Republic! May the blessings of God Almighty be upon the martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the way of freedom, independence, and the Islamic Republic! And greetings be upon our valiant combatants who are engaged in the honorable defense of their dear homeland and Islam! Peace be upon the families of the martyrs and the war-destitute! And may God's blessings be upon the supporters at the warfronts!

I felicitate everyone at the onset of the third year of the official establishment of the Islamic Republic, which has by the grace of God Almighty, the Sole Supporter of the oppressed, put behind itself great challenges and the conspiracies of the superpowers and the satanic forces—headed by the criminal America—with dignity for the great Iranian nation, power for the revolutionary institutions and the heroic armed forces, and has attained the victory of truth over falsehood and Islam over *kufr*. Presently, we are powerfully and jointly facing the world-devouring enemy as well as the internal traitors with a singleness of purpose. Last year we faced the conspiracies of America and its lackey, Sadat, who intended to cause turmoil by granting refuge to the deposed Shah. However, by the grace of God Almighty, the Shah met his disgraceful end and the conspirators shamefully headed for the dustbins of history. This year we are confronting the evil and criminal pawn of the East and the West. With the grace of God Almighty this imposed war has strengthened the unity of our valiant nation. The Baathist regime of Iraq was deceived by the miscalculations of those who instigated it and it is now caught up in an impasse. On the one hand, the Iraqi nation has turned its back to him (Saddam), thus, making his position shaky, and on the

other hand, the brave armed forces of Iran have made life difficult for him. He is now trying in vain to free himself from his self-made traps, naively thinking that he can regain his lost reputation by covering up the unprecedented crimes against the noble nations of Iraq and Iran. Least does he know that it is too late and he and his oppressive supporters will face the same end as the deposed Shah did. "*Is not the morning nigh?*"¹ Saddam and his tyrannical supporters should know that this year the brave Iranian army, the gallant Revolutionary Guards, and the other armed forces enjoy better strength and solidarity than they did during the previous years. Today, our heroic nation is even more supportive of them and the number of martyrdom-seekers in the way of God Almighty, who are waiting for the divine command, is increasing day by day. The economic sanctions imposed on this country have prompted the experts of this great nation to apply their minds and, to a great extent, eradicate shortcomings and to compensate for the losses caused by these sanctions through round-the-clock efforts.

Backed by the nation, today, the government of Iran can withstand its enemies more powerfully than ever before. The criminal Saddam and his friends should not forget that the losses inflicted upon Iraq and Iran at the hands of his criminal officials are beyond comprehension. The material losses amount to billions of dollars and the human losses are much greater than the financial losses. On the one hand, they have martyred the best of our youth who could instead have been working for the sublimation of Islam throughout the world and, on the other hand, instead of inspiring the Iraqi military to combat the criminal, Israel, they forced it to invade a country whose only aim is the exaltation of Islam, killing thousands of its personnel in the bargain. Let the world know that Iran today is not like the superpowers and the corrupt puppet regimes in which a suppressive and tyrannical minority rules over an oppressed majority, dictating their destiny. Iran today is one nation, a group from which is serving the nation by managing the affairs of the country and by defending it; and the entire nation considers it their duty to support them. In the same manner that every man, woman, young and old of this nation supported this government and the military during the course of the Revolution, even today, they contribute to the defense of their country at the warfronts and behind the warfronts, resting assured that the will of such a nation is decisive in war and in peace. All those who intend to mediate in this war should make a thorough investigation and should make a distinction between the oppressor and the oppressed, the

¹ *Surah Hud* 11:81.

plunderer and the plundered, and the criminal and the victim if they are truly well-meaning and well-intentioned and if they have risen up to settle the issue for the cause of Islam.

Our nation has submitted to truth and justice and will stand against oppression and tyranny. Our expectation is that a commission be appointed, in order to thoroughly investigate the aggressions and crimes that have taken place and to introduce the oppressor and the aggressor accordingly and to punish the aggressor as a lesson to all those who transgress human rights. Only in this manner would it be possible to return peace and harmony to the world.

Overlooking the crimes of the criminals and the tyrants will only end up paving the path for the oppressors and will lead the world to destruction. I, therefore, consider it my responsibility to clarify certain points to the noble nation of Iran:

1. I warn all the political groups, organizations, parties, etc. throughout the country to surrender the arms that they have in their possession and to offer a public penitence for their previous actions. Their safety shall be assured and all their past actions shall be pardoned. However, if they continue with their crimes, no excuse will be accepted from them later on; and I am certain that their day of regret shall soon arrive. The opponents of the Islamic Republic should have realized in the past two years that they will never succeed in threatening a nation that is ready to sacrifice its lives and property for the cause of Islam and this country and that they shall have to give up sooner or later, after having gone through a lot of unnecessary suffering and after committing countless futile crimes. It is, thus, in their own interest that they join the mainstream of the nation and keep away from any inclination toward the East or the West. Declare your return to the nation and Islam and the nation shall extend its support to you!

2. In the past few days as differences had decreased, by the grace of God, since the newspapers were on holiday and were, thus, unable to cause differences,¹ and since they abstained, to some extent, to fan existing differences² even after resuming services, the nation could take a break from having to suffer all the hue and cry that is normally created by the deviant groups, and the brave combatants on duty at the warfronts were given a breather from having to worry about unnecessary issues, and since the

¹ It refers to the official New Year holidays during which newspapers are not published.

² Following the escalation of differences between Bani Sadr and the heads of the legislature and the judiciary as well as the Prime Minister, a commission was set up by the Imam to resolve the differences and to eliminate existing tensions.

commanders were also busy carrying out their duties with enthusiasm, our country achieved significant victories by the grace of God. Therefore, it is necessary on the part of those who are concerned about the country, the nation, and Islam to continue on this path, which is the path of truth, and to please God Almighty and to refrain from escalating differences, which is the path of the Satan and works against divine satisfaction. This will pave the path for the reconstruction of the country and salvation in this world and the hereafter.

3. It is the religious obligation of all the orators and writers to refrain from saying and writing or even implying things, both in public and in private, that can lead to conflict, for at this juncture any divergence could act like fatal poison for the Islamic *ummah*. And they should bear it in mind that causing conflict in the existing environment is nothing but following the desires of the carnal self and serving the interests of the superpowers, especially the world-devouring America. It is, in fact, an evil that the Satan prompts them do in the name of Islam. These people should know that the Islamic Revolution cannot tolerate such acts and will punish the guilty. The Attorney-General is instructed to put an end to this dangerous trend. Wholesome speeches, in constructive, healthy, and tension-free environments, with the purpose of fostering unity and understanding as well as preventing divergence and tension are useful and earn the satisfaction of God Almighty.

4. I am concerned about the clergy, which is vested with the responsibility of guarding Islam in its pure form. I fear lest those in charge of affairs, particularly in the courts, the (revolutionary) committees, and the judiciary tarnish the reputation of the clergy—which is the main guardian of Islam—before the nation by neglecting Islamic criteria. I fear that such negligence on the part of the clerics, even some of them, could give the opponents of Islam and the clergy the excuse to magnify their negligible errors manifold by spreading rumors and accusations. Unfortunately, even some Islamic scholars are influenced by the rumors, and with the intention of supporting Islam, they have started criticizing the Islamic Republic, all the courts, and the government bodies and in this way, are unknowingly, helping and sharing in the crimes of the deviated groups. I categorically instruct the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and the Supreme Judiciary Council to form a number of commissions with the help of scholarly, faithful, and committed individuals to investigate into the functioning of the courts throughout the country and to dismiss any unqualified judges and deviated prosecutors. And if these commissions discover that any of the judges have

violated the property or the reputation of the people, let them be put on trial. Any negligence and laxity in this regard is a great threat to the Islamic Republic and any delay in handling the issue will only escalate the grievances and the threats.

5. It is sometimes heard that some revolutionary guards, in certain parts of the country, deviate from the path of justice, religion, and their legal responsibilities and unnecessarily interfere in the affairs of the courts of law and the other government institutions. It is obligatory on the part of the commanders of the revolutionary guards to prevent such illegal and unlawful interferences and if they find that the people who indulge in such interferences are influenced by deviated groups, their services should be terminated and they should be handed over to the courts of law, in case they have committed any crimes. It is also mandatory on the Supreme Council of the Revolutionary Guards Corps to keep an eye on such activities and not to allow this faithful and committed organization to lose its reputation before the nation. The infiltration of deviated groups into such bodies and their unlawful and irrational acts could, God forbid, even defame our dear revolutionary youth. The commanders of the Revolutionary Guards Corps are instructed to check out for any deviation on the part of their personnel.

6. It is incumbent on the government to support the agricultural sector and the agriculturists more than before and not to leave any stone unturned in this regard. The government should also prevent red-tape that slows down affairs within this significant sector and the provincial governors should emphatically know that agriculture is one of the most important interests of our country and its proper implementation could strengthen the foundations of the economy of the country.

7. I request our dear nation to ignore false and baseless rumors spread by groups associated with the previous regime or the superpowers. Since the opponents of the Revolution have lost hope in their earlier conspiracies they have now begun a trend of spreading false rumors and lies with a view to creating despair among the people and with the hope of luring our country toward the superpowers of the East and the West.

I pray to God Almighty for the victory and grandeur of Islam in this New Year and I am hopeful that He will protect this Islamic country from the evils of the ill-wishers with His absolute power! Peace and greetings be upon the great nation of Iran and peace be upon the martyrs and those who have suffered losses for the cause of Islam! May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 2, 1981 [Farvardin 13, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Honoring the valor and the sacrifices of the people of the Khuzestan province and the other war-stricken areas of the country

Audience: Families of the martyrs and the imposed-war disabled soldiers of Khuzestan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful To God we belong and to Him we shall return

Honoring the sacrifices of the people of Khuzestan province and other war-stricken areas

Khuzestan has delivered upon its debt to Islam. Khuzestan has and is striving for Islam, human values, and its own dignity and the honor of the country and is exhibiting great chivalry and has dispatched off its great martyrs to God Almighty. Khuzestan has been an exemplary leader in combating the aggression of falsehood upon truth. These martyrs, whose photographs are here before us, have hastened toward God and have positively responded to the invitation of Islam and have attained salvation for themselves as well as honor and dignity for the west and the south (of Iran) and for the entire country and, in fact, for all mankind. Our consolation in such difficult times that we are all facing together is remembrance of the fact that to God we belong and to Him we shall return!

We have nothing of our own. Whatever we possess is granted to us as a trust by the favor of God. “*Inna lillah*” says that we are all from God and that we all belong to Him and shall finally return to Him. Those who have chosen with their struggle and *jihad*, to stand up against *kufr*, and have surrendered their lives to God and have returned to Him with honor and dignity are the ones who have ultimately gained felicity. All of us are bound to die ultimately but those who have bravely confronted the armies of *kufr* in order to defend Islam and the Islamic country and have sacrificed their lives and have hastened toward God have earned eternal salvation for themselves and have attained honor for their country. Man has to traverse this path and he has to eventually die. How much better it would be to instead attain salvation through a voluntary death, attaining martyrdom, and reaching God in the robes of martyrdom and with the honor and the awareness of a martyr and to

hand over the trust safely to its Owner. Dying in your bed is ordinary death but giving your life for God is martyrdom and results in honor and dignity for the individual and for all mankind.

All of you from the west of the country as well as the south and the other border areas have bravely confronted the tyrants and the aggressors against Islam and have given martyrs like the early days of Islam. Our nation cherishes the memories of many martyrs from among you. You have secured the honor of this nation and God Almighty is bound to be pleased with you. Islam is proud of you and the nation supports you and all the other soldiers; and the martyrs that you have offered for the cause of Islam are national martyrs. Every problem this nation faces belongs to the entire nation and so does its honor. How fortunate these beloved and courageous youth are, the pictures of some of whom are present here today, evoking both grief as well as pride within us!

Martyrs are the flag-bearers of the caravan of salvation

I congratulate all the people of Khuzestan as well as the other bordering areas who have faced aggression and remind you of two verses from the Book of God: *“That ye grieve not for the sake of that which hath escaped you, nor ye exult because of that which hath been given”*¹ God Almighty teaches man—from the beginning to the end—not to grieve for things that seemingly appear to be “losses” because these are not losses at all; and so neither should you regret and nor should you become sorrowful for things that you have lost because you have only apparently “lost” them but they are, in reality, not lost at all and have brought you dignity. At the same time, you should not unduly rejoice on gaining worldly things because everything that belongs to this worldly realm perishes and only that which is offered to God is lasting and eternal. These martyrs are alive and are *“with their Lord full of sustenance.”*² They have now attained spiritual and everlasting sustenance in the Presence of God Almighty and have completely handed over to Him that which they held in trust, which was their lives that they surrendered to God Almighty and He will and has honored them while we have been left behind. It is we who should regret not having been able to tread their paths. They were the leaders and have now left our presence and have attained salvation while we have lagged behind on this path and could not pace up with the caravans and tread their paths.

¹ *Surah al-Hadid* 57:23.

² *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:169.

We are all from God, the entire universe is from God and is His manifestation and the entire universe shall return to Him. Thus, it is better that man chooses a voluntary return to God through martyrdom for Him and for the cause of Islam. May God bless all the martyrs of the path of Islam as well as those who were rendered disabled or homeless for the cause of Islam with eternal salvation!

This grief is shared by all of us and the honor and dignity that these youth have attained is the dignity of all mankind. They have established human values and may their God accept them and shower them with His mercy!

I express my condolences to the survivors of these martyrs. I also congratulate them as well as the people of Khuzestan and the others from the south and the east of Iran for their sacrifices, valor, and brave resistance. All the visitors to these areas heartily laud the great morale that you people of Khuzestan and the south and the west have demonstrated and they all praise you for your greatness of spirit. I am hopeful that with such morale, the Iranian nation will succeed in overcoming all the corrupt forces. And I also hope that our country will soon be freed of these criminals and that our people can return to their own places. Loathe upon the enemies of Islam and your enemies and may peace, mercy, honor, and dignity be showered upon you brothers and sisters! Blessings be upon your martyrs!

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

Telegram

Date: April 5, 1981 [Farvardin 16, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Grand Ayatullah Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Spain¹

His Eminence Ayatullah Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi—may his blessings last:

I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of Your Eminence's congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic. I pray to God Almighty for your complete recovery and return to your beloved homeland. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The late Grand Ayatullah Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (one of the great *maraji at-taqlid*) had traveled to Spain for treatment of an eye ailment.

Speech

Date: April 5, 1981 [Farvardin 16, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Oppressed people pioneered the Revolution; in appreciation of the sacrifices of the Air Force pilots

Audience: Various strata of people from south Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The deprived and downtrodden people: the forerunners of the Revolution

There are various groups of people present here today and I apologize for not mentioning the names of each of the groups individually, lest I miss out some of them. All of you are the nation of Islam, the followers of the Holy Qur'an, who work hard to protect the honor of this country. This Islamic Revolution is the outcome of the efforts of the oppressed strata of society that succeeded in selflessly making the movement victorious. In my opinion, the oppressed sections of society are greater in status than the rich and the famous who live in palaces. I, in fact, doubt if any comparison can even be drawn between them and you. During the days of the Revolution I felt proud when I saw old men emerge from their modest homes, saying that they were going, along with their children, to participate in demonstrations. A single strand of your hair is worth much more than all those wealthy people and the ones who did not do anything for this Revolution and instead caused, and are still causing, whatever hindrances they can.

You people made this Revolution victorious. Those who ultimately strived for this Revolution throughout the country were the suppressed men and women who were being oppressed by the rich people. These oppressed ones succeeded in proving that the rich people were, in fact, so flimsy and corrupt that they have never done and will never do anything for this nation. This Revolution is the result of the struggles of the university youth from among the oppressed strata of the society whose hearts were filled with faith and love for Islam. It was they who propelled this movement and gave martyrs without making any demands in return. Those who did not take any steps toward this Revolution have only proved to be destructive and they are, even today, engaged in sabotaging the country. They silently sat aside, waiting for either side to emerge victorious, so that they could then surface

and reap the benefits. However, as soon as they later realized that the Islamic Republic does not permit such undue advantages they began to sabotage the country, on the one hand, and extended their consent to the various sabotages that took place in some parts of the country, on the other. They even got involved in the Kurdistan and Baluchistan turmoil. Even now as we are caught up with the imposed war in the south and the west of the country, they are indulging in spreading false propaganda, and are trying to divert the people's attention from this war.

It was you who saved the country from the clutches of the superpowers. This beloved, endeavoring stratum of our society does not expect anything from anyone except God. We are all indebted to you and hope to deserve to be at your service. It was you who poured onto the streets, and bravely faced the tanks and the machine guns, and every one of you—men, women, the young and the old—made sacrifices and offered martyrs until victory was achieved. Even now, as this war has been imposed upon us, it is the oppressed stratum of society that is busy serving at the warfronts and everyone can see their contribution on television. The affluent people have not contributed a single *Shahi*¹ to this war and they shall not be so even in the future. If at all they are not engaged in mischief and corruption, they remain indifferent.

In appreciation of the bravery of the Air Force pilots

I have to appreciate the role that the Air Force has played in this (imposed) war. The bravery demonstrated by the Air Force yesterday, through their air-strikes on the farthest places within Iraq, was an unprecedented move. I must thank these pilots as well as all those who are making sacrifices for Islam and their country at the warfronts, on behalf of the nation—and I hope that the nation grants me this right to do so. By the grace of God, they managed to strike Iraq without suffering any losses yesterday and they made the Iraqi regime realize that if they (the Iranians) did not fear bringing damage upon innocent civilians, the Iraqi army would be no match for our youth. Only yesterday, the military commanders were here; and as they were leaving, Mr. Fakuri, the Air Force Commander, mentioned quietly to me that they had made certain plans for action, without mentioning any details. It soon became clear that they had planned to teach Saddam a hard lesson. Similarly, the nation appreciates the efforts of the army and the revolutionary guards as well as the other forces that are bravely

¹ *Shahi*: a small monetary unit in Iran in the past (20 *Shahi*=1 rial).

involved in the war. They, too, come from the oppressed strata of society. You will fail to find a single pilot or revolutionary guard or gendarme or military person hailing from the affluent families of the northern part of the town. They are all from this (oppressed) stratum of society. Thus, our revolution is indebted to this stratum. It is this stratum that ignited the sparks of this movement and blazed it and is, even now, making sacrifices at the borders. It is this section of society that shapes the value system of our nation. These people have proved to the world that the depths of their bravery cannot be fathomed by ordinary calculations.

Everyday, we witness victories at the warfronts that are achieved by those who come from the oppressed strata of society. The same applies to all you men and women who are making sacrifices and are supporting the war from behind the warfronts. Those people fight the enemy at the warfronts while you do so from behind the scenes. And this is one of the characteristics of Islam and the Islamic Revolution and this is what Islam has taught.

You revolted for the cause of Islam, and since you believe in Islam and believe that your army is faithful to Islam, you make sacrifices jointly and without any ulterior motive. The manner in which the Iranian nation supports its army is perhaps the most unique and unprecedented in the world. History has probably never recorded a similar situation in which even young children, adolescents, women, old ladies, and also newly-wed brides and grooms are present on the warfronts and the entire nation is present at the warfronts.

The anxieties of the rich and the contentment of the poor

I hope that you, the great oppressed nation of Iran, do know that the deprived people are dear to God Almighty and I trust that you will not be under the illusion that the rich people live a tension-free life. On the contrary, their lives are filled with anxiety and their hearts are not at peace. The apprehension that the rich suffer in their lives is unheard among the downtrodden. And the peace and serenity that the oppressed strata of society enjoy cannot be found among the so-called "elite" strata. If you pay attention, you will see that the anxieties that the leaders of the big and powerful countries face, cannot be seen among you who work selflessly for the cause of God. This is a blessing that God has bestowed upon you. And we, perhaps, underestimate the importance of divine blessings such as the peace, tranquility, and serenity that you people possess and that the rich, "upper classes" do not. They are all filled with anxiety. They live miserable lives in their palaces while you face no such misery. This is a mercy from

God Almighty and I am hopeful that He will continue to shower His mercy upon the Iranian nation as well as the other Muslim nations. I am hopeful that, by the grace of God, the arrogant powers as well as your oppressors will soon be defeated. May God make them perish by His will!

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

Speech

Date: April 7, 1981 [Farvardin 18, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Bonds between the armed forces and the clergy and abiding by defined duties

Audience: Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air Force), Mustafa Chamran (The Imam's representative to the Supreme Council of Defense), Air Force pilots and other personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bonds between the armed forces and the clergy and abiding by defined duties

The more I got to hear about the details of the (recent) operation, the more I realized the greatness of this plan and its implementation by you gentlemen. This proves that by the grace of God, our dear youth have, by laying their trust in God, carried out a task that was nothing short of a miracle and if I had a gift, better than prayers for you, I would have surely presented you with it. But my prayers for you are better than all the gifts of this world. I pray to God Almighty to grant you gentlemen with success in every respect so that you can protect your country and Islam and succeed in uprooting corruption from this country. I have always supported and will continue to support all the armed forces including the army, the Air Force, the Navy, and the other forces on behalf of myself and on behalf of the nation and I believe that you deserve all the support extended to you by the entire nation. I am hopeful that the existing bonds and ties between you gentlemen from the Air Force, the Navy, the Army, and the other armed forces and the clergy and the nation will grow from strength to strength. Please remember that certain actions taken by the clerics who have been appointed in your work places are in your interest and in the interest of the country and Islam. There are certain hands at work that intend to create rifts between you and the clergy and make the nation lose trust in you. So please do keep in mind that the clerics who accompany you—and of course they have to operate within their defined missions—are your supporters. If a clergy representative is present in the garrisons, it is in your own interest and it is completely wrong for anyone to claim that their presence goes against your interests. It is because of the present bonds shared between you and the

clergy that the nation is supportive of you and I hope that the existing bonds between the various strata of our society will continue to thrive so that the country can advance and progress. If at all there are certain complaints against some young clerics, such issues could easily be resolved by referring to me or to other experienced people. Neither should you gentlemen prevent them from carrying out their duties and nor should they transgress their limits. The limits of everyone's responsibility should be clearly defined. No one should prevent the clerics who are stationed in the garrisons from carrying out their duties of propagating Islam. If you find anyone talking about preventing them, do know that he is an enemy and is not your friend. At the same time, these clerics, too, should not overstep their limits because overstepping the limits of Islam is not permissible. Everyone should act within his own limits. I have an advice for you gentlemen and for all the armed forces. As I have been given to understand, some of the clerics have faced mistreatment at the hands of some people in the garrisons. Their presence among you insures national support for you, failing which, your ill-wishers will conspire against you and will make you lose credibility before the nation. Mr. Zahirnezhad, in particular, should be reminded about this matter since it is in his jurisdiction that the clerics have been ill-treated and this will not be in your interest.

If ever some clerics overstep their limits, the matter should be reported so that it is handled appropriately. In any case, my wish for you is to foster solidarity among you and the clerics, the nation, and the other armed forces. Only could such solidarity save this country. When the entire nation supports you for the sacrifices you make and for your miraculous feats and when they appreciate your sincere efforts, your morale is boosted. On the other hand, the opposite would be the case if you were to find that the nation did not give a care for your efforts. In the previous regime, if the nation was not opposed to the armed forces, it did not offer them its support either. He (the Shah) did his own stuff and did not give a care to anything else. Today, you can see for yourselves that the nation is involved in every aspect of the affairs of the country. It is an important feature of Islam, the Islamic country, and the Islamic Republic for our people to be present at the scenes and to check and control everything. You can all witness that the entire nation is extending its support to you in this war and is earnestly offering its services. Even small children bring in their money boxes and contribute their money. This is unprecedented phenomenon of history. And this is because the cool zephyr of Islam has blown toward us. I do hope that Islam will be established in Iran in its truest sense. That would ensure your victory in all areas. I, once again,

thank you for your act of courage and also thank all the armed forces that are making sacrifices in order to carry out their duties. I hope that you will all gain success and divine approval by His grace and will!

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

Speech

Date: April 8, 1981 [Farvardin 19, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of judgment in Islam

Audience: Muhammadi Gilani, Chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts and its other authorities

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of judgment and the problems involved

The kind of work that you gentlemen are involved in—whether you are a judge or a prosecutor or whether you work in a prison—is difficult and valuable. Your work is difficult because judgment, by nature, is such that one of the parties involved is always bound to be unsatisfied with the verdict. We never find that after one of the two disputing parties is deemed guilty, he silently respects the Islamic criteria for the judgment. In almost all instances, the one who loses the case—whether deservedly or, God forbid, undeservedly—is left dissatisfied. However, the heart of the matter is that this is not an easy job and since you are vested with the responsibility of judgment, you are engaged in a very difficult albeit valuable profession. It is worthy for man to take on challenging responsibilities and to face the problems involved.

I cannot speak about the issue of judgment in a very clear-cut manner. But my point to all the judges, most of whom are perhaps clerics, is that judgment is one of the most important, or perhaps the most important, issue in Islam because what is involved is the lives, property, and the dignity and honor of people. It is one of the most difficult tasks and finding solutions is not easy. On the other hand, there are a large number of pre-requisites to be taken into consideration for a judge. And as of now, we do not have enough judges who possess all those pre-requisites. However, work is being done in that direction. All the same, all those who have been vested with this responsibility, whether it is in Qum or in Tehran, should bear in mind that the clergy is being targeted today and there are many groups that intend to isolate the clergy in society and to side-track them.

If the judges who are involved with people and with criminals ever pass a misjudgment or make any of the said mistakes, our enemies who are only waiting to raise a hue and cry and express their “concern” over issues are

bound to blow matters out of proportion all over the place. And it is not as if these enemies are committed to Islam and would, thus, refrain themselves from resorting to lies. It was only either last night or yesterday that someone told me that he had gone to visit a certain person and that as he was leaving that person's office, some people present there mentioned of some torture incident having taken place and asked him if he was interested in seeing the victim who was also present there. The man replied in the positive. Then he said that he approached the "victim" who bared himself claiming to have cigarette burns on his body. The name of a certain person had also been marked upon his body with those burns. He mentioned the name of a judicial authority and claimed that he had been tortured and was burnt with cigarettes and the name of that person was also engraved upon his body. On first glance these marks appeared to have been tattooed upon his body. The man then asked the "victim" about who had seized him. The response was that a group of men had caught him in some isolated area and had pulled him into a car and tortured him. He asked him if he recognized any of them. He replied that he did not recognize them since their heads and faces had been covered. He then asked him as to where he had been tortured, to which he replied that it was in the car. And he mentioned that the assailants were revolutionary guards. The person then asked him what made him believe that they were revolutionary guards since as he had earlier mentioned, that their heads and faces had been masked and that they could well have been his own friends! That left him speechless. The man then told him blankly that he was from among the *munafiqin* and that he had only come here with a false complaint. He asked him to leave or else he would get into trouble. (On realizing that his game was discovered) he left silently. So this is how the situation is with these people! I have also heard from someone who works in the department of justice of, I think, Shiraz that some of them anesthetize their own group members and then subject him to torture in order to blame the Islamic Republic of torturing people. You have to face such people. You cannot expect to get rid of problems and difficulties. This is not possible. As a matter of fact, your problems are numerous, some of which are imposed upon the clerics. There are, perhaps, a number of complaints most of which are baseless accusations; even though there may be some genuine complaints, too. The same applies to the offices of the prosecutors. They, too, cannot satisfy both the disputing sides and even if a judge issues the most accurate verdict, the loser ends up making a hue and cry. This is as far as the common people are concerned. And yet, there are also such elements whose intention, from the beginning of the Revolution, was to exploit the situation

and to gain undue advantage for themselves without contributing anything to the Revolution. Some of them had even aimed at becoming president and when that did not happen they resorted to illegal acts that you are aware of. Your job demands that you deal with people who are engaged in the various conspiracies. There are conspiracies taking place everywhere—in the prisons, outside the prisons, and even at the warfronts—there are conspiracies everywhere. However, your activities are limited to a certain area and even within that limited area; the efforts of your enemies are focused upon converting the prison conditions into what you say.

Informing people about the problems and difficulties

I believe that you should let people know the truth about situations instead of keeping them restricted to yourselves and me. Many allegations have been made against you all although I have repeatedly heard through some people who know you all that these are false accusations. Well, you all tell me and complain to me that these allegations are false but the society does not know what the reality is. Your opponents spread rumors and accusations against you and, unfortunately, some authorities even believe them, thereby aggravating the situation. You are faced with numerous problems but you refrain from informing them to the public. But the ones who cause these problems for you make a lot of undue noise and give the public a distorted picture about your situation and even defame some of you. Take for example someone like Mr. Muhammadi¹ who is serving (the nation) with such commitment. However, only I am aware about his dedication and his services. Moreover, it is not enough for you to talk about your problems here. I agree that you have undertaken a great responsibility but you must exhibit resistance and you must not give in to the problems. I may not have been able to show much resistance but I want you all to do so. By the grace of God, you are young and energetic. And the ones who face more problems and refuse to give in are dearer to God and He rewards them. You tell me that the volume of your work is so huge that you cannot manage to attend to all your affairs in time and yet some people are making so much noise about your performance. I do understand what you all have to say and I do know the difficulties that a judge, a jailor, a prosecutor, or an attorney could face; but the people do not know. Many of them believe that right from the moment a person is sentenced through to the end of his term of imprisonment he is beaten up and is subjected to various types of physical harassment. At

¹ Mr. Muhammadi Gilani, Chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts.

the same time, you deny such allegations and claim the contrary, saying that it is your officials and constables that are beaten up by their elements and that you have remained silent about it. These things should be made clear to the public. Those gentlemen who visited the prisons have not come to brief me. However, I have received reports from some honorable sources that have dismissed such allegations, although such things may have occasionally happened in certain prisons. Now, if you have to deal with people who can go to the extent of anesthetizing their own people and subjecting them to physical torment only in order to blame you and if you have to deal with people who bring out their small children onto the streets to shout against you and to provoke you, you cannot expect to be able to work in peace. You should, on the contrary, be prepared to face such things everyday. Your responsibility, however, is a noble one even if it, alongside, entails dangers and problems for you all. You are forced to deal with people who do not believe in anything and whose only aim is to eliminate the Revolution because they find it to be detrimental to their interests as well as the interests of their lords and masters. Then how can you expect them to treat you like ordinary people!

Prison should serve as schools for criminals

Such things do happen anyway; however, you should keep striving and work on your actions and treat the people you deal with justly. And as you say, that is what you are already doing. Identify those from among them who are open to advice and are ready to mend their ways. Pick them out and ask some clerics to come and speak with them and counsel them so that they may alter their attitudes. An Islamic prison is a place in which the prisoners should be trained. I remember, during the time I was put into prison in the days of the previous regime, the jailor would often come and talk to me. One day, I heard someone screaming and soon realized that people were being carried off to other rooms for torture and that this jailor approached me only to inform me of what to expect. I raised objections explaining that a prison should be like a training school. If a thief is brought to prison, he should have left behind this habit by the time he is released. He should be trained. Of course, they denied that anyone was being tortured and said that it was just a constable who had been slapped for some misconduct but I knew they were lying. In any case, Islamic prisons should be managed according to Islamic principles and teachings. Even as the foremost personality of Islam, the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali), had been fatally struck on his head, he asked his family to share their food with the prisoner (his murderer) and to

treat him according to his advice.¹ When prisoners, who are not involved in conspiracies, see that they are treated with ethical values, they gradually mend their ways. They should be trained with ethical values, which is not an easy task, and could make many of you give up. But I pray for you to be able to withstand all challenges and for you to be able to continue treating the prisoners in the same manner that you are doing now.

At the same time, it is not enough to only inform me about what you have to say. The public should also know about all this. It will not make much difference if only I were to be informed about your activities. There are people among the public who are busy poisoning minds while you stop short of defending yourselves. Such people are spreading falsehood, and as you mentioned they have even managed to convince some revolutionary guards about the presence of torture, thereby intimidating them to quit their posts. Soon even the public may start believing that you indulge in torture. There is a kind of confrontation between you and those who intend to defame and eliminate this Islamic movement and Revolution. Under such circumstances, one has to act skillfully so that such elements are not given any excuse to implement their own devious plans. And of course this is a very difficult task and, God willing, you will be rewarded by Him. I do hope that God Almighty will empower you to face such difficulties and will strengthen you. But I want to reiterate to you what I have been telling everyone who comes to me to report on their activities: It is not sufficient for you all to report only to me! Go to the public and let everyone know what is happening and challenge your opponents to prove their contrary claims. Let people as well as the authorities come and see the conditions of the prisons for themselves and then pass judgment over what your opponents claim. I pray to God Almighty for things to gradually improve. Assure your hearts that you will emerge victorious with the will of God!

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 42, *hadith* 10, p. 206.

Speech

Date: April 9, 1981 [Farvardin 20, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The crimes and the tyranny of the Baathist regime of Iraq and the need for the Iraqi nation to rise up against this *kafir* (faithless) regime

Audience: Ayatullah Hakim, the combatant clerics of Iraq, and the expelled Muslims of Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The *kafir* Baathist regime: the cause of the problems of the Iraqi and Iranian nations

I express my condolences to all the oppressed nations of the world, in general, and the Muslims and the Iraqi and Iranian nations, in particular, on the martyrdom of Ayatullah Sadr.¹

O my brothers! O our beloved ones who have been expelled from your homelands! As you have faced misery through the Baathist regime in Iraq we, too, have faced a similar situation in Iran through the hateful dictatorial government of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi which did with our nation that which even the Mongols did not. They exiled many of our scholars from their homelands and martyred some of them. They dishonored our women and disrespected them. They tortured our youth in their prisons, and as we have heard, they even went to the extent of throwing some of them on scorching pans and sawing off their legs. They exiled many of our clerics, imprisoned them, and disrespected and oppressed them in the most horrible ways. You, too, have been facing the same problems at the hands of the infidel Baathist party of Iraq. They arrest your youth for the “crime” of visiting the holy shrine of the Doyen of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (*a*) and dole out the most brutal treatment to them. Your scholars, too, have faced problems at the tyrannical hands of this corrupt and debauched party. We were witness to the atrocities they inflicted upon the late Ayatullah (Muhsin) Hakim. And they also martyred Ayatullah Sadr and his innocent and honorable sister simply because he stood up against their oppression and demanded for the rule of Islam. We have sacrificed martyrs and so have you. We have faced imprisonment and so have you. God Almighty, however,

¹ Martyr Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sadr who along with his sister Bint al-Huda was martyred at the hands of the criminal mercenaries of Saddam.

wished to free the Iranian nation from the burdens of oppression and granted them the grace to be able to overpower the tyrannical rule of the day through unity and trust in the Generous God! They threw the Shah out of their country, severed the hands of the big powers from their country, and established a humane, Islamic government in Iran. Oppressive foreign hands have unfortunately been and are still at work to prevent this Islamic government from gaining a foothold and to obstruct the establishment of popular governments in the other Muslim countries. This man (Saddam) who has inflicted great oppression on the Iraqi nation also invaded Iran, and that too the Arab settlements, in order to please the big powers. Under the pretext of pan-Arabism, this embodiment of corruption, inflicted upon the Iranian Arabs, such or perhaps even worse atrocities than what Muhammad Rida inflicted upon the entire Iranian nation. He killed the Iranian Arabs and brought destitution upon them. He has massacred the women and the children of the Iranian Arab settlements and the other regions under the name of pan-Arabism—though actually to gain the pleasure of the Great Satan (America) and its brothers (Britain and France)—to such an extent that the graveyards in Iran have had to be expanded. There is no other remedy but to rely upon God with a unity of expression in order to confront the oppressive rule of this tyrant. While I was in Iran, prior to my exile to Iraq, I was under the impression the armed Arab ethnics of Iraq would stand up against this regime and would put the tyrant in his rightful place. However, after I came to Iraq, I was surprised to find that the religious leader of the Iraqi nation was arrested and carried off from Baghdad to Najaf in the very presence of these ethnics. He was finally martyred helplessly in Najaf.

Struggle and uprising: the only means of liberating the Iraqi nation

If the Iraqi nation wishes to liberate itself from this oppression and the oppressors, it has no choice but to follow in the footsteps of the Iranian nation that got united, and by relying upon God Almighty, empty-handedly brought about the downfall of a tyrannical regime which was much more powerful than Saddam's Baathist regime, and terminated a detestable tradition of monarchical rule that had contributed some of the most criminal rulers to the history of the world and instead established the Islamic Republic. It is these nations that should arise and liberate themselves from the clutches of the tyrants through their movements. The nations should not harbor hopes for others to come to their rescue. A nation can liberate itself only by relying upon its own resources. Even though the Iranian nation was not offered help from any other country—Muslim or non-Muslim—while

most countries, save a few, even opposed its movement since the Iranian nation was determined to overthrow this detestable dynasty, it emerged victorious. It is impossible to impose something upon a nation that is determined to stand up for a certain cause. The Iraqi nation should not sit helplessly waiting for a foreign hand to come and liberate it. The Iraqi nation believes in Islam and the Holy Qur'an and opposes tyranny and oppression and is averse to decadence. The Iraqi nation should follow the commands of Islam.

The nations should rise up on their own strength and should liberate themselves. The people of Iran and Iraq are not two different nations. They are not even separate from the rest of the Muslims. The Muslims all constitute one nation comprising a population of one billion and having countless natural resources but, unfortunately, these one billion people are under the suppression of the satanic big powers because of the deviation of most of the Islamic governments. And all these vast resources of the Muslim countries are being swallowed up by the big powers. The nations should rise up and liberate themselves from the clutches of their (corrupt) governments as well as the big powers. If the Iranian nation would have sat idly waiting for some foreign hand to come and rescue it, it would have continued to remain suppressed and the despotic Pahlavi regime would still be ruling over it. But the Iranian nation did not wait for anyone else and notwithstanding the fact that all the governments of the East and the West were helping and supporting Muhammad Rida with his powerful internal military forces, when the nation revolted in unity and when all the men and women and the young and the old declared that they did not want this despotic government and the *kafir* monarchy, none of the foreign powers could then withhold the nation and the internal military forces, too, joined hands with the nation. The Iraqi military forces shall also join in with the nation if the Muslims of Iraq stand up in revolt against this root of all corruptions.

The infidelity of Saddam and the Baathist party of Iraq

I read recently that a news agency had quoted the Iraqi government saying that we have always been Muslims and we believe in the One God and in the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad and so we are Muslims and why should you consider us as *kafirs*! My response to them is that these words came through Ayatullah Hakim (*r*) even before us. The Iraqi nation is Muslim but the Baathist party does not hold any Islamic principles. And this party was denounced by the religious leader of the Iraqi nation itself. And the kind of Islam that Saddam and people like him claim to follow is like

Muhammad Rida's Islam. I think Muhammad Rida was probably a Muslim but his actions were worse than a *kafir*. However, I do not think that Saddam had even the slightest inclination toward Islam. Waging a war against an Islamic country and the Islamic government of Iran is the same as revolting against Islam and is as bad as atheism and *kufr*. And although this man claims to be a Muslim, he has revolted against Islam. The only crime of our Muslim nation is that it intends to sever the hands of the big powers from its resources and to have an Islamic government. From the very beginning this nation had opted for an Islamic government; it voted for it, and established it. It was for this crime that this nation has been subjected to the criticism and aggression of the big powers.

Saddam's illusory claims of power

Saddam has declared that if his demands are not met, he will destroy our country even further. You have done whatever you could and will continue to do whatever you can and if you could not inflict any further damage it was not because you chose not to do so! If you had the power you would not have stopped from killing all the Muslims of Iran. But you were in an illusion, imagining the Iranian nation to be indifferent, and thought that even if you attacked it, the Iranian army would prove to be weak and incapable. But the Iranian nation and the army caused you to realize that the situation was not as you and the big powers had calculated. And you were curtailed as soon as you attacked the country without any prior warning and you have not succeeded in advancing even a step further. And now you will have to instead step backwards each day. If we and our nation and our army also held the same beliefs as Saddam and if we, too, would have advanced mercilessly even if it were at the cost of the lives of innocent children, women and old men, and if only we did not fear harming the innocent Iraqi civilians, today you would have seen that no one would have been able to come to the rescue of Iraq. But our country and our army adhere to Islamic principles. Our armed forces have the power to fly over the major Iraqi cities and bombard the farthest military centers of Iraq close to the borders with Jordan choosing not to drop a single bomb over any of the Iraqi cities. This country and its armed forces are Islamic. The one who strikes and attacks Muslims and renders the Arab Muslims homeless and destroys an Islamic country simply for being Muslim, cannot be considered a Muslim. No matter how much he may plead to being a Muslim and claim to profess faith [*shahadah*], it is a pretentious Islam that he is claiming to believe in. This happened even in the

early days of Islam and such hypocrites (*munafiqin*) proved to be worse than even the *kuffar*.

I appeal to God Almighty to awaken the Muslim nations and to rouse the Iraqi nation to liberate itself from the clutches of these big powers and these embodiments of corruption that are massacring Muslims in the name of Islam and are trampling upon the laws of Islam in the name of Islam and are martyring Islamic scholars in the name of Islam, and that too scholars like Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sadr, who was a great Muslim thinker and in whom Islam had great hopes for the future! I am hopeful that the books of this great man are read by the Muslims and may God Almighty resurrect him in the company of his great ancestors by His will! And may He resurrect his innocent sister in the company of her great ancestors! And I am hopeful that the Muslim nations shall rise and sever the hands of the big powers from their countries.

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

Letter

Date: April 11, 1981 [Farvardin 22, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determination of the policies of the Political and Ideological Organization of the Armed Forces

Addressee: Wali Allah Fallahi (Deputy Chief, Joint Staff of the Armed Forces)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Chief of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

The Political and Ideological Organization of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to follow the commands of the *Wali al-Faqih* [Jurist-Guardian] in the selection of its policies. In personnel and logistical matters it is to abide by the instructions issued by the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 22, 1360 AHS

Decree

Date: April 11, 1981 [Farvardin 22, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the head of the Political and Ideological Office of the Armed Forces

Addressee: Ghulam-Rida Safa'i

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Safa'i—may his graces last:

I hereby appoint you as the head of the Political and Ideological Office of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I hope that you will take all the necessary steps within your jurisdiction in order to Islamize the armed forces in every area and in every aspect. I pray to God Almighty for Your Eminence's success. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 22, 1360 AHS

Decree

Date: ?

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Head of the Political and Ideological Office of the Gendarmerie

Addressee: Ghulam-Husayn Karbaschi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Scholar Mr. Ghulam-Husayn Karbaschi:

I hereby appoint you as the head of the Political and Ideological Office of the Gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran. May you, by God's will, abide by the stipulated rules and regulations in coordination with the ideological offices of the armed forces and the police and may you succeed in delivering on your specific duties and meeting the demands of your post. Obviously, all the personnel of the gendarmerie are expected to extend their maximum cooperation to you. I pray to God Almighty for Your Eminence's success!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 11, 1981 [Farvardin 22, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to be actively present on the scenes in order to thwart external and internal conspiracies

Audience: Employees, revolutionary guards, and the prisoners of the Evin Prison; employees of the Department of Justice and the Revolutionary Courts; inhabitants of the Maku frontiers and the Bakhtiari and Masjid Sulaymani ethnics

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

People's presence on the scenes will thwart conspiracies

I welcome all of you who have come here today from the far-off frontiers of this country and are and have been striving in the service of Islam. As you all know, today Iran has been invaded by foreign powers and is facing various internal conspiracies. The keen participation and presence of both the men and the women of this great nation and Islamic society is heartwarming. Your presence on the scenes raises hopes that neither will the internal conspirators succeed in implementing their satanic plots and nor will the foreign aggression be able to harm this nation. Iran is a nation that is actively present on the scenes even today, as it was in the early days of the movement, thereby insuring the interests of Islam and this country with their presence. Certain elements have been imagining and propagating that the people of Iran have become indifferent toward Islam and the Islamic Republic. At times they have even gone to the extent of saying that the Iranian people have turned against the Islamic Republic. Let them come and see for themselves that all over Iran, all the Iranian Muslim men and women from the various sects as well as the religious minorities, except some corrupt elements of the previous regime or the stooges of the East or the West, are all faithful to the Islamic Republic and continue to support it with the same enthusiasm that existed in the early days of the Revolution.

Has anyone forced you all to come here from the far-off frontier areas of Maku and claim that you are as faithful to Islam as before?! Is this an exhibition of anything but your feelings and real faith in Islam? Could the previous regime ever force you to go anywhere collectively? Has anyone compelled you to come from distant places and to renew your ties and bonds with Islam and to prove your presence in the scenes as well as the warfronts

and behind the warfronts? Is this anything but your faith in Islam and your love for Islam and your country?

All of you, men, women, the young and the old, should be actively present on the scenes and just as you severed the hands of the big powers in the early days of the Revolution, you should thwart their conspiracies in this country. Your country is under foreign aggression and your nation is subjected to sinister propaganda and conspiracies. However, through your unity and collective participation in Islamic matters and in the affairs of your country you will succeed in driving off the foreign conspirators who have once again sharpened their claws to plunder your country like they did earlier. May God Almighty grant you and the entire nation success in establishing Islam in this country in the manner that would win divine pleasure! This calls for our entire nation to be actively present on the scenes and for them to stay vigilant and to identify those who breach the laws of Islam and to punish them and keep them away from social activities.

I pray to God Almighty to grant you, the entire nation, and all the oppressed people of the world with success! I also thank all of you for taking the trouble of coming here from far and wide and for accommodating yourselves in this rather cramped place and I pray for your salvation in this world and in the hereafter!

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

Decree

Date: April 12, 1981 [Farvardin 23, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 7, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The necessity of preventing promiscuity

Addressee: Ali Quddusi, the Attorney-General of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Quddusi—Attorney-General of the Islamic Revolution:

I have been informed about licentious acts taking place throughout the Tehran city and the revival of centers of moral corruption that work against the general ethical interests of the public.¹ The honorable Attorney-General is obliged to take serious immediate actions for the prevention of such activities. It is deemed necessary that you issue instructions for the prevention of such affairs throughout the country and prosecute the violators. Obviously, the Supreme Judiciary Council will also take the necessary actions in this regard.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 23, 1360 AHS

¹ Prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Pahlavi regime officially promoted a culture of moral corruption by overtly establishing places of moral corruption in Tehran and the other major cities. These centers were closed down after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. Attempts were made from time to time by corrupt elements and the enemies of the Islamic culture, some of whom had foreign connections, to try to secretly re-open these centers. All such acts would evoke public protests and severe action from the Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the other authorities.

Speech

Date: April 13, 1981 [Farvardin 24, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to maintain unity and peace and warning against disruptive elements

Audience: Agriculturists and the inhabitants of Gorgan, the clerics and the inhabitants of Ali-Abad, the inhabitants of Gonbad and Turkman Sahra, and the *Basij* of Shahrda

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ploy of the enemies of the Revolution to spread differences and hypocrisy

I thank all the brothers who have come here from afar—from Gurgan, from Gonbad, from Baluchistan, our Sunni as well as Shiah brothers, and I pray that all of you may succeed, by God’s will, in establishing the interests of Islam in our beloved Iran.

As you brothers are well aware, foreign hands as well as some elements that pretend to be concerned about Islam are at work to eliminate this revolution that intends to safeguard the interests of the entire nation, in general, and the interests of the agriculturists, the laborers, and the oppressed strata of our society in particular. They intend to, once again, bring ruin to this country that has been granted to us by offering hundreds of thousands of martyrs, by creating rifts and disunity. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us to remain alert and to either thwart their conspiracies or to ignore them completely. There are some groups that intend to create rifts in the society in the name of “Shiah” or “Sunni”, in the same way as the agents of America conspired in Ta’if in order to serve the interests of America, followed by the Soviet Union, and planned to create dissension between brothers. Following suit, there are elements that are implementing the same plans within our country, too, oblivious to the fact that if, God forbid, these big powers were to ever return to Iran, they would make sure that neither does Islam, and nor the Sunnis or the Shiah survive. If they, God forbid, succeed in returning to Iran once again, since their interests have seen damage at the hands of the Sunni and the Shiah brothers, and because a unity between them has not worked in their favor, know that this time they will ensure that they destroy the very foundation of Islam which is a common ground between these two groups. Remain alert brothers! And remember that if those who are trying to

create differences between the Shiah and the Sunni brothers are the agents of either America or the Soviet Union they may not take your good counsel and if they are not connected with them and if they truly wish to serve Islam, the Muslims, and their Islamic country, then they should know that creating dissension will not serve their purpose. They will succeed in their aims only by fostering harmony between the various groups; and everyone should try to protect this harmony that has, by the grace of God, been achieved in Iran.

Attaining the sublime Islamic goals through unity and peace

We can steer this country toward the sublime goals of Islam through unity and peace and can rescue these oppressed people from all the oppression that they have suffered throughout history. If there is no peace, there will be no agriculture. And without peace, the industry will not gain momentum. Without peace, it will not be possible to implement the necessary reforms for the benefit of the oppressed peoples. You can see that since there is turmoil in places like Kurdistan and Khuzestan, some of which has even been caused in the name of Islam, the government has not yet succeeded in achieving any positive results there. This is because a violent environment does not permit those who wish to offer any services to succeed within all the turmoil. How can agriculture thrive in an environment in which the deviant elements set the crops on fire?! How can the industry be implemented and thrive in environments in which the workers are compelled to go on strike and to indulge in inhuman acts?!

O my brothers! O my Sunni brothers! O my Shiah brothers! Do not forget that the roots of corruption that had suppressed you and had trampled upon you violently throughout history and who have been and are, by the grace of God, being eliminated from among you, are trying to cause differences between you under various names and are active throughout the country, trying to succeed in their plans, only wishing to let this country be devoured either by America or the Soviet Union. They are active all around you, more so in the north of the country. They are also active in Tehran and have many unions here. Many of those deviated elements, some of whom also have past criminal records, have emerged again and are actively making mischief.

What harm have you ever seen through peace, through Islam, or through the Islamic Republic, or the Holy Qur'an to prompt you to work so determinedly against them and, in the name of Islam, to unintentionally or then, God forbid, intentionally conspire against them?! Do you think that all your conspiracies are hidden from us? No, that is not so! There is a lot of

evidence against you. Give up all these talks and all these (deviated) unions and all these conspiracies! Our Islamic nation that has given young martyrs for the cause of Islam will never allow a fistful of people who were the mouthpieces of the previous regime to start all over again, thinking that they now have a good opportunity to attain their objectives. God forbid the day when our nation decides to confront these elements that are dealing blows to Islam either in the name of Islam or under such names as “Sunni” and “Shiah”! This nation is well aware! Do you think that a nation that has gone through such great trouble to establish an Islamic Republic would give you a free hand to bring destruction to it through foreign hands and to recreate conspiracies like the one in Ta’if?!

A warning to corrupt dissension-causing elements

I warn the people who intend to spread corruption here. We know them (and can take action against them) but we prefer that they should return to Islam and should wash their hands off treachery toward Islam in the name of defending their own rights. Everyone’s rights, including the rights of the Sunni and the Shiah brothers as well as the officially recognized religious minorities have been incorporated in the Constitution and Islam, too, respects their rights and treats them with Islamic justice. Stop spreading conspiracies and causing turmoil through your gatherings! Do not neglect the call to Islam and the Holy Qur’an. Causing dissension will, God forbid, lead to foreign domination and with foreign domination all your interests will be at stake. The enemies of Islam and the Holy Qur’an are lying in wait. The people who cannot tolerate to see the progress of Islam as well as those who have been slapped by Islam are lying in wait. If, God forbid, you intend to cause internal dissension in the name of “Shiah” and “Sunni” we will then have to discharge our duty and introduce the corruption-causing elements to the Sunni and Shiah brothers and to the entire nation. The need of the hour is that at a time when we are involved in this war and as the big powers are supporting our invading enemy and as Saddam is employing every possible means to destroy this Islamic Republic, that too in the name of Islam, our brothers should be wary of corruption-causing elements who, at times, indulge in creating turmoil in Tehran, Kurdistan, and Kermanshah. I warn these people to focus their attention on Islam and on the interests of the Muslims and to be wary of foreign-hatched conspiracies and to refrain from causing further differences, because that would be indulging in an unforgivable sin; and if I ever do realize that it is now my responsibility to confront them, it will not be in their interests. My wish is to bring progress

and prosperity to this country in an atmosphere of brotherhood, peaceful coexistence, and harmony.

I am hopeful that our dear farmers who have come from various far and near places like Gonbad, Gorgan, and others can, as they said, work in a peaceful environment and salvage this country from dependence on others. All the farmers of this country should stay alert and should ignore and drive away the people and groups that approach them with the intention of causing despair among them. Only within a peaceful atmosphere and by abiding by the laws of Islam and the Qur'an will your success in worldly affairs as well as the affairs of the hereafter be guaranteed. Do know that having an Islamic Republic is in everybody's interest. If these corruption-causing people give us a respite they will see for themselves that the government and the nation are one in Iran and can work jointly to make the country advance and progress and be liberated from being dependent on foreign powers. By the grace of God, Islam will be established here in its truest sense and we will achieve the welfare and the peace and harmony that Islam has professed for people.

The need for a peaceful environment in the universities

O my dear, beloved ones! It is absolutely necessary to remain alert and watchful. Today, they (our enemies) intend to cause dissension and despair among people and in the universities. I have to reiterate that Islam and the Islamic Republic fully support the universities and the academicians and experts who serve Islam and this country. Our only demand is that there should be no conspiracies in the universities. I assure all the university teachers and the academicians who are committed to serving their country and desire to train our youth with their expertise that Iran and Islam supports and protects them and that they should endeavor and cooperate with the commission that has been set up for the cultural revolution in order to turn our universities into peaceful places of real learning and skill. If there is no peace and tranquility in the university it cannot accommodate the expertise of the scholars and you respected university teachers will not be able to teach and train your students effectively. In the absence of peace in the universities and the other academic places it would not be possible for the experts to transfer their knowledge to our youth and to turn them into thinkers and experts. What is of utmost importance in this country at present is peace and tranquility everywhere; among the farmers, in the factories, within the industries, and particularly in the universities. Since the universities are the source of knowledge for our youth they need to have peace. Of course, a

study of “humanities” needs to have committed human beings. A person who is not committed to the laws of Islam and its very foundation of monotheism can only cause deviation which is not acceptable. As regards other university courses, the respected teachers are expected to focus on their teachings without getting involved in conspiracies. It is very natural for these teachers to have different motives, but those respected university teachers who wish to serve this country and transfer their knowledge and expertise to others should bear it in mind that a university is a place of learning and should be free from issues that harm the country. They should only engage in the sort of a commitment that a university teacher is expected to have even if they have varying motives. Such university teachers are qualified to serve in the universities and none of us should oppose them, provided it has been determined that they are not deviated and do not intend to make the foundations of this Islamic Republic shaky or to compel our youth to indulge in unbecoming acts.

I do hope that in this year some departments in the universities will reopen and the respective university teachers will commence their activities and, by the grace of God, this country will have peace and harmony. And I also hope that this war which has been imposed upon us by the superpowers will, God-willing, come to an end soon and the criminal elements are put where they belong to. I pray to God Almighty for health, prosperity, and dignity for all of you and, once again, remind you to safeguard your Islamic brotherhood that has been gifted to you by the Holy Qur’an. It is only in an environment of Islamic brotherhood that you can save this country and, more importantly, protect our dear Islam.

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

Speech

Date: April 14, 1981 [Farvardin 25, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Armed forces are the guardians and protectors of the country

Audience: Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air Force) and the Air Force pilots

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Armed forces are the guardians and protectors of the country

I find myself unable to express my heartfelt feelings through words! I am hopeful that Iran will benefit greatly from you all since you are still young by the grace of God. And I hope that you will be able to serve your country even further and will achieve greater victories. You have proved to the world that Iran is not what they had imagined it to be and you are victorious as long as your hearts are full of faith. You should strive to increase the light of faith in your hearts and should be committed to supporting Islam and establishing it in this country. If you have a strong commitment you are victorious. I am hopeful that Iran will reap great benefits from the presence of people like you and from the other armed forces upon whom the foundations of the independence of this country lie. You are bound to gain divine support in order to protect the independence of your country. Do not give heed to any false propaganda that is spread from time to time because the aim of people who spread such falsehood is to cause a rift between you and the nation. All their acts are based upon their desire to revert this country to its previous conditions and they are busy working on conspiracies of all kinds. And one of their conspiracies is to inject despair and lassitude among you while Islam holds your services as valuable and precious. All the armed forces should be certain that Islam considers them to be at the helm of affairs. The independence of the country depends upon them. All those who wished to eliminate the army with baseless excuses are still active and could deceive some of our youth. You should be very careful not to allow such people to infiltrate among you and you should counsel the youth who may have fallen prey to their deceptions.

The importance of order and discipline in the army

I am hopeful that with the help of your commitment to Islam and the protection of your country you can bolster yourselves against any further damage. May the hands of those who look at Islam, Iran, and their resources with greed be severed and may Islam be established in its purest form! May you succeed in safeguarding your country and may you be graced with divine support! You have all seen how God supports you in your operations and I, too, do not neglect praying for you. May God safeguard you with His will and may He grant success to you and all our commanders! You should, however, make sure to abide by the rules and regulations of the army. Do not get negligent by believing that now that we have brought about a revolution, there is no need to give importance to discipline. No, that's not how it should be. You did bring about a revolution but do not forget that Islam has always stressed upon discipline. And even now, everything should be based upon discipline. Even if a country has ten times the army that we have today, it will never succeed in its activities in the absence of discipline. A small but well-organized group always manages to succeed over a big albeit disorganized one. This should always be kept in mind and hierarchical discipline should be maintained. Your brotherly relations should not give you the undue liberty to disregard hierarchical issues. May all of you win divine approval! May you youth succeed in protecting this country!

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

Speech

Date: Before noon, April 15, 1981 [Farvardin 26, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Interference and conspiracies of foreign-connected groups and the need for national awareness and perseverance

Audience: Majlis representative of the people of Miyaneh and a group of people from Miyaneh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Groups take advantage through pretension and differences

I thank you honorable brothers for taking the trouble of coming here from distant places and I pray to God Almighty for your health and success. I am hopeful that the noble nation of Iran and especially the honorable people of Azerbaijan keep in mind the problems that this country has faced and stay alert toward the conspiracies that are being hatched throughout the country and in Azerbaijan in particular and rebuff them with awareness, wakefulness, and commitment to Islam.

The groups that were connected with the previous regime tried everything they could to cause damage to the Revolution. After the Revolution, too, not only have they refrained from making any positive contribution but they have instead been busy with their evil plans. Even today, seizing the opportunity of the war and its prolongation, they are under the illusion that they can cause differences and hypocrisy within the country. Some of these elements that have been identified have gathered in certain cities and academic centers and are hoping to destroy this Islamic Republic that has been established through immense effort, unity of expression, and great sacrifice and strife. I am warning these people who have gathered in some of the seminaries to withdraw from mischief because most of your members have already been identified. If we have not taken any severe action against you, it is only to serve the interests of national peace. However, if you persist in your mischief-making—whether in Tehran, or in Qum or Mashhad, or in any other part of Iran—you will be legally summoned and we will soon reveal all your evil activities in Azerbaijan and the other places, throughout this period in which the rest of the nation has been making sacrifices of life and property. I advise you to withdraw from these

conspiracies and mischief-making because the noble Iranian nation and especially the chivalrous people of Azerbaijan, are never going to permit the greed of a small group of people to threaten the interests of the Islamic Republic.

Need for national awareness against conspiracies

I advise the entire nation to maintain peace and harmony wherever you are and not to pay heed to all the conspiracies that are being hatched. Evil elements that have absolutely no commitment toward Islam sometimes cause dissension in the name of “Sunnism” and sometimes in the name of “Shiism”. And they wish to cause differences within the nation in the name of “Turk” and “Fars” only to reap personal benefits and to strike the Islamic Republic in the name of Islam. I humbly advise the Iranian nation to remain aware about these conspiracies while maintaining peace and order and if you find any corrupt people, who refuse to pay heed to your good counsel, introduce them to the authorities so that legal action can be taken against them. I pray to God Almighty for this nation that has stood up for its rights after suffering years of historical exploitation. This nation is not going to rest until it establishes precious Islam in this country as per divine commands. This nation will never allow the conspiracies of a handful of corrupt elements to succeed after it has strived for more than two years and after spending decades in the clutches of the world-devourers and after suffering immensely at the hands of the detestable Pahlavi regime as well as other despotic kings; and now that it has taken the affairs of the country into its own hands and has severed the roots of corruption and the hands of the enemies of Islam and humanity one after the other, this nation will itself neutralize all these conspiracies peacefully and judiciously.

I am hopeful that these groups that intend to destroy Islam in the name of helping Islam—intentionally or unintentionally—will realize that fostering differences will never work in their favor. And, God forbid, even if they do succeed in creating differences in Iran, they will be the first ones to fall prey to their own plots and will never reach their evil objectives.

Following in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (a) in withstanding and eliminating difficulties

My request to the entire Iranian nation is to persevere in defending this Islamic movement in the same way that they did at the onset of their battle against *kufir* because it is incumbent upon all of us to do everything we can and to strive to our utmost for Islam. We should take our lessons and should

follow in the footsteps of the Noble Prophet (s) and the Divinely-Guided Imams (a) who, throughout their lives, either fought the unbelievers or faced imprisonment at the hands of people who captivated them in the name of Islam. Islam has been precious enough for the Prophet (s), his companions, and the Divinely-Guided Imams to make sacrifices for it and we, too, should follow their example. We should not get worried if this war has prolonged because it shall end with the victory of Islam. We are with the truth and truth always prevails over falsehood. The end of the opponents of Islam and the Islamic Republic is near. The armed forces of Iran are busy battling courageously at the warfronts and the entire Iranian nation supports them. All the men and women of this nation are backing them actively. Such a nation in which all its people are actively on the scenes and are striving for the progress of Islam and its objectives will never face any harm. I am hopeful that these foreign slaves and these roots of corruption will soon face destruction and that this precious nation will emerge more honorably than ever before! Let the world see your power! May God grant success, prosperity, and honor to all of you and to all our dear ones and to all our beloved peoples of Azerbaijan!

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

Message

Date: April 16, 1981 [Farvardin 27, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of maintaining discipline and hierarchical order in the army; honoring the Islamic soldiers

Occasion: Army Day of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Farvardin 29)

Addressee: The Iranian nation and the armed forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I felicitate the Iranian nation and the brave and committed armed forces of Iran on the occasion of the Army Day of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This year our felicitations hold a special significance as we greet our army, the armed forces, and the nation that possesses such an army that stood tall as a powerful dam against the onslaught of the troops of Satan backed by the two superpowers as well as its other agents and saved its beloved country. This year the Army Day is an epoch-making day for the nation. It is a very proud day for the country and is full of honor for the army and the other armed forces. Our greetings to the army and the nation are not a mere formality; they are full of genuine enthusiasm! It is a truth which is manifested in our warfronts. It is a truth that has been experienced by the troops of Saddam and the army of Iblis (Satan). The repeated victories of our armed forces bear witness to this reality. They have already found place in the chronicles of world history no matter what the mercenary mass-media claims or writes. Let the external and internal forces of evil keep resorting to whatever conspiracies they can to create differences between our powerful armed forces. These desperate attempts only go on to prove their weakness and defeat! Today, all our precious forces are united in action against the merciless and faithless army of the enemy with calmness of mind, surety of heart, and firmness of faith and will defend the rights of the oppressed peoples of the world until the final destruction of the foundations of *kufr*. May God Almighty help and support them!

I deem it appropriate to reiterate upon certain points on this occasion:

1. It is very important that the army and the other armed forces pay even further attention to disciplinary matters and hierarchical orders during this year that has been declared as the “year of the law” so that the army and the other armed forces gain further power and unity. Any breach concerning

disciplinary matters is tantamount to breach of law. I am hopeful that our Islamic armed forces become invincible by fostering fraternity, maintaining discipline, and eliminating violence.

2. The commanders and the other army personnel should rest assured that their struggles and sacrifices are acknowledged and appreciated by God Almighty and by the noble Iranian nation. It is important to lend a deaf ear to the whisperings of the deviated elements and groups and not to allow lassitude and anxiety to creep in. Know that one of the satanic plots of the enemy is to create despair and vacillation. The noble Iranian nation is not negligent in its Islamic and human duty of appreciating the efforts of the armed forces. The more you succeed in adding to your power and achievements and the more you gain success over the enemy, the more is the nation's appreciation, gratitude, and support toward you. May God Almighty support you and the nation be your faithful companion.

3. I pray to God Almighty to shower His mercy and blessings upon the beloved martyrs of the army and the other armed forces and to grant health to the war-disabled soldiers and the defenders of Islam. I also extend my greetings and condolences to the survivors of the martyrs. These beloved ones should know that the noble nation shares their grief and sorrow. I have suffered the loss of precious children who were the pride of Islam while you have offered your dear, chivalrous family members in the service of the Merciful God. May God Almighty help and support you. I, once again, congratulate you all on this great day and pray to God for health and prosperity for you, my beloved children. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 16, 1981 [Farvardin 27, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Islam opposes both capitalism and communism

Audience: Members of the Council of Guardians

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam agrees neither with capitalism nor with communism

Today we are caught up with two main trends: The moment one makes any mention of the rights of the oppressed and the downtrodden and speaks against the palace-dwellers and the usurpers of the rights of the oppressed, he is suspected of “communism”! The other trend is that when any opposition is raised against the arbitrary distribution of lands or the confiscation of private lands, you are accused of harboring “capitalistic” ideas! Notwithstanding the fact that Islam agrees neither with capitalism nor with communism! Islam follows a path and principles that are quite different from both these trends. I am sorry to find that there are people from among the first group that sometimes even resort to certain Prophetic sayings [*ahadith*] in order to validate their own claims. For instance, they quote from Imam Ali’s (*a*) letter to Malik al-Ashtar in which he says: “Look after the revenue (*kharaj* or land tax) affairs in such a way that those engaged in it remain prosperous because in their prosperity lies the prosperity of all others”.¹ First of all, these words of the Imam (*a*) constitute an administrative decree which cannot be considered as the basis for a verdict. Secondly, it is in relation to *zakat* matters whereas the Islamic government is run through the collection of *khums*. The Imam (*a*) issued such a decree either because of certain special conditions prevalent in that region or he did so because he was certain about the truthfulness and the trustworthiness of the people of that particular region. However, we also have a Prophetic saying upon which it is permissible to pass a verdict and act in accordance with that which says: “The poor have a share in the property of the rich”.² If the property of the nation is a joint property, then the poor have a share in the property of the rich. A person who has not paid the financial dues of his property has to pay

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53.

² *Mustadrak al-Wasail*, vol. 7, p. 24.

a share of the property that is in his custody in the form of joint property which has been increasing at a compound rate so much so that even if he pays his entire property he is still indebted!

The oppression of the land overlords and feudalists toward the poor

As regards the revival of the barren lands, there are certain conditions applicable to it. I am well aware of the tyranny and oppression that the land overlords and the feudalists committed toward the poor people and how they forced and pressurized the poor farmers to work for them. Under such conditions even if a barren land is made cultivable, an oppressive person who has forced farmers to work for him does not become the owner of the land. This is how they have collected their property and become the owners of tens and hundred of hectares of lands and even more. I do not say that if a person has two houses and lives in one and has rented out the other one to live on its rent he should be forced to give up his second house. I also do not believe that if a person has revived a piece of land through his efforts and hard work and lives on its income, his land should be confiscated. However, you should see how these huge properties have been amassed. I doubt if even one of these rich people has paid his religious dues. In some cases, even if all their property is confiscated they will still remain indebted in their religious dues.

While I was in Paris, a group of capitalists who had sensed the coming of the end of the previous regime and intended to be able to continue with their present life style even after the Revolution came to me and offered to pay their religious dues. I immediately understood their motives and told them to go and rectify the very basis of their businesses and that I would not accept any money from them. Even now there are some people who approach a certain person and pay him a small amount of say a hundred thousand tumans in the name of religious dues and procure a certificate of having paid all their dues, whereas in reality their actual dues could amount to say 50 million tumans and all they want is to protect all the property that they have collected (illegally).

Laws should be formulated to protect the rights of the poor

You should implement the divine laws. Your responsibility is to formulate such laws through which the rights of the poor and the oppressed can be restored. Unfortunately, however, although there are some suitable laws existing, they are not being implemented because our officials lack the necessary expertise. If the executive officers are trustworthy and skilled then no one would raise any objections. This is an important issue that needs to be

taken care of. I pray to God Almighty to grant you success in implementing the laws of Islam.

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

Statements

Time/Date: Before noon, April 19, 1981 [Farvardin 30, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Advising the clergy to win public satisfaction

Audience: Clergy's assembly and the Golpaygan Islamic Propagation Office

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The clergy should safeguard this fortress and should endeavor to guide the public. Now that part of the responsibility is held by you clergy, deliver upon your responsibilities in a manner that can win public satisfaction!

...You clergy should guide the people in the cities and the villages, and patiently prevent deviated propaganda.

Speech

Date: April 20, 1981 [Farvardin 31, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Self-confidence and self-reliance

Audience: Personnel of the military industry and members of the Maktab az-Zahra of the Yazd city

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Big powers harp upon the incompetence of the nations to exploit them

The basis of all of man's victories and defeats begin with his own self. Man and his beliefs are the basis of all his victories and defeats. The Western powers—first Britain and later on America and other powerful countries—have always tried to make the weak countries believe, with the help of their propaganda, that they are incompetent and good-for-nothing and, therefore, their hands should always be spread out toward the big powers of the East and the West in the areas of industry, military, and for the administration of their countries. Those who wished to plunder off the resources of the weak countries had rightly planned that in order to succeed they would need to make the people of these countries believe that they are incompetent and cannot have an independent industry of their own, and that they cannot manage their own military affairs, and that they are incapable of administering the affairs of their own countries. This belief was spread in these countries through the activities of those who were infatuated by the West and resulted in the destruction and backwardness of these countries. If a man believes himself to be incapable of doing a certain thing, he is bound to fail in that area. No matter how powerful an army is, if it does not possess a strong morale, and if it believes that it can never stand up to a certain power, it is doomed to defeat. Similarly, any country that believes that it cannot create a certain industry is forever doomed to helplessness. These are the plots that the big powers have charted out for the weak nations of the world and there have always been people infatuated and supported by the West who have extensively publicized this belief through their writings, to the extent that these countries started believing that they are completely incompetent and are incapable of managing general affairs like administration, military affairs, industry as well as any other affair that are part and parcel of the human civilization. And that they should be subjugated by the big Western

powers because their army needs military advisors and their country needs administrators! As long as this belief prevails among the oppressed countries of the world, they will continue to remain dependent and afflicted.

Self-confidence is the foundation of the Iranian Revolution

As long as you hold the belief that you are incapable of forming your own industries, big or small, and as long as you believe that you are incapable of producing the goods that have thus far been provided for you by the West, you will never succeed in doing anything. You should first develop your own selves. You should first begin to believe in yourselves as human beings with a power to think and with the power to create your own industries. These powers are potentially present in all human beings. If this belief is established within you, you will succeed. Your own experience in the past two years has proved that all their claims have turned out to be false propagation. It is because of the effect of all such false propagation that you were made to believe that you cannot withstand the big powers and should, thus, surrender to them.

Through your revolution and your uprising you believed and you made the oppressed nations and governments believe that it is possible to stand up against the world-devouring America and the Soviet Union. Two years ago, you brave people stood up and revolted against them and severed their hands from your country and saw for yourself that it is possible for you to stand up against them even though your military and industrial power are not as advanced as theirs. Once a nation begins to believe that it can do something, it will be done. It all depends upon these two basic beliefs one of which comprises weakness, incompetence, and incapability while the other one comprises power, competence, and ability. If a nation believes that it can stand up against the big powers, this belief of theirs will lead them to develop the competence to be able to stand against the big powers.

Self-confidence is the key to independence and liberation from dependence

You gained this victory mainly because you began to believe in yourselves and you believed that America cannot impose anything upon you. This belief was the foundation of the miraculous feat achieved by you. As you can see, in these two years, many industries have emerged in our country and our people have begun to believe that we, too, can have our own industries and we too can be innovative. This very belief in your own capability makes you powerful. They (Western colonialist governments) had

robbed us of this belief. They had stripped us of everything including our beliefs and had made us dependent.

If the belief system of a country is dependent on a certain big power, it ends up becoming completely dependent on that power. It is most important that your beliefs are no longer dictated by the big powers. If you manage to do that and if you begin to believe that you, too, can become industrialized, you will meet with success. If you start believing that you do not need to depend upon others, you will become independent. If our farmers begin to believe that we can reach a point in our agricultural sector where it will be possible for us to export our goods without depending upon others, then that will also become possible. If you, the personnel of the military industries, begin to believe that you have the experience and the expertise to establish your own independent industries, you are sure to succeed.

As per the information I have received, many positive achievements have been made by your industry and I am hopeful that you will be able to gain greater achievements in the future such that you do not have to spread out your hands toward either the East or the West. We can steer our country toward total self-reliance without needing to depend upon others for anything. We should believe that we, too, are capable of achieving many things like the rest of the world. May we progress with this belief! May God continue to help you from the unseen! May this country, which belongs to the Guided Imams (a) and the Master of the Age (a), remain independent until the appearance of the Promised Savior. And may this country be at His service and succeed in establishing justice throughout the world and preventing the oppressors from inflicting atrocities on the oppressed people.

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

Commendation

Date: April 21, 1981 [Ordibehesht 1, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The foreword to a book entitled, “*Payam-e Khun*” [The Message of Blood]¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

What is before you, are the words from the wills of a group of martyrs from the Islamic Revolution. Verily, they remind us of the martyrs of the early days of Islam! My head hangs in shame before these beloved ones who were overflowing with faith, love, and sacrifice. They re-united with their Beloved One with deep love for Him while we are still left lingering around! O God! Welcome these selfless beloveds into the Presence of Your mercy and free us from the bonds of selfishness and egotism! Verily, You are the Possessor of Great Generosity!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 1, 1360 AHS
Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1401 AH

¹ It is among the publications of the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation, which contains selected parts of the valuable last will and testaments of a group of martyrs of the Islamic Revolution.

Speech

Date: April 21, 1981 [Ordibehesht 1, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to safeguard unity and prevent dissension and differences

Audience: Pilots and personnel of the Air Force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Maintaining unity and solidarity in the Armed Forces

While appreciating your bravery and initiation and thanking you once again for being the first from among the armed forces to have joined the nation (during the Revolution), I hope that you will remain faithful to your commitment right to the end. I wish to say a few words on something that is of utmost importance for the country, Islam, and the army and which ensured your victory and that is unity and complete solidarity among all the armed forces.

If at all, as a result of the sinister propaganda that is spread for certain corrupt purposes, some differences creep into the armed forces, they will God forbid, result in a withdrawal of divine blessings and will ensure a return of the same problems that the Iranian nation has been facing throughout history. It is now upon all of us, you and the entire nation, to maintain unity among ourselves just as we have been doing thus far. Completely ignore the talks that are being spread by the superpowers through their corrupt agents. If you find some corrupt individuals trying to create rifts, offer them good counsel, and if they do not heed your advice, introduce them to the commanders for legal action so that they do not succeed in damaging the existing unity and solidarity.

What is still more important is keeping our focus upon God. Whatever we are and whatever we have is all from Him. He has given us existence and we should keep our attention constantly upon Him. We should not forget that our victory depends upon Him. And if, God forbid, we deviate, it is we who shall be responsible for our defeat. I hope that you dear brothers keep firmly in mind that Islam has been sent for everyone. It has been sent for all the oppressed peoples and you are from among them. In other words, even though the big powers looked down upon you, by the grace of God, you ended up proving that their claims were illusory. I am hopeful that through your sincerity, perseverance, innovativeness, and initiation toward necessary

action, you once again prove to your enemies that Iran is victorious because of its reliance on God! I hope that God Almighty will grant you victory everyday! Peace and blessings upon all of you and all the soldiers on the path of God! And may God's blessings be upon your martyrs and all those who have chosen martyrdom and have reached Divine Presence! May good health be with you by His will!

Speech

Date: Before noon, April 23, 1981 [Ordibehesht 3, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to show forbearance in the face of post-revolutionary problems

Audience: Deputy Director Generals of the Ministry of Education from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gearing up to face problems and difficulties

You gentlemen are well-aware about our earlier conditions and our present conditions and of our plans for the future. All of you know what conditions prevailed during the previous regime and, in fact, since you were very much present in this country and were involved in its affairs, you would know what the situation and the problems of the country were like even better than me who was out of the country; and later on, too, it was all of you and the rest of the nation that, by the grace of God, got united and got rid of the real crook which is America and all its agents who had brought upon us damage from which we are still suffering. A nation that wishes to stand up on its own strength and stay free and independent has to be geared up to ensure that after victory it is not afflicted with the same problems that were faced by all other revolutions. No revolution can expect to be free from post-victory issues to deal with. We are now in the post-revolutionary era and all the other revolutions, too, had and are still facing the same problems as ours does. We could take for instance the Soviet Union. More than sixty years have elapsed since its revolution and there are some other countries that had undergone revolutions more than twenty or thirty years back. All these countries are still facing problems. And if we find that the problems we are faced with are much less than the other revolutions, it is mainly because our revolution took place at the hands of Muslims. This revolution did not take place at the state level in the form of a coup d'état. On the contrary, it was a national-Islamic revolution that took place mainly against the shortcomings of the previous regime and the problems that the nation had faced and since the nation had also come to realize that Islam was at stake. With the grace of God, our nation is facing much lesser problems than what the other revolutions had faced. This is mainly because our revolution was an Islamic one and our men

and women make sacrifices for the cause of Islam. We can still expect to face problems even in the future. And besides facing the natural problems that are part and parcel of every revolution our country has also had to face the burden of an imposed war! This is because our country is different from most other countries. Many big countries have covetous eyes toward our country, both, because we enjoy a strategic geo-political situation and because of our precious natural resources. And this is the reason why most big powers tried their best to create obstacles for us after the Revolution. Moreover, the internal agents of the big powers are not going to give up so easily. However, the bottom-line is that we revolted for the sake of Islam and we shall bear whatever it takes, for the sake of Islam. I am hopeful that victory shall be ours. The deracination has already taken place.

The Prophet (s) and the Imams (a) are the most excellent exemplars

Our nation was in the clutches of an age-old monarchical system, the last ruler being Muhammad Rida, who was being supported by all the big powers; but you all managed to destroy that system and uprooted it for good. So these are the problems that follow every revolution and they have to be faced patiently, and forbearance in the face of these problems is for the sake of God. The Prophet (s) had faced incessant difficulties in Mecca for a period of ten years and when he reached Medina and the problems of Mecca came to an end, he had to face the difficulty of a chain of wars along with his companions over a period of ten years during his stay in Medina. We have still not suffered that level of difficulty. The extent of suffering that the Messenger of God (s) had to face during the three years of sanction¹ was such that they barely even found anything to eat and they had to go through unbelievable toil to lay their hands on water and other necessities. Iran, by the grace of God, has never faced such suffering. We should take the Prophet (s) as our exemplar. Since we claim to be the followers of the Noble Prophet of Islam (s) as well as the Infallible Imams (a), we should try to learn about all the problems they suffered for the cause of Islam. The problems that Imam Ali (a) faced during the period of his caliphate were greater and much more intense than what he had faced before that or what he had faced during the times of the Prophet (s) and in all the holy wars he had participated in as the most powerful defender of Islam. He faced those problems during his caliphate because besides his regular activities he now

¹ It refers to the period that the Prophet (s) and his companions spent in the “Valley of Abu Talib”.

also held a major responsibility. Notwithstanding the severity of the situation, he showed great resistance and spread Islam and brought its progress. All our Imams (*a*) had to face either imprisonment, or exile, or house arrest. And they could bear all this suffering easily only because it was for the cause of Islam. What we are also saying is that it is easy to bear any kind of difficulty if it is for the cause of Islam. All of us should sacrifice ourselves for the cause of Islam to become manifest.

I hope that you succeed in overcoming all the problems that are facing you, your other brothers, and your country. I promise you that victory is yours by the grace of God. May God grant you success, and victory!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: April 24, 1981 [Ordibehesht 4, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The position and status of women in society

Occasion: Birth anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah Zahra (a) and the National Woman's Day

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I greet and felicitate the noble Iranian nation and specially our honorable women on the occasion of the auspicious birth anniversary of Siddiqah Tahirah¹ which is the best day to be selected as the Woman's Day! Hadrat Fatimah was born during an age and place in which women were not even considered as human and the birth of a girl brought shame to the family in the eyes of the various communities of the period of *jahiliyyah* [ignorance]. It was in such a corrupt and dreadful environment that the Prophet of Islam (s) salvaged womankind from the mires of ignorant customs. The history of Islam is witness to the boundless respect that the Prophet (s) showed toward this noble lady in order to demonstrate the special status held by women in society, which if not superior is no less than that of men. So, this day is the day that established honor for women and her great role in society. I am proud of the most honorable women of Iran who, with their transformation, thwarted the over fifty years of satanic plans of the foreign hands and their wretched agents including lewd poets and writers as well as mercenary propaganda machines. Our women succeeded in proving that the worthy Muslim woman cannot be led astray and will not fall prey to the evil plots of the West and its infatuated followers. It is worth mentioning that despite all the propaganda during the usurper Pahlavi rule, except for a handful of wealthy *taghuti* women, the families of SAVAK agents, and the mercenaries of that regime, the remaining millions of committed Iranian women that constitute the foundation of this Muslim nation refused to fall prey to the ploys of the Western agents, and with their brave resistance during the last fifty years of darkness, they emerged honorable in the eyes of God and the nation. However, through this last divinely-inspired transformation, our

¹ Siddiqah Tahirah: one of the epithets of Hadrat Fatimah (a), the daughter of Prophet Muhammad (s).

women have firmly and finally, severed the hopes of all the worshippers of the West.

Victory and honor upon the Islamic movement of the honorable Iranian women! We are proud of this great stratum of our nation that steered this revolution to victory through its brave and invaluable participation in defending its Islamic country and the Holy Qur'an and even today our women are readily supporting the country and are active at the warfronts and behind them. May God's mercy be upon the mothers who send their brave youth to defend truth against falsehood and are proud of their martyrdom! How despicable are the lives of those "dolls" who think of nothing but corrupt, beastly, appalling, and gloomy lives in those disgraceful palaces within the country and abroad! May God sever the crooked tongues and hands of those who with their words and pens wish to thwart the efforts of the Islamic Republic and to drag our beloved country into the arms of the right or left blocs! Countless blessings be showered upon our committed women who are involved throughout the country in educating our children and the illiterate and are engaged in the fields of humanities and the rich Qur'anic culture! And blessings be upon the women who have attained the lofty status of martyrdom for this revolution and in the sacred defense of their land! And blessings be upon all those ladies who are actively serving the disabled and the sick in the hospitals and medical centers! And blessings be upon the mothers who have proudly offered young martyrs! Felicitations to the committed women of the Muslim countries on the occasion of Woman's Day! I am hopeful that all women awaken from the slumber and ignorance that had been imposed upon them by the plunderers and that they all join hands and salvage the deceived ones and guide all women to an awareness of their exalted status. And it is hoped that the women of all the other Muslim countries, too, take a lesson from the miraculous transformation that came about for the Iranian women through the great Islamic Revolution and that they, too, strive to rectify the conditions of their own societies and lead their countries to freedom and self-reliance. Mercy and divine blessings be upon the dignified women of Islam and beloved Iran! And may God's peace be upon His righteous servants and upon all believing men and women!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 27, 1981 [Ordibehesht 7, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 22, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A comparison between the military officials of the Islamic Republic and the *taghuti* regime

Audience: Members of the Islamic Association of the teachers of the Mazandaran province, helicopter and airplane service staff, Directors General of the Tehran Post and Telegraph Office and telephone exchange, staff-members of the Ministry of Education, some people from Larijan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Two important features of the Islamic Revolution: Its being Islamic and popular

This (Iranian) revolution had and has many positive features. This revolution took place at the hands of its peoples and was not like the rest of the revolutions, in most or all of which, the nation was not directly involved. Those revolutions generally either took place through a certain party that was at the forefront of affairs or then it was a certain government, revolting and overthrowing an existent one. The Islamic Revolution is neither like the coup d'états of the world and nor is it like the other revolutions. It is unique in itself. It is the revolution of the people that came about with the slogans of "God is the Greatest" and (We want an) Islamic Republic! These two features, one of which is that the nation is itself actively present on the scenes and the other is that everyone chose the same path—the path of Islam—and it was these two features and these two characteristics that resulted in the defeat of the satanic rule of Iran that had the support of the other powers of the world. (And even after the victory of the Revolution) it was not as if the nation swerved off and said that now that we have eliminated the previous regime, some particular people should come on the scenes and take over the administrative affairs of the country. The nation itself was actively present in all areas and in the government. And all the aspects of the Revolution have emerged from the heart of the nation itself. And even these Islamic Associations that have been established throughout the country were not the result of any one particular person coming up and suggesting the idea. They came to be established spontaneously by the people themselves. You gentlemen who have come here from the Mazandaran province are part of the large group of people who have formed Islamic associations and I pray

that you will succeed by the grace of God. Everything that has been achieved after the Revolution is because the nation considers this revolution as its own and not as a mere change of government that has taken place at the hands of a particular political party or by the elements connected with the West or the East.

Ours was a revolution of the people and by the people and it is to the nation, as dear as Islam. This is the reason why the entire nation did not remain indifferent to it after gaining victory and instead chose to be actively present on the scenes, to ensure that its revolution does not suffer any damage. If this revolution had come about through a political party or group and if it were not supported by the people it would not have survived and it would have to be protected through force. Unlike other revolutions that were protected through force the Islamic revolution of Iran has been and is being protected by sincere, believing people.

These Islamic associations as well as the committees, the revolutionary guards, and the *Jihad* for Reconstruction, which are playing an active role in this country, emerged from the heart of the nation due to the fact that people considered the Revolution as their own. Things are not like they were during the previous regime in which people wondered who they were working for, thinking: “Are we to work for the benefit of America? They are anyway siphoning off everything from our country. Their agents have been appointed as advisors in all our official bodies and are plundering off everything they can! And why should we slog for the benefit of the foreigners?!” This is the reason why our people were either indifferent or they were against the prevailing conditions and, thus, created hindrances for the usurper regime.

Popular officials of the Islamic government

Things are very different today. You can all see that today we have a popular government. If you take a look at our ministers and examine their lives, you will clearly see that not a single one of them is anything like the ministers of the *taghuti* regime. They have all emerged from among the common people and the masses. Gone are the so-called “Saltanahs” and “Muluks,” and their likes!¹ A few days back, a magazine was brought for me in which I read about the lives of the members of the ministerial cabinet of the days of the *taghut*. That entire cabinet hailed from royal families and from the *taghut* and they were either traitors or they came from the wealthy

¹ “Saltanah” and “Muluk”: they are both titular postpositional terms during the Qajar period; for example, “Mashir as-Saltanah” and “Baha al-Muluk”.

aristocratic families of the country. They made very sure that those who reached ministerial posts were not from among the commoners. They were either, as they called them, from among the “elite” class—or in other words, the “haves”—failing which they could never qualify for a government post. And if one ever saw any exceptions to this norm, it was either a very rare case or then it was meant to serve as eyewash for the public. However, if you check out all those people who are in top positions today you will find that they are all from among the commoners. The President is the son of Bani Sadr Hamedani who is a cleric [*mulla*] from Hamedan.¹ As you can see, the Prime Minister,² too, is someone who has faced great hardship during the days of the previous regime. Same is the situation for the rest of our government officials. Today, the government is not separate from the people. Today, we have a government that has been formed by our own people and those whom they have elected. During the days of the previous regime, there was a great distance between the masses—the businessmen, the industry workers, the farmers, and the rest—and a handful of people who held high positions in order to plunder off the wealth of this country and both these groups considered the other to be separate from it. And even if those “royals” were ever seen among the public, they would be surrounded by so much paraphernalia and by bodyguards and ornate coaches and cars, that they would look down upon the people considering them as low and the people, too, saw them as oppressors and plunderers. Our government bodies today do not look down upon the people or consider them unworthy. Our ministers today say that it is the masses that form our cabinet. And the truth is that our people are actively on the scenes. No longer are the officials beyond reach. The masses consider the officials as their own. They mingle among the masses and are in communication with them. This is because our revolution has been a popular one instead of being the revolution of a certain party or a government coup d’état. The people themselves united together and ousted the previous regime and replaced it with another government. The people themselves formed the “committees”. Even on the day that the Revolution gained its victory and the country was in need of law and order, it was the people who took the responsibility upon themselves. A group of people took on the responsibility as “revolutionary guards” and began protecting the streets and homes of the people, even before anyone could ask them to do so. Since they now felt that the country belonged to them, they voluntarily

¹ Sayyid Nasrullah Bani Sadr, a famous Islamic scholar from Hamedan.

² Muhammad-Ali Rajai.

entered the scenes. Even those of you who have voluntarily formed the Islamic associations along with your friends and associates throughout the country were not commanded from the top to do so. You saw the need for your own selves, for an Islamic country to have Islamic systems for all its affairs, and just like the revolutionary guards who saw the need for guarding the country and took it upon themselves, you too found the need for an Islamic system and tried to provide it in all areas.

Important duty of Islamic associations in choosing individuals

The Islamic associations all over the country should know that in these Islamic associations, there are people who are actually enemies and enter into your associations in the guise of friends, wishing to drag your Islamic associations into corruption. All of you should take care to check out the past records of all those who wish to join your associations and you should check out their activities before the Revolution. For all you know they could be SAVAK members who have now sported a beard and are tricking you with prayer beads in the hand. Check out their previous professions and their family backgrounds. Check out their educational backgrounds and their belief systems. The backgrounds of these people, prior to the Revolution, should be inspected. Now everyone can claim to be revolutionaries. You will also find people who worked for the SAVAK now claiming that they were against the previous regime! However, there are some among them who are still loyal to the previous regime and are waiting for conditions to revert back to the previous ones so that they can reach their desires and they, thus, infiltrate among these associations that have been formed by our beloved youth to serve the country. It is quite possible that they creep into these associations without your knowledge, which fact you may realize only after they have already dragged your association into corruption. The Islamic associations should be formed by people who hail from religious families and who themselves hold Islamic beliefs and these people should have been committed Muslims before and after the Revolution. You should not be deceived by people who express interest in joining your associations with claims of being Islamic and revolutionary. You should scrutinize the backgrounds of these people thoroughly so that such people do not end up ruining your associations and denigrate the face of Islam. This is a religious and Islamic obligation on all the groups that wish to form Islamic associations, committees, and *Jihad* for Reconstruction centers. These people are all committed toward serving this nation and consider this country as their own and are busy serving the nation. However, care should be taken and

members should be selected carefully, especially in the case of the Islamic associations which bear the name of Islam. Careful scrutiny should be made and if the past records of certain individuals are not up to mark, do not let them enter into your associations. Not that they should be shunned from society; but there are many other things that they could instead be doing. Since the Islamic associations wish to represent Islam and to establish Islam, people who do not have an Islamic background cannot be trusted for this particular responsibility.

Commitment of Islamic associations toward their responsibilities

Thus, one of your responsibilities is to be careful in accepting members. Select people with an Islamic background before and during the Revolution and with an Islamic family background. Your other responsibility is taking care of the place in which your Islamic association has been formed. When one claims to be a Muslim it is as if he has made an agreement with God Almighty to remain faithful to Islam and to act according to its teachings. When you claim that yours is an Islamic association—The Teachers' Islamic Association, The Islamic Association of the Armed Forces, etc.—you should take utmost care that the young and inexperienced members do not commit acts that would go against the tenets of Islam. It is good to have Islamic associations everywhere. However, that does not mean that they should try to take power into their hands wherever they go. They should rather take it upon themselves to guide people wherever needed. It is you or the Teachers' Islamic Association that should take on guiding teachers on the ways and methods of teaching. Those of you who are part of the Islamic Association of the Army should disseminate the teachings of Islam and should provide guidance without interfering in official matters.

I assure all of you and the entire Iranian nation that as long as your focus is upon serving Islam and as long as you are present on the scenes, in the same way that you are now (you will gain victory); and even as the war is imposed upon Iran, you can see how all the people through the country are present at the warfronts whether serving at the fronts or behind them. Our combatants and all those who are present at the warfronts are actively serving Islam with sincerity, earnestness, and confidence and during the last few days have, with the grace of God, attained considerable victories. All those of you who are serving behind the warfronts should empower the army and the revolutionary guards and all the other soldiers who are present at the fronts, whether they belong to the *Jihad* for Reconstruction or whether they are from among the masses or whether they are our ethnics. You should be prepared to

announce your support to the armed forces just as you have done thus far. And you should lend your support to the war-ravaged people just as you have done so far and should ensure that those who have lost everything in the war do not suffer any further.

I am hopeful that God Almighty will grant success to all of you and us and the entire nation to remain faithful to Islam and act upon its teachings!

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

Message

Date: April 29, 1981 [Ordibehesht 9, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: In commemoration of Martyr Mutahhari, his services, and his works

Occasion: Anniversary of the Martyrdom of Martyr Mutahhari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today is the anniversary of the martyrdom of Martyr Mutahhari who, notwithstanding the brevity of his life, has left everlasting works which came from the rays of an awakened conscience and a soul full of love for Islam. With his flowing pen and powerful mind in analyzing Islamic matters and expressing philosophical truths and with his simple and soothing language, Martyr Mutahhari had dedicated himself toward educating and training the society. All his works, without any exception, are educative and enlivening. His words and sermons that flowed from a heart full of faith and strength of belief were heartening and beneficial for the common man as well as the elite. We were hopeful to be able to gain even more benefits from this rich soul (lit. fruit-laden tree) so that a larger number of worthy scholars can be offered to society. Alas! Criminal hands cut short his life¹ and deprived our youth from benefiting from the pure fruits of this great tree! We are thankful to God that owing to their richness, whatever works this martyred teacher has left behind, shall forever serve as teachers and guides. The late Martyr Teacher Murtada Mutahhari has united unto eternity! May Allah mercifully resurrect him with his Masters!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Murtada Mutahhari, the great philosopher and thinker and a member of the Council of the Revolution, was martyred on Ordibehesht 11, 1358 AHS at the hands of the terrorist group, "Furqan".

Message

Date: April 30, 1981 [Ordibehesht 10, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of the role of laborers in the self-sufficiency of the country; alertness against the conspiracies of foreign agents

Occasion: On the threshold of the Labor Day

Addressees: Laborers, the Iranian nation, and the oppressed peoples of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the laborers and the entire nation and the oppressed peoples of the world on the occasion of Labor Day! (Celebration of) this international day for honoring laborers, who are the backbone of the self-sufficiency of the country and these great destiny-making legends that ensure a country's independence, is a national and Islamic obligation upon everyone. The noble stratum of laborers has in this short period and especially after the attack of the foreign agents on our beloved homeland proved that by the grace of God Almighty and by striving round the clock it is capable of salvaging its precious country from dependence upon foreigners and it can serve a powerful blow to aliens and the foreign media as well as their internal slaves who are propagating false news. It has also succeeded in dismissing the claims of the deviants and the hypocritical agents of the right and the left blocs. Today, after two years of criminal activities by groups that are connected with foreign powers they have been exposed before the nation and particularly the beloved laborers. These naïve groups have proved their animosity toward God and man, and have revealed their rawness with their acts and words. These agents have exposed their ugly face to the nation, and particularly the oppressed class, with their childish seditious acts to such an extent that even those who were on the verge of being duped by them, now know beyond doubt that they are the mercenaries of the White House and the Kremlin and that they are the worst enemies of the laborers and farmers. My dear laborer brothers who are striving wholeheartedly for the self-reliance of the country! Know that these people imagine that they can use you to attain their evil goals and to serve the superpowers. Beware that these are the same people who, along with their agents, misused the universities to wage a war against Islam and Iran and that their insistence on the reopening of the university is only to serve the evil goals of America. It is these people who

have aligned with the enemies of Islam in Kurdistan and the other areas against the Islamic Republic and have initiated a war. These are the people who seize every opportunity to attack our youth with all kinds of weapons. These are the people who indulge in all kinds of belligerence and corruption in the various cities of the country, following every considerable victory of our armed forces, in order to divert public attention from the warfronts. These are the people whose hands are involved in every conspiracy against the Islamic Republic. Brothers and sisters! Stay alert so that your valuable services for the cause of our beloved Islamic country do not end up serving the interests of America through the criminal hands of these groups.

O you great nation of champions and martyrs! Stay alert so that these mercenaries of the colonial powers do not drag your daughters and sons into the service of the world-devourers of the right and left blocs! I, once again, felicitate the Iranian nation and especially our laborers on the occasion of Labor Day. And I pray to God Almighty for everyone's prosperity and hope that the roots of corruption are severed. Blessings and greetings be upon the great Iranian nation! Long live the Islamic Republic of Iran!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, April 30, 1981 [Ordibehesht 10, 1360 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Importance of the role of laborers and farmers in the self-reliance and independence of the country

Occasion: On the threshold of the World Labor Day

Audience: Various strata of people; Mir Muhammad Sadiqi—Minister of Labor and Social Affairs; and laborers from various industries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Laborers and farmers are the foundations of the independence of the country

May this day prove auspicious, with the grace of God, for all the oppressed people of the world, the entire Iranian nation, and you the committed laborers of this Islamic land! May this day prove auspicious for the entire Iranian nation that has fostered such committed youth that serve their country in their factories! There are two strata of society that are the backbone of this country and the Revolution. The first is the labor stratum that helped the victory of the Revolution through its unremitting strikes before the Revolution and which still continues to support it through its endeavors and efforts for the cause of Islam. I am hopeful that their struggles and efforts will be accepted by God Almighty and that they succeed in every aspect of their lives. The second stratum is that of the farmers. Our laborers and our farmers are the foundation of the self-reliance and independence of the country and if these two strata act constructively, the problems of this country will very soon be alleviated with the grace of God. It is for this very reason that these two strata are under stronger attacks by the opponents of the Islamic Republic. It is not accidental that the activities of the opponent groups of the Islamic Republic and the agents of the foreign powers are mainly focused on these two strata of our society with the intention of deviating them. Despite their baseless lofty claims of being the champions of the cause of the laborers and the oppressed people, the opponents of the Islamic Republic are busy undermining them by alluring them into negligence toward their duties and by inciting them to go on strikes. It is the ultimate desire of the big powers to seduce our laborers to give up on their Islamic and human duties in order to see the backbone of the nation

paralyzed. It is also not accidental that the same deviated elements go to our farmers and try to prevent them from putting in their best and if they fail in their aims, they set their crops on fire. However, if these two strata remain steadfast and stand up against the people who intend to bring defeat to the Islamic Republic and Islam, this country is bound to progress. In the same manner that our armed forces are defending our frontiers and are bravely and valiantly protecting the country and Islam, despite the martyrdom of our precious youth, our laborers and farmers, too, are putting in their best efforts to save the country from being dependent upon foreign powers. Like the armed forces you, too, are striving for the cause of God. Your perspiration is as sacred as their blood before the presence of God Almighty. If you, the laborers and farmers of this country, stand up and act upon what is in the interest of the country, its independence, and freedom, this country will surely advance and will not face any harm. You should stay alert and should take care not to fall prey to the deceptions of the groups whose intention is to deviate this country from the path of Islam and to lead it toward the East or the West.

I pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of you dear laborer brothers who are striving along with our farmer brothers in protecting the self-reliance and independence of this country and I am thankful for all your efforts in the same way that I am thankful to those who are engaged in protecting the frontiers and pray for them.

The nation of Islam and Iran should know that these toiling millions of laborers and farmers who are busy serving the country in the factories and in the fields are the chosen creations of God Almighty and are blessed by Islam and the Lord of Islam. These sacrificing strata of our society as well as the other sacrificing forces that are safeguarding our frontiers should support one another so that this country can attain self-sufficiency and self-reliance with the grace of God. You should entirely give up the belief of “we cannot do it ourselves” and should replace it with “we can”. You dear brothers are quite capable of attaining self-sufficiency only if you make your resolve. The only important thing is for you and the farmers of this country to resolve to rely on your own power; and trust in God Almighty and the support of the real owner of this country, the Imam of the Time (a), and do not give up until the final goal is achieved.

A warning to the deceived elements and the conspirators

Those who are under the false impression that they can continue making mischief in this country and bring destruction to the laborers and farmers in

order to pave the way for the re-entry of the foreign powers into this country are making a grave mistake. They have surely been misguided despite all their false claims of being the champions of the cause of these sections. They are causing corruption and conspiracies in different cities while our beloved youth from the various strata of society are busy making sacrifices at the warfronts and while some of our officials have been martyred in the last few days. It is, thus, in the interest of these elements that they join back with the nation and if they still continue with their evil activities they shall soon regret the day this nation decides to act upon its religious and divine duty and stands up against them. But that day shall be too late for regret. My advice to all the deceived agents of the superpowers as well as the residues of the previous regime is to give up their plans of returning this country to its pre-revolutionary conditions and to bear in mind that their intentions will never materialize. Every man, woman, the young and the old in this country is striving for the cause of Islam and for the independence of the country as well as for their own dignity and human values. You are the ones who intend to create obstacles on the path of this country toward freedom and independence. But surely you will never succeed in withstanding the storming waves of these uprising human beings. Thus, it is in your own interest as well as in the interest of the nation that you lay down your arms and give up your evil plots and return to the nation and live a normal life along with your other brothers. The kind of life you are living now is not a dignified one. The evil desires of your carnal self will destroy you and others. You will lose your youth only to satisfy the residues of the previous regime and those who have deviated from the path of Islam. Beware of the day the nation finally decides to deal with you according to its Islamic duties.

I pray to God Almighty for the health and prosperity of this Islamic nation and the grandeur of our laborers and farmers who strive for the cause of God. May God grant you strength and even further determination so that you may stand up against all the arrogant superpowers of the world and succeed in protecting your country!

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

Telegram

Date: May 10, 1981 [Ordibehesht 20, 1360 AHS / Rajab 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing condolences

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Respected Engineer Mahdi Bazargan—may God Almighty assist him:

This is to express my condolences over the loss of your brother.¹ I pray to God Almighty to bestow his blessings upon the departed member of your family and to grant health to you and his other survivors.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Abul-Qasim Bazargan.

Permission

Date: May 10, 1981 [Ordibehesht 20, 1360 AHS / Rajab 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting permission for the Imam's Share of *khums* to be used for the alleviation of the medical problems of the war-injured and disabled

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Fayyazbakhsh—Advisor to the Health Minister and Head of the Organization of Medical Welfare

[In response to a request made by Muhammad-Ali Fayyazbakhsh, Advisor to the Health Minister and Head of the Organization of Medical Welfare, for the permission to use the Imam's Share of *khums* for alleviating the medical problems of the war-injured and disabled under the supervision of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mahdawi Kani, Imam Khomeini wrote:]

In His Most Exalted Name

Subject to His Eminence's supervision, the proposal is accepted.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: May 11, 1981 [Ordibehesht 21, 1360 AHS / Rajab 6, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Consenting to Mr. Mahdawi Kani's membership in the country's Council of Medical Welfare

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Fayyazbakhsh—Advisor to the Health Minister and Head of the Organization of Medical Welfare

[In response to a request made by Muhammad-Ali Fayyazbakhsh, Advisor to the Health Minister and Head of the Organization of Medical Welfare for Mr. Mahdawi Kani's membership in the country's Council of Medical Welfare, Imam Khomeini wrote:]

In His Most Exalted Name

He is trustworthy and has my consent. I pray to God Almighty to grant success to all of you gentlemen.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 11, 1981 [Ordibehesht 21, 1360 AHS / Rajab 6, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The importance of judgment and its difficulties; a categorical stand against the MKO group

Audience: Clerics from East and West Azerbaijan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Need for alertness toward possible conspiracies

This is a gathering of great scholars from the Azerbaijan province and it is hoped that this gathering is graced by the blessings of God Almighty. I deem it necessary to express a few points for you gentlemen as well as the other scholars of the country.

Azerbaijan and its scholars have throughout history been the protectors of Islam and the country and with the grace of God will continue to do so. I have been a witness to the ongoing struggles of the great scholars of Azerbaijan against the Pahlavi regime, in accordance with their divinely inspired responsibility. And although they faced great hardship and even exiles in the course of these struggles, they have finally emerged victorious. Our expectations of the current scholars of Azerbaijan is for them to follow in the footsteps of the Azerbaijani scholars of the past fifty years and just as their forefathers revolted and stood up against oppression and tyranny, notwithstanding all the hardships, we are hopeful that the present Azerbaijani scholars, too, will continue to remain actively present on the scenes, and will focus their attention on the existing difficulties and problems, and will strive toward resolving the problems that we are facing today. Beware that there are some corrupt groups and dirty hands that are standing up against the clergy and the Islamic Republic. The entire nation and the scholars, in general, and the people and the scholars of Azerbaijan—which is the focus of most conspiracies—in particular, should stay alert and should adhere to their responsibility toward Islam and the Islamic Republic. Today, we are faced with poisonous pens and tongues as well as armed groups. We are facing troubles caused by people who are sitting aside and causing problems and obstacles through their pens for those who are present on the scenes, combating corruption, defending the warfronts, or engaging in reconstructing the country. I want to remind the clergy that the issue of judgment has been

vested to them as per the laws of Islam. In this regard, I have a few words for those who are busy criticizing the issue of judgment in Iran as well as the judges of the country.

The great responsibility of judgment in the Islamic system

My point to the judges is that they should know that if they do not strive toward solving the existing problems, the issue of judgment will face problems. They should, thus, firstly try and appoint knowledgeable people for this responsibility, and secondly, all those in charge of the responsibility of judgment should bear in mind that they have been given an extremely sensitive and difficult responsibility for which they shall be held accountable.¹ Yours is rather the greatest responsibility in the country because judges deal with the lives, property, and honor of people. They should take utmost care to ensure that, God forbid, no one's life, property, or honor is ruined because of their verdict. This issue is of a much greater importance than it was ever before. If a judge had to commit a crime during the previous regime, it would not defame Islam. However, things are different today and if a judge now has to commit a mistake even unintentionally, or God forbid intentionally, there are going to be people who will immediately attribute it to the clergy, the Islamic Republic, and finally to Islam. Thus, today's judges are responsible for the honor of Islam and the Islamic Republic. Their responsibility is no longer limited to their judgment. Thus, besides its usual aspect there is now another dimension to the issue of judgment which concerns Islam. If a few judges in different parts of the country commit mistakes or if, God forbid, some of them deliberately do something unlawful, this will provide the opponents of the Islamic Republic an opportunity to magnify the issue manifold and to attack the very basis of the Islamic Republic and Islam with their pens. Therefore, even though the profession of a judge has always been a sensitive one, the significance now is perhaps a hundred times greater. This is what I wanted to express to all those who are engaged in the field of judgment.

Unwarranted criticism of judicial affairs

I also have a few words for the scholars and writers who have chosen to withdraw from the scenes and to instead sit in their chambers and houses and raise objections over everything through their writings and interviews. I want to draw their attention to the fact that it is easy to sit in criticism. One can

¹ *Majma al-Zawaid*, vol. 4, p. 193: "The judge stands on the threshold of the hell".

simply sit in a corner, find faults, and then criticize. Finding solutions to problems on the other hand is rather difficult. Today, the country needs a few thousand judges; religiously-qualified judges. These gentlemen therefore need to accept one of these options. The first is that the judicial system be completely removed from the Islamic Republic, in which case there will be chaos everywhere and no one's life, property, or honor will remain safe; this could be one option. The other option is to retain a judicial system similar to the one during the Pahlavi regime, which means that it is irrelevant whether the judge is a Muslim or not. From what I have heard, some of the judges during the previous regime were also communists while some were even alcoholics! Therefore, these scholars could either come up and say that the judges do not need to be clerics and scholars and that it would suffice for them to be like the judges of the previous regime or then yet another option would be for the judges to possess the criteria that have been outlined by religion. These gentlemen are well aware that since the clerics were totally prohibited from involvement in judicial matters, the seminaries of Iran and the seminaries all over the world had stopped training judges. Today, we are left with a shortage of judges although we are in need of them in thousands. Instead of complaining that the Judiciary today has fallen into the hands of young and inexperienced clerics, these gentlemen should come forward and take on the responsibility themselves. Who is stopping them from doing that?! If there are any scholars anywhere in the different provinces who are qualified and prepared to take up judiciary responsibilities, let them be introduced and the judicial council will accept them. That gentleman whose grouse is that our judgments are not based upon Islamic laws should come and take over leading the Judiciary and should introduce people who are qualified for the responsibility of judgment so that they can be appointed as judges. Once the responsibility falls upon them, they will realize that it is not so simple. We have had to start from scratch. If scholars from all over the country as well as the supporters of Islam find that there are some unqualified people in the judicial system they should come up and offer their help and should themselves take over responsibilities. Or then they should introduce people who are fit to be judges. Everyone should try to find people who can qualify as Islamic judges and should introduce them. Wouldn't it be more productive if all these gentlemen offered their help to establish a judicial system in accordance with the demands of Islam? Wouldn't that be more productive than sitting and complaining that the Judiciary has fallen into the hands of young and inexperienced clerics?! Of course these people are not young or inexperienced clerics and we should not forget that sitting in

judgment is not a simple task. It certainly is not a simple matter to establish a judicial system in perfect accordance with the demands of religious law and to find appropriate judges. However, wouldn't it be better if these gentlemen helped and supported this process instead of merely meting out criticism? Anyone and everyone can sit in criticism but what we need is help! All these scholars from all over the country whose hearts beat for Islam should come out and identify people and should train them. In the same manner that judges are now being trained in the Qum seminaries, these gentlemen from the other parts of the country who are not so active on the scenes and who have failed to gauge the depth of the problems should offer their help and support toward this religious responsibility. Does their religious obligation call upon them to offer help and support or does it command them to sit in criticism? Are they commanded to offer their help so that judgment is passed as per religious demands or then are they commanded to swear at the Islamic Republic and its judicial system? This is what I request all the scholars from all over the country. Wherever they are, they should help and support the newly-established Islamic Republic. If they found good judges in any of the provinces and introduced them and if the judicial council refused to accept their services, they then have the right to say that we did not appoint the capable judges that they had introduced and instead appointed incapable ones! It will be better for those who have complaints to sit together and find solutions.

Internal opponents of the Islamic system should be fair

I ask all those who oppose this Islamic Republic and are against it if they have any other alternate system that could replace this Islamic system—if it were to fall—that would make the country flourish? Do you know of a group that is aware of a solution, so far hidden by this government that can provide the answer to the millions of war-ravaged people as well as the refugees from Iraq and Afghanistan? Are you aware of the presence of any such governmental alternative? Are you aware of the consequences of all your actions? If this government and if this Islamic Republic falls, your actions will only ensure that the country falls into the hands of the likes of Azhari!¹ These people are all sitting outside the country and are devising plans to return to Iran and to replace the Islamic government with their own rule. Do you have people to immediately take over and create miraculous results in

¹ Ghulam-Rida Azhari was the chief of the general staff of the armed forces during the regime of the ex-Shah and was the Prime Minister during the Shahs military rule.

case this government was to fall? Can you present any alternative government that can establish an ideal Islamic government as in the times of the Messenger of God (s) while we are defending ourselves against an imposed war, while all kinds of economic sanctions have been imposed on us, while the foreign governments refuse to settle their dues with us, while they refuse to deliver the goods we have already paid them for, and while everyone everywhere is busy conspiring against this Islamic Republic?! If you have an alternative, come out and introduce it. Show us people who will be able to deliver upon all the responsibilities that this government has not been able to deliver upon. (Show us people) who will be able to provide housing to all the war-ravaged people within a day or within ten days or a month and who will be able to solve all their problems! (Show us people) who will be able to immediately terminate this imposed war and will be able to establish peace without compromising on the dignity of Iran. (Show us people) who will be able to solve all the problems of the country, who will be able to instantly make our agriculture flourish, who will be able to make our trade and commerce pick up immediately, who will be able to Islamize our universities, and who will be able to turn Iran into a paradise! Well, if you have such people, come out and introduce them. Or is it that your only aim is to bring the downfall of this government and to revert the country to the previous system?! If you refuse to or if you fail to introduce such people, it will only prove that it is the Islamic Republic that you are against and that, too, simply because it is Islamic. And that all that matters is that our government should not be Islamic. It could be anything else. What you are seeking is the downfall of the Islamic Republic, regardless of which replaces it! Do all those who claim that the situation today is worse than what it was during the times of the accursed Shah know what they are saying? Do they have any idea of the damage they are inflicting upon Islam? Are they unaware of all the atrocities and sufferings that were inflicted upon this nation—the women of this nation, and the clergy—during the days of the accursed Shah without permitting them to breathe a word? Just because these gentlemen now see that complaints are rife everywhere, do they want to say that there were no complaints during the previous regime, and during those times when people's property was confiscated through force and their lives had no value?! Or is it that the people did have complaints but were only too petrified to voice them?!

If the people had only been permitted for a single day to express all their complaints, you would have seen the volume of grievances! The grievances that the clerics held, the grievances that the businessmen held! The difference

between those days and now is that people are now free to voice their grievances. And you all, too, do not stop short of blowing matters out of proportion. Our people in those days were completely stifled and in that atmosphere of suffocation, they did not have the courage to even breathe freely. The previous regime had stifled the voices of the people while today you can openly stand up against the government and point out faults. Would you have the courage to say and write such things during the previous regime? The difference between then and now is that now your pens—may they break by divine will—are free to write and spread whatever you want, even against the sanctity of Islam, without any prohibitions even though you should be stopped. The difference between then and now is that in those days you were hopelessly resigned. And even if you did hold any complaints in your heart, you were never able to voice them openly. But today, you can do, write, and say anything you want and yet you are claiming that this Islamic Republic is worse than the previous regime! Thank God, instead, for this divine blessing! Look at its positive aspects! Look at all the work that has been done for the oppressed, deprived, and weak strata during these last two years instead of overlooking all this service the moment you see a corrupt act somewhere. This is deviation and injustice and invites divine wrath. There are people who are serving this country round the clock. But the past corruption and damage is so great that it is impossible to solve all the problems instantly. Nevertheless, the work that has been accomplished during the past two years was not done during the fifty years of the previous regime! Do not be ungrateful lest, God forbid, all these divine blessing be withdrawn from you and you, once again, end up suffering the lives you had in the past fifty years!

A categorical response to the MKO Group

We have and are still repeatedly telling those who are at war with us with their pens and weapons that as long as you have drawn daggers toward the nation and have stood up in arms against Islam, there can be no dialog between us. If you lay down your arms and if you return to Islam, you will be welcomed and supported by it. It is of no use if you simply declare your verbal willingness. Even in your written message, notwithstanding all your claims to innocence, you have been naïve enough to threaten us to an armed confrontation. How can we come to an understanding with those who wish to wage an armed struggle against Islam?! If you abandon this stance and this way, and if you lay down your arms, and if as per your claims, you are willing to respect and abide by the laws even though you did not vote for it,

and if you accept that any armed struggle against the government and holding arms are against the laws of the country, we too are willing to deal with you in a kindly manner that will exceed your expectations. We want to welcome all the groups with open arms and wish that all the deviant groups return to the Straight Path. This is the purpose of Islam. Islam has been sent to show man and the world the Straight Path of humanity, and as far as it is possible, to return the deviants to this straight, Islamic path. Islam and all the historical monotheistic religions have been sent for the rectitude of mankind. The Noble Prophet (s) would grieve for the *mushrikin* (those who associate partners with the One God) who chose the path of hell for themselves.¹ Islam is the religion of mercy, the religion of justice, the religion of the law! If you respect the laws of Islam and if you submit yourselves to its dictates, our Islamic country too will accept all of you. And as a cleric, I too am willing to sit in discussion with you all, for not just one meeting but for tens of meetings. But what am I to do if you have taken to arms and are intent upon deceiving us?! Mend your ways and join in with the rest of the nation and lay down your arms and confess to your unlawful activities! Do not make (false) claims of being engaged in defending the country at the warfronts! Do not claim to have been in favor of Islam and the people, always and right from the beginning! This will never be acceptable. Your actions have preceded all your claims and have already exposed you all! You can see for yourselves that there are some deviant parties which we do not even consider as Muslim and yet because they have not taken up arms against us, and only hold different political beliefs, they are free and even have their own publications. So, it is not as if we hold animosity to all opposing groups and parties. Undoubtedly, we would prefer that all the groups and parties returned to Islam as true Muslims and take the Straight Path of Islam. And even if they do not revert to Islam, as long as they do not take up arms against Islam and the Islamic country they can act and express their viewpoints freely. However, your intention is contrary to this. And even if I could have seen the slightest possibility of you mending your ways, I would have been willing to reach an understanding with you and I would have taken the initiative. I would not even have waited for you to approach me. You will never succeed against this roaring national wave. If the nation were to rise up against you, you would be like a mite against this great wave. Return back to the sanctity of Islam! All the promises that the others offer you for the future have

¹ It refers to *Surah al-Kahf* 18:6: “Yet it may be, if they believe not in this statement, that thou (Muhammad) wilt torment thy soul with grief over their footsteps.”

already been ensured to you within Islam. You should withdraw from armed opposition and should return all the things that you have plundered off from the public treasury [*bayt al-mal*] of the Muslims and join hands with the rest of the Muslims. You are beloved and respected, but as long as you hold arms in your hands and as long as you threaten us in your messages, your actions will be unacceptable by us. It will be in your best interest to give up opposing the Islamic Republic. If you are the real well-wishers of the people, the nation, the laborers, and the farmers, keep in mind that if ever this Islamic Republic were to, God forbid, face a downfall, it will be the defeat of all the oppressed peoples throughout the world!

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

Letter

Date: May 14, 1981 [Ordibehesht 24, 1360 AHS / Rajab 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Advice and prohibition from involvement in political affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear son Husayn Khomeini,¹

Youth carries with itself for everyone dangers that can only be realized in retrospect. My wish for my relatives is for them to stay away from the tempests of politics. I am hopeful that you will strive in the fields of Islamic sciences and will succeed in contributing toward the future by exhibiting resolve in Islamic ethics and by harnessing the carnal soul [*nafs al-ammarah*]. Besides advising you in my capacity as an old father, I also make it a religious obligation upon you to refrain from entering into these political games. You are religiously obliged to abstain from involving yourself in political declarations. I direct you to return to the Qum seminary and to strive toward the acquisition of Islamic sciences.

I pray to God Almighty for the success of you and all students!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 9, 1401 AH

¹ Sayyid Husayn Khomeini: The Imams grandson and the only son of Haj Mustafa Khomeini.

Telegram

Date: May 17, 1981 [Ordibehesht 27, 1360 AHS / Rajab 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing concern over the ill-health of Mr. Haqqshenas

Addressee: Sayyid Ibrahim Haqqshenas

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haqqshenas—may his graces last:

I am sorry to hear about your ill-health. I pray to God Almighty for your quick recovery and beseech His special blessings for allowing you to continue your valuable services so that the honorable people of Jahrum can benefit from your eminent presence. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: May 17, 1981 [Ordibehesht 27, 1360 AHS / Rajab 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Highlighting upon the greatness of the various aspects of Imam Ali's (*a*) personality as well as the *Nahj al-Balaghah*

Occasion: The *Nahj al-Balaghah* Millennium Congress

Addressees: Participants of the Congress¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

What is going to be the main topic at the *Nahj al-Balaghah* Millennium Congress and who is going to be introduced through it?! Do the great scholars of the world wish to introduce the Commander of the Faithful (*a*) or do they wish to introduce the book, "*Nahj al-Balaghah*"? With what means and with what capital can we enter into this lofty discussion? Should we attempt a discussion on the unknown truths of the personality of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (*a*) or then should we offer our own partial and limited knowledge of the same?! Is Imam Ali (*a*) like any other common earthly human for us to be qualified to speak about him or is he an exalted being whose worth can only be understood by the denizens of the more sublime realms?! On what scales can gnostics and philosophers measure his greatness but through their own limited understanding so as to attempt to introduce him? To what extent have they known him so as to enlighten us veiled ones? To whatever extent the scholars, gnostics, and philosophers—with all their great virtues and precious knowledge—have gained knowledge of this perfect manifestation of God, it is confined to the veils of their own existence and is seen within the limited mirrors of their own egos while Ali (*a*) is way beyond that! So it is best for us to limit ourselves by saying that Ali ibn Abi Talib (*a*) was a servant of God since that would be referring to the most outstanding aspect we can possibly hope to address! He was brought up and trained under the care of the exalted Prophet (*s*) and that is his greatest pride and honor. Who can claim to be *Abdullah* [servant of God]—and thus be cut off from serving anyone else—except the great prophets (*a*) and some other exalted souls that have attained divine proximity! Ali (*a*) was the one who

¹ Imam Khomeinis message was read by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini in the presence of both local and foreign thinkers at Shahid Mutahhari High School, the venue of *Nahj al-Balaghah* Millenium Congress, on the birth anniversary of Hadrat Ali (*a*) (Rajab 13).

was freed from everything besides God and had torn off all the veils of darkness and light and had reached the Source of Greatness! And who else can claim to have been in the company of the Noble Messenger of God (s) and to have been under the tutelage of divine inspiration [*wahy*] right from childhood and until the Prophet's (s) demise! In the being of none else but Ali ibn Abi Talib (a) have Divine Inspiration as well as the upbringing of the Prophet of Divine Inspiration (s) taken such deep roots! He truly is a servant of God and the protégé of the greatest servant of God¹ (s)!

And now about the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, which is a descent of his great soul and the elixir for the guidance and training of our souls, fast asleep in the beds of our egotism, covered in its own veils of self-centeredness and selfishness and a balm for all personal and social maladies! This work encompasses all the different aspects of man and the great human society right from the beginning down through history, no matter what and how many societies, governments, and nations come into being and no matter how many thinkers and philosophers emerge and ponder upon it and drown in its richness. Let all the philosophers and thinkers get together and sit and ponder upon the words of the first sermon of this divine book! Let them put their lofty intellects and with the help of scholars and gnostics only try to offer an exegesis to this one short sentence and let them satiate their souls with the absorption of truth, on condition that they do not get deceived by the phrases expressed in it. And let them take care not to fool their consciences, without having gained soundness of understanding, and let them not pass by lightly so that they can gain an idea of the depths of the knowledge of this fruit of divine inspiration and can confess the limitations of their own knowledge and the knowledge of all others! This sentence says: "He is with everything but not in physical nearness; He is different from everything but not in physical separation."²

This sentence and sentences like this that we find in the sayings of the Household of the Noble Prophet (s) are, in fact, the explanations and the exegesis of this holy verse from *Surah al-Hadid* of the Book of God, which has been revealed for the understanding of the thinkers of the "end of time" [*akhir az-zaman*], which says: "He is with you wherever ye may be".³ Now it is hoped that you committed scholars and thinkers who have gathered in the *Nahj al-Balaghah* Millennium Congress will be able to highlight upon the

¹ The Noble Messenger of God (s).

² *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 1.

³ *Surah al-Hadid* 57:4.

various gnostic, philosophical, ethical, social, military, cultural, and other aspects of this great book as much as possible and shall succeed in introducing it to the human community, especially since it contains treasures that are in great demand by illumined men and minds. Eternal peace and greetings be upon the Noble Prophet (s) who brought up such a divine being upon his own lap and reached him to the status of the Perfect Man! Peace be upon the Commander of the Faithful (a) who is the great exemplar of a Perfect Man and is the “speaking” Qur’an! He is the exemplar of humanity and is the manifestation of the Greatest Name of God [*al-Isim al-Azam*] and his grand name shall last eternally! Peace and blessings be upon you scholars who are paving the path for attaining to the goals of this holy book through your valuable and beneficial efforts! May God’s peace be upon His righteous servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 18, 1981 [Ordibehesht 28, 1360 AHS / Rajab 13, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Efforts for the establishment of an Islamic rule

Occasion: Birth anniversary of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (*a*)

Audience: Bahram Afdali—Naval Commander-in-Chief; navy personnel; members of the Political-Ideological Office of the Navy; personnel of the Revolutionary Guard Corps; and some people from Hormuzgan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The soundness of religion and soul, emphasized by all the Saints of God

I felicitate all the Muslims, the noble Iranian nation, the armed forces of the Islamic Republic, the brave tribals of the country and particularly those present here from the Kohkiluyeh and Buyer-Ahmad province, the Navy personnel and the other gentlemen who have come here from Hormuzgan and from the three islands on this auspicious day! This is the day on which Ali ibn Abi Talib (*a*) who was the doorway and the trustee of divine inspiration was born. And this is the day on which the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Noble Messenger (*s*) found a great exegete, and divine inspiration and Islam were given a powerful supporter and we could say that the doorway to Divine Inspiration and its exegesis and its continuity all came to be realized through the sacred being of this great master. I congratulate you gentlemen and the entire nation on this day, which is the Day of *Bithat* [Commencement of the Prophetic Mission], the Day of *Wilayah* [Guardianship], the Day of *Nubuwwah* [Prophethood], and the Day of *Imamah* [Imamate]!

The need is for us to pursue the course of Islamic teachings. Our country managed to establish this Islamic Republic in the name of Islam and in the name of the Holy Qur'an and with the call of "God is the Greatest". Our main efforts, throughout the country, should be to establish and implement Islam. If we succeed in truly establishing Islam in this country and if our armed forces—the Navy, the Air Force, the army, the revolutionary guards—as well as the other strata of the nation all stay committed to Islam and pursue the path of the Imam (*a*) whose day we celebrate today, we would not need to fear anything. Man fears death because he thinks that it is the end of his life. Only those who believe that physical death is the end of

everything or those who are wary of the torment that awaits them (in the hereafter) fear death. But if we depart from this world with soundness of faith, whether at the warfronts which are the grounds of martyrdom, or whether in service behind the warfronts which are also the grounds of battle and martyrdom, once we have tasted the honor of martyrdom, we would no longer be concerned about our worldly gains which are anyway “illusory” or our worldly losses which are again “illusory”. If at that point of our journey we emerge victorious, both our life as well as our death will bring us victory. Our efforts should be to emerge victorious from that battlefield in which the war is between God and *Shaytan* (Satan) or the battle is between the carnal soul of man and his pure spirit. If you can gain that victory, do not be fearful of any defeat because that is not really a defeat. When Ali (*a*) heard about his future martyrdom through the Noble Messenger (*s*), his main concern was if he would die with soundness of faith or otherwise! His question to the Prophet (*s*), thus, was: “Will I hold soundness of faith at the moment of my martyrdom?” The Prophet (*s*) answered him in the affirmative.¹ The main focus of attention of all the saints of God is on soundness of faith and heart. Even when Ali ibn Husayn heard about his forthcoming martyrdom through his father, his question to him was: “Are we not with the truth?” The reply he got was: “Sure, we are with the truth.” As soon as he heard that, he said: “Then we have nothing else to fear because we are not fearful of death!”

Need for government bodies to refrain from violations of law

My dear brothers! Strive to traverse the path of Islam—as has been decreed by God Almighty—wherever you are, in whatever job you hold, and with whatever your beliefs are, because it is only through this path that you can be victorious! Today, you must open your eyes and see who and what groups you are dealing with. You are dealing with the *munafiqin* who make hypocritical claims to Islam, after which, much against all human and Islamic laws, they bombard the captives of the Democrats and martyr them in the most gruesome manner.² All these (crimes) prove that they are facing defeat and are detested by the people of the world and in order to save face, they

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 93, *hadith* 25, p. 358.

² It refers to the event of bombardment of Dultu Prison in Sardasht of Kurdistan by the Iraqi warplanes. In this prison there were Muslim Kurdish combatants, army soldiers and revolutionary guards who had been captured in the course of helping the Kurdish people in undermining the ruffians by the Democrat Party of Kurdistan and other foreign agents. The leaders of the Democrat Party dastardly asked the ruling regime in Baghdad to bombard the prisoners and captives detention place.

have committed futile acts of brutality and insanity, and have martyred or wounded nearly two hundred of our beloved youth who were in their captivity. This is the kind of situation we are facing and these are the kinds of criminals we are dealing with. These criminals are inspired by the great criminals of the world and they even treat their own people in such a manner. However, you brothers should have your attention focused upon treading the path of Islam and should stay away from indulgence in unlawful acts. And wherever you are, in the garrisons or in any other organization, stay away from un-Islamic acts. As per the information I have received, you are dealing with people from whose captured trenches, alcoholic drinks and other instruments of revelry have been recovered. As the soldiers of Islam, the army of Islam, and the guards of Islam, you should bear in mind that there has to be a difference between you and the guardians of *kufir* [unbelief] and *nifaq* [hypocrisy]. Your homes should be like your mosques and places of worship. You are in the service of God. Your trenches are your places of worship because you are following the cause of Islam and are the followers of the Imam of the Muslims, Ali ibn Abi Talib (a). I am thankful to all the armed forces, including the navy—many of whose personnel are present here today—the Air Force, the Army, the Revolutionary Guards, the brave ethnics, personnel of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction, and the national forces that have emerged from among the people. God Almighty is your support! You should unite together, and with cooperation and teamwork and keeping in mind the principles of discipline and hierarchy, you should unite together to fight the *kuffar*. And, God willing, victory is yours and God will ensure that you emerge victorious both in the internal battle which is against your own ego as well as the external battle which is against the forces of *kufir* and *nifaq*. I pray to God to grant all of you with good health and prosperity!

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

Message

Date: May 21, 1981 [Ordibehesht 31, 1360 AHS / Rajab 16, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulatory message on the victory of the Islamic combatants

Addressees: Combatants of Islam (the message being conveyed by the president at that time)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. President:

Kindly convey my appreciation to the armed forces and their respective commanders who have jointly and victoriously overcome the satanic forces and have captured the Allahu Akbar Heights and have taken a large number of enemies of Islam into captivity. I ensure you and the armed forces that ultimate victory belongs to the Islamic forces provided you maintain unity and solidarity and keep your trust in God Almighty. May God Almighty grant you assistance and support.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 23, 1981 [Khordad 2, 1360 AHS / Rajab 18, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The role of women in the Revolution and in all areas of the country

Audience: Women members of the Jihad of the Isfahan University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The role of women in the Revolution and in all areas of the country

The most important achievement in (post-revolutionary) Iran is the transformation that has occurred among the Iranian ladies. The Iranian women have played a greater role in this movement and revolution than the men have. Even today, as they are actively serving behind the warfronts, their contribution is greater than the contribution of our men. This is because they are engaged in educating and training our children, whether it is their own children or the children they train and develop in our schools and other places, and are, thus, contributing greatly toward the Revolution. The sensitivity that can be found in women is unique to them. Men do not possess such a depth of sensitivity and, thus, the kind of contribution that our women offer behind the warfronts is greater and superior to that of men. Owing to the sensitivity of their nature, they have and are contributing invaluable services toward the warfronts. What is most important is that following the victory of the Revolution our ladies have been striving hard to work alongside or even ahead of our men while yet honoring their modesty and Islamic values. Despite all the efforts of the previous regime at the behest of the plunderers of the world, to afflict our women and to add to the disasters of this country, they failed to succeed by the grace of God.

Today, we find that the honorable Iranian ladies are useful members of society throughout the country and are responsibly serving and supporting their country. I am hopeful that they will hold fast to all the Islamic values and will continue to support Islam, armed with their faith and commitment to it. Our ladies have brought up young men and have sent them to the warfronts and take pride in their martyrdom for the cause of Islam and even propose to present Islam with their other young sons. This transformation has occurred in our women because of the Islamic nature of this revolution. The previous regime intended to misuse our ladies and to bring ruin to this great

section of our society, in the bargain, destroying the future generations of this country.

However, God Almighty blessed this nation and made its movement victorious and it is hoped that through the commitment shown by our women, this nation and Islam will have a stronger future. I am also hopeful that through the efforts of you respected ladies, our youth and all those serving at the warfronts, shall emerge victoriously from this (imposed) war and shall succeed in contributing constructively to the developmental works of the country. The previous regime had not recognized (the greatness of) you ladies and was under the wrong impression that it could deviate the Iranian ladies like a handful of stray women associated with that regime. But the respected ladies of Iran proved that they have never fallen and will never fall prey to such conspiracies. They proved their strong commitment to purity and modesty and proved that their commitment is to present this country with virtuous and brave sons as well as modest and committed daughters. They have also proved that they shall never walk the paths that the big powers have charted out for them in order to ruin this country.

I pray to God Almighty for the health and prosperity of the entire nation as well as the respected ladies and I hope that through your commitment and efforts this country will succeed in attaining its final victory. Peace and greetings be unto you respected ladies and the entire Iranian nation!

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, May 25, 1981 [Khordad 4, 1360 AHS / Rajab 20, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of knowledge in Islam; responsibility of the university in an Islamic society; duties of the Islamic associations of the universities

Audience: Members of the Islamic Association and the Jihad of the Ilm va Sanat [Science and Technology] University; members of the Organization for Scientific and Industrial Research; and a group of inventors and innovators

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Great importance of knowledge and learning in Islam

One of our problems is that the moment there is any talk of “Islamizing” a certain center, there are people who start raising a hue and cry, believing it to imply the elimination of expertise! As a matter of fact, the aim of such people is to tell the world that Islam is against knowledge and expertise, whereas there are a number of verses in the Holy Qur’an that clearly emphasize the importance of knowledge and learning, perhaps more than any other book does. The fact of the matter is that Islam completely approves of knowledge, but the kind of knowledge that can be at the service of the nation and at the service of the interests of the Muslims. They spread propaganda against us claiming that we are against expertise and that when the Muslims speak of a “cultural revolution” in the universities and say that the universities must get Islamized, they mean that the universities now do not need doctors or medical experts or advanced engineering experts. And that the universities should only impart Islamic studies and practical laws! This is a kind of mischief that some individuals and groups indulge in against Islam, the Islamic associations, and the Cultural Revolution. However, what these people do not understand is that when we say that all the organizations and institutions, and particularly the universities, which are the centers of learning and the think-tanks of society should be Islamized, we are in no way suggesting that we do not need any experts and expertise. Islam has emphasized the importance of experts and expertise to such an extent—both in the area of practical as well as religious laws—that it has emphasized trusting the judgment and verdict of the most knowledgeable expert.

Negative propaganda against Islam is an imperialistic plan

What we say is something else and our issue, too, is something else. Our issue is that during the fifty long years of the black Pahlavi rule in which the foreigners had managed to establish a firm footing in our country the main focus of their propaganda was to make our nation and our youth believe that Iran and Islam are incapable of developing the knowledge and expertise needed to establish their own industries and that we had no choice but to extend our hands either toward the East and communism or toward the West and the capitalist countries. Their propaganda has been so powerful that there are people who believe that we should either turn completely Eastern or completely Western, from head to toe! When I was in Turkey, I had seen the Atatürk's¹ statues in some city-squares with his right hand raised in the air. And their explanation was that this symbolically meant that whatever they had was from the West! Similarly, foreign propaganda in other Muslim countries, too, has been so strong that their people have come to believe that they have no choice but to employ either Eastern or Western advisors for everything. They had succeeded in making some people even believe that the Iranian brain is incapable of achieving anything constructive, including agriculture. This was a calculated plan backed by extensive propaganda that had succeeded in making some of our people believe that we cannot have anything of our own and that we should either lean toward the East or toward the West so that they may feel sorry for us and cater to our requirements. Even today there are some people who consider themselves to be great thinkers and yet refuse to believe that we can be self-reliant. Now when we insist that our universities, which are like the think-tanks of the nation, should be freed from any sort of inclination toward the East or the West and that this is only possible provided they are Islamized, it does not mean that our universities should not have departments of medical and engineering sciences and that they should only be confined to teaching Islamic sciences! This is a fallacy. The moment there is any talk of an "Islamic University" and of bringing about a "cultural revolution", the supporters of the East and the West raise a hue and cry about us being against expertise and knowledge. No, that is not true. We are not against expertise and we are not against knowledge! What we are opposed to is becoming enslaved by the foreigners. We believe that the kind of expertise that drags us toward America, Britain, the Soviet Union, or China is more detrimental than constructive.

¹ Atatürk: first President of modern Turkey and a Westernized and secular figure.

Universities should ensure independence of the country and be at the service of the nation

Our aim is to ensure that the experts that graduate from the universities are at the service of their nation instead of dragging the country toward the East or the West. Our aim is to ensure that our industries grow to high levels of expertise and be at the service of the nation instead of serving alien powers. The kind of know-how seeking that drags us toward America or the Soviet Union is harmful and is hazardous to the nations. Most of those who were educated in the universities of the previous regime, if not harmful, were of no use to this country. Our purpose is to have a university system that is at the service of our nation and at the service of Iran. During the days of the previous regime, the slogans that they raised were that “we want to convert Iran into a flourishing civilization” and that “we should enter the gates of civilization”, while you all saw that in reality they had made this country dependent in every way. We categorically oppose a university system that will render us dependent on foreign countries irrespective of which foreign country it is!

We intend to have a university system that can free us from dependence upon others and can make us self-reliant. We need experts and Islam approves of expertise. Islam comes first among all religions that have extolled the value of knowledge and expertise and it has invited people to pursue knowledge. It has asked people to gain knowledge even if it entails going to other places and acquiring it from non-believers. However, Islam emphasizes that knowledge should be at the service of Islam and the Islamic country rather than for use against one’s own country. We are looking forward to having a university system that can free us from intellectual dependence, which is the most dangerous form of dependence. We intend to have university teachers that can train our youth to be self-reliant instead of inclining toward the West or the East. We do not want any Atatürks and Taqizadehs.¹ We are looking forward to having a university system that can, after a few years, make us self-reliant in every respect. We are not against expertise. What we oppose is the dependence of the minds of our youth on the West or the East. In the previous regime, our universities, with the exception of a few people, were either indifferent toward this issue or else they worked toward making our youth dependent on foreign powers. What we are seeking out is that if ever our people need treatment for their

¹ Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh, the speaker of Irans Senate at the time of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and one of the greatest exponents of Westernization in Iran.

(complicated) ailments, they should not be asked to go to Britain or America for treatment. What we want is that just as an American or English patient does not need to come to Iran for treatment, our patients, too, do not need to go abroad for their problems. We are looking for the kind of expertise that does not make our youth and their intellects dependent but instead trains them to foster concern for Islam and Iran. We are certainly not against expertise! And the same applies to the Islamic associations. No Islamic association can be against expertise. There is no Islamic association that is against expertise and the self-reliance of our youth in every field. In fact it is the opposite. And you had seen that the conditions of the universities during the reign of the previous regime were such that even after long years of active work in our universities, when a relative of the deposed Shah—the so called “head of the country”—needed to undergo a simple surgery for appendicitis, a surgeon was brought in from abroad! What prompted this was that the Shah knew very well in his hollow head that he had made Iran so dependent on foreigners that the Iranians were not capable of handling (even simple) things; and even if they were, all efforts should be made to inculcate their minds into believing that they are good-for-nothing! And that they should be made to believe that they are incapable of performing even a simple surgery for appendicitis after spending long years at the university! However, our intention is to free the minds (of our people) from such ill-thoughts. The aim of the Islamic associations should be to eliminate this wrong belief so that our people can rediscover themselves after centuries of alienation. We want our universities to train people like Avicenna whose book, “The Canon of Medicine”,¹ is still being used in Europe rather than having people who, without even knowing the alphabets of Islam, claim that Islam is incompetent! We want our universities to become as independent as our seminaries in which the agents of the foreign powers are easily exposed. We want them to be freed from all kinds of dependence, like they were in the olden days, during which, even if deviants emerged they would immediately be exposed. We are looking for the fulfillment of this ideal.

Islamic associations of universities need to stay alert

Let me reiterate what I have repeatedly been reminding the Islamic Associations. Keep your eyes and ears wide open because those who are inclined toward the West or the East can also infiltrate into the Islamic

¹ It refer to the book, *Al-Qanun fi Tibb*, which is an encyclopedia in the field of medical science.

associations and pretend to be perfectly “Islamic”. You should take care to check out the past records of all those who wish to join your associations and you should scrutinize their activities before and after the revolution so that, God forbid, things do not go out of hand for you to someday realize all of a sudden that your attention has been deviated from the truth and that your Islamic association has inclined to either of the foreign blocs. I have repeatedly raised this issue for the Islamic associations. However, the significance of what I am saying is even greater as far as the Islamic associations of the universities are concerned. Put in all your efforts to prevent deviant elements from joining your Islamic associations and keep it firmly in mind that since they have failed to attain to their goals by all other means, they now trying to attain them in the name of Islam. Even those sworn opponents who consider Islam to be a stumbling block in their way try to get their work done in the name of Islam. They do not come up and say that we do not believe in Islam, in which case they would not be so dangerous. Those who enter the government offices, the universities, and other government bodies under the disguise of commitment to Islam are more dangerous than those who openly claim that they do not believe in Islam because in the latter case, the people know them and can avoid them. The Islamic associations, in general, and the Islamic associations of the universities, in particular, should bear this point in mind.

Furthermore, those in charge of the Cultural Revolution should deliver upon their responsibility with the utmost care and should endeavor to find committed people and should expedite their work by consulting them so that, with the grace of God, the universities can gradually reopen. And we shall have universities that will function to benefit our own country rather than dragging us toward the left or the right blocs. I am hopeful that the gentlemen who are in charge of implementing the Cultural Revolution will be supported by those who are concerned about this issue and who believe in Islam and the country and who harbor no Western or Eastern inclinations. At the same time, as I mentioned earlier, those in charge should invite such people to work with them so that, with the grace of God, we can soon have Islamic universities whose concern will be to free this nation from the problems it has been facing thus far.

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

Decree

Date: May 26, 1981 [Khordad 5, 1360 AHS / Rajab 21, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting pardon to prisoners

Occasion: Anniversary of the Prophethood of the Holy Messenger of Islam (s)

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

Enclosed herewith is the list of the names of 276 prisoners who, as per the verdict of the Amnesty Commission of the Department of Justice, deserve to be pardoned or to receive mitigation on the occasion of the anniversary of the Prophethood of the Holy Messenger of Islam (s).

Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

You have my consent.¹ May God grant you success!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 5, 1360 AHS

¹ Based on Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Speech

Date: May 27, 1981 [Khordad 6, 1360 AHS / Rajab 22, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The importance of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis) and the responsibility of the MPs

Occasion: The anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Audience: Representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Majlis should serve as an exemplar for the nation

I have a few words to share on the Majlis and its environment and on the country and those who are busy serving it.

You gentlemen must have heard on television, most of what I have to say as regards the Majlis, which I had also mentioned in my speech last year. However, I regret to say that things are not how I would have liked them to be. My wish was for this Majlis to serve as a teacher for the entire nation as well as the following Majlis and to be able to demonstrate for the future generations, the meaning of consultation and how a representative should be. Our Majlis should not be like the ones of the previous regimes, and particularly not like ones of the last fifty years. You gentlemen should express your views peacefully within a calm environment. Even differences of opinion over the various affairs of the country should be expressed peacefully and settled amicably. Only in a peaceful environment do minds function judicially. Wisdom departs the moment anger and rage step into affairs. The moment rage is activated it sidetracks the intellect and makes a person speak imprudently. A judge cannot pass a verdict when he is enraged because such a verdict would not be issued on the basis of the laws of the religion and the intellect. I understand that you have certain reservations. At times you may wish to criticize something; and it is alright to express criticism as long as it does not insult someone or some group and does not eliminate them from the scenes. Criticism is necessary for the rectification of affairs. There should be criticism in every Majlis. However, criticism should be expressed peacefully and response to it should also be peaceful and free of rage and fury. Only in such case can logic prevail. If you decide to resolve every issue by raising a hue and cry and in an atmosphere of turmoil in which

each side is bent upon crushing the opposite group like an enemy, then there is no room for wisdom, and it will be replaced by rage which is the worst of instincts. And, needless to say, when rage gets activated and is not harnessed it only ends up making things worse, leave alone resolving them.

Necessity of being truth-oriented in passing opinions

Man can have only one of these three different views on any given issue. He either agrees with it, or disagrees with it, or else he remains neutral. However, the view that is based on one's likes or dislikes cannot be too sound. Man's love for a thing makes him blind and deaf.¹ The same rule applies to one's dislikes; it extinguishes the light of one's wisdom. Extreme love for a thing makes man oblivious to the fact that his opinion regarding it has stemmed from his love for it and, hence, cannot be correct or sound and reliable. It is not easy for man to know himself. Man is caught up in things within of himself, of which he may even be quite oblivious, right until the end of his life or until the time of departing from this world. We should place ourselves in the hands of someone neutral. When man is caught up in egotism or self-love, his entire focus remains on trying to justify the means of attaining whatever his desires demand, even if they are illogical and unethical. And the moment one becomes biased over anything, he stops being able to see clearly. He even goes to all extents to justify his own actions and to prove any opposing views as wrong. That is why we find that whenever anything takes place or anything is said by anyone, it evokes two basic kinds of reactions: those who like the person approve of his action while those who are not his friends, disapprove of it, irrespective of whether the act is logical or not. Man is generally bound to be caught up in either of these two reactions and it is very rare to find people who can hold an unbiased view. No one can ever be completely unbiased within himself, but if one has to offer an opinion, he should base it upon the truth and should only be swayed by the truth. And even if one's enemy is in the right, one should be able to praise him because he is correct. On the other hand, even if a wrong has been done by one's friend, one should be able to accept that he is in the wrong. Even if one does hold certain preferences, if his opinion is sought and if he has to offer a view that concerns others or is involved with the country, he should put his own bias and prejudices aside and should instead base his view upon that which is right or wrong.

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 74, p. 165.

Truth should be sought wherever it is and it should be embraced with open arms even if it happens to be against our personal preferences. Similarly, wrong is wrong and falsehood should be shunned, no matter through whom it comes. Personal or group preferences should be shoved aside and right and wrong should remain the only criteria for judgment. Moreover, even if one ends up getting enraged or wrathful while trying to prove the truth or reject falsehood, neither will he succeed in establishing the truth and nor will he be able to eliminate the falsehood.

Insidiousness of corruption and destruction

It is important for everyone and especially for you gentlemen in the Majlis—since the Majlis is the fountainhead of whatever transpires in a country—to refrain from dealing with things while supporting or rejecting an issue or while discussing matters through the power of anger instead of resorting to the power of the intellect. Even if you find someone speaking against you, try to approach the person logically because yelling back or, God forbid, using abusive language will not rectify matters. In fact, such unbecoming behavior will instead gradually form a trend in the Majlis. Vices do not appear in man all of a sudden. The inner devil in man is very shrewd. It will never drag man into corruption all of a sudden. At the onset, it will incite man to commit small sins. Once man does that, the next step will be a little further. It sends man to hell gradually and drags him to corruption step by step. It was not as if all these corrupt people that you see around you were at this level of corruption right from the beginning. A Prophetic saying mentions that “every child is born, naturally inclined to monotheism [*tawhid*]”.¹ And it was also not as if they leapt suddenly from one level of corruption to another much greater level. All this takes place step by step. Those who have ended up becoming dictators were not born this way. They, too, were like all others (to begin with). Even when they gained a certain level of power, they did not start dictating terms immediately. They became dictators step by step and little by little. And a Hitler emerged at a certain point! A Stalin emerged at a certain point! The devil within man drags him to destruction very insidiously. If he had to incite man into committing a murder all of a sudden, he would never succeed. He begins by poisoning the mind of man by inciting him to anger against others. Then he gradually prepares man to be capable of committing murder. All these corrupt people have become so gradually and none of them was born like this. None of us

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

should imagine ourselves to be safe from corruption. All of us carry the risk of being afflicted. All of us are in the clutches of the *Shaytan*, and especially the *shaytan* of egotism. He has held all of us by our collars. No one was born totally corrupt and no one is safe from the clutches of corruption and the deception of *Shaytan*. If one remains on guard and keeps his focus upon acquiring human virtues and takes himself to account for all his actions and if for instance one day he says or does something in a certain gathering and if he evaluates his action that night to check if his action was prompted by the devil or whether it was a divinely-inspired one and if he holds himself to account each night, it is quite likely that he will eventually rectify himself. But if he neglects this vigilance and if he continues unbridled, do not be surprised if even an ascetic and obedient Muslim eventually emerges as a ruthless and corrupt being. No one is assured total safety.

Need for complete understanding within the Majlis

I am hopeful that from now onwards, more attention will be paid to the atmosphere within the Majlis—which is in the limelight throughout the country and elsewhere—so that when the internal scenes are exposed to the people, they do not end up regretting their choice of representatives. The Majlis should never deviate from the path that is being followed by the people.

The Majlis should harbor an atmosphere within which all the issues of the nation are dealt with, in total understanding and keeping in mind the welfare of the nation and the country. Even if there is criticism, it should be with a good intention. The response to criticism should also be well-intentioned. The Majlis should have a healthy atmosphere so that when people see their representatives in action, they are left feeling satisfied with their choices. The people should never, God forbid, end up regretting the votes they have cast.

Importance of the Majlis and its ratification

I stress once again that the Majlis is the topmost office within this country. If the Majlis ratifies a certain law and if the Council of Guardians, too, gives its approval, no one then has the right to challenge the issue. I do not mean that no one has the right to voice his opinion but he should be clear that it is only a personal opinion. However, if he wants to create mischief and damage public opinion with regards to the Majlis and the Council of Guardians, this clearly is corruption and such a person can only be corrupt and should face prosecution under the charges of spreading corruption. Many

people have sacrificed their lives for this Majlis to be formed today. This Majlis is the fruit of the excruciating efforts of this Muslim nation. It has been formed with the national slogans of “God is the Greatest”. And if any step is taken by this Majlis that goes against Islam, it would have deviated from the prescribed path of the Muslims. The Majlis should powerfully deal with issues without fearing anyone or any power. And it should calmly address issues, without creating mayhem or commotion and based on healthy interaction and positive criticism. Opponents should express their objections without raising a hue and cry. Supporters, too, should express their approval without much ado, following which a general vote should be taken and if, after a majority has voted in favor of a certain issue and the Council of Guardians, too, has found it to be within the accepted framework of Islam and the Constitution, anyone wishes to create mischief, it is only out of spite and corruption. The decision of the Majlis should be honored obediently as long as it is not against the teachings of Islam. And even if there are certain un-Islamic acts that have taken place within the Majlis, the general public opinion should not be poisoned against it. This is a very fundamental matter which should be given due significance by everyone. Just because a certain issue may prove to be against the personal preference of one person, he should not end up criticizing the entire Majlis and the Council of Guardians. He should instead alter his own opinion. Our nation certainly faces this challenge today.

I am hopeful that this Majlis proves to be an Islamic Majlis working in the service of Islam. It should, God forbid, not be a place in which sins take place and derogatory acts or abuse becomes a trend. All this is against the teachings of Islam and should not be permitted.

Nation chooses Islam and not personalities

And now, the issue that I wish to generally address is that our nation which initiated a revolt and favored us by entering into the scenes and confronted all the powers and voted for this Islamic Republic and defeated the opposition is standing firmly in resolve. All these satanic forces that claim all kinds of stuff as regards our nation are only sitting behind their closed doors and evaluating things. They do not bother to consider the views of this nation and see for themselves that, with the exception of a small handful of people, this entire nation will respond positively to the call of Islam as and when the need arises. And even this small handful is bound to mingle into the entire nation once the wave takes over. They keep on harping upon gaining national approval. The nation has opted for Islam and is there

anything better than Islam that they can be ensured of? What better thing do they want to do for the nation? The Iranian nation has voted for an Islamic Republic. And this nation has sincerely put everything at stake for its choice of Islam. If you have any problems with Islam, move out to Europe or America, and live wherever you wish to. And if you want to be with this nation, then live here. Do not make claims of national support. The nation is with Islam. It is neither with me, nor with you, and nor is it with anyone else. If I were to utter a single word against Islam, this same nation will rush to destroy me. The nation wants Islam. The nation is not interested in personalities. The nation is not into some kind of hero-worshipping. This nation wants to establish Islamic laws in this country. The nation has gone through all this great hardship only in order to establish Islam in this country in which efforts have been going on for hundreds of years and especially in the last fifty years to sidetrack Islam and to sidetrack and weaken the clergy. It is because the nation wants Islam that it is in favor of the clergy. And even if a cleric happens to, God forbid, act against Islam, he would be no different from a SAVAK agent. He would be no different and he would in fact be worse than a SAVAK agent. You gentlemen need to clear your ears of talks like "this nation no longer supports the Islamic Republic". No! It is you who have deviated. You need to rectify yourselves. You need to cure the illness of your own souls so that you no longer write things like "this country has been ruined". This nation is not ruined and this Islamic Republic is very much in place. The public, too, supports the Islamic Republic, as long as the Majlis is Islamic and as long as the government is Islamic and as long as the President is Islamic, they all have public support. The public will stop supporting you if you slip because it is Islam that they are seeking. If ever a choice has to be made between any one of us and the Prophet of Islam (s), which Muslim would ever choose any of us?! If ever a choice has to be made between you and Islam, would any Muslim ever prefer to choose you over Islam?! Purge your heads of ideas about these people having changed their minds! The people desire Islam and will continue to do so till the end.

These writers need to get a better perspective. They cannot just sit behind closed doors and pass verdicts upon the national situation. Well, you can clearly see this nation and its participation in the scenes and in the markets and at the warfronts. We have people coming up everyday, insisting on being sent to the warfronts. Only you and I do not constitute the entire nation! The masses make up the nation. They are the criteria. Do not sit around spreading tales of national dejection and despair. Oh no! The nation

shall never despair in Islam. As and when they find discrepancies in any individual acts they point them out but all of them want an Islamic Republic.

Writers advised to harness their pens

Control your pens and control yourselves. Do not obey your carnal self so much. Do not obey the Satan so much. Write about appropriate issues and do not chase corrupt issues. Do not sit and dictate what needs to be done. Well, by the grace of God, a lot of constructive work has been done. Of course, you cannot expect everything to go right overnight in a country that has been under fifty, nay 2,500 years, of destructive rule and you cannot expect all the organizations to become Islamic overnight. But, if you as well as all those who are busy causing corruption leave the country alone everything is possible. Things will improve even if you continue your acts although it will take a little longer. You people are supposed to be Muslims. This country is already facing attacks from all sides; the least you can do is to stop attacking it and to give it a breather.

Islam and the clergy should be appreciated

Even though the nation as well as the clergy are ready (to take any required action), our aim always is to settle matters peacefully. Remember that all committed clerics have complete national support. Stop your futile efforts to sidetrack the clergy. What has been your contribution toward this country in the past few years for you to demand that the clergy be sidetracked? Have you done anything positive and constructive? You have nothing but hollow talk and keep repeating that you have said this and that. But show us what you have done. This nation has always wanted Islam and the clergy and it considers the clergy as the symbol of Islam. Of course I am not talking about each and every cleric. I consider some of them to be worse than even Shmr! I am referring to the clergy that has protected Islam thus far. Had it not been for the clergy, no signs of Islam would have remained! Who has safeguarded Islamic sciences and have handed them over to us? Has it been anyone but the clergy? Right from the days of Imam Sadiq (*a*), when the Shiah jurisprudence took form; it was the clergy that passed it on generation to generation. Even during the period of occultation [*ghaybah al-kubra*] it has been the clergy that has safeguarded the Islamic laws and has passed them on from generation to generation until they have reached us. It was the clergy that repeatedly stood up against the previous regime during the past fifty years; and you were all witness to this fact. It was the clergy

that rose against Rida Khan in Isfahan¹ and in other places although it faced defeat because the people were under extreme suppression. It was the clergy that revolted in Azerbaijan and was again defeated because the people were not much aware of what was happening. It was the clergy that raised its voice on Khordad 15 when no one else had the courage to utter a word. And it was the clergy that started the movement two years ago. Do not brag so much about your activities. Be fair. Do not say: “the clergy has done nothing and it was we who did everything”. No sensible person would say such things and become the object of ridicule. It was the clergy that inspired our people to pour onto the streets and it was Islam that prepared our people for martyrdom, without which, no party or group could have succeed in inspiring our people to volunteer for martyrdom. Where in the history of mankind have you heard people come voluntarily and say: “I want to attain martyrdom; pray for me to become a martyr”! This is the power of Islam. You must value Islam and the clergy. You do not understand. If this group (the clergy) is sidetracked, fifty years from now, there will be no sign of Islam. Since you believe in Islam you should know very well that it is the clergy that has protected Islam and it continues to protect Islamic jurisprudence in the seminaries. A couple of days ago one of the teachers of the Qum Seminary had come to see me and on my inquiry on the conditions of the Qum seminaries he told me that the theological students were earnestly studying and striving in the field of Islamic jurisprudence. You should value these clerics. If they get sidetracked, you will have no place in society; just like what it was earlier. It was because of the clerics that you have become ministers, MPs, etcetera. What makes you oppose them? The nation is behind them and they are managing the affairs of the country with the support of the nation. Why do you then say that the nation does not support them anymore? Is it possible for the nation to give up Islam? There may be some clerics who have committed unlawful acts. But why do you forget your own unlawful acts? I agree that our judicial system is not ideal and that there are some shortcomings. I also agree that there are some young clerics who are naïve and inexperienced and commit some unlawful acts; but you should join hands and rectify things instead of raising a big hue and cry over a revolutionary guard’s unlawful act and generalizing it. The revolutionary guards are the same people who saved you from the atrocities of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Khan. Thank the Lord and encourage them (instead of

¹ It refers to the gathering of Iranian *ulama* in the year 1307 AHS (1927) on the invitation of Mr. Nurullah Isfahani in Qum.

criticizing them). At the same time, if they commit an unlawful act they should be corrected. Do not sit in criticism. It is our army that is serving the country under heavy fire. Who are they doing it for? They are doing it for Islam and the Islamic country. They are the same people who worship their Lord in the middle of the night and serve (at the fronts in the daytime). They are the same people who are fearless of death and desire martyrdom and freedom from this world. You may perhaps have gone through some of their wills. Let this power of Islam prevail! If this power of Islam is—God forbid—defeated, all of us and you and all the intellectuals and writers will be ruined. It is this power that protects you. It is the power of the nation and Islam that prevents America and the Soviet Union from ruining this country. This nation wants to protect its country and is prepared to make all the necessary sacrifices for it. You should protect this power of the country. As soon as one utters the word “religious” these people sit in ridicule. Being religious means being Islamic and anyone who ridicules it has, in fact, ridiculed Islam. And if he does it on purpose, then he is a heretic [*murtad-e fitri*] which would mean that his marriage would be annulled, his property would go to his heirs, and he would face execution.

Necessity of abiding by the law

I am always in favor of everyone—all the various strata and those who are active on the scenes—to sit together and find solutions to problems. Do not sit and try to eliminate each other from the scenes and bring matters to a standstill and drag the country to a deadlock. It is you who have reached a deadlock and you are mistaken if you think that the country has reached a deadlock because an Islamic country can never reach a deadlock. These same old men and women and the youth and the children can pull the country out of all deadlocks. And it is only because you all have reached a deadlock that you are left wondering what to do. You are willing to sacrifice Islam and the country for your own selfishness. You are actively destroying the country. Put an end to all this nonsense! Work for God and foster peace for the sake of God! Invite everyone to peace for the sake of God! Just a few days ago, Mr. Hujjati had approached me with the proposal of forming an association—an association for unity, etcetera. I told him that it would be of no use. And that even if they formed several associations, it would be of no use, because such things are not the solution and giving counter interviews will not help anything. Sure, sitting in private face-to-face discussions to find solutions would be the answer but they needed to take care not to allow the

situation to get disastrous enough to ruin all of us. No one should get pompous about holding this and that position and sit and blow trumpets!

Our people have opted for Islam. And if you swerve from the path of Islam, even this cleric who is sitting here will oppose you with all might! The entire Islamic nation, too, is seeking to establish Islam. I had suggested at the onset of this year that this year be recognized as the “year of the law”. All limits should be clearly defined. If the President wavers even a step from his legal limits, as defined by the Constitution, I will oppose him. Similarly, the Prime Minister, too, should not overstep his defined limits and even if he were to do so, I would stand in opposition against him. The legal limits of the Majlis, the Judiciary, the Executive, and the Council of Guardians have been defined by the law. It will not be acceptable for you to declare that you do not recognize the law. How dare you not recognize the law! The law rejects you! No one should be allowed to say that they do not accept the Council of Guardians. They cannot do that. The people have voted for them. More than 16 million people have voted in favor of the Constitution. When the people have voted for the Constitution, they expect it to be implemented. How can it be acceptable for any Tom, Dick, and Harry to wake up one fine morning and declare that he does not recognize the Constitution or the Council of Guardians or the Majlis or the President or the government! Everyone should firmly abide by the law even if it is against your desire. You have to accept it since the decision of the majority is the criterion. The discretion of the Council of Guardians is the criterion, as long as it is not against the Constitution and Islam, and should be honored by all of us. Even I, as a simple cleric, could find certain issues objectionable but if they have the consent of the law then I would need to honor them. Once a certain issue gets legalized, bickering about it in a way that could incite people would amount to pure mischief-making and calls for commensurate legal action. And even if one wishes to oppose something, he should do it peacefully. No one is opposed to peaceful opposition. Your contention is that even though you may not have given your consent, in practical terms, you do respect the law. That is fine. However, as far as clear Islamic issues are concerned, even if you oppose them verbally, you need to be castigated. But as far as your opposition to certain political issues is concerned, fine, the others could be mistaken and even a million people could be mistaken! And even if you believe that the others are mistaken, you have no choice but to honor their decisions. Likewise, as far as those of you who have been elected from Tehran or the other constituencies are concerned, there could be many who feel that you are unqualified and should not have been elected. However,

since you have managed to gain a majority of the votes, the humble people have accepted everything. It is only you and I who, wherever it goes against our favor, cry out opposition to the fundamentals. Wherever and whenever someone opposes “me”, he is not even a Muslim! And whoever favors “me” is an “Abu Dharr”, even if he is really a “Shimr”!¹ This is a tendency that is potentially present in everyone. Mend your ways! There is a tendency within everyone to praise all those who agree with him and to criticize all those who oppose him. The divinely-commanded criteria for judging the good and the bad are immaterial and what matters is only who is good with “me”! The laws that suit “my” interest are the criteria. The Majlis that suits “my” interest is the criterion; the army that caters to “my” interest is the criterion! And whatever is not in “my” favor is corrupt! All human beings have a tendency to such an attitude and it is not confined to one or two individuals. Everyone, with the exception of people who have risen above such things, wants everything only for himself. Nevertheless, as far as the management of the country is concerned, all of you as well as all the other officials and the entire nation should honor the dictates of the Constitution. Everyone should honor the decisions of the Majlis that have been endorsed by the Council of Guardians to be in agreement with the Constitution and the laws of Islam. And do not blow the trumpet of law while breaking them yourselves. Respect the law! All of you should act within the legal framework. If everyone acts within the legal framework, there will be no differences. All differences arise when lines are crossed. If each person stayed within his own purview, there would be no problems. But all problems arise the moment people overstep their bounds.

Caprice of the soul is the source of all disputes

Our disputes are not for the sake of God. You all need to get that out of your heads! All of you and all of us need to clear our heads of the illusion that all our disputes are for the sake of God and for the welfare of Islam. No! That is not true. You cannot fool around with the ego. All your and my and everyone’s disputes are only for our own selves. Everyone wants everything for themselves. Everyone desires all the power and everything they can lay their eyes on. I cannot ultimately understand what kind of power you are chasing now. If we saw Muhammad Rida chase these things, it was clear what he was after, because there was a satanic kind of power available for

¹ That is, Abu Dharr, the great companion of the Prophet (s) in contrast to Shimr, the notorious murderer of Imam Husayn (a).

him to pursue since no one dared to utter a single word against him. But in today's times, when even a grocer can approach the Prime Minister or the President and say: "Hey brother Prime Minister! You are wrong here!" or "Hey brother President! You are wrong there!", there is no question of power! It is just a mutual brotherhood at work. It is just like a group of brothers and some of them happen to sit in one place (as officials) while the others are supporting them. There is no "power" for us to chase. These are all the guiles of Iblis that have taken control over us. And if you respond positively to such guiles, they will finally dispatch you off to hell and will ensure your destruction in this world too. These capricious guiles are lying-in-wait right round this corner and this satanic caprice of the soul is only waiting to bring doom to everything in this world. Hitler did not hesitate to destroy the entire humankind so that he and Germany could remain in power. All those fancies of a "superior race" that were in Hitler's mind are present in all your minds too. It is you that is unaware. What lies at the very core of all these issues is self-adulation and egotism. (All this goes on endlessly) unless and until one starts focusing on things like justice and service to God and unless one starts questioning one's motives for every action. Am I willing to bring destruction upon this entire nation only for establishing my own self and eliminating all others? No! All of you can establish yourselves and all of you can safeguard the interests of this country together. Act as per the law; refer to the Constitution and establish your purviews. Inform the nation, too, about the responsibilities that the Constitution has charted out for the government, the President, the Majlis, the army, and the others. Let them know about the responsibilities that the Constitution for which they have voted has earmarked for each of you. Make sure that you do not limit all this to verbal claims while your actions speak otherwise! Humble yourselves sincerely before the law and before Islam! Everyone can offer lip-service. Even if you had to ask the Satan, he, too, would probably claim to be a revolutionary! Today, everyone has turned into a revolutionary and everyone makes claims of having the nation's interests in mind! Everyone today claims to have fought at the warfronts! You all saw for yourselves how a certain group has now claimed to have been at the warfronts from the very onset of the war! Even I can lie right here and make claims of being right at the fore of battle! Do not debilitate this Islamic Republic and serve these oppressed people who have voted for you all with fairness, justice, and conscience. Fear the day your secret intentions are exposed in front of the people, causing an explosion! Fear the day, God forbid, another "yawmullah" (lit. Day of Allah) possibly takes place! That day no one will be able to speak of returning to

Bahman 22! It will be doomsday for all of us! I am hopeful that God Almighty will bless us and guide us on His favored path! And that He will guide our pens to write that which has His consent! And that He will cause our tongues to speak that which earns His satisfaction!

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

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, May 30, 1981 [Khordad 9, 1360 AHS / Rajab 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Safeguarding unity and preventing dissension

Audience: Sunni clerics from Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The wicked Ta'if plot

You gentlemen know very well that what took place in Ta'if was a (pre-designed) plot and it, unfortunately, became the cause of turmoil through some "self-proclaimed" Sunni clerics in Tehran and some other places. However, with the grace of God, you gentlemen have realized that those who wish to create rifts among the Shiah and the Sunnis are neither Shiah and nor are they Sunni and they are not even concerned about Islam. Any person who believed in Islam would never try to aggravate existing differences at a time when our progress and victory are ensured only through the unity of all the Muslims. This is surely a foreign-motivated act. The big powers have realized that their doom came through Islam, the unity of the Muslims, and fraternity among all the Islamic groups and they are, thus, trying to cause rifts among them.

Safeguarding unity and preventing dissension

You are awake, by the grace of God, and should also awaken your people. Remind them that we were, are, and shall always remain brothers. Your welfare is our welfare and our welfare is yours. We should all protect the Noble Qur'an together. We should all protect Islam and, God willing, gain victory with joined hands. You should advise them not to allow disparity to foster and not to allow any differences to thrive among the people because all differences will only prove to be detrimental to Islam and will work in favor of the enemy and in favor of America and the Soviet Union.

I pray to God Almighty for health and prosperity for all of you and expect you all to pay no heed to the incitement of the deviants and to keep in mind that those who wish to cause differences among you are under foreign influence that only aim to destroy Islam so that they can restore the country

to its earlier conditions and put us under foreign domination. May Allah protect all of you! May divine satisfaction and success be yours!

Speech

Date: May 31, 1981 [Khordad 10, 1360 AHS / Rajab 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The mission and role of the press in society

Audience: The editorial board, writers, and employees of the magazine, “*Urwat al-Wuthqa*” (published for school students by the Islamic Republican Party)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Press to exercise caution

As far as the press is concerned, all of you are well aware of the prime role it plays in every country. A country’s newspapers and magazines can either lead it to progress and growth, and steer it toward welfare, or do the contrary. It is unfortunate that the press and publications during the time of the previous regime were un-Islamic without any exception. They had resorted to every possible means to deviate our youth and the press was no exception. The magazines of those days dragged our youth to corruption. And after the fall of that regime and with the advent of a new trend in publications, even though most of our magazines did not contain the deviance of the previous days, they did contain another kind of deviation. In other words, as soon as they realized that they can no longer publish what they did earlier, they started replacing their magazines with articles that served the interests of the big powers.

During the early days of the Revolution, when there was no check on the mischief-makers, they took advantage of the freedom and started indulging in affairs that you are all better informed about. The authorities suddenly realized that the magazines had turned into the means of attacking and criticizing each other; and not healthy criticism but revenge-seeking. All this was and is very unbecoming for a country that has opted for an Islamic Republic. Magazines and newspapers should be published within an Islamic environment and in the service of Islam. The contents of the publications should contain healthy criticism and guidance and they should be in favor of national interest. At times, if criticism has stemmed from ill-intention, it could worsen matters. Only well-intentioned criticism can foster peace and harmony and so all writers should keep in mind that they have been vested with a divine responsibility for which they shall be held accountable by Him. All those who pick the pen to write should bear in mind that they will be

questioned for what they write. Man generally lives his life thoughtlessly and so does not know himself well. One could live for forty or fifty years, believing himself to be in the service of God, while actually being under the incitation of the Satan. It is a serious responsibility to take on the publication of a magazine, both in the eyes of God Almighty and in the eyes of the people. If the focus of a magazine is not upon serving the nation, it could quite possibly lead it to destruction. If writers work selflessly for national welfare, respecting the honor of the Muslims, magazines can prove to be beneficial and will not mislead the nation.

Role of writers in rectification of social morals

I cannot find the time to read each and every magazine but I do see that some of them are deviated. All those who claim to work for Islam should know that their pens are often working only in the name of Islam and not in the service of Islam. You have taken a big responsibility upon your shoulders and should know that you will be questioned for it some day. Nothing will remain hidden then. Your own heart will bear witness against you; your own hands will bear witness against you. If man has committed sins, the parts of his own body will bear witness against him. Since you publish magazines for the youth, you should bear in mind that even if you publish two thousand magazines, they are read by at least five thousand people or more. If the circulation of a newspaper is two hundred thousands, about five hundred thousand people read it and if it contains deviated matter, it leads all of them astray; and that is not a small responsibility. It is certainly different from a sin that takes place in private. Sure, that is also a sin but not as great as this one. The more the circulation of your publication, the more care you need to take about its contents. Mistaken are those who think they can write whatever they want if their circulation is larger! Their responsibility is much greater. Our people who are active everywhere, are sincere and honest and, thus, the writers should bear in mind that it was these same people who brought about the present conditions in which they have been able to start their publications.

(In the previous regime) you could not dare to write even a single line and it is because of our people that you can now publish your periodicals. Thus, you are indebted to this nation. And they, on their part, have chosen Islam and want their country be governed by the Islamic laws. People should be invited to the path of Islam and the deviant forces should be guided to the right path. Their corruption should be eliminated through reasoning and not through conflict. The press is very useful, and provided that its material is

educative and those involved in this field are committed people, it can play the most important function in a country. A fair person should employ his pen in the service of the people who have given him the opportunity to work in this field. Religion, too, calls for the same. Our press should play a constructive role and we should rectify the ethical values of our society.

Great efforts have been made over the past fifty years to bring deviation among our youth. All those centers of corruption, sleazy magazines, and giving an open hand to the promotion of all kinds of vices were only in order to silence the nation. However, all their plans proved to be ineffective. And since they have seen that all their propaganda could not succeed in sidetracking Islam, they are now even more determined to remove Islam from their way. Their leaders are busy indulging in corruption outside the country and their pens, too, are filled from outside the country. You should join hands and take the affairs of this country into your hands. Do not hand over this country to America or the Soviet Union lest we are forced to spend a few hundred more years in their traps. All those who are at the top of affairs—the writers, the orators, and the intellectuals—all need to wake up and examine where we were in the past, where we are now, and where we should be in the future. Everyone should join hands and get down to work. May you be blessed with God's help in employing the trust that has been placed into your hands in His service! May divine satisfaction and success be yours!

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

Speech

Time/Date: 8:40 am, June 1, 1981 [Khordad 11, 1360 AHS / Rajab 27, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: *Bithat*, the purpose and outcome of the *bithat*, and our responsibility toward it

Occasion: Anniversary of the Prophethood of the Noble Messenger of God (s)

Audience: Various strata of the people of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Purpose and outcome of the *Bithat*

I felicitate all the Muslims and the combatant nation of Iran and the respected residents of Tabriz on the anniversary of the *bithat* of the Noble Messenger (s) and pray to God Almighty to grant everyone the success of obeying this holy soul!

I would like to say a few words on *bithat*, its purpose, its outcome, and on our responsibility in this regard.

The purpose of the *bithat* is as it has been mentioned by God Almighty in the Qur'anic chapter, "Congregation", that says: "*He is Who hath sent among the unlettered ones a messenger of their own, to recite onto 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 So the purpose of the *bithat* has been defined in this noble verse. God Almighty says that He is the God who has sent to mankind, a messenger from among themselves, with the purpose of attaining the above-mentioned goals. The Qur'an contains divine words and the purpose of the *bithat* is to bring down this Great Book (for us) to recite and ponder upon this grand divine sign. Even though the entire universe is a sign of God Almighty, the Noble Qur'an is the essence of the entire creation and all that needs to be accomplished through the *bi'that*. The Noble Qur'an is like a grand dining cloth, spread out through the Messenger of God (s) for all mankind, for each person to pick from it according to his own capacity. This Book and this grand dining cloth has been sent for all mankind—the common man, the scholar, the philosopher, the gnostic, the jurist—from the East to the West and from the time of its Revelation until the Day of Resurrection, to employ to the best use. In other words, even though this is a Book that has been descended from

¹ *Surah al-Jumah* 62:2.

the Unseen for the benefit of humankind in the material world, and although it has descended from the height down to a position in which we can benefit from it, it contains matters that everyone—the common man, the gnostic, and others—can make use of, while at the same time, containing matters that are exclusively for great scholars, philosophers, gnostics, the prophets, and saints. Some of the verses in this Book can be understood by none save the divine saints and “friends” [*awliya*'] of God Almighty except through the means of the interpretations presented by such people, and that too, only to the extent of the capacity of each individual. There are matters that can only benefit the great gnostics of Islam and there are certain matters that can only benefit the philosophers and sages and there are certain matters that can benefit great jurists and this Book serves as a general dining cloth from which all these various groups can reap benefits. This Holy Book contains political, social, cultural, military, civil, as well as other matters. The purpose of the descent of this Book and the purpose of the *bithat* of the Noble Prophet (s) is to make this Book available to one and all, so that everyone can benefit from it according to the capacity of his own being and intellect. Alas! Neither has mankind and nor have the Islamic scholars been able to tap the potential of this Book to its fullest. Everyone should employ his mind and intellect to be able to benefit from this Book to the best of its and our own capacity. The Qur'an has been sent for the benefit of all strata, each to the extent of its own aptitude. However, it does also contain certain verses that can be understood by none but the Noble Messenger and the ones who have been tutored by him and it is only through them that we can gain access to their true meanings. There are yet many verses whose meanings are accessible to everyone and we can all employ our minds for gaining welfare both in this world and the hereafter through this Holy Book. Thus, one of the purposes of the *bithat* was to descend the Qur'an from the unseen that was hitherto unknown and unseen and lay only within Divine Knowledge and was in the hidden realms of the unseen, through this grand being, who underwent great trial and because of his pure monotheistic nature and through the connection that he has with the unseen, could bring down this Book from the unseen realm through various stages, until it has reached the stage of physical manifestation, and has appeared in the form of words. And these words can be understood by all of us and all of us can benefit from their meanings to the extent of our personal capacity. So this has been one of the purposes of this Book and the *bithat* through which the Divine Messenger (s) was appointed to Prophethood so that he could recite and interpret the Qur'an and the divine verses for all of mankind.

Self-purification for the proper understanding of the divine book and wisdom

A part of the (above-mentioned) verse could possibly be implying on the effect that recitation and pondering upon the Book can have on self-purification and the imparting of wisdom which is also from this Book. Thus, the purpose of the *bithat* is the descent of Divine Inspiration and the Qur'an; and the purpose of recitation and pondering upon the Qur'an is to guide man to attain self-purification and the purification of the souls from the darkness that is present within them so that man's soul and mind gains the preparedness for understanding the Book and its Wisdom. So, the purpose is self-purification for the understanding of this Book and its Wisdom. Not every soul can perceive this Light that has descended from the unseen and has now become manifest. It is not possible to gain knowledge and wisdom from this Book without self-purification. The soul has to become freed from all pollution and the greatest pollution is the pollution of the carnal soul of man and its caprice. Until the time the soul is veiled in the darkness of I-ness, it can never perceive the Qur'an, which in its own words is "Light". The veiled ones and those who are covered in thick veils cannot truly comprehend this Book even if they think they do. Unless man emerges out from the extremely dark veil of his I-ness and till the time he is entangled in the caprice and egotism of his carnal soul and till the time he is caught up in all the stuff that he has fabricated within his own soul, he cannot gain the preparedness for the reflection of this Light because of the varying veils of darkness. For those who wish to understand the Qur'an and its real contents, and not just its miniature descended manifestation, and for those who wish to soar with the proper understanding of each of its verses and gain proximity to the Exalted Source of Light, (it is important to know that) you will never be able to succeed unless the veils are removed. "Your (illusory) I-ness veils you from your own true self"¹ and it, thus, needs to be removed from in-between so that you can perceive this Light in its reality, with which capacity man has been created. Thus, one of the purposes of the *bithat* is that this Book and its Wisdom be perceived by man after self-purification.

Self-purification grants freedom from the rebellious carnal self

Prophetic Traditions and history inform us that the very first verse that was revealed to the Noble Prophet (s) was: "*Read: In the name of thy*

¹ It is a portion of a famous hemistich of Hafiz Shirazi: "Your (illusory) I-ness veils Hafiz from his true self, so you go!"

Lord!”¹ As per narrations, this is the first verse that Jibril revealed to the Prophet (s). In other words, the Prophet (s) was invited to “read” and to “gain knowledge” right from the very beginning. This same chapter also says: “Nay, but verily man is rebellious; That he thinketh himself independent!”² And this is the very first chapter of Revelation. It indicates that rebelliousness is the foremost thing (that needs to be tackled by man) and calls for a study of the Book and its Wisdom as well as self-purification. The nature of man is such that the moment he becomes wealthy he gets rebellious. His rebelliousness is commensurate with his level of wealth. If he acquires knowledge, he gets rebellious to the extent of his knowledge. If he gains lofty positions, he gets rebellious to the extent of his position. If God Almighty refers to Firawn (the Pharaoh) as a “rebel” [*taghi*], it is because he had acquired power and status and since he lacked the desire for divine servitude, this power had made him rebellious. The more man amasses worldly possessions without self-purification, the more it adds to his rebelliousness. The burden of all the amassed wealth, posts, positions, and other such worldly things creates problems for man in this world and more so in the hereafter. The purpose of the *bithat* is to salvage us from such rebellion and to enable us to purify ourselves and our souls and to save us from this darkness. If everyone can succeed in self-purification, the world will turn into a light like the light of the Qur’an and the Light of Divine Manifestation. All the differences between mankind, among the rulers, and among the mighty are rooted in the rebelliousness of the carnal self. It stems as soon as man attains a certain position and because he is not content with what he has achieved the rebelliousness of his carnal self turns into aggressiveness. This in turn brings about differences. Irrespective of the depth of its manifestation, rebelliousness is rebelliousness all the same, whether it is at the lowest stage or at the highest one. The differences between the residents of a certain village are also rooted in the same rebelliousness, albeit at a lower level. And the higher one reaches, the deeper is the level of rebelliousness. When Firawn turned rebellious, he declared: “I (Pharaoh) am your Lord and the Highest!”³ All of us are prone to such behavior and it was not exclusive to Firawn. If (the carnal soul of) man is left unharnessed, he is bound to claim: “I am your Lord and the Highest!” The purpose of the *bithat* is to harness this defiant and rebellious soul and to purify it.

¹ Surah al-Alaq 96:1.

² Surah al-Alaq 96:6-7.

³ Surah an-Naziat 79:24.

Negligence toward self-purification breeds differences

All differences among mankind are because of a lack of self-purification. The purpose of the *bithat* is to purify man's soul and to grant him the knowledge of the Qur'an and its wisdom. If man attains self-purification, there will be no inclination toward rebellion. The one who has purified himself reaches awareness of his innate poverty. On the other hand, when man focuses on his ego and believes himself to be high and mighty, this egotism leads him to rebellion. All the differences that arise between people for the sake of worldly things stem from the rebellious carnal self. And this is the problem that mankind faces because of the caprice of the carnal soul. If man attains self-purification and if his soul is well-trained, all differences will disappear. Even if all the divine prophets (*a*) had to gather in one city or country, no differences would ever arise between them because they have attained self-purification and have consequently acquired knowledge and wisdom. All our problems are because of lack of self-purification and training. People have attained knowledge and education but they have not trained the "self". Their power of thinking has deepened but they have not trained the "self". Even the Mongols did not inflict upon mankind the kind of menace inflicted by the corrupt scholars! The purpose of the *bithat* is (to invite man to) self-purification. The purpose of sending divine prophets (*a*) is (to invite man to) self-purification, followed by the acquisition of knowledge. If people who have not purified and trained the "self" and have not liberated themselves from the clutches of the inner *shaytan*, enter the world of *tawhid*, divine knowledge, philosophy, jurisprudence, politics, etcetera, mankind faces great threat at their hands. Those who desire to train others in this world should first have purified and trained their own "self". And even those who wish to rule over others without turning rebellious and evil first need to purify themselves. The purpose of the *bithat* is to purify everyone.

Need and significance of self-purification among the statesmen

It is more important for statesmen, rulers, presidents, and government officials to strive toward self-purification than the common man. If an ordinary man has to turn rebellious, it would be only to a limited extent. If an ordinary person in the marketplace or a village turns rebellious, he will only succeed in dragging a small number of others to corruption. But if a recognized scholar or a recognized ruler or a recognized official had to turn rebellious, he could drag an entire country or even many countries to corruption. All this rebellion that drags countries toward destruction is

because its ruler has not attained self-purification. You could draw a comparison between the case of someone like Saddam and an ordinary person. No matter how rebellious an ordinary person may turn, he can only drag either his own family or a limited number of others to destruction. Now see what can happen if someone like Saddam turns rebellious. This rebellion has dragged two countries and maybe the entire region into destruction. If such rebellion takes hold of the presidents of the powerful countries or say the President of America, his rebellion will drag many countries to destruction. The great wars that took place in this world, like the two world wars, were because of the presence of rebelliousness among the higher levels. It was because the high officials had not attained self-purification that they became rebellious and dragged a large number of other countries to destruction. If the Head of the Soviet Union turns rebellious, his rebelliousness will not remain limited but will instead drag many other countries to destruction.

If the authorities of a country, the higher as well as the lower ones, wish to steer their country toward welfare and peace, they should start from the top. It is never possible to establish peace and harmony from the lower levels. The authorities should begin by fostering peace and harmony among themselves. Peace and harmony among them will ensure peace and harmony for the nation. And if there is, God forbid, rebellion among them, their rebelliousness will destroy the country. All those who consider themselves to be the well-wishers of Islam and the country, and believe that Islam can ensure the salvation of all mankind, should pay more attention to the teachings of Islam that say: "*Nay, but verily man is rebellious; That he thinketh himself independent!*" Those who regard the *bithat* as a divine act and believe that its purpose is to guide all creation, should pay attention to its purpose as defined by God Almighty, Who says: "... *to recite onto them His revelations and to make them grow, and to teach them the Scripture and Wisdom.*" Self-purification has been ordained so that Divine Light can manifest in man. You will continue to be faced with the danger of rebellion of the self unless you attain self-purification. Gaining knowledge is dangerous without self-purification; more dangerous than anything else. Posts and positions are dangerous for you before you attain self-purification and can bring destruction upon you in this world and in the hereafter. Try to keep in mind the true purpose of the *bithat* right from today which is the anniversary of the grand *bithat* and this great divine blessing on mankind. The purpose of the *bithat* was to purify the soul of man and the soul gets purified when it gets rid of selfishness, egotism, lust for power, and greed for

other worldly things and replaces it with (pure love for) God Almighty. The purpose of the *bithat* is to let God rule over the hearts and the society. Unless the upper rungs purify themselves, we cannot expect to see any rectification within this country and the other countries. Those who see the benefit of this Revolution and support it and consider it as a national movement and want it to bear fruit should foster peace and harmony in this country, at all cost. And this peace and harmony has to flow down from the top. The lower rungs will never achieve peace and harmony as long as there is lack of it within the upper rungs. And if the upper rungs do not attain self-purification, love for God, and seek escape from the clutches of egotism, and as long as egotism has replaced self-purification, there will never be peace and harmony even among the upper rungs, no matter how much they may try to foster it.

It is obligatory upon all of us to seek self-purification. The purpose of the *bithat* is self-purification. Without self-purification, everything that an individual attains veils him (from God). It is obligatory upon all of us to purify our souls so that we can avail of the Divine Light and the light of Qur'an. However, self-purification is of greater importance for the statesmen than it is for people like us. If we do not get self-purified, we will cause limited destruction or only destroy ourselves. If the statesmen do not work on self-purification and do not free themselves from the clutches of egotism, they can bring destruction to their own country as well as other countries.

I thank all my dear brothers from Azerbaijan and Tabriz for coming all the way to gather at this humble place. I have great hopes in you people of Azerbaijan and Tabriz. I am hopeful that you will foster peace and harmony among yourselves, purify yourselves, and strive for Islam and for the achievement of Islamic goals. Islam is for everyone and all of us should reap benefits from it.

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

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, June 2, 1981 [Khordad 12, 1360 AHS / Rajab 28, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: The great responsibility of the writers and the role of the press in the Islamic system

Audience: The editorial board and the employees of the *Kayhan* Daily

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All human beings need sermonic guidance

I have repeatedly spoken about the role of the newspapers, the press, the magazines, and the radio and television. However, it may be useful and effective to repeat. One of the things that are effective in treating illnesses is for the patient and those around him to believe that he is healthy and that he is no longer ill. When this belief is repeatedly instilled, it affects the human soul. The same applies to preaching and sermonic guidance. There is a difference between scientific learning and receiving sermonic guidance. There is no need to repeat scientific facts in a book. It is enough to speak about them only once. But as far as preaching and guidance are concerned it is useful and effective to repeat them again and again. A point to note is that certain matters are also repeated in the Holy Qur'an albeit in different styles and one of the Book's miraculous aspects is that although a matter may have been repeated in it, it does not become monotonous and although the context of the matter may be the same, it is discussed in different ways each time. This is only so that the matter is repeated for him each time, in the various sections that he accesses.

So the same applies to preaching and a man should, both, preach himself as well as expose himself to preaching by others. All human beings need to be preached and guided and there is no one who is not in need of them. However, exalted human beings are preached directly by God while they preach the rest, right up to the end. Years of preaching has not yet had any major effect on me. I have to admit that while I am preaching and drawing your attention toward current ethical matters, they have unfortunately not had the desired effects upon me. This is because every human being has a Satan within himself that is lying-in-wait to destroy him. Even when one is about to take the final step to depart from this world he is standing right there to misguide him. He is determined to ensure that we leave this world without

any faith. We should seek refuge in God from such an unfortunate final destiny.

All man's actions and thoughts are in the Divine Presence

My advice to all of you is to constantly keep in mind that you are in the Presence of God and all of us are in the Presence of God. Even as we are sitting here and talking, we are in the Divine Presence. All of us are before the eyes of God and in His knowledge. God is present everywhere: “...and He is with you wheresoever ye may be.”¹ We should strive to imbibe deeply, the fact that we are accountable; and the One to Whom we are accountable is omnipresent and our accountability to Him is not like the other ones in which the person to whom we are answerable is away and so can be cheated upon. Nothing is hidden from Him. Whatsoever we do is in His Presence and is being recorded. This entire universe is the “record-book” of our actions. The sound waves that are produced when we speak record all our words; our thoughts, too, are being recorded. When such is the case and since we are in His Presence, we should not defy the One Who is ever-present. We sometimes defy people who are not in our presence. Even if man, at times, gets emboldened to defy others, the level of his accountability toward others is not as great. But we are gravely accountable if we become heedless to God's blessings and of His Presence. Everything that we possess has been entrusted to us by Him. Our tongue belongs to Him and He has granted it to us. Our eyes and ears belong to Him and He has granted them to us. And He, too, is ever-present. Moreover, the Omnipresent One—Who has been and shall remain ever-present—can see us defying and disobeying Him in His very presence and that, too, with the very bounties that He has entrusted to us!

The great responsibility of the writers

Today, as you hold these pens in your hands, you have taken on a great responsibility. Your workplace is not like a government office. Anything that takes place in a government office generally remains confined to that office unless you (the press) reveal it to the public. However, if your pens make a slip, they could threaten an entire nation. The radio and television centers of a country are such that if corruption arises within them, it could afflict an entire nation. Today, everyone listens to the radio and almost everyone watches television. Thus, any offense within these media cannot be

¹ *Surah al-Hadid 57:4.*

considered the same as an offense behind closed doors. Their offenses are committed in public presence. If your pens have to, God forbid, slip and if you become negligent of your commitment toward God Almighty, it is not as if it will only cause you some personal damage but it will, in fact, affect not only you but also your family, your friends, the nation, and all your brothers-in-faith and religion. Thus, the damage (you could cause) is extensive and is not like a small dent. So you must keep these things in mind, especially since you run a newspaper with a very large circulation.

If you, God forbid, become negligent to such issues, you will be greatly answerable to the people, the world, and most of all to God Almighty. On the other hand, if your newspapers succeed in guiding people (positively) you would have offered a service greater than anyone can offer within the privacy of his home. The guidance that you can provide has a greater impact than what even the preachers in the earlier days could provide since they could only address a gathering of maybe a few thousand people. Your guidance reaches a nation of millions. If the pen in your hand is used for guidance, you could guide a nation on the right path and can save people from deviation. Today, tens of pens are used for misguiding people for every pen that is used for providing guidance. And for every speech that is given for the purpose of guidance there is a speech that is given for misguiding people.

Anyhow, man should stay alert over the efforts of the deviants and should try to find out what motives are behind their actions. Why is a person from this very country and this very nation motivated into causing deviation? Are they truly the well-wishers of this nation who wish to eliminate corruption or are they simply playing games with the nation in order to spread corruption? There may be some people among them who sincerely intend to draw attention toward certain issues in order to rectify them. However, even so, it is not difficult to guess the underlying intention of a critic from the tone of his words. It is possible to guess from the words of a critic if his intention is to guide people or whether there is some other motive.

As soon as someone opens his mouth, it is possible to guess whether the words have emerged from an evil mind for the purpose of mischief-making or whether they have emerged from a peaceful heart, for the sake of general welfare. However, we hardly find these pens and words employed for the sake of welfare. In other words, although those who run the newspapers as well as those who speak publicly may be sincere, the level of their efforts is not up to desirable standards. On the other hand, there are also many corrupt publications that aim at dragging the nation to corruption.

In order to counteract (their mischief), your publications should be such that when they reach the hands of the people, they should be able to say that you are teaching them something positive and that your publications are like a school that is imparting education in this manner such that even the godly people are satisfied with your efforts. Do not bother to gain the approval of the deviants but try to reform them instead. And if you try to win the satisfaction of the deviated elements, they will also manage to misguide you. But if you try to rectify them, your pen will be in the service of reform each day. And all the articles that you will write will be articles that will aid reform.

Headlines could be devious

One only has to glance at the headlines of the newspapers in order to guess its source and motive. Quite often one finds on reading the actual article, that the headlines were totally exaggerated. The headline says something while the article says something quite different. Not everyone can go through the entire newspaper. Many people just take a glance at the headlines and falsely end up imagining all the negative or the positive things that could have transpired. But if one only has to go through the entire article, he will find that the situation is not quite as the headlines had made it seem to be. You should know clearly that such things are tantamount to fooling the Muslims. Oftentimes, the situation is neither as gross as it is made to seem through the headlines and nor is it as grave as it is made to appear. In the same way that the acts of a merchant who places good stuff at the top of his bad wares, and for instance places good oil at the top to sell the bad stuff at the bottom, is unlawful [*haram*] and fraudulent, even if a newspaper by using attractive headlines tricks people into believing that it is a very good one and that it publishes very important issues and criticizes the wicked people although when they go through the whole article they find that either the situation was not really what the headlines made it appear or at least not of such a gravity, this too is fraudulence that you are indulging in with the use of your pens. In the same way that the act of a merchant who places a layer of good oil to sell the bad one at the bottom is fraudulent and unlawful, placing sensational headlines that are not commensurate with the actual contents is fraudulent and unlawful.

Need for factual criticism through the newspapers

Always keep in mind that undoubtedly there is a hereafter. There is for us a Day of Judgment on which we shall be questioned about everything.

Man judges his own self on that day. All the pens will stand in witness on that day. Hands and eyes will bear witness. There is such a day. It does not matter much whether it arrives sooner or later but (we do need to keep in mind) that there is going to be such a day.

You should bear in mind that when you have opted for an Islamic country, its publications and newspapers should also be as per Islamic standards. And especially when there are people around who are just waiting for the slightest opportunity to add fuel to the fire. You see how, no sooner does a certain thing appear in the newspapers that the BBC and the Voice of America and the other radio services pick a certain sentence and play around with its words to make it mean something else or at least exaggerate it such that the entire world ends up believing that such things are truly happening in Iran. And that such corruption is rampant in Iran. And that there is complete mayhem in Iran! All this is because those who wish to make mischief use such means, one of which is the press.

I am hopeful that as the editors of these newspapers, you will strive to gradually guide the elements that wish to harm the Islamic Republic, even if you cannot do it overnight. Do not regard anyone as your enemy. Of course I am not saying that you should not regard someone like Saddam as your enemy; but these people who are governing the nation today are certainly not enemies. There are just differences of opinion. These differences of opinion stem from the motives that lie within man. And all these differences of opinion could lead to hostility. Newspapers should not deal with anyone with antagonism and should instead act as a form of guidance. Express yourselves and do not hold back criticism. There can be no reform in a society without criticism. There are shortcomings everywhere. Man is full of shortcomings from head to toe and these shortcomings should be pointed out for the purpose of social reform.

May God protect you! I wish you all success and may all the pens succeed in winning divine satisfaction!

Statements

Time/Date: Morning, June 3, 1981 [Khordad 13, 1360 AHS / Rajab 29, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Teaching in Qum preferable to the present position (as Leader of the Revolution)

Audience: Teachers of the Qum seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I prefer one day in Qum as a cleric to my present position and I shall come to Qum whenever possible.

(The Imam also stressed that) the Qum seminary should continue to focus on teaching Islamic sciences, and particularly jurisprudence, and should preserve the thousand-year-old tradition of the Shiah jurists.

Message

Date: June 5, 1981 [Khordad 15, 1360 AHS / Shaban 2, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Futile efforts of the groups connected to the Eastern and Western blocs against Islam and the Revolution

Occasion: Anniversary of the Khordad 15 bloody uprising

Addressee: The Iranian nation¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Although it may have appeared that the uprising of the Iranian nation on Khordad 15—coinciding with Muharram 12 which is the 3rd day of martyrdom anniversary of the greatest martyr in the history of Islam²—in which fifteen thousand martyrs sacrificed their lives in the service of God Almighty and through which the butchers of the criminal Pahlavi regime managed to add yet another eternally appalling feather to the cap of their past fifty years of dishonor, it actually marked the beginning of the victory of Islam and the nation. In the same way that the martyrdom of the Leader of the Oppressed as well as the supporters of the Qur'an, on the day of Ashura, marked the beginning of the everlasting life of Islam and the Qur'an and in the same way that the tragic martyrdom and captivity of the *Al Allah* [the People of Allah] uprooted the rule of the Yazidiyan, who in the name of Islam, naively believed that they could extinguish the light of divine revelation and in the same way that they ensured that the movement of the Sufiyanis found its way into the dustbins of history, the fearless martyrdom of the oppressed Iranians, too, succeeded in permanently uprooting the Pahlavi rule as well as the domination of others like them, who wanted to sidetrack Islam in the name of Islam and to replace the divine revelation with the Western and American ideologies, from the face of history. (It could be said that) the victory of Bahman 22, 1357 AHS [February 11, 1979] truly was the fruit of the Khordad 15 uprising.

¹ Imam Khomeini's message was read out by his son, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, in a gathering of hundreds of thousands of the people of Tehran who had rallied from ten different parts of Tehran towards the Tehran University and the venue of the Friday congregational prayers.

² It refers to the 3rd Imam from the Prophets Progeny and the grandson of the Noble Prophet of Islam (s), Husayn ibn Ali (a), who was tragically martyred in the historical Battle of Karbala on the day of Ashura in the year 61 AH.

The vestiges of the previous blood-thirsty regime are trying their best to revitalize themselves to weaken the Islamic Republic and to portray it as an oppressive regime—worse than the Pahlavi regime—and to distort public opinion and to present the superpowers with an excuse to interfere in the internal affairs of our country with the help of the rejected groups and the West and East-infatuated writers and with their deceptive pens and words. Under pretexts like lawlessness in Iran and by claiming that the rule of the jungle prevails in this country and by claiming that all the institutions of the Islamic Republic are only involved in plundering and execution, these elements want to pave the paths for their lords and masters or the Eastern communist and the Western capitalist blocs, and to drag beloved Iran into muck in the name of freedom and to sidetrack the Muslim nation from the scenes in the name of freedom, which in their terminology, is tantamount to an absolute lack of restriction. They desire the freedom to arm themselves against the Islamic government and the freedom to create turmoil. They desire the freedom to use the G3 (a kind of war weapon) for the elimination of Islam and the Islamic Republic and this is just the kind of “freedom” against which all the divine prophets (*a*) as well as Islam and its leaders have fought and for which they have all sacrificed their lives throughout history. As their true followers, we too, follow suit. Those who are blindly infatuated by the West desire to spread the Western interpretation of “freedom” here, including their catastrophic levels of sexual freedom and the freedom to establish centers of moral corruption. Islam and the Islamic Republic are against their beastly ideologies.

These people are against the revolutionary guards [*pasdaran*] and their activities, the army, and all the armed forces. Our great nation needs to remain aware and should thwart all their conspiracies. These people are petrified of the Khordad 15 celebrations because this grand day marked the onset of the flowering of Islam and the independence and freedom of this nation. It is only under the auspices of Islam that independence and freedom in their truest sense can find manifestation. Although Khordad 15 is a day of national mourning for this oppressed nation like the day of Ashura, it is also an epoch-making day that marked the revival of the Muslims and the true message of Islam. The commemoration of the epoch-making day of Khordad 15 is the celebration of human values through the course of history, just as the commemoration of the decisive day of Ashura is the commemoration of Islam and the Noble Qur’an. No matter what our noble nation and in fact all the oppressed nations of the world neglect, they should make sure never to be negligent toward these two sacred days.

The Ashura movement eliminated the Yazidiyan from the face of history and sent them into the graveyards of history. Similarly, Khordad 15 eliminated the Pahlavis and others like them as well as the superpowers (from this country). The commemoration of Khordad 15 and its rallies are the overpowering cries of the oppressed over the oppressors and the call of the people committed to the progressive school of the Qur'an, against those who have unconditionally surrendered themselves to the deviated ideologies of the East and the West that are insidiously at work, trying to deviate our oppressed nation with their pens and words. It is upon our nation to strive with tooth and nail to safeguard these sacred days that have been presented to us from the divine unseen realm and to wholeheartedly confront the opponents of Islam and the servants of the big and small devils. They should tighten their ranks and should strengthen their hearts and should overcome the problems and conspiracies laid out by the East and the West with firm steps and an iron resolve and should arm themselves against difficulties with faith in God. It is upon the armed forces—the army, the police, the revolutionary guards, the gendarmerie, the *basiji* forces, and the ethnics as well as the other Islamic combatants—to remain united and consolidated and to confront the *kafir* enemies with divine strength and the call of “God is the Greatest” and to pray to God Almighty for victory, for the unseen Hand supports them! It is upon the beloved nation to support the armed forces and not to hold back their whole-hearted cooperation and help and to empower them in their sacrifices and valuable services. Triumph and victory are not far off with divine will! Dignity and honor belongs to you while the enemies of Islam face disgrace.

Long live Ashura! Long live Khordad 15 and Bahman 22! Long live the *Ayyam Allah* [Days of Allah] and the noble Iranian nation! Long live the combatants and those who strive at the warfronts and behind them!

May God's peace be upon His sincere servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 15, 1360 AHS

Message

Date: June 6, 1981 [Khordad 16, 1360 AHS / Shaban 3, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The great responsibility of the revolutionary guards; appreciating their sacrifices and endeavors

Occasion: The auspicious birth anniversary of Imam Husayn (*a*) and the *Pasdar* Day

Addressees: The Iranian nation and the Muslims of the world¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Felicitations to all the oppressed people of the world on the occasion of the propitious and blessed *Id* of the auspicious birth anniversary of the Leader of the Oppressed!

This noble day, which marks the beginning of the revival of the *bithat* of the last Messenger of God (*s*) has always and shall always continue to be auspicious. Had it not been for the day of Ashura and the sacrifices of the family of the Prophet (*a*), the *bithat* and all the agonizing endeavors of the Noble Messenger of God would have been destroyed by the *taghutis* of those times.

But for the incident of Ashura, we could never be sure as to what the fate of the Holy Qur'an and Islam would have been at the hands of the family of Abu Sufyan and especially Yazid, the symbol of the dark age of idol worshipping who hoped to uproot Islam by declaring that "there was neither any message from God nor was there any revelation,"² and their *jahiliyyah* logic which intended to obliterate the Book and the Revelation and to destroy the very foundation of the divine rule. However, divine will was and is to keep alive the liberating (religion of) Islam and the guiding light of the Qur'an and to revive and support them through the blood of the martyrs like the offspring of divine revelation and to protect them from any harm. And to bring forth, Husayn ibn Ali (*a*)—that essence of Prophethood and the

¹ Imam Khomeini's message was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, to tens of thousands of the people of Tehran, members of the Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the Basiji forces at the Imam Husayn Square of Tehran after the parade of the revolutionary guards and the Basiji forces.

² Yazid ibn Muawiyah, who replaced the Islamic caliphate with monarchy, in deviating from the conduct of the caliphs and returning to the values of the Days of Ignorance, went on to say, "There was neither any message from God nor was there any revelation."

reminder of *Wilayah*—so that he would sacrifice his own life as well as the lives of his beloved ones for his faith and for the great *ummah* of the Noble Prophet (*s*) so that his pure blood would surge forth till the end of history and revive the religion of God and protect Divine Inspiration and its fruits!

Now that our revolutionary guards from the Guard Corps and the Committees of our times have declared this great, blessed, and everlasting day as the “*Pasdar Day*”, they have chosen to take on a great responsibility and duty. It could be said that they have chosen this day in memory of the guards of the day of Ashura and the struggles and sacrifices of Karbala’. What a noble choice and what a grand responsibility! It is noble because it keeps alive the memories of the pure blood of the Shiah and it is a grand responsibility because of all that sacrifice and chivalry. This pure blood of sacrifice has won such deep divine grace that it is called as “*Thar Allah*” (lit. the blood of Allah) that flowed from beyond the veils of darkness and light, completely untainted by any kind of egotism and selfishness, and had reached (its owner to) the very precincts of “servanthood of Allah is a gem, whose essence is Divine Lordship,”¹ where all our hands fall short. However, do not lose hope; strive hard so that (your works) can take on a deeper Islamic and sacred color. And ensure that all your sacrifices remain pure, just as they are now, by the grace of God.

Since you dear ones have, right at the beginning of the Revolution, emerged forth from the midst of society and have striven in the battle of truth against falsehood and the monarchial regime and are now making brave sacrifices against the *kufir* of Saddam’s armies or the blood-thirsty America along with your brothers from the army and the other armed forces from the *basijis* to the brave ethnics and are bringing great honor to Islam and this nation, you should know that God is the supporter of His armies and the final victory is always with the truth!

Let the world-devouring America know that this beloved nation as well as Khomeini will never allow it to rest in peace unless they destroy all its interests (in Iran) and that they will continue their divine struggle till they sever both its (American) hands. As it has already demonstrated, our nation is willing to suffer all kinds of paucity in order to protect its dignity and self-respect. Our resilient nation knew from the very first day of its struggle that it would have to confront all the powers and the superpowers and it should know that these superpowers, and especially America, as well as their internal and external stooges will use all their means to defeat us. But we are

¹ *Misbah ash-Shariah*, chap. 100, “On the truth of servitude,” p. 536.

left with no choice but to bear in mind that even the greatest of difficulties are like mites against our Islamic-Iranian dignity and our people should prepare themselves to face this “Husayni” conflict until victory is finally achieved because the death of a martyr is better than a life of disgrace.

We have chosen to accept martyrdom today so that our children can stand up proudly tomorrow in the face of global *kufr* and so that they succeed in shouldering the responsibility of true independence with all its various dimensions and can proudly champion the cause of the oppressed peoples of the world. You valiant soldiers and the army of the Islamic Revolution of the Iranian people have, from the early days of the Revolution, been unfairly targeted by the deviant groups and this has added an honor to your earlier achievements. Even today, those who are more averse to Islam are your greatest enemies. Strive hard to ensure that the hypocrites [*munafiqin*] do not infiltrate into your ranks and cause differences among you and your other combatant brothers because now you and the other popular armed forces are brothers and constitute the army of Islam.

Keep alert so that you do not face damage at the hands of the vestiges of the *taghuti* regime and the deviant ideologies because the enemies of Islam are lying stealthily in wait and have prepared their venomous pens to sidetrack the Islamic Republic from the scenes and are willing to accept any other government but the Islamic Republic. They were always fearful of even the name of the “Islamic Republic” and still continue to do so and are thus striving with their pens and their acts to eliminate your popular government. They should, however, know well that this great wave (of the masses) will cast them aside like a tiny piece of straw. The divine power of Islam is much greater than what their hollow heads can imagine. You should know that this nation will deal with them, as per its divine obligation, whenever it deems it necessary. I congratulate you and the other strata of the nation as well as all the oppressed people of the world on the occasion of the “*Pasdar Day*” and pray for their prosperity as well as the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims.

Long live the combatant of Islam! Long live the Revolutionary Guards Corps! Long live the Revolutionary Committees! Peace be upon the Martyrs of Islam! Long live the survivors of the martyrs! Long live those afflicted by the imposed war and long live the Iranian nation!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 8, 1981 [Khordad 18, 1360 AHS / Shaban 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representatives for handling the *Hajj* affairs

Addressees: Sayyid Abdul-Majid Iravani, Sayyid Ali Hashimi Golpaygani, Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli, Haydar-Ali Jalali, and Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khurramabadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Eminences Haj Sayyid Abdul-Majid Iravani, Haj Sayyid Ali Hashimi Golpaygani, Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli, Haj Shaykh Haydar Ali Jalali, and Haj Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khurramabadi—may their graces last:

Since *hajj*, this great divine obligation, is one of the most important rituals of Islam and is a grand religio-political congregation of the Muslim community and since great efforts should be made toward performing it with all magnificence, in order to reap the benefits of this great religious congregation, I hereby appoint Your Eminences as my representatives to look after the affairs of the pilgrims to the *Bayt-Allah al-Haram* [Sacred House of God] in this year's *hajj*. It is expected that all concerted efforts shall be made through mutual counseling, to cater to the needs of the pilgrims, and that no efforts will be held back during the *hajj* season to provide them with the necessary guidance. Enlighten the pilgrims on the importance of time and the sensitivity of the present situation and inform everyone of the fact that the enemies of Islam are trying their utmost to create differences and dissension within the Islamic society and are using all means and ways to pave the way for, once again, gaining full control over the Muslim countries and pilfering and plundering them by creating conflict among the Muslims.

Therefore, it is necessary to abstain from all acts that could create dissension as a religious and sacred obligation. At the same time, the heads of the various offices that are connected with the *hajj* affairs in any form are obliged to deliver on their duties through consultation and to gain your approval in order to ensure a complete coordination of affairs. I pray to God Almighty for the success of everyone! May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 5, 1401 AH

Speech

Date: June 8, 1981 [Khordad 18, 1360 AHS / Shaban 5, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Significance of the service provided by doctors and nurses; law and legislation; warning to conspirators

Audience: Various strata of society; members of the Islamic associations of the Health Ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Significant responsibility of doctors and the nurses

The presence of Islamic Associations throughout the country, and especially in the revolutionary institutions, is very necessary but the gentlemen who form the Islamic Associations should, firstly, take great care that corrupt elements and deviant groups do not find their way into their associations and, secondly, they should ensure that the activities of their associations are Islamic in nature and that they do not contain any deviation.

Now that the Islamic Associations of the Health Ministry as well as doctors and nurses and the employees of the Health Ministry of the Khuzestan province are present here today, I would like to say a few words in connection with their affairs throughout the country, and a few words on the medical institutions of the Khuzestan province and the west and the south of the country.

What I wish to say to these ladies and gentlemen throughout the country is that serving the sick who are lying in hospital is, both, a very difficult and a valuable service. It is very difficult to treat, nurse, and deal with the sick, injured, and the disabled; however, offering good service to them is very valuable. Although all offices should perform their duties well, the hospitals have their own special characteristics. You, and specially the nurses, have to deal with people who are sick and dejected and need mental peace and care; and treating them affectionately like a mother, a sister, a brother, or a father will have a positive impact on their spirit and will expedite their recovery. Such services dedicated to these people are very valuable before God Almighty.

And what I need to tell the doctors, the nurses, and the other employees of the hospitals of the Khuzestan province as well as the other war-stricken areas is that you are providing invaluable services to those hospitals especially since they are faced with the danger and threat of bombardment by

people who do not even spare hospitals and schools. (You should know that) your services in those areas are of great value. Taking care of the people who have lost their health for the cause of Islam is of great value in the presence of God Almighty. However, care should be taken that the conditions of the hospitals are Islamic and that your interaction with the patients is motherly, fatherly, sisterly, and brotherly. Your job is, both, very difficult and valuable as well as full of responsibility, just like the Islamic associations whose contribution is valuable and whose responsibility is great. Therefore, my recommendation and my request to all the Islamic associations throughout the country as well as all the doctors and nurses and paramedics all through the country and especially those serving in the war-stricken areas and the other dangerous sensitive areas is to strive to ensure that their behavior is Islamic and that their interaction with the patients is decent, humane, and Islamic. May God Almighty reward all you brothers and sisters and with His will, ordain for you the same merits that He has granted to those who served the Islamic armies in its early days.

Respecting and abiding by the law

Today, we are faced with problems that have either been designed against us from outside the country or are being created by the elements that have foreign connections. I declared at the onset of this New Year, for this year to be declared as the “year of the law” so that we honor the law in a manner that would earn us the satisfaction of Islam as well as the world. A country in which the rule is not the rule of the law, and especially the laws of Islam, cannot be considered as an Islamic country. All those who oppose the law are also opposed to Islam. Anyone who opposes the laws passed by the Majlis and approved by the Council of Guardians, knowingly or unknowingly, has opposed Islam. If all individuals, groups, and institutions throughout the country respect and abide by the law, there will be no scope for differences. All differences emerge when laws are breached. If a country is governed upon law no differences will prevail. All the divine prophets (*a*) had been sent to establish law and Islam has also come to establish law and the Prophet of Islam (*s*) and the Imams of Islam (*a*) as well as the caliphs of Islam (*a*), all surrendered and humbled themselves before the law. We, too, should follow in the footsteps of the Prophet of Islam (*s*) and the guiding Imams (*a*) and should abide by the law and respect it. The law applies to one and all. Obviously if one is to implement a law applying to a thief, the thief is bound to object; but the law should be made clear for the thief. Even if the son or the daughter of the Noble Messenger (*s*) would have, God forbid,

extended his or her hand toward theft, he would have severed his or her hand. The law is for the benefit of the entire nation and all of society and is not meant to only favor certain individuals and groups. The law encompasses the entire society and is meant to discipline society as a whole. As expected, thieves and dictators are averse to the law. All those who break the law are averse to it. However, the law, which belongs to the entire nation and is meant to discipline the nation and to ensure its security and interests, should be honored. No one can raise a hue and cry and refuse to accept a certain law just because it is not up to his liking. There is no problem with the law and it is you who should align yourselves with it and not otherwise. If a law can be changed only to suit a certain individual, group, or society, it would not be a "law" at all. The law is at the top of affairs and all the citizens of a country should align themselves with it. And if a law decrees their action to be out of bounds, they should surrender themselves to the law and only on that condition would a country be honoring the law.

If every group wants to launch a protest the moment they feel that a certain law is not being properly implemented it would lead to dictatorship and I have repeatedly warned that this kind of dictatorship creeps in gradually and step by step. It is the same dictatorship that turns man into a Hitler and a Stalin. If the law is not properly implemented in a country, those who breach it are in fact, dictators who are pursuing their own goals in the name of Islam or freedom. If these people claim to respect the law then let them sit together and open the books of law and find out what their duties and responsibilities are, as defined by the law and then let them abide by them even if they are not to their liking. In that case there would be no disputes. However, if, for instance, the public prosecutor implements the law and (because it does not suit us) we oppose him, it is nothing but dictatorship. Not abiding by the Majlis and its decisions, the Council of Guardians and its decisions, the Judiciary, the Office of the Public Prosecutor, the Judicial Councils, and other bodies is tantamount to dictatorship. The rule of law means that everyone's duties and responsibilities are defined by the laws of the country, as derived from Islam. Anyone who wishes to go against the limits that the law has defined for him is a dictator who is currently coming forward in the garb of an oppressed victim but will eventually turn into a despot and ruin the country. And even if he does not realize it, he has served the interests of the superpowers by causing rifts among the people and ruining the country. And if he has acted knowingly, he has committed a grave offence. I advise you to abide by the law and to stop making all this noise and to stop creating problems. The

newspapers should put an end to this entire racket and should stop creating problems. The writers and orators should also stop creating noise and problems. Only then will we succeed in establishing a lawful country which is what an Islamic country is like and only then will dictatorship be eliminated from this country.

Strong warning to conspirators and mischief makers

Just because I repeatedly advise you all and remind you all to ensure that the country's affairs be handled correctly and as per the law, it does not mean that our country has developed some weakness and that the nation now does not care for Islamic laws and that they are looking out for a dictator whom they can serve! That is not the issue because Khordad 15 and its anniversary have proved that our nation is actively on the scenes for the cause of Islam. As long as I can, and as far as Islamic ethics demand, I invite everyone to peace and harmony. I invite all the groups to peace and harmony. I will keep advising you all, humbly, as a brother. But everyone should know that the day I find the interests of the Islamic Republic being threatened and the day I find Islam under danger, do not expect me to sit around offering my advice. No! I shall cut all hands short. If I find anyone, anywhere in the country, spreading turmoil through his speeches during these crucial times in which we are involved in an imposed war and need to maintain internal peace and harmony—no matter who he is or what position he holds—I will put him firmly in his place before he manages to create turmoil.

Today, I warn all those who go around making speeches—and from what I have heard, these corrupt groups grab the opportunity to launch demonstrations—that the police and the revolutionary guards will strictly prevent such speeches and will arrest their speakers. Even if I have to make a speech that goes against Islam and intends to create turmoil and is meant for causing problems for our Muslim nation that has given great martyrs for the cause of Islam, these people are religiously obliged to arrest me and hand me over to the law. There are no exceptions. Open your ears wide! I will deal with all those who wish to cause corruption and turmoil and wish to oppose the public prosecutor, the Majlis, and the other bodies, in the same way that I dealt with the Shah and this nation dealt with Muhammad Rida! Today, we have all the means and you will be pushed aside.

I, once again, advise you all to hold back and to refuse to pay heed to the corrupt elements that are trying to instigate you and to shun them away. I will take strong action against anyone who tries to disturb peace and harmony. I and everyone else are religiously obliged to do so.

I warn the entire nation and the bazaars of this country that there are certain groups that are trying to close down the bazaars. They are the same old capitalists trying to spread corruption today. They are the same corrupt groups that are manipulating some people in order to create corruption. And, today, if they manage to close down the bazaars and hold protests, these acts would amount to opposing the Noble Prophet (s) and Islam. You need to remain alert lest these opportunistic groups launch demonstrations and cause turmoil under different pretexts. As for those who try to cause turmoil with their pens, words, or any other means, introduce them to me and I will cast them aside. So, as far as possible and as long as I do not find the interests of Islam under threat—and no political games shall ever succeed in threatening Islam and the Muslims—I will continue advising them and humbly request them to stop their mischief making. However, if ever I sense a danger, they will be dealt with in the same manner as Muhammad Rida. All acts like the closing down of the bazaar, making demonstrations, and giving instigative speeches today are against the interests of Islam and are against the instructions of God Almighty Who has chosen Islam as a model of action for us; and (such acts) are *haram* (religiously unlawful). Closing down the bazaars, anywhere, and holding street protests without the permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are acts of deviation and are *haram* and the police, the revolutionary guards, the *basijis*, and the entire nation are religiously obliged to prevent such corruption.

I warn all these gentlemen who wish to make speeches, issue statements, circulate open letters, and indulge in all such futilities to return to Islam, the law, and the Noble Qur'an so that I am not forced to sidetrack them. I care for many of you and would like you all to abide by the law and to stay within your bounds. But if you refuse to take heed, I will be forced to act otherwise.

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

Decree

Date: June 9, 1981 [Khordad 19, 1360 AHS / Shaban 6, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a representative to the Department of Police

Addressee: Muhammad Mahdi Muwahhidi Kermani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Muwahhidi Kermani—may his graces last:

Keeping in view that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Imami Kashani has resigned from his post in the Department of Police owing to his other time-consuming responsibilities, I hereby, appoint Your Eminence as my representative in that department. Besides taking charge of the Political-Ideological Office of the Police Department, you are expected to cater to their religious activities and needs, while they shall continue handling their own official affairs. I pray to God Almighty for your success in handling the responsibilities vested to you. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 10, 1981 [Khordad 20, 1360 AHS / Shaban 7, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Bani Sadr's dismissal from his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Addressee: Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

(This is to inform you that) Mr. Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr has been dismissed from the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ On the basis of Article 110 of the Iranian Constitution, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution has the right to appoint and dismiss the commanders of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Decree

Date: June 11, 1981 [*Khordad* 21, 1360 AHS / *Shaban* 8, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Addressee: Wali Allah Fallahi (Deputy Chief of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

General Wali Allah Fallahi, Deputy Chief,
Joint Staff of the Armed Forces:

(This is to notify that) until a decision is made as regards the appointment of Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Your Honor is entitled to perform the assigned duties and responsibilities based on the rights of the position of the Leader of the Islamic Revolution.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 21, 1360 AHS

¹ As per Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Message

Date: June 12, 1981 [Khordad 22, 1360 AHS / Shaban 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for aid for the earthquake victims of the Kerman province¹

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, to God we belong and to Him we shall return.”

The massive and tragic earthquake that rocked the Kerman province causing large losses in terms of human lives and property grieves everyone who hears about it. We should all know that such disastrous incidents are divine trials for, both, those who have been afflicted as well as the rest of the nation. This is a trial for the victims to prove the level of their resilience in the face of tragic incidents by patiently facing the loss of beloved ones and to show their faith in the divine words of the Noble Qur'an which says that whatever we possess is from God Almighty and that we are all trustees of the divine trusts and will have to return them sooner or later. And this is a trial for the aggrieved ones throughout the country to show how sincerely they are prepared to share the losses of this tragedy with their dear brothers and sisters and to what degree they are willing to strive to compensate for this great disaster.

Keeping in view the unity that can be seen within this beloved and noble Iranian nation, I am sure that they will remain steadfast in the face of all disasters and tragedies and will rush to provide immediate aid to their beloved brothers and sisters who have lost everything and will support their popular and pious government that is shouldering a major responsibility and will strive to rescue the survivors of this tragedy.

I offer my condolences to the noble Iranian nation over this tragic incident and pray to God Almighty for the health and prosperity of the survivors of this agonizing tragedy.

¹ An earthquake measuring 6.8 on the Richter scale rocked the Golbaf city of the Kerman province, situated 850 km. southeast of Tehran, at 10:56 am on June 9, 1981, killing and injuring more than ten thousand people, out of the total population of 15000, and destroying about 95 percent of the buildings in this city.

Peace and blessings be upon the survivors and mercy and divine forgiveness on those who tread the divine path!

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 12, 1981 [Khordad 22, 1360 AHS / Shaban 9, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dispatching a commission to the Kerman province

Occasion: The Kerman earthquake

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Saduqi—may his blessings last:

After expressing greetings, I hereby request you to immediately dispatch a commission to survey the situation of the recent earthquake in the Kerman province with the help and cooperation of the brave people and the noble clerics of this province and to inform me about the needs of the survivors of this tragic earthquake at the earliest so that I can send whatever aid I can to my grieved brothers and sisters. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 13, 1981 [Khordad 23, 1360 AHS / Shaban 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting pardon to prisoners

Occasion: On the threshold of Shaban 15, birth anniversary of the Master of the Age (may God expedite his glorious advent)

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of Iran)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

Enclosed herewith is a list of the names of eighty-six prisoners who deserve to be pardoned according to the verdict of the amnesty commission of the department of justice on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of the Master of the Age and Imam of the Time (may God expedite his glorious advent).

Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

You have my consent.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Based on Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Speech

Date: Morning, June 13, 1981 [Khordad 23, 1360 AHS / Shaban 10, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Importance of the role of the university in the independence or lack of independence of a country

Occasion: Anniversary of the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Cultural Revolution

Addressees: The members of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Cultural Revolution and the Supreme Council of the *Jihad* of the Universities of Tehran and other cities

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of the role of the university in the country

Although I had no plans to speak on Saturday, since you gentlemen are academicians and have spoken on the affairs of the university and the “cultural revolution”, I therefore, will say a few words.

The most important thing that the enemies of the oppressed countries and the Muslim countries and the enemies of mankind have pinpointed is the university. This is because they know very well that if they manage to influence the university of a country, the entire country can fall into their hands. It is the university that runs the affairs of a country. And it is the university that trains the present and the future generations and if the university falls into the hands of the plunderers of the East and the West, the country falls into their hands. Nothing else has been their target more than the university. The clergy, too, is like the university in this regard. They wanted to introduce the academicians into society with an Eastern or Western upbringing. And since they could not succeed in gaining control over the clergy, they wanted to eliminate them from the scenes. They were neither interested in the university nor in the seminaries. Their attempts were focused on these two groups in whose hands lies the entire future of a country and they tried to groom one of them under foreign and Western or Eastern training before bringing them on the scenes while they tried to eliminate the other from the scenes because they could not manage access to their grooming and could not influence them even after a thousand years of effort. They tried to do everything to eliminate the clergy from the scenes while they put in all their efforts to gain control over the academicians. One of their main conspiracies was to make these two groups cynical toward each other. During these long years, they tried their best to cause a rift between

these two groups and to breed animosity between them. If we were to visit a university, even the mention of a “cleric” would bear the same connotation as a narcotic drug. And within the clergy, the term “academician” meant someone “irreligious”. They instigated these two groups to each other’s throats so that they could misuse the situation to their advantage. It was not without reason that through these fifty years during which they were in power, they did not allow even a single university that could work for the welfare of the country and that would churn out human beings and scholars to get established in the country. I do not say that they succeeded completely but they surely tried their best to gradually succeed in ensuring that all the graduates either worshipped the East or the West! Once they can succeed in doing this to the university and in severing off the ties between the clergy and the university, they are bound to hold the reins of the destinies of all the countries in their hands.

Importance and need for a cultural revolution in the universities

They pinpointed the universities and tried to gain control over the university with all their might. And to attract individuals that were inclined toward the East and more toward the West. And to convert the academicians to their own advantage while sidetracking the clergy. To make the clergy ineffectual and to bring the academicians under either the Eastern or the Western influence. We and this revolution, too, should tap this same sensitivity. Top priority should be given to the cultural and academic revolution just like they did through these last fifty years. Following the Revolution, too, those who cared for their country as well as Islam put their finger on that same Achilles’ heel and similarly demanded a cultural and academic revolution. And you saw for yourselves how those people whose Mecca was Moscow or America started opposing the move, calling it a reactionary step. Then they started making accusations like “these people are against knowledge and expertise” and that “these people wish to teach how to perform the dry and wet ablutions in the university”, oblivious of the fact that if such kind of propaganda did bear any fruit during the past days, they no longer did so, after the Revolution and awakening of millions of the Iranian masses. The people now know very well that when you use the word “reactionary”, what you are implying is for them to leave you all free to be “progressive” and to drag our country into the arms of the West or into the hands of the East or the communist bloc. When they refer to the term “reactionary”, they mean the Muslims and the people who care for Islam and their country and by “progressive”, they mean those who wish to drag the

country toward the East and the West and the only way they can achieve this is by dragging the university toward the East and the West.

Sinister goals and aims of those who oppose the Cultural Revolution

Oppositions started from the very first day that the talks of a cultural revolution began. If you only took a look at the groups that had opposed this issue and those who insisted on reopening the university before the necessary reforms, you will find that they are all either the supporters of the West or the East. You were and are aware that right from the beginning of the Revolution, pens and words and groups gradually started working against the Revolution and they opposed every step that the Revolution wished to take in the direction of reform. As and when any talks of the university came up, those very people who had turned the university into a center of corruption and whose Mecca was toward the East or the West, were opposed to any reform in the university. Their fear was lest the university turned Islamic and the hands of the East and the West get severed from the university—or in other words, from the country—forever. Those who wish and wished to give an open hand to the East or the West and found personal advantage for themselves in the same, tried with their pens and words to condemn reform and revolutionary activities in the universities. And if you saw which groups opposed and are still opposing this step insisting on reopening the universities under its same earlier conditions, you will find out what they are up to. We can recognize people from the suggestions they have to make for this country.

Those who opposed the Cultural Revolution busied themselves with spreading propaganda like “these people want to close down the universities forever and do not want any university to function”. A group from among them comprised the same people who had turned the university into their fortress and had fought their battles from there. Another group comprised those West-infatuated people who saw the Islamization of our university, our youth, and our scholars as going against their own objectives and, thus, accused them of being “reactionaries”. For them, all those who refuse to lean toward the East or the West are “reactionaries” because they considered the East and the West better. They only wish for the elimination of Islam, irrespective of what replaces it. All they want is the elimination of an Islamic upbringing from our universities, no matter what else replaces it. They do not want the university and the seminaries to ever unite together because this could result in the Islamization of the universities and will eliminate all the bad blood that they had spread over the years between the academicians and

the students of Islamic sciences. If this cynicism had to disappear, and once the university had to work actively alongside the seminaries, the hands of all those who look toward the East and the West would be severed. Therefore, they tried and are trying with all the might to cause rifts and bad blood between these two groups. Once these two groups get distanced and cynical toward each other, they can get a free hand to carry on with their activities. They have still not given up their main objectives. Even today, the group that wants the universities to reopen without any amendments and as it is, and as they prefer it to be, and within the same previous conditions, comprises the same people who have lost their souls to the East and the West. They wish to sacrifice their own nation either to the Eastern bloc or the Western bloc.

Need for awareness and wakefulness among the students

The university should remain aware and alert about these conspiracies. And our beloved university youth should remain alert over this issue that the university of a country can be the cause of the uplift or destruction of its nation. The university and the academic training can drag our youth either toward the West or the East and alienate them from their own identity and infatuate them with the West and the East until the East gains domination over every aspect of Iran and the land of the Muslims or the West gains domination and robs us of our culture and everything else, replacing it with an Eastern or Western ideology and dragging the country to destruction.

However, our nation has awakened with the grace of God and will never give their consent to matters that will serve the interests of the East and the West. Our nation has now gained awareness on the fact that the university can either make a country independent or rob it of its independence.

Students and academic scholars should join hands and reopen the universities as soon as possible—universities with an Islamic and national identity and universities that truly belong to an Islamic nation—and sever the hands of all those who want to drag the university toward the East or the West. The Islamic teachers and professors should take the destiny of the university into their own hands and should ensure that the university proves to be a national university in service of national interests. It should not be that all the trouble is taken by the nation and all the expenses of the university are borne by the nation while it turns into a university whose graduates emerge worshipping the East or the West. The universities should reopen but with an atmosphere in which its teachings are Islamic, national, and human. We should not simply insist on its reopening without considering everything else. Well, it was open for the past fifty years. What kind of

graduates did it churn out?! The same people who ruined this country and are still not sparing this nation. We want our universities to liberate our nation from the domination of the East and the West instead of dragging it toward them—an independent nation, with an independent ideology, with independent universities because it is the independence of the universities that ensures the independence of a country. Universities that hold hands with the seminaries and sidetrack the Eastern and Western blocs and instead work in the interests of their own country and beloved Islam and bring up our children in a way that they no longer need to look toward Moscow, London, or Washington as their Mecca. Let them look toward the Kabah and focus upon God Almighty and welcome Islam with open arms because only Islam guarantees their independence and dignity.

Independence of the country depends upon the independence of its cultural centers

The importance that Islam gives to knowledge is probably not given by any other school. The importance that Islam gives to scholars is probably not given by any other school. Islam gives the utmost importance to knowledge but not the kind of knowledge that drags us to ruin and not the kind of scholars that drag us into the arms of the East and the West. Islam strives to foster knowledge within independent minds and minds that serve Islam. Such independence can ensure the independence of our country. The independence of our country depends on the independence of the universities and the seminaries. The university and seminaries should join hands and protect the independence of their country. They should cut off all their hopes from both the Islamic universities and the seminaries. They should not pay heed to their objections to fostering harmony between the universities and the clerics. They are fearful even of the shadow of a cleric. Their plans are to keep the universities away from the seminaries.

They had tried for long years to foster a rift and animosity between these two groups that are the think-tanks of a nation and in whose hands lie the welfare, grandeur, and independence of this nation. All of us saw how these two groups had been turned into enemies until the Islamic Revolution following which Islam held out its invitation. Islam invites all groups to unity and especially the universities and the seminaries. And as long as these two groups remain united, your country's independence is guaranteed.

Both the universities as well as the seminaries should open their eyes and know that there are still hands at work trying to cause rifts between these two groups. The imperialists and their followers and all those whose Mecca lies

in London, Washington, or Moscow see a unity between these two groups as a threat to their own interests and, thus, try to keep them apart. As you all saw, the fifty years of the ominous Pahlavi rule that had proved its dedication to foreign powers fostered rifts and animosity between these two groups while the ill-wishers of this nation took advantage of the situation. The wealth of this nation during the last fifty years and especially during the times of Muhammad Rida was washed out. And all this happened as a result of the animosity between the universities and the seminaries. And if, God forbid, the earlier animosity between these two groups has to be revived, it will only guarantee the interests of the superpowers.

My dear academicians and my dear clerics! Stay alert since the enemies are trying their best to create rifts between you. And do not forget that if reform is brought about in the universities and the seminaries, the independence of your country will be ensured. The Mecca of all those whose pens and words are trying to cause rifts between you two is either Moscow or Washington. Stay alert not to lose this great blessing of the unity between the universities and the seminaries. I am hopeful that you will succeed in managing the affairs of your country independently and that you will no longer need to stretch your hands toward the East and the West and that the mischief they create in our country, boomerangs back to them. May God Almighty help and support the seminaries, the universities, and the entire nation!

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

Speech

Date: June 14, 1981 [Khordad 24, 1360 AHS / Shaban 11, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Deviant trends through the course of the Revolution; advising the army to refrain from involvement in political affairs

Addressees: Sayyid Ali Khamene'i (The Imam's representative in the Supreme Council of Defense); Wali Allah Fallahi (Chief, General Staff of the Armed Forces); Qasim-Ali Zahirnezhad (Commander of the Army); Jawad Fakuri (Defense Minister and Commander of the Air-Force); Bahram Afdali (Naval Commander); and other military commanders throughout the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Army regains honor and independence through the Islamic Revolution

Since this is the first time I have found the opportunity to see all you gentlemen together, I deem it necessary to express a few points.

Firstly, you have all been active on the scenes right from the onset of the Revolution and have witnessed the miseries that this country had faced. And all of you are well-informed on the history (of this country) and know what your country has suffered at the hands of the monarchial rule as well as the big powers, especially during the past fifty years. We could even say that what the army has undergone was probably worse than what the rest of the country has faced because with the employment of foreign military advisors in the army and with the state of affairs that ensued, they tried their utmost to damage the morale of the army. The morale and self-reliance of an army can only be maintained if it can independently manage its own affairs instead of functioning under the direction of foreign military advisors. Functioning under foreign advisors indicates that an army is under colonial influence and has no independent identity. Thus, as a rule, the plight of the army must have been worse than the other strata of this society. It was probably more tolerable for the rest of the nation to face the deprivations and sufferings but to force an army that should be defending and protecting a country and its frontiers to depend upon another country—no matter which one and how powerful it is—amounts to the destruction of the honor and dignity of that army.

In this regard, one of the most valuable gifts of this revolution that has been granted to us through God Almighty is that the hands of the big powers have been severed short of our army and their military advisors have been

expelled from here. And today, you are independent and have your own commanders. When you work under your own commanders you no longer despair about having to take instructions from your own enemies. As you are aware, these big powers are the enemies of the masses and the countries, and the Muslim countries in particular. It is most deplorable for a man to be forced to humble himself in front of his own enemies and the enemies of Islam and his country.

Deviated elements gullible toward the West

From this angle, the gift that God Almighty has granted the army has also probably been more precious than what the other strata have received. Of course, all God's gifts are precious but now the army can, with the grace of God, honor its own dignity and function independently as it should. There is, however, some concern over a slight probability of the involvement of some hands in trying to revert (this country) to the earlier state of affairs. Although concerns over the return of a monarchical rule have undoubtedly been buried forever and do not exist anymore, some other problems, however, could be created. Those associated with the monarchy either support such a system or tend to believe that, in their own words, "it is in the best interest of the nation to function under the big powers". Well, we also have some "religious" people who say their daily prayers, and probably even offer the supplementary night prayers, but who have been brought up to believe that the weak nations can never survive without the support of either of the superpowers. This is what they were taught in their schools. And even as they entered the society, such beliefs were repeatedly instilled into them. The newspapers and the magazines, too, propagated the belief that "you can never govern your country successfully" and that "to escape from the hold of the Eastern bloc, you would need to seek refuge in the Western bloc". Even the "religious" people believe that in order to escape from the clutches of the Soviet Union, which holds purely atheistic beliefs, we would helplessly need to join hands with the West, and now America. Although they do not wish to harm Islam, they have been brought up with such beliefs and think that they are in the interest of the nation.

During the past two years, and especially during my stay in Paris, they approached me with the suggestion of allowing the Shah to stay on as a ceremonial monarch while the country could be governed according to the law. I knew that they had been deceived. One of these respectable gentlemen approached me with this suggestion, to which I said: "What you are suggesting is to allow the Shah to stay on as a ceremonial monarch and not as

an actual ruler. Even if we were to accept your suggestion, can you ensure that the Shah would accept it too? Or now that you are offering such a suggestion—and if I, too, start believing in such a possibility and compromise with him—could you be sure that he would not ultimately eliminate all of you?” He was left speechless and could not find any answer to this. What answer could he truly give me? Well, this is how these people have been brought up and they want the others to follow suit. In any case, they share a different approach and with their political approach they could, God forbid, revert us back to our earlier plight. Not in the form of a monarchy but in fact in the form of an Islamic Republic, like the ones we see in the other countries. They are merely called “Islamic” republics without any presence of Islam and are all under foreign influence.

I believe that it is a hundred times better to live under all kinds of adversity and hardship but to have a life of freedom and independence and eat whatever one has rather than living in grand apartments with hands spread out for help toward others and by bowing before others. Any self-respecting person would endorse this belief. This belief should be especially strong in the army. Things like the model of one’s car should not hold much importance here and instead what should truly matter is one’s honor and dignity as an army person.

Alertness on the presence of deviation

There is a deviated trend in action these days. I do not want to indulge in personal names. But there certainly is a trend in action and if we examined the conditions that they have recently brought forth in the newspapers, we would find to our dismay that they are insidiously trying to push this country back toward America. It is important for this issue to hold the same gravity in the eyes of our army commanders as it holds in the eyes of Islam. And even if one merely suspects the presence of such a possibility, it should be confronted, instead of waiting to confirm the matter. There are certain matters that should be pursued and opposed even if a suspicion arises, provided the suspicion is based on firm grounds. Even if you only suspected—based upon a logical suspicion—the presence of a snake in this room, you would walk out of the room to avoid the snake.

Even if we suspect that the current trend that can be seen in the newspapers is aimed at preventing this country from attaining stability, we should pursue the issue. During the days of the interim government there were talks of dissolving the Assembly of Experts, an idea that was Amir

Intizam's¹ brainchild, as we discovered later. In those days, some people—Mr. Bazargan² and his associates—approached us saying: “We are thinking of dissolving this Assembly”. I asked them: “Who are you to take such a step?! Under what authority do you have the right to dissolve the Assembly? Go and instead mind your own business.” As soon as they saw my firmness, they conceded.

The issue of dissolving the Assembly of Experts came up because the veterans from among them persuaded the weaker ones (into making this suggestion) because they had discovered that the Assembly of Experts had become an “Islamic” assembly and had turned into an assembly, most of whose members were Islamic scholars. And as you all know, they fear the presence of Islamic scholars. So it scared them off to see that this assembly had turned into an assembly of scholars. And if these Islamic scholars were to formulate the constitutional laws, they would formulate laws that would surely not be to the liking of the East and the West. And that is why they instigated these people and coerced them (into this action). These people, too, despite their background in politics, are unfortunately not very well-versed. And so this was the background that instigated this move.

This entire issue was followed by the issue of a referendum. They started making announcements through the newspapers, referring to a “return to Bahman 22”. One of these gentlemen mentioned somewhere that what was meant by “returning to Bahman 22” was reverting back to the times prior to Bahman 22 and to the monarchial days, or in other word, to return to the early days of the Revolution. And irrespective of whatever progress had been achieved thus far, (they suggested) to start all over again. And after two full years of striving to establish peace and harmony and the Islamic Republic, to spoil everything! (In their words) “And now that we did not manage to succeed, let us repeat the referendum and see what happens—just for safe side!” Why? All this was because they had discovered that even the Assembly of Experts had turned out as an assembly of Islamic scholars, most of whom were staunch Muslims. Similarly, the government, too, had turned out to be a staunchly Muslim one. The Judiciary, too, had fallen into the hands of staunch Muslims. And all this had turned out to prove against their wishes.

They wanted us to have a Majlis like the earlier ones. And they wanted it to have members that held Western inclinations. And that did not happen!

¹ Abbas Amir Intizam, spokesperson of the interim government, who put forward the proposal of dissolving the Assembly of Experts to that government.

² Mahdi Bazargan, the Prime Minister of the interim government.

That is why they started trying to destroy everything; (planning to) hold another referendum after two or three years. A referendum to question the very choice of establishing an Islamic Republic! A referendum questioning the constitutional law! A referendum questioning the appointment of a president! And a referendum to question the choice of having a Majlis! What does all this imply? It implies that they are trying to shake the foundations of this country. Now that this country has attained stability, the credit goes to the Revolution for succeeding in achieving all this within one year. And they wished to deprive the country of all this, thinking: "Now that things have not worked out our way, let's start all over again. (And claiming that) The people's decision is final". If the people's decision is final, then it was these same people who have voted for the Majlis, for the members of the Majlis, for the Islamic Republic, and for the Constitution. These votes were not cast by the Europeans! It was these same people who had taken the initiative. Which people do we now need to begin all over with? Coming back to our people, these people will not change (their decisions) even if the government falls fifty times! They are under the false impression that if the government falls this time, some other group (of their preference) will come into power. Least do they realize that if the government falls this time, not a single one of them will get elected again. The people know very well this time which people sincerely believe in Islam and which ones are weak or do not even believe in Islam. If the government falls this time, and if another referendum is held, it will only cast them all aside. It will only bring in a new set of people chosen by the nation and not vice versa. They restrained themselves earlier, waiting for things to go wrong, believing that things may weaken in a year or two, paving the path for America to return to "teach" us everything again. And since we are incapable of governing ourselves, let them come and govern over us! And that is why they brought up this issue.

I want to ask you gentlemen to stay awake and alert! Your enemies are standing-in-wait right outside the gates of Tehran and Iran. There are enemies of the country even within it. All these enemies are not at the same level. Some of them are serving the interests of the enemies out of ignorance. Some of them are our sworn enemies who do not want this Islamic Republic to exist, no matter what else replaces it. (It is irrelevant) whether it is a republic or a democratic republic or a people's republic; it does not matter what other republic is established as long as there is no sign of Islam in it. Because if an Islamic Republic is established and if the Constitution, too, is an Islamic constitution, then there would be no possibility for the return of their lords and masters! And because according to these gentlemen, we

would then be deprived of a “civilization” and would not be able to catch up with the “civilized” nations! (According to them) we either need to fall into the hands of America or the Soviet Union, failing which, we would become reactionaries and would be cast aside. This is a mistake these gentlemen are making. They have been put into fear right from the beginning. They have turned into weaklings. They have no idea of the truth. They have no idea of the power of Islam. They have no idea of the power of a nation. No matter how small a nation is, if it is determined to achieve something, it is bound to succeed. If the superpowers want something else, it is their problem, because they are always looking for abundant countries to strip them of everything. And that is why they never seek out sterile regions. Moreover, they are smart enough to know that if all the people of a nation or even if most of its people stand in resistance against all adversity, they can no longer dare to occupy it and to ravage and plunder it. So they design plans to corrode the country from within. They put experts on the job to topple everything. You must remain alert.

The Armed Forces prohibited from entering into politics

The duty of every army person and every garrison is to refrain from undue interference in political affairs. This is because if a soldier has to get involved into political affairs, he will not be able to do his own job successfully. If a soldier’s mind has to become pre-occupied with matters like who should be in power and who should not, and what should happen to this or that party, he can no longer be called a soldier. He becomes a politician in the guise of a soldier. All of you should stay alert and all the chiefs of the armed forces should take care to prevent the army from getting involved into political affairs. Entering into political affairs would mean a loss of dignity for the army. Political involvement within the army has an effect worse than heroin. In the same way that heroin destroys man, involvement in political affairs corrodes the army from within and robs it of a correct perspective. Keeping this in view, one of the things that you need to ensure seriously and powerfully is to prevent the army from getting involved in political affairs. Do not permit politicians to come there and speak about political issues. They can of course come and counsel you all and suggest certain amendments if required and empower you; all that is welcome. But if any of them tries to infuse some political issues into the army, it is a plot, even if the person himself may be unaware. It is a well-designed plot and he has become its unsuspecting executor.

The main issue that the superpowers are dealing with today is the realization that we now have an army that—by God’s grace—is, both, united and powerful and it has been at war for more than nine months now and is advancing ahead each day, and this has evoked a deep fear in their hearts, gradually bringing in despair. That is why they are trying to create some internal problems in our army. One of the biggest problems they are trying to cause is to entangle our army in political affairs and to provoke it into making political statements. They are trying to cause conflicts between your ranks so that one group begins confronting another by supporting opposing political parties and so that your minds are constantly pre-occupied with all these party games! This is what could ruin the army.

Therefore, I command all the army chiefs to take care not to allow the military personnel to get involved in political affairs and not to allow any politicians to come and speak there because they could unknowingly provoke others. This is very important for the army to keep in mind. You should stay alert because just as I spoke to you gentlemen regarding drugs and if these people, too, enter the army, they will bring ruin to it. This is among the issues that the army should powerfully comply with.

Conspiracies of groups for disbanding the army

One of the things that these political groups could insinuate to the army is that the army holds no significance in the eyes of Islam and the Islamic Republic. You all saw that at the very onset of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, one of the first things that the ones under the influence of the politics of the foreign hands brought up was that “this army is *taghuti* and that it should be eliminated”. They labeled you all with the word “*taghuti*” in order to mislead the people! Well, we, too, were aware of the whole issue and what their intentions were. That is why we condemned such talks right from the very beginning and insisted that the army stayed on. It was with the uprising of the army that this nation could go ahead and everyone joined hands and went forward. They intended to rob Iran of this power and to ruin the army so that this country would be left without any army and so that Mr. Saddam could infiltrate easily and comfortably anywhere into this country! And so that Mr. Carter and Mr. Reagan could enter this country and do whatever they wanted. They wanted to pave the way for such things. You should firmly know that the army holds a very significant place in Islam. Islam considers the army as indispensable to itself and honors and supports it. The Iranian nation which is also Muslim, and all of us as Muslims, will protect the army with all our might. You should totally put aside and forget

all their incitements to you regarding the future of the army. Iran and all its Muslim people are the friends and supporters of the army. And you can see for yourselves how, as you are (defending the country) at the warfronts, these people, too, are behind you and are supporting you in all ways possible without any coercion. (You can see how) small children come in with their money boxes for you and old women bring in all the gold that they have collected over the years to present to you.

Iran needs an army. Islam needs an army. But an Islamic army. One of the important pre-requisites for the army, as I must mention here, is for you to be Islamic. It was mainly with your belief in Islam that you were able to overpower the big powers. Since the army as well as the Revolutionary Guard Corps and the rest consider martyrdom as the greatest individual triumph, every time they come to see me, they cry and ask me to pray for their martyrdom and I pray for their victory. When such a spirit can be found in an individual or a group they are triumphant. Such a spirit has come to be nurtured under the tutelage of Islam. No other school can nurture a human being into crying for martyrdom! Just yesterday, someone who had lost a leg came here on crutches. I shook hands with him. And he asked me to pray for his martyrdom! This spirit is born under the influence of Islam. Strive to strengthen Islam in the garrisons wherever you are.

These Islamic associations will benefit you all. If anyone tells you that these Islamic associations are useless and that they are reactionary, (know that) they are saying these same things about all of us and all of you. They only desire to sidetrack you all with this label and to replace you with what they call “progressive” people! And who are these “progressive” people? These “progressive” people should either come here from America or from the Soviet Union. All their talks of “reactionaries” versus the “progressives” amount to Islam and Iran versus America and the Soviet Union. All these Islamic associations are beneficial for us. However, I have also advised these Islamic associations to keep their activities focused on Islam and to refrain from interfering into other affairs. This is the responsibility of the commanders. And if ever some elements come and incite you with claims like “these Islamic associations are useless” or that they are detrimental or “reactionary”, you should know that this is their same plan to gain referendum. (They hope that) maybe these clerics will get sidetracked and these religious people will get sidetracked and these Islamic associations will close down and that maybe the things will revert to what was during the *taghuti* times. They are aiming at stripping them (the Islamic associations)

off their main essence. These are some important issues that require your attention.

Advice to strengthen bonds between the army and the nation

And I am aware of the conditions within the army. It is not as if I do not know. I am aware of who the people are that sometimes approach you all and what they say and what reactions they evoke. You should take care so that, God forbid, some day the Iranian nation does not end up saying that the army is useless and that it has nothing to do with Islam and such stuff. You can be empowered only if you have the support of the nation. In the same way that the nation cannot survive without the presence of an army, an army, too, cannot survive without a nation. An army that does not have the support of a nation cannot be called an army in the same way that a nation whose army works against it cannot survive. You should try your utmost to strengthen your bonds with the nation and that will be moving powerfully in the direction of Islam. As long as the people find that you are on the path of Islam and that you are on the same path and direction because of which they have sacrificed their blood and for which they called out slogans of “God is the Greatest” and fell out on the streets and got crushed under the tanks and saw all such tribulations, they will support you. But if some day they feel that, no, you have strayed off a little from that path, they will forsake you. The people have not tied any brotherly pacts with individuals! Not with any of us.

If this nation finds some day that I have strayed from the path that it and this great wave (of people) has chosen for itself and if it finds that I am trying to swim against that wave, they will destroy me; and this applies to anyone and everyone.

We should strive, both, as our national obligation as well as our religious obligation to protect this country. And the safety of this country can be guaranteed if this army is a selfless and cohesive Islamic army that works in unity with the nation. The army itself should be well-consolidated.

And the other armed forces should also share brotherly relations with the army, as they already do. And you should take the Revolutionary Guards Corps under your wing while they do the same with you. You should all strive together to salvage your country.

And another point that may be beneficial to repeat, although it may not seem that important, is that there is possibly a group of people in your garrisons who have been deceived and may be complaining and saying things—people who against this path, which is the path of Islam, end up supporting

whoever they want, which goes against the path of Islam. The commanders should trace out such people. And those who wish to stay in the army and work for the interests of the country, which is not any different from the interests of Islam, should maintain this spirit of independence and refrain from getting inclined to this or that (political) group.

Our army is the army of Islam and if, God forbid, anyone—whether a soldier or a commander—finds that he cannot adjust to this kind of life, he does not have to stay on in the army and he can find another job for himself. The army commanders should dismiss such people so that they can make their living elsewhere. They should not stick on and, God forbid, ruin the army. These are the things that I wished to remind you gentlemen.

And yet another point is that you, and specially the army commanders, should strive toward accelerating the pace of your advances. This is because Saddam and his supporters may begin to propagate that since the army commander-in-chief has been dismissed, the Iranian army has weakened.

Although I know that people like Mr. Bani Sadr are good orators, you are the people who make the advances (in the battlefronts) and it is our soldiers who make the sacrifices. However, there is every possibility that Saddam and his supporters may resort to false propaganda in order to boost the morale of their army and to demoralize our army by resorting to such tricks.

If you manage to gain a couple of victories, you will thwart their plots and Saddam will no longer be able to propagate that our army has been demoralized. No, there is no question of being demoralized since nothing has happened. Our army is very much there and its commanders will manage it. The President will dispose of his duties as a president and does not have to be the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

These were the issues that I wanted to discuss with you and (I wished) to assure you that as long as you serve Islam as its soldiers, Islam will support you and as long as you strive for the cause of Islam and the country—as you are doing now, by the grace of God, and shall continue to do—the nation will also continue to support you. As you may have already realized, all your bitter experiences of being under the control of the foreign countries during the period of Muhammad Rida have been replaced by the sweetness of independence and being the army of God Almighty and “*Allahu akbar*” and, God willing, things will be still sweeter in future.

May you be triumphant and victorious and succeed in protecting Islam and the independence of your country!

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

Speech

Date: June 15, 1981 [Khordad 25, 1360 AHS / Shaban 12, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Strong warning to the opponents of the Retaliation [*qisas*] Bill; declaring those who oppose the necessary laws of Islam as apostates

Addressees: Various strata of people, clerics from the Mazandaran province, some Sunni clerics, a group of people from Mashhad, and employees of the intercity bus services

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hypocritical attitude of the groups

Today we have a gathering of scholars from the Mazandaran province, some Sunni scholars, some brothers from the Mashhad city, as well as other strata of our society and since it is a gathering of Sunni and Shiah brothers I have to speak on a few points and share some things with you. During the period of my struggle against the sinister Pahlavi regime I was very clear about my stance. I had clearly realized that it was a regime that functioned against the interests of Islam and the Muslims and that it had pushed our country into the arms of America, pouring the wealth of the country into the pockets of the two superpowers, while the remainder went into his (the Shah's) own bank account and to his relatives in foreign countries. Those days we were clear about our duties. In other words, we were confronting a regime that was clearly opposing Islam and its interests. And we had no fear of motivating the entire nation against the regime and employing every possible means for the cause of Islam. And I guess we succeeded in doing so and you, the nation of Iran, joined hands and demanded for the Islamic Republic with your slogans of "God is the Greatest" and "There is no other god but Allah" and demanded for independence and freedom under the banner of the Islamic Republic. And, by the grace of God, the Islamic Republic was established because people categorically voted for it and this was followed by some miraculous incidents and the establishment of a legal government in this country was finally fulfilled. Nevertheless, unfortunately, we are presently facing some groups, that admit neither Islam and its laws nor the Islamic Republic openly so that we can be clear about our duties and act accordingly, like we did during the previous regime, and nor are they prepared to remain quiet and to submit to Islam and the Islamic laws and the laws of the country. We are now at the crossroads as to whether to deal with

them in the same way as we did with Muhammad Rida, or whether to continue to invite them to peace and harmony and to abide by the law!

The National Front's invitation to rebel against the Qur'an

I wish to know the basis of the call for today's rally. I have seen two leaflets of the "National Front" calling on people to participate in this rally. The issue mentioned in one of the leaflets of this rally is the bill on the law of retaliation" [*qisas*]. This means that they called on people to stand up against the "Retaliation Bill". And the other leaflet made a mention of "the inhuman bill"! What does it mean to call on this Muslim nation to rally against the bill on retaliation? It means to rally against the direct commands of the Qur'an. They have invited the people to stand up, resist, and rally against the Noble Qur'an and its decrees. For both the Sunni and the Shiah brothers, the Qur'an is the Book of God, and they consider it necessary to accept all its decrees. The decree of retaliation [*qisas*] has been mentioned in several places in the Qur'an and the bill on retaliation is based on a Qur'anic decree. And they have invited the Muslims to rise up against the Qur'an in this rally and against the irrefutable laws of Islam. We are clear about certain people belonging to some of these "fronts". They were unconcerned about Islam right from the beginning of the establishment of the Islamic Republic. All they were concerned about, if their claims were true, was nationalism; although I doubt if even that was their motivation because all of us saw how some of their leaders who were famous for their "nationalism"¹ ultimately rebelled against the nation. Even as they are abroad now, they are inviting foreign powers to work against this nation. And these foreign powers have their agents in all strata—among the nationalists, the religious, and even the clergy. What has surprised me greatly is not that the pamphlet statements of the "National Front" refer to the bill of retaliation as being inhuman, or in other words, the "inhuman" decree of Islam and the "inhuman" decree of the Qur'an and that they invite the people to rise up and rebel against Islam. Such things were and can be expected of them. However, have those people who welcomed and supported this "National Front" rally gone through their leaflets and seen that one of their motives behind calling this rally is to instigate people to rebel against the Qur'an?! Although they have not mentioned it directly, this is what they have clearly insinuated. And if they have gone through these leaflets, they were negligent of the fact that this rally is aimed at confronting Islam, the Islamic Republic, and the Islamic

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

government. At this point, I do not want to get into a discussion on whether Mr. Raja'i's government has been effective or not and whether or not it has done anything that calls for an uprising against it. And I am not interested in a discussion on whether the Majlis is the true representation of the nation or not and neither do I wish to discuss whether the Judiciary is delivering on its responsibilities or not. And if this rally had been organized in order to guide the people, there would have been no objections to it and they could possibly have staged it. However, how can we rationalize a rally against Islam and the Qur'an and against a definite Islamic decree?! Moreover, I am not even concerned about the fact that some of the members of the "National Front" are probably even Muslims. But I am concerned about the people who have aligned themselves with this front and have aligned themselves with the hypocrites and the deviants! I would like to ask them how they, as pious and "religious" people, rationalize such a move?! Is religious obligation confined to issuing statements against the Majlis and the government? Among all the religious obligations, do you feel that the only duty that you are left with is inviting the people to stand up against the Islamic government and the Majlis? Is your responsibility of *amr bi'l-maruf wa nahy anil-munkar* [commanding good and prohibiting evil] only confined to commanding and prohibiting the Islamic government? And that, too, in such an extreme manner?! And that, too, with an invitation for insurgence and rebellion?! Do you have no obligation to stand up against the statement of the "National Front" which contradicts the decree of the Noble Qur'an and for their public invitation to rally against the divine law? Have you gentlemen delivered upon all your other religious obligations that you are now left with only one, which is disrupting the Islamic Republic?! Are all our obligations—yours as well as ours, whether the writers, intellectuals, the various fronts and movements as well as the others—now only confined to portraying a distorted picture of this Islamic Republic outside the country and inviting people to rebel against the Islamic Republic? All the rest has been handled and only this one obligation remains?! Today, as the insurgents are busy all over the country creating insurgency, the hypocrites are busy with their devious activities while we are facing the attacks of the big powers, and while our country is defending itself in an imposed war, and while we are internally facing the opposition of these various groups who are using your excuse to rush into the streets and injure our youth and sometimes even kill them, do not all these acts call for "*nahy anil-munkar*"? Isn't their act of inviting people to insurgency "*amr bi'l-munkar*" (commanding to evil)? Isn't that inviting people to mischief?

I regret it and I truly regret it greatly that I am not a clairvoyant! And that I did not know what was hidden in their gear! I used to accept some of them and would even express my fondness to them but least did I know that they would even stand up against the Qur'an! Least did I know that they would align together and that they have a common center of alignment and that they would align with the hypocrites whom those who have gone through their book, "*Shenakht*",¹ know very well. They have aligned with these fronts whose masks have now been stripped off and who now openly invite the people (saying), "O Muslims! Come and stand up against the inhuman decree"; thereby implying the "inhuman" Qur'anic decree!! *And all might and power belongs to God!* In an Islamic country, can the Qur'an and Islam be slandered openly in this manner in front of the Muslims? And certain authorities actually grant them their consent and invite the people to insurgency? Against what? Against a direct Qur'anic decree? They have extended an invitation to join in a rally at 2 pm today. As per what appears in their leaflets, this is an invitation to rally against the "inhuman" Islamic decree!

How should we deal with these people who claim friendship but stab Islam in the back? Such an impertinent move against the Noble Qur'an was not made once even during the reigns of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida! The Muslims should know that by adopting this path and approach now, those people have naively exposed themselves. For those who wish to participate in this rally or those who have expressed their willingness to participate in it, or have endorsed such participation, or have invited people to participate, if they only know what it implies! Woe on such a nation whose nationalists are such and whose religious ones who claim piety are such and whose leaders are such! And if they are acting out of lack of awareness, how can they invite you all to join in the "National Front" rally, without even going through its leaflets first?! (They say:) close down the Tehran bazaar, close down the Isfahan bazaar, and close down all the bazaars of Iran and all its streets and go out and rebel and show resistance! Against what? Against the "inhuman" bill of retaliation! The "inhuman" Qur'anic decree!

Bani Sadr dishonors agreement

How do we deal with them? What do we do with these "pious" people who are supporting them (The National Front) and have aligned with them and were aligned with the hypocrites right from the beginning? How do we

¹ It is one of the books published by the MKO for elucidating their ideological principles.

deal with these pious Muslims? When I had suggested that we share our grievances, it was to say: “*Sadi! Lament the affliction of friends!*” Then how do we deal with those who fake friendship? Wherever these gentlemen speak and whenever they make statements, one of their grouses is against the “law”. The law has to firstly be honored. And this year, too, has been named the “year of the law” or the year of the implementation of the law. Gentlemen! All these bodies have been established in the country only to implement the law. The Islamic Consultative Assembly is a body that has been endorsed by the law. The Council of Experts, too, has been set up legally. The government, too, has the Majlis’s vote of confidence and is legal. The Judiciary, too, has been set up according to the law. Well, if you truly wish to act upon the law—and we, too, want you to act according to the law—do you recall having approached me with a promise to refrain from causing tension through your speeches and newspapers? Have you honored your promise? You had come here—which was after differences had erupted between you—and it was agreed that a tripartite committee be set up—one person representing the President, one person representing those gentlemen, and one person whom I would appoint—and that they would be the arbitrators.¹ After the arbitrators scrutinized the issues under dispute and spoke about them somewhere, their newspapers wrote that “this arbitration is like the arbitration of Abu Musa al-Ashari”! This means that these three people—one of whom was appointed personally by him, the second was appointed by the speaker of the Majlis and the other two people, while the third had been appointed by me—had all arbitrated like Abu Musa al-Ashari who had voted against Imam Ali (*a*)! Suppose I do presume that their arbitration was like the arbitration of Abu Musa and presume that the accusation that they made in their newspapers against these few pious scholars, one of whom they had themselves appointed is valid, why do not they also act like Imam Ali (*a*)? Imam Ali (*a*) had appointed Abu Musa under pressure. He did not want to appoint him and in fact wished to appoint someone else but his friends pressured him; those same friends against whom the Imam (*a*) should be lamenting, pressured him, insisting that Abu Musa would be suitable for that task, and thereby coerced the Imam into appointing him. And after Abu Musa’s arbitration, these same friends wanted to

¹ It refers to the gentlemen who had been appointed as the arbitrators to settle the disputes between Mr. Bani Sadr, the President, and Messrs Beheshti, Khamenei, and Hashimi Rafsanjani, viz. Messrs Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani (Representative of Imam Khomeini), Shahabuddin Ishraqi (Representative of Mr. Bani Sadr), and Muhammad Yazdi (Representative of Messrs Beheshti, Khamenei and Hashimi Rafsanjani).

dishonor his verdict. This time, Imam Ali (a) stood up in resistance saying: “Now that the arbitrator has passed his verdict”—which proved to be against Imam Ali (a), by dismissing him off his right to caliphate and by appointing Muawiyah instead—“this was his arbitration and we should honor it”. Even though it had proved to go against him! Well, since you, too, make such lofty claims, why do not you also act like Imam Ali (‘a)? Unless you believe that he committed a mistake! But you will not do that, as you have often said yourselves. What, in any case, do you all believe in? All these gentlemen that have aligned together and have aligned with the hypocrites, have joined hands to cause disruption in our country. They have aligned to create turmoil. But what have you aligned for? These gentlemen claim that they do not accept this whole game and demand that we start all over again. I asked them yesterday whether this nation had made the choices or not. And if the nation did not make the choices, go and check out who did? Where did all these people come from and vote in favor of the constitution? On the other hand, it was the same hypocrites and these others who have aligned with them that did not vote for it. However, I do not mean the groups of the “religious” ones. Whatever has taken shape today has been with the votes of these same people. You keep saying that you honor the decision of the people. Fine! Who does not honor their decision? If you say that the criterion is the decision of the people, fine, it was these people who have voted! And you have now aligned to act against the decision of the people?! Have you aligned to exterminate the Majlis? Have you aligned to sidetrack the Judiciary? Have you aligned to sidetrack the government? What is this alignment for? What kind of an alignment is it?

I was apprehensive about some of these people right from the beginning. However, I chose to remain patient and to counsel them. And every time they approached me—maybe not every time but most of the time—I invited them to Islamic behavior and to honor the law and to protect and safeguard the Islamic Republic. My apprehension regarding them began to gradually increase, till I could clearly see this group of hypocrites in action, confirming my apprehension in the form of anti-Islamic groups. It is now my religious obligation to refrain from endorsing them. Is it possible for me to remain silent, and while I am witnessing action being taken against Islam and our country, to invite them to sit in discussion? If I even saw the slightest possibility of their returning to Islam and of their loyalty to abide by the Constitution, to which they swore allegiance, I would have invited them again to remain united and to act according to the law. However, it would be negligent and gullible to trust these groups that have joined hands and

aligned with the “National Front” that wishes to launch a rally against Islam and has slandered Islam and has written against it calling one of its definite decrees as “inhuman”. And after I see that you have aligned with such people, how do you think I should deal with the “religious” groups from among you? I was fond of them. I am still fond of some of them. But how are we supposed to deal with them?

Advising the “Freedom Movement” to distance itself from antagonists

Well, why do not you dissociate yourselves (from the “National Front”)? I, once again, advise you to dissociate yourselves from them. Just because the communists, too, are against Islam, these gentlemen also invited them to join hands. Well, we know where the “National Front” stands. They have directly opposed Islam. But as Muslims, and especially since you do not intend to stand up against Islam, why has the caprice of your carnal self increased so much that you have no idea what you are up to. Why has the Satan gained so much control over our souls that he has managed to make us blind and to warp our hearts? Dissociate yourselves from them. Does the “Freedom Movement”, too, second the claims of the “National Front”? Do they also agree that that the decree of retaliation, which is an irrefutable Qur’anic decree for the Muslims, is “inhuman”? I have no doubt that they do not agree with it. Then why do you not declare it? Why have you remained silent? Is *nahy anil-munkar* only limited to prohibiting me? Is it only limited to crushing the government and the Majlis? Do you intend to prohibit something by resorting to a *munkar*? But what are you trying to prohibit? Do you mean to say that the Muslim people should remain silent against those who invite others to rally against this “inhuman” Islamic decree and watch them slander the Prophet of God (s) and the Qur’an? This move is equal to sacrilege against the Qur’an. (Do you mean to say) that the Muslims should sit and silently watch what a group, which has always been based upon falsehood, do whatever it wishes? I know their roots. This is a group that has always been staunchly against Islam. Right from the beginning of its formation, when the late Ayatullah Kashani¹ had realized that they were in the wrong, he had denounced them. (In retaliation) they brought a dog near the Majlis wearing a pair of spectacles and called it “Ayatullah”! Those days, he² was their leader; in whom they take pride today. He, too, was not a

¹ Ayatullah Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani, a famous cleric who greatly influenced the socio-political developments of Iran during the 1940s and 1950s, including the nationalization of the oil industry. He was also elected Speaker of the National Consultative Assembly.

² Muhammad Musaddiq, leader of the “National Front.”

Muslim. I happened to hear about this incident while I was visiting the home of an Islamic scholar in Tehran. I told the scholar that “the opposition is no longer personal now and he will soon face chastisement”. It was not long before he did. And if he had stayed on, he would have harmed Islam. These people are the vestiges of those types of people and they now call the decree of retaliation which is a definite Islamic decree as “inhuman”. Well we do know, to some extent, where we stand with them. We shall settle our accounts with them as and when we deem it fit. But what do we do with these “pious” ones? The same “pious” ones against whom even Imam Ali (a) could not do much and was left helpless. However, I do not wish to imply that I am like Imam Ali (a) while they are like the *khawarij*. No! I am just another citizen of this country like any one of you.

Calling God’s decree “inhuman” will establish *kufr*

(Present here are) Sunni scholars, Shiah scholars, and scholars from the Mazandaran province; and I am addressing all the scholars throughout the country—the Sunni scholars, the Shiah scholars, and all the Islamic religious authorities—as well as the entire Islamic nation whose uprising was for Islam and the Qur’an. This nation faced great tribulation for almost two decades, and especially in the past few years, and had strived immensely and tolerated endless suffering and sacrificed so many youth and gave up everything but clearly demanded an Islamic Republic. An Islamic Republic means that the government should be Islamic and the laws should be Islamic. It would not be a bad idea for you to take a glance at the earlier constitutional laws. Take a look at the earlier Constitution that was approved during the times of the Constitutional Movement, the amendments to which were strongly pursued by the late Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri,¹ and to which the nation gave its votes, regarding which you are making tall claims today and which your great friend invited everyone to abide by, before he fled from Iran! Well, why do not you all now act upon this law? According to this Constitution, any law that goes against Islam cannot be considered legal and all laws should be Islamic. So you are not even accepting that. You all are calling the decree of retaliation which is a clear Islamic decree, a definite Islamic decree, a decree that has been made obligatory by the Qur’an, and a decree that ensures the interests and security of a country an “inhuman” one. Your very roots were corrupt. But I am more concerned today with all those who are endorsing these people. Reform yourselves a little, gentlemen! Why

¹ Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri: one of the great *ulama* and founders of the Constitutional Movement who was finally executed in Tehran on Rajab 13, 1327 AH.

are you struggling so much for worldly affairs? Should a human being struggle so hard for worldly things that he can even go to the extent of siding with those who slander the Qur'an and invite the communists to join in their opposition of Islam! You, the proponent of *nahy anil-munkar*! You, the exegete of the Qur'an!¹ Well, why do not you come and stand up against them?! Why do not you announce to them that this action of theirs is tantamount to *kufir*. Anyone who calls God's decree "inhuman" and anyone who calls Islam "inhuman" is a *kafir*. Why do not you do this? All your *nahy anil-munkar* is confined to disempowering the Islamic scholars and institutions. The *nahy anil-munkar* of these gentlemen is limited to claiming that the Islamic Republic is no good in all their statements and wherever they go and deliver speeches. (According to them) we either need to be under the wings of America or the Soviet Union in order to survive. And since the Soviet Union is atheistic while America is monotheistic, and is, thus, very much on the right path and since it is at least not "as bad" as the Soviet Union, it is better we align with them! What is this belief you all are holding? Why should you believe in such things?

Raja'i more wise than knowledgeable

I am sorry and I am very sorry that I am left with no choice but to confront these people. To confront the same kinds of people that did not allow Imam Ali (a) to implement his plans! And if these people truly believe in Islam and find it their religious obligation to do *nahy anil-munkar*, what *munkar* could be worse than calling an Islamic decree "inhuman" and to invite people to rally against it! Who are these people rallying against? And who are they supporting? Are they supporting people who claim that the decree of retaliation is "inhuman"? Can any Muslim support such a cause? I do not wish, as of now, to deal with these Muslims who are very scholarly but hold warped political views. The opinion of an Islamic scholar was once sought regarding two scholars. His reply regarding one of them was: "This scholar is less wise but more knowledgeable" or that "his knowledge is greater than his wisdom". Regarding some of these people, too, I need to say that they are knowledgeable but not as wise. The plight that they have brought upon themselves is also clear through their actions. Shouldn't you gentlemen who believe *nahy anil-munkar* to be obligatory—which it is, as an important Islamic obligation—prevent your friends from taking an action that is against the Qur'an and from inviting others to stand

¹ It refers to Mahdi Bazargan.

up against the Qur'an? Do they expect the Islamic authorities and scholars to witness all this in silence? Do you expect them to remain silent against the slandering of the Noble Qur'an? Do you expect them to stay quiet against those who call a definite Islamic decree and a decree from the Book of God Almighty "inhuman"? They are inviting people to rebel against the bill of retaliation! Who are they rebelling against? Rebelling against the Islamic Republic? Do you expect these people who established the Islamic Republic with their own blood to pour onto the streets and to demand that this "inhuman" decree be discarded and to say that this Islamic Republic is useless? Are all these institutions flawed? You are saying that they are all flawed; you are claiming that the Judiciary has been ineffective. Well, why don't you support it to become effective? You claim that the government will never be able to provide answers to the economic situation of this nation in a day! Why don't you come ahead and do it?! But no one is interested in mere claims and slogans! Even I can sit here and claim that we can stir up the world in a day! Do not sit and accuse us of incapability because you, too, will not be able to succeed. Is it possible for Mr. Raja'i to rectify the economy of this country which has come into our hands in such a pathetic state—and to which you are adding problems each day—within a short time? You are inviting people to rebellion everyday. You have robbed this country of its peace and harmony. And if the affairs had to be in your hands you would have worsened them by now. These poor people are trying their best to rectify things; that is if only you allow them to! However, it is not possible to solve all the economic problems in a day. Yes, it is important for the farmers to get involved in agricultural activities, and it is important for the workers to start working, and it is important for the industrialists to start production, and it is important for all the unemployed people to find jobs. But do you think you would be able to make all this happen immediately and without any delay? Do you think you would be able to brace up the agricultural sector of Iran immediately? Do you think you can solve the problems of agriculture in one day? Even all your lords and masters have not been able to solve these problems and the rates of unemployment are much higher in Britain and America. And you are most welcome to come and provide solutions to all these problems. However, that is not your issue. The problem is that you are against these things. You are against an Islamic government. When the Qur'an is recited in the ministries before the meetings, they object to it, saying: "What kind of a tradition is this? Why should the Qur'an be recited in the government offices? These reactionaries recite the Qur'an in the ministries!"! Your animosity is toward all this. These are your problems. I

am not referring to the religious group. I still believe in their sincerity. And even though they, too, are dealing out blows to us, I count them as different and pray to God for them to be able to dissociate themselves from those other groups. Why don't they join in with the rest of the people? Why don't they stop trying to swim against the roaring wave and tide? You are making a very big mistake by thinking that just because you had made a few statements against Muhammad Rida you hold a special position in the eyes of the people. And that if you also make a few statements against the government today, you will secure a special position in their eyes. It is wrong to draw a comparison between these two. When I say that you lack political acumen it is because you are resorting to all kinds of things to gain power. I know that there is no question of serving God in all your actions. All these things only serve the Satan. Well, why don't you all dissociate yourselves today from those who have made statements against Islam and have invited the communists—who are your sworn enemies as well as the sworn enemies of America—to join in with them? It is still not too late and you can make an announcement on the Iranian radio today to condemn the statements issued by the “National Front”, inviting people to rally against the bill of retaliation, calling it “inhuman”. You do believe in Islam and I know that. You consider it obligatory to do *nahy anil-munkar* and I also know that. But if the devil within you allows your intellect to function, come and condemn this issue. Let us switch on our radio sets this afternoon and hear that the “Freedom Movement” has declared the statements of the “National Front” to be blasphemous and sacrilegious against the Qur'an. Do not keep saying that Raja'i is not a knowledgeable person. He possesses more wisdom than knowledge. However, some of you possess more knowledge than wisdom.

Apostasy of the “National Front”

And I could not succeed with them, although I truly wanted things to turn out differently, and am sorry that they have dug their graves with their own hands. I will still accept their apology and Islam will accept their repentance. They can still go and announce their apology on the radio and television and can confess that they have gone wrong thus far and that they have made mistakes and that it was a mistake to invite people to rebellion and was against Islam and against the laws of the country and that they (made a mistake) by endorsing the slander of the hypocrites.

I had repeatedly told this gentleman¹ that these people will ruin you! And that some of these people that have surrounded you are wolves that will ruin you. But he did not give any heed. It is still not too late. The religious gentlemen can announce that an invitation to this rally is against Islam, as it truly is. That gentleman, too, can go and apologize to the nation and can confess that although the nation had voted for him, his actions were not as per its expectations. And that they will be so from now on. But all this should not just be dry words. It should not be as if he confesses in words but in action proves that he is against the Majlis, the Judiciary, the Council of Experts, and that he is also against the tripartite committee, one of the members of which he has himself appointed. (It should not be as if:) “All the power should be in my hands while the others should be eliminated!”

But what should we do? I strongly suggest that something should be done about these friends of ours. I do not wish for them the plight that they have put themselves into. I never wanted things to work out this way. I never wanted this nation to be disillusioned by people like you in the very first year of the Islamic Republic. I never wanted you to align with the hypocrites who are against Islam, as can be seen from their book, “*Shenakht*”. But what can I do? It was you who refused to pay heed to my advice. I am advising you even now—this religious group of the “Freedom Movement” as well as Mr. President—to stop creating obstacles on the path of Islam. Stop disempowering the Majlis, the clergy, the nation, and the army. Put an end to these affairs and come on the scenes and join hands with your other brothers. Stay on as the legal president and act according to the Constitution. You are the representatives of the Majlis and are honorable and religious people. Dissociate yourselves from the apostates. They are apostates. The “National Front” is condemned as an apostate group from today. Sure, the “National Front” can come up and declare that they had never made such statements. If they have to come on radio this afternoon and declare that the statement that referred to a definite Islamic decree as “inhuman” was not made by them, we will accept it.

The doors of mercy are open to everyone in Islam. History reports that Yazid had asked Imam as-Sajjad (*a*) if his repentance would be acceptable. The Imam (*a*) had replied: “Yes, the doors of repentance are open”. Well, a Yazid with all the crimes that he had committed! However, in reply to Lady Zaynab (*a*), Imam as-Sajjad (*a*) had later also mentioned: “He will never succeed in repenting. And only if he did so would it be acceptable”. Even if

¹ Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr.

someone had to repent after killing a prophet, his repentance would be acceptable. But (the point to note is that) he would never succeed in repenting. And my guess is that these people will never be able to repent. If they take it seriously, there is still time and they have the opportunity. The doors of repentance are open right until the time you are put into your graves. divine mercy is infinite. Come and repent! Come and repent for your past actions and for inviting the people to insurgency and opposing Islam! Return (to Islam) and all of you will be forgiven!

Come and join hands in brotherhood and work for the progress of this nation! Do not keep sitting and claiming that this nation is being ruined. After all who is ruining it but you? Check out for yourselves! Let the nation sit and check for itself! What other shortcoming does this government, which is striving to do its best and is busy with civil activities and is aiding the war-ravaged people and is helping at the warfronts have, except that it claims to be Muslim and is only concerned about serving Islam?! Why don't you overlook this one shortcoming? Can you truly say that this government is ruining Iran?

Is this Majlis, whose members mostly consist of Islamic scholars—and people can see for themselves how hard they are striving while yet facing all your slander—ruining the country? Or is it the Judiciary that is ruining the country? The Judiciary, that works day and night in order to compensate for the dearth of trained experts, that are presently not even available in our seminaries!

The Islamic university to serve the people

Another issue that these people have raised and which the “National Front” has mentioned in its leaflets is the reopening of the universities. Do not keep on raising this issue. This university has only produced people like you all. (If the universities are not reformed) its graduates will be people like you all, who, in a couple of decades from now will oppose the laws of Islam like you are doing and will call them “inhuman”. We want our universities to serve this nation. You all are working against the interests of this nation under the pretext of serving it. This nation belongs to the same people who have been striving for Islam and their country everywhere. We want to have a university whose graduates will not turn out to be like you all. We want our universities to produce people who are committed to Islam. If they are committed to Islam they will neither drag us toward the East and nor the West. And neither will they hold your negative belief that we are incapable. You desired for “His Majesty” to stay on right up to the end. And since you

had mentioned this to me personally, you cannot deny it. You kept insisting right up to the end that “His Imperial Majesty” be allowed to stay on, even if it were as a ceremonial head. That is how you were right until the end. You also wanted Bakhtiyar to stay on right up to the end. Don’t try to fool us any longer with all your claims about yourselves. I read something about Mirza-ye Shirazi¹ in one of the newspapers of the “National Front” that upset me greatly. They insulted all the Islamic scholars that had served Islam, right from Mirza-ye Shirazi who began the Tobacco Movement to Ayatullah Kashani and Shaykh Fadlullah. If you find that issue of the “National Front’s” newspaper you will see that they have accused Mirza-ye Shirazi of being a liar! And they have abused Shaykh Fadlullah! What crime had the poor Shaykh Fadlullah committed? His only crime was that he demanded that the constitutional law be Islamic. His crime was that he did not consider the decree of retaliation as “inhuman”. The same applies to Mr. Kashani. Their only crime was that they wanted Islam to be established in this country; while what you say is that the Western laws are progressive and so we should follow them. Your views are the same as the lawyers who have opposed the bill of retaliation. But the difference is that they have not used a repulsive term to describe it. And just as I mentioned earlier, not throughout the entire rule of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah did Islam ever face such slander! However, the “National Front” did just that; it slandered Islam!

I pray to God Almighty for all to be reformed. May everyone, God willing, return to the arms of Islam and not, God forbid, allow anything unfavorable to happen!

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

¹ Ayatullah Mirza Hasan Shirazi, a great Shiah religious authority of the early 14th century AH whose famous verdict resulted in the abolition of a contract between the British Regié Company and the government of Nasiruddin Shah according to which the said company had a monopoly right over all the tobacco produce of Iran. Ayatullah Shirazi died in the year 1312 AH.

Decree

Date: June 16, 1981 [Khordad 26, 1360 AHS / Shaban 13, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting pardon to prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti (Chief Justice of Iran)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

Enclosed herewith is the list of the names of fifteen prisoners from the revolutionary military court who deserve to be pardoned according to the verdict of the judge of the said court.

Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti]

In His Most Exalted Name

You have my consent.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 26, 1360 AHS

¹ Based on the Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Message

Date: June 17, 1981 [Khordad 27, 1360 AHS / Shaban 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province

Addressee: Muammar al-Qaddafi, Leader of Libya

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi, leader of Libya:

I received your condolence message on the tragic incident of Golbaf of the Kerman province. I am grateful for your warm expression of sympathy and pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the Muslims and the oppressed peoples of the world. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 27, 1360 AHS

Message

Date: June 17, 1981 [Khordad 27, 1360 AHS / Shaban 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province

Addressee: Chadli Benjadid, President of Algeria

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Chadli Benjadid,
President,
The Democratic Republic of Algeria

I received Your Excellency's condolence message on the tragic incident of Golbaf of the Kerman province. I am grateful for your warm expression of sympathy and pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the Muslims and the oppressed peoples of the world. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 14, 1401 AH

Message

Date: June 17, 1981 [Khordad 27, 1360 AHS / Shaban 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province

Addressee: Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Leonid Brezhnev,
General Secretary,
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

I received your condolence message on the tragic earthquake of the Kerman province. I am grateful for your warm concern. I pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the deprived nations and the oppressed peoples of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 27, 1360 AHS

Message

Date: June 17, 1981 [Khordad 27, 1360 AHS / Shaban 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province

Addressee: Chun Doo Hwan, President of South Korea

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Khordad 27, 1360 AHS

His Excellency Gen. Chun Doo Hwan,
President,
South Korea

I received your condolence message on the tragic earthquake of the Kerman province and thank you for the same. I pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 17, 1981 [Khordad 27, 1360 AHS / Shaban 14, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province

Addressee: Yumzhagiye Tsedenbal, President of Mongolia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Yumzhagiye Tsedenbal,
President,
Council of the People's Republic of Mongolia

I received your message of sympathy and condolence on the disastrous earthquake of the Kerman province. I am grateful for your warm concern and pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the oppressed and deprived nations of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 27, 1360 AHS

Message

Date: June 18, 1981 [Khordad 28, 1360 AHS / Shaban 15, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Felicitations on Shaban 15; warning over the joint conspiracy of the anti-Revolutionary groups

Occasion: Shaban 15, the auspicious birthday of the Promised Mahdi—may God expedite his glorious advent

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Felicitations to all the oppressed peoples of the world on the occasion of the auspicious and blessed birthday of the last of the Divinely-Appointed Successors of the Prophet (s) and the Pride of all Divine Saints, Hujjat ibn al-Hasan al-Askari—may our souls be sacrificed for his arrival! How auspicious is the birthday of the one who is to establish universal justice, for which purpose all the divine prophets (a) have been sent! How auspicious is the birthday of the champion who shall purify this world from the evils of the tyrants and scoundrels and will fill the earth with fairness and justice after it has been filled with cruelty and oppression! And who will crush world arrogance and will make the oppressed people of the world its inheritors. How blessed and auspicious will be the day on which the world will be purified from all evil and mischief and when the rule of divine justice will be established throughout the world and when the hypocrites and the connivers will be eliminated from the scenes and the banner of divine justice and mercy will spread globally! And when only the laws of Islamic justice will govern all mankind and when the palaces of oppression and tyranny will crumble down and the goal of the appointment of all the prophets (a) and saints shall come to be established. And when divine plenitude will descend upon this earth! All dishonorable pens and hypocritical tongues will be broken and severed on that day and the radiance of the divinely-appointed king will fill this world while the devils and the evil ones will be cast aside and the fake human rights' organizations will be destroyed. It is hopeful that God

¹ Imam Khomeinis message was read out by his son, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, at the Shahid Shirudi Stadium of Tehran among a gathering of the various strata of people, a group of the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the commanders of the army.

Almighty will hasten that auspicious day on which this blessed one will return and make the guiding light of Imamate radiate universally! And now, as those awaiting his blessed return, it is our duty to strive to the best of our ability to establish the rule of divine justice in this country of the Imam of the Age—may Allah expedite his advent—and to keep away from dissension, hypocrisy, and dishonesty and to seek divine satisfaction. And let us all humble ourselves before the law and strive with peace and harmony, brotherhood, and equality for the progress of the Islamic Revolution. And always keep in mind that God Almighty is ever witnessing all our actions. And let us avoid transgressing the laws of Islam and pay no heed to the instigation of trouble-makers.

I humbly request the Iranian nation to remain active on the scenes but with peace and calm. The presence of you beloved Muslim people will thwart the conspiracies of the tyrants and the connivers of history. Your presence on the scenes will blacken the faces of the hypocrites and their dishonorable allies with gloom and despair. It is the presence of you brave and pious people that will establish pure Islam in Iran and, God willing, throughout the world. The presence of you pious and selfless people will ultimately expose the true picture of the “liberal-minded” devotees of the East and the West. Your presence on the scenes will crush all the evil of Inness and egotism and will replace it with unity and Islamic brotherhood. Your presence on the scenes has alerted America, the West, and the East and their mindless followers by declaring to them that it was we who made the Revolution possible and it is we who determine our own destiny and that we will not be swayed by all your vain babble. Your presence on the scenes has managed to expose all the groups, organizations, and associations that, in the name of championing the cause of individual freedom and individualism had stood up in confrontation with Islam and its religious laws. Today, and the oncoming days will prove to be the days of the defeat of the sworn enemies of Islam. It will not be concerned with individual defeat or the defeat of certain people but will prove to be the day of the defeat of a trend masterminded by those who do not believe in Islam. And even if some of them do believe in Islam, it is only as long as it does not oppose or clash with the Western trend of thought. It will be the defeat of a trend that has been anguishing my heart. It will be the defeat of a trend that is much more dangerous than all the crimes and treacheries committed by the Pahlavi regime throughout their disgraceful rule. It will be the defeat of a deviated trend whose foundations were shaken and ruined by your timely presence on the scenes.

My dear friends! Stay very cautious and completely alert! And remain alertly active on the scenes but with complete calmness. No one will be able to harm you if you do not allow them to. And with your support all the enemies of the noble Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (a) will be defeated. Remain alert as Iran is on the verge of attaining the fruits of your noble Revolution. Remain alert as the despicable anti-Islamic trend and the West are on the verge of complete defeat. And surely you have proved that you are resisting with full awareness.

Khomeini kisses each and every one of your hands and honors every single one of you! And (he) considers each and every one of you as his leader. I have said repeatedly that I am just like the rest of you and that there is no question of any leadership. I am fully aware of the value of your presence in these sensitive days and am counting days with the hope of your final victory over your enemies.

I, once again, humbly request this noble nation not to be neglectful toward the war and to encourage and honor your brothers in the army and the Revolutionary Guards Corps as well as the rest of the beloved combatants at the warfronts. You, the brave soldiers of Islam, who are serving at the warfronts and in the garrisons and behind the warfronts should keep an alert track of the anti-revolutionary trends and should know that it is for the past one year now that I had not deemed it appropriate to reveal certain facts that I am aware of to the nation. Why? In the interest of national peace and harmony and so that you could confront world arrogance with total peace of mind. But this was until the time that I started feeling that things were going beyond limits and that the very foundations of the Islamic Republic—that had been established by sacrificing the blood of seventy thousand martyrs and after over a hundred thousand people had been rendered invalid—were being threatened. I could no longer bear to see you all fight while the anti-revolutionary elements were gearing up to reap the benefits of your victories in order to serve their evil political objectives. I, thus, opened my heart to you. No matter where you are, take the greatest caution so that the anti-revolutionary elements do not succeed in achieving their despicable objectives.

O commanders, officers, non-commissioned officers, and the brave soldiers of Islam! You are well aware that, today, the hypocrites have gained proximity with certain people¹ by portraying themselves as their staunch

¹ It refers to Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr, who had transferred his Presidential office to the headquarters of the leaders of the MKO (the hypocrites) after his dismissal as the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

supporters and under that guise, are involved in blasts and armed conflict and are creating tension in different parts of the country everyday. They are the same people who had demanded the dissolution of the army from the very first day of the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

I will continue to stand up against the anti-Revolutionary forces that are determined to involve you in fresh conflicts everyday under the pretext of supporting certain people, with the support of the power of this brave nation.

O' you soldiers, revolutionary guards, *basijis*, gendarmes, policemen, and all the people's armed forces and all the others who are sacrificing your lives for the cause of Islam and Iran! Remain alert and make Islam the touchstone of all your actions!

Today, the hypocrites, the "National Front", the "Democrats" and all the anti-revolutionary elements have joined hands to defeat you and the noble Revolution of your nation.

Don't you see them gathering in some nook and corner everyday, causing sabotages?! But for your active presence they would have vilified your Revolution throughout the world.

Haven't you all gone through the leaflets of the "Union of Iranian Communists" in which it has committed sacrilege against all your beliefs under the pretext of supporting a certain individual. You beloved people should stay alert and maintain calmness and should await the divine retribution (for the enemies).

Strive to maintain Islamic ethics and refrain from employing incendiary slogans and thwart the conspiracies of the rabble-rousers. Know that no sin is greater than remaining silent against the enemies of God and men and no virtue is greater than actively confronting the anti-Revolutionary elements. Maintain calmness and strive toward fostering unity and the spirit of Islamic brotherhood.

I implore the great Imam of the Age [*Wali Allah al-Azam*]*—*may God expedite his advent*—*to beseech God Almighty with his life-giving breath, to grant all of us, our authorities, and the entire noble nation success in acting according to the guidance and the laws of Islam and to expedite the advent of the *Baqiyyatullah* [Last Proof of Allah]*—*may my soul be sacrificed for him!

Peace and blessings be upon the martyrs and their honorable, noble, and brave families! Peace be upon the beloved and hardy Islamic war-disabled soldiers!

May God's peace be upon the followers of guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: Circa 1981 [1360 AHS / 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Commending the martyrs and their noble families

Addressees: Families of the martyrs and the Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Although the loss of our great martyrs deals an agonizing blow to their honorable survivors and is a major loss to our nation that hangs heavily on all our backs, our greatest consolation, however, is that they offered invaluable services toward Islam and this great country with their bold initiative. They were all grand and irreplaceable assets and were our brothers and sons who have left all of us bereaved. Islam has seen great martyrs right from its early days and what endless hardship the Noble Messenger (*s*) and the Infallible Imams (*a*) suffered and what sacrifice and selfless service they offered for this sacred goal! Our beloved martyrs, too, have walked in their footsteps and have brought honor to Islam and their homeland.

Divine blessings and salutations of the prophets and the great *awliya'* (*a*) be upon the pure hearts of these selfless martyrs and their mothers, fathers, and relatives who have proudly nurtured such children upon their laps and happily offered them in sacrifice for Islam! Mercy of God Almighty be upon the pure-hearted martyrs and upon their patient and courageous survivors!

May God's peace and mercy be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 22, 1981 [Tir 1, 1360 AHS / Shaban 19, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mustafa Chamran, the Imam's representative in the Supreme Defense Council

Addressees: The Iranian and Lebanese nations and the family of Martyr Chamran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, to God we belong and to Him we shall return.”

I offer my condolences and felicitations to the supreme presence of the Imam of the Age—may our souls be sacrificed for him—over the inspiring martyrdom of Dr. Mustafa Chamran, the great commander of Islam and the alert combatant committed to the sublime path, who has left us for the higher angelic realms.

Condolences because our nation that nurtures committed martyrs has lost a soldier who has created legends, both, in Lebanon and in Iran in the battles of truth against falsehood. And Dr. Chamran's main ideal was striving for precious Islam and for the victory of truth over falsehood. He was a pious combatant and a committed teacher, the likes of whom our country dearly needs. And felicitations, because the grand (school of) Islam presents such children to the oppressed masses and nations and nurtures commanders like him in its lap. After all, what is life without an ideology and striving for its cause?!

Dear Chamran spent a lifetime—from start to end¹—with a grand divine purpose and a pure and untainted ideology without attachment to any political groups and bands. His life was dedicated to gaining the light of divine knowledge and earning proximity to God and he strove on that path and sacrificed his life for it. He lived and died in honor and attained to the Truth.

True virtue calls for the art of striving for God without any political hullabaloo and satanic self-exhibition as well as sacrificing oneself for one's ideals instead of caprice. And this art belongs to the men of God!

¹ Dr. Chamran was martyred on June 19, 1981 at the Susangerd-Dehlaviyeh frontiers in a combat against the Baathist invading forces.

He reached Divine Presence honorably. May his soul be joyous and may he fondly be remembered! But can we also attain such virtue? It is for God to take us by the hand and to liberate us from the darkness of ignorance and egotism! I offer my condolences to the noble nations of Iran and Lebanon, and in fact to all the Muslim nations, the armed forces, the combatants on the path of truth, as well as the family of this precious soldier. And I pray to God Almighty to shower His mercy upon him and to grant patience and reward to his honorable survivors.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 22, 1981 [Tir 1, 1360 AHS / Shaban 19, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dismissal of Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr from presidency

Addressees: The Iranian nation, the Speaker, and members of the Majlis

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

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

With due respect, this is to inform Your Eminence that in the June 19, 1981 session, that was convened in the presence of 190 members, the Islamic Consultative Assembly sought a consensus on the issue of Mr. Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr's competency as a president in which the majority concluded that he lacked the desired political acumen for occupying the post of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the following results:

Agreed: 177

Disagreed: 1

Abstained: 12

Thus, on the basis of the article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran the issue is placed before the Grand Imam for his final decision.

Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani
Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly
Khordad 31, 1360 AHS]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Keeping in view the categorical vote of the honorable members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly as regards Mr. Abu'l-Hasan Bani Sadr's lack of political competency for occupying the position of President of the Islamic

Republic of Iran, I hereby dismiss him from the presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 1, 1360 AHS

¹ Based on clause 5 of Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran the power of impeaching the president of the country rests with the leader following the verdict of the Supreme Court of the country or the verdict of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Message

Date: June 22, 1981 [Tir 1, 1360 AHS / Shaban 19, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province

Addressee: Suharto, President of Indonesia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Gen. Suharto,
President of Indonesia

I received Your Excellency's condolence message on the tragic disaster of the Kerman region. I am grateful for your warm expression of sympathy and pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the Muslims of the world.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 19, 1401 AH

Speech

Date: Morning, June 22, 1981 [Tir 1, 1360 AHS / Shaban 19, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Following the dismissal of Bani Sadr; warning and advice to those deceived by the deviant groups; cautioning the group, “*Nahdat-e Azadi*” (Freedom Movement)

Audience: Various strata of the public, personnel of the Base IV of the Air Force, members of the *Basij* of Khomeinishahr, members of the Qum Dissemination Office, some people from Damghan, and some teachers from Masjid Sulayman

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Consolidated national presence on the scenes

I thank all of you from the Wahdat (Air Force) Base of Dezful and the Basij of Isfahan and the rest of the gentlemen for being present here. And my gratitude is directed to all the combatants serving at the warfronts and behind them.

Today, with the grace of God, the Iranian nation is a nation of pious believers and soldiers that possesses a firm ideology and is striving toward it. And till the time that this high spirit is embedded in our nation we do not need to fear the conspiracies, deviation, or any other hazards that had been and are facing this nation. Only a nation that does not have faith (in God) needs to fear in the face of tribulation. A nation as this, that has faith and a firm ideology and has arisen in sacred defense of this faith and belief and believes that sacrifice in the way of God Almighty is victory and attaining martyrdom is also a victory, is invincible. The conspirators who want to spread dissension in this nation with their conspiracies and think that they will succeed in doing so within this consolidated Islamic Iranian nation and will succeed in causing conflict between the various groups are mistaken. They have not recognized (the power of) this valiant nation. They do not know that the entire heroic Iranian nation has deep faith and is ready to strive (for its ideal) and will sever all criminal hands from its country with the power of its commitment and will thwart all the conspiracies one by one. Today, the nation is consolidated and active and is on full alert toward all plots and conspiracies. And the moment it finds that a group or certain individuals are going against the path that has been chosen by this nation; which is the path of humanity, the path of truth, and the path of striving for one's faith and ideals, it—the armed forces, the gendarmerie, the police, the

basijis, the revolutionary guards, and the other national forces as well as the rest of the nation that is armed with faith—is well-equipped and prepared, without the need for any motivation, to deal with any anti-Revolutionary moves. And, by God’s grace, there is no need for anyone to mobilize them. Such a nation is bound to finally succeed and every martyr that it sacrifices only adds to its determination and diligence.

Advise to youth deceived by certain political groups

All these groups which are, unfortunately, deceiving our youth as well as our precious children who should be working for Islam and their country and are instigating them against this Islamic Revolution that has severed the hands of the (evil) powers from this country and are dragging them onto the streets to stand up against the nation are committing a grave mistake. Let me offer some advice to these youth who have been deceived by a handful of wolves and let me advise their fathers and mothers to rescue their children and youth who have fallen into the hands of wolves in the form of man who wish to deviate you all. Closely examine the incident¹ that took place a couple of days ago and study it carefully and check out what it was all about, what purpose it served, and in whose interest it was. Are you all standing up against America and the Soviet Union in sacred defense or not?! Do you wish to liberate your country from the clutches of America and the Soviet Union or not? You have already been deceived and the treacherous heads of the MKO have deluded you. While they sat safely in their shelters, they instigated you all to fall into the streets and brought about that unfortunate incident through your hands. Who were you standing up against? Whom is the declaration for armed attack aimed against? This declaration for armed attack is aimed against a nation that has been sacrificing its blood for nearly twenty years and especially in the past two to three years and has severed the hands of the Western and the Eastern blocs from this country! Your uprising was aimed against such a nation! They coerced you into acts that have blackened the face of history. Have you even given a thought to what you are up to and what kinds of people have instigated you? All those who had invited you to insurgency and resistance have deserted you and have fled off! Resistance and insurgency against whom? Against Islam? Against the Islamic Republic? Against the Noble Qur’an? And against Islam and the Qur’an in the name of the Qur’an?! And assaulting Islam in the name of

¹ It refers to the declaration for an armed attack by the terrorist MKO group against the Islamic Republic and their falling onto the streets and their involvement in the assassinations of the country’s officials.

Islam?! Assault against freedom in the name of freedom?! Wake up! Counsel your youth. Even if you gather all your strength, you are no more than a droplet in the face of this roaring wave of the noble Muslim nation of Iran! Why are you dragging yourselves to destruction and why do you want to throw Iran into the clutches of those powerful wolves in the name of liberating it? Just give it some thought! And let our nation give a thought to the plight of these people. The fathers and mothers of these deceived youth—girls and boys—need to find a way to guide them. We are your well-wishers. The Islamic Republic wants the best for you in this world and in the hereafter. The Islamic Republic wants you to be truly self-reliant. The Islamic Republic wishes to free you all from these wolves of the East and the West. These ill-fated criminal groups are misleading our youth. They sit safely in their shelters and instigate the youth of this nation against Islam and against the Muslim nation and in the service of the superpowers and especially America.

The supporters of America exposed

This plan has been in the hatching for a long time and its impious plotters have been busy planning it; and I had been studying them and observing their conditions until they finally, ingeniously exposed themselves and revealed their inner intentions, and the nation realized what they had been up to and how they entered into this country with a sincere and righteous façade and implemented the evil plan of the big powers or in other words, wanted to bring back America to this country. They did not know the truth of this nation. They did not know the truth of this Islamic nation. Even with all their shrewdness and knowledge, they had no idea what an Islamic nation is and what the power of Islam is! They tried to pave the path for America while the supporters of America gathered all around them. They did not pay any heed to my advice and ignored my plans for their welfare and for the welfare of our country and brought upon themselves exactly what I had feared. I did not want things to turn out like they were in the times of Rida Khan and how when he was ousted from the country, the first thing that their dear “friend” said in the Majlis was: “Everything happens for the best”! I did not want our awakened Islamic country to have people who would refuse to pay heed to good counsel and consequently lead matters to a point where the same people who supported them yesterday would turn into their enemies today! They have no idea what Islam is and what an Islamic nation is! They were under the notion that they could succeed in playing political games like the ones that the political groups play with the people in the East and the West and

create dissension and rifts among the people with their political games and mobilize them against Islam and the Islamic Republic and coerce them into dissolving this Majlis. And oust this government, dissolve the Judiciary, bring ruin to the Islamic Republic with their own hands, only to pave the path for the superpowers that have lost their favorite baits, until this country becomes a bait for America and the Soviet Union once again. They had not recognized Islam. They thought that Islam is just another political school like the rest, that can be tricked with their evil political games, so that they can drag these people away from their chosen path for which they have sacrificed their blood and their youth for the past twenty years and drag them from the path of truth to the path of falsehood and from light into darkness and pave the path for their own friends.

It is a matter of regret that despite all my efforts to prevent such things from happening during the first term of presidency¹ these people refused to pay heed. I advised them in different forms to change their ways and not to betray the trust of the nation. I desired for all the statesmen of this country to remain in their posts until the end and to carry this revolution through until the final and absolute victory is achieved. However, there were hands at work and there were some wolves among them that did not allow our intentions to materialize. When it was felt that these people had joined hands in a satanic plot with the hypocrites who had poured onto the streets a couple of days ago beheading our youth, setting public property to fire, and causing street riots in order to drag this country to ruin, and as soon as I sensed that things had gone too far, I too, as I had warned them earlier regarding dismissing them from the responsibilities that were earlier handed over to them, acted upon my warning.

Such is the behavior of people claiming loyalty to Islam! Such is the behavior of people who claim to be the protectors of the interest of the people declaring themselves to be the “well-wishers of the people”! I do not know in which part of the world, those people that they claim to be the well-wishers of, live?! Are those people in Iran, or are they in America or are they in the Soviet Union? Are these elements the “well-wishers of people”—the people of Iran?! Then why do they stand in confrontation with these millions of people and wage an armed conflict against them?

Unfortunately, I find that many of them have been misled and many of them were actually unsuspecting youth who had been deviated by these wolves. And I am hopeful that these youth will return to the arms of the

¹ It refers to the dismissal of Bani Sadr from his post as the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and his subsequent impeachment from presidency.

nation and the arms of Islam. That is why I counsel them and counsel the fathers and the mothers of those who have been misled, not to allow their youth to get ruined for the ambitions of a handful of traitors who want to gain power in this country with the support of America and the Soviet Union. They had not recognized (the power) of the Iranian nation. And they had no idea of the power of our armed forces. They had thought them to be like the army of the deposed Shah. They were under the notion that our army even today is like the army of the monarchial regime. They thought that our nation, too, is a nation that can be fooled and that is why they used all their force to stand up against the nation. Unfortunately, various groups, some of which comprise “religious” and pious people were and are also involved in their game.

Advising the “Freedom Movement” to dissociate itself from the conspirators

I had repeatedly advised him¹ to dissociate himself from these corrupt groups and to guard his dignity and to go to the public and renounce them. And that they would ruin him. (I warned him that) All these wolves that are surrounding you—with the exception of a few—want to drag you to ruin; drive them off! But since he could not grasp the true meaning of Islam, the true meaning of an Islamic country, the true meaning of the Islamic nation, the true meaning of an Islamic army, and the true meaning of the armed forces of Islam, he dragged himself to ruin. I would still prefer the Muslim and pious groups who have not severed their ties with God and Islam to stay alert and to dissociate themselves from those who have rebelled against Islam.² Let them go to the public through the radio and television and condemn the groups that committed so many crimes a few days ago. Let them renounce those people who with the support of these groups wanted to cause dissension within the Iranian nation and to ruin the Iranian cities one by one. Let them go and renounce them and dissociate themselves from the corrupt conspirators and those who have no faith in Islam and who created turmoil a couple of days ago. Let them renounce all those who believe Islam to be outdated and believe its laws to have been suitable for fourteen hundred years ago. I know what is in your best interests. Do not, God forbid, wait for the same plight that overtook the others to come your way too. My desire is for all of you to join hands under the banner of Islam and stand up against America and the Soviet Union and not against each other. Do not stand up

¹ It refers to Bani Sadr.

² It refers to the Freedom Movement.

against each other. Join hands and salvage this country. All these differences that you want to create through your speeches and writings are not in the interest of Islam or the country or the nation. Where are you dragging this country to? Where are all you religious people striving to drag your country into? Into the arms of America? Into the arms of the Soviet Union? You may be unaware of the fact that even if you do somehow manage to create differences between the Islamic groups it will not bear any fruit excepting that it will put the country at the disposal of either America or the Soviet Union. Are you unaware of that? How could all you scholars be oblivious of this fact?! Do you want to sell this whole nation off to America?

Since my desire is for all of you to unite together, I once again advise you to learn a lesson from this experience. Do not forget that this Majlis has stood up against all kinds of deviation. This Majlis is not controlled by any particular party or group. Most of the members of the Majlis are independent representatives who think and act independently. They can see all the deviation but they strive to gain divine satisfaction and to reach (this country) to its goals. Do you know what you are doing when you ask for the dissolution of such a Majlis? Are all of you educated religious people oblivious of the situation? Have the devils succeeded in making you so negligent? Or then, God forbid, are you doing all this knowingly? Wake up and reform yourselves! All these incidents that take place in this world are necessary for us to learn our lessons and all you have to do is to get that lesson and stop trying to swim against the roaring wave of Islam and this Islamic nation. I am your well-wisher. I wished everyone well. I also wish these groups well. They need to quit and to stop rebelling against Islam and the Islamic country. Let those who have not yet actively rebelled, repent and return to Islam. Let these youth who have fallen into their traps wake up and return to Islam. Let them not sacrifice their lives for the Satan in vain. Let them not sacrifice the lives of their own brothers for their evil whims. Their leaders are devils who wish to ruin our youth and our young boys and girls and they want them to stand up against the nation and to destroy them all. These are all basically small insignificant groups and if only our misled youth were to return to Islam and to the nation their fate would soon be known. The nation, too, is crying out to me to settle accounts with them once and for all. However, I have the welfare of all the Muslims and the non-Muslims in mind. (I want) all of them to quit this mischief and for our young and beloved boys and girls not to be fooled by them. Let them flee from their traps and return to the arms of Islam because these people do not have the interest of this nation in mind. And this is evident from the fact that they are

rebelling against the nation everywhere. Was all this commotion that took place a couple of days back and was all that mischief directed against protecting (this nation) from America? Were these people who got martyred American? Do all those crops that you set to fire belong to America? Do all those factories that you closed down belong to America? Do these agriculturists whom you invited to slow down or to stall work or the ones whose life's labor you set to fire belong to America? Are you the supporters of the masses?! Are you the supporters of the Iranian masses? Are you the supporters of your own nation? And are you gentlemen who are endorsing such people supporting Islam and the Islamic country? And do you believe that their acts are actually Islamic? You all do not consider our efforts in the Islamic government as Islamic; but do you consider the actions of these groups who have started armed conflict against the people in the streets and in other places as Islamic?! Why don't you bother to think for yourselves at least once? "An hour's contemplation is better than seventy years of worship"¹ If you have spent seventy years in worship, sit and spend one hour in contemplation; sit and contemplate upon your actions and sit and contemplate upon what evil repercussions you could be creating for yourselves. Were those words that you all sent out, that were also discussed in the Majlis, for the sake of God?! Were all those allegations made for the sake of God? Are all these actions of yours—unfortunately coming from you who hail from the religious and the Muslim section—in the interest of your country? Are they for the sake of Islam? Does religion make it obligatory upon you to oppose a government that is already involved in so many problems and to put a spoke in the wheel of a government that is striving day and night to work for this nation? Is all this for the sake of Islam? Or for the sake of the Islamic nation? Is all this in the interest of the country?

Chamran ensured honor in this world

I have the right to be most disappointed with the current state of affairs we are involved in. I truly do not want you to suffer the same plight as the others did. I do not want them to face the same fate. I have and shall keep track of your situation and do not want my suspicion that you are, God forbid, probably no longer interested in serving Islam and that all of you are only thinking of your own selves, to prove true. After all how much longer are you and I going to live? How much longer do you all think you are going to be around? And no matter what post or position you may succeed in

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 66, p. 293.

attaining, do you think it will be higher than what Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida possessed? Take a lesson! Take a lesson from this historical event! History is the teacher of man. Take lessons from all these incidents that take place all over the world. You all are not going to be in this world from more than a few more years. Chamran,¹ too, is no longer among us. Chamran sacrificed his life with honor and dignity and with commitment to Islam and ensured honor for himself in this world and has gained divine mercy in the other world. All of us will also leave this world. Die like Chamran! Die like all these soldiers who are sacrificing their lives at the warfronts! Go through the wills that these beloveds write out. You have spent fifty years in worship and may it be acceptable to God Almighty; so spend at least a day in going through one of these wills and in contemplation. Our war-disabled youth, even now as they come here, ask me to pray for them to attain martyrdom; they have lost their legs but with crutches in their hands, they still cry and ask me to pray for their martyrdom. Take some lessons from them.

Why did you not dissociate yourselves from that well-known group² which issued a statement that was against the fundamentals of Islam and against the Qur'anic words despite my repeated suggestion to you? I repeatedly asked that gentleman³ to dissociate himself from these hypocrites and to declare that those people were not from Islam and to disown them. But he refused to pay any heed and had to suffer the plight he did. I wish that he repents and that God Almighty, too, accepts his repentance so that he does not face shame in the other world. You still have the time. There is still time left for you to repent. There is still time left for you to dissociate yourselves from the groups that rebelled against Islam. Place a foot upon the caprice of your souls; place a foot upon your evil desires and dissociate yourselves from those who had issued the "National Front" leaflet against Islam and especially from those of them who were aware of its contents and have turned into apostates. Dissociate yourselves from those who fell out on the streets a couple of days ago and committed so many crimes declaring an armed conflict against the Islamic Republic. I am your well-wisher. I am fond of many of you even if you are unaware of it. I must say that even though you all have spent years in politics you have no political acumen. Just as Mr. Bani Sadr who also had no political acumen.

¹ Martyr Mustafa Chamran.

² It refers to the "National Front of Iran".

³ Abul- Hasan Bani Sadr.

Suggestion and advice to Bani Sadr

I am still advising Mr. Bani Sadr not to fall into the traps of these wolves that are sitting abroad and lying-in-wait. You will end up losing whatever little reputation you may have left. I do not want you to ruin yourself any further. I would like all those who live in this country to live a divinely-inspired life, worthy of man. Take care not to fall into the traps of people who are now totally exposed to this nation; and do not take their support and fall into their traps because then you will lose everything in this world as well as the hereafter. If only you had paid heed to my good counsel you would not have been facing this plight. But those who feigned fondness for you—while they disliked Islam—did not spare you and they continued their acts until they ruined you. Do not ruin yourself any more. Do not fall into the traps of those who have opened their mouths like dragons to devour you and to ruin your reputation. It will be in your interest to repent and to cut off from these corrupt and criminal groups and to instead dedicate yourself to writing. If you had only paid heed to the advice that I had offered you while I was lying sick in hospital, things would have been different today. And I never wanted things to turn out this way. That day one of the things I had spoken to you about, which is the root of all man's problems, was that "love for the world is the source of all man's slips and sins".¹ All our slips are because of love for ourselves and love for position and wealth. If only you had paid heed to this one advice, things would have been different today. And all the groups and your friends—except of course those groups that wish to exploit you to reach their own goals—would not have abandoned you. Your closest friends have abandoned you. All the groups that supported you and made loud claims about you have disowned you. And all this shows that you lack political acumen. The biggest proof of this is that you have lost your 11 million votes!² All this has left bitter memories and I did not want this to happen. And yet, there is always some possibility for repentance for everyone, no matter what one has done. The doors of repentance are open. God's mercy is never-ending. Repent and take a step forward and abandon the evil desires of the soul and God will accept you. He will ensure that you regain your lost reputation. He will return to you your lost dignity.

And as for those of you in the Majlis and active in other offices, take my humble advice and trample the evil desires of your soul. And drive off all those groups that wish to ruin Iran and have waged an armed conflict against

¹ *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, *hadith* 1, p. 315.

² It refers to the number of votes that Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr had secured in the first presidential elections of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Islam and dissociate yourselves from them. And also drive off those who believe Islam to be outdated and dissociate yourselves from them. There is always room for repentance. The biggest sin is to support those who have rebelled against Islam or those who issue statements against Islam. I am your well-wisher. From my side, I have forgiven you for whatever you have said against me personally. But I am thinking of your own welfare when I advise you to stop making the mistakes that you have made so far and to unite with the nation. And sever your ties with those various groups that wish to gain importance for themselves by associating with you because the more they become important, the greater will you lose your reputation. Return to Islam; to what you believe in! But the caprice of your soul does not allow you to do that. And let all of us take lessons from these soldiers who are sacrificing their lives at the warfronts. They are sacrificing their lives for Islam and for the welfare of this country while we are sitting over their blood and fighting! This is one of the biggest sins according to Islam and in the eyes of humanity this is greatly abominable. How abominable it is that one group should go to the warfronts for the welfare of their nation and put their lives at stake for our welfare and sacrifice their blood and spend their days and nights in this great divine service while you and I sit here and write articles and publish newspapers and grab each other's throats! How abominable this is and how shameful!

May God save all of us from the caprice of our souls! May God guide all of us on His right path! May God protect our country from the mischief of the foreign hands!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: June 23, 1981 [Tir 2, 1360 AHS / Shaban 20, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a condolence message related to the Golbaf earthquake of the Kerman province¹

Addressee: Todor Zhivkov, President of Bulgaria

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Tir 2, 1360 AHS

Shaban 20, 1401 AH

His Excellency Todor Zhivkov,
President of Bulgaria

I received your condolence message on the tragic Kerman earthquake. I am grateful for your warm expression of sympathy and pray to God Almighty for the success and prosperity of all the oppressed nations of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ An earthquake measuring 6.8 on the Richter scale rocked the Golbaf city of the Kerman province, situated 850 km. southeast of Tehran, at 10.56 am on June 9, 1981 killing and injuring more than 10,000 people, out of the total population of 15,000, and destroying about 95 percent of the buildings in this city.

Speech

Date: Morning, June 23, 1981 [Tir 2, 1360 AHS / Shaban 20, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Freedom from cultural dependence and the impact of the press on the culture of a nation

Audience: Karrubi (The Imam's representative and Head of the Martyr's Foundation), the family of Martyr Ali Mazandarani, and the editorial board and the employees of the monthly, "*Shahid*"

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Overall national transformation with the Iranian Revolution

All our scholars as well as our writers and orators should strive hard to compensate for all the gloom that had set into the hearts of our youth in the previous regime.

However, with God's grace, the Iranian nation took a stride that granted it transformation in all areas. Many youth were either idling away their lives or could not use their ability to speak a word of truth and, unfortunately, many of our youth had also been dragged into deviation. By the grace of God, this Revolution took place and those prisons were broken and presently a great majority of our people are on the right path. However, we still have a long way to go and in this regard, our magazines and the culture presented by them and the way in which it is presented can impact the actual culture of the people. This is because even if people do not read the magazines and just browse through them they will still be left impacted. You saw for yourselves how, even when the magazines were under the control of deviant elements, they could greatly influence the people. If a youth even browsed through them he would be influenced by them, leave alone reading them. Their magazines were full of deviant and distorted matter, in order to confine the minds of our youth to what they wanted and to prevent them from getting involved in social affairs with free minds and to be able to analyze things for themselves. Children are under the influence of their teachers, right from their primary school years until the end. They were being influenced right from their childhood and when they would get into the universities things

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it has been dated as Tir 4, 1360 AHS but the actual date of the meeting has been Tir 2, 1360 AHS the report of which has been featured in the newspapers on Tir 3, 1360 AHS.

would be still worse. If such is the case, the university cannot succeed in training graduates that could prove to be useful for their country. They insisted on bringing deviation into the universities because they did not wish the universities to train people who can think independently for themselves and who can treat the pains of society. Those days everything including the advertisements, the magazines, the newspapers, and the other printed matters, and others aimed toward causing deviation. There was not a single magazine that contained any useful matter and even if there were, they could not dare to address issues directly and had to do so in an indirect manner. Most of the newspapers and magazines were aimed at escalating lust and beastly desires among the youth. There was a case of public sex in Shiraz while somewhere else they had even got two boys married to each other. Such acts were made rampant in society in order to cause the nation to lose everything. However, God Almighty wished to save this nation. There is no doubt that they are not going to leave us alone because all the big powers, America, the Soviet Union, Britain, the East and the West have their greedy eyes fixed upon Iran. It was by the grace of God Almighty that this nation was saved otherwise you would have seen how they would have ruined this country. They are greedy for Iran's resources and our resources are greater than you imagine.

People should prepare themselves to thwart conspiracies

I remember when I had once traveled to Hamedan, a young man approached me with a large map of that province, in which all its various locations were charted out, including all its villages and hamlets. I could see some spots were marked at different areas and wanted to know what they were. I was told that every spot indicated that it housed a mine, either of gold or copper or oil that had been photographed by them. Do you know that even at a time when there were no automobiles, they (the imperialists) had come to Iran and had traveled all over on camel-back and had even visited all these areas and are, thus, well aware of everything that we have. No one knows what set-ups they have here and so we should prepare ourselves for confrontation. If we want to be self-reliant, we should be prepared to face everything. They want to destabilize us with all the different means that they have at their disposal. They will continue to lure you all but not with the same means they used during the monarchical regime because they know that the people will no longer respond to them. They will use a different form—an Islamic form—like the ones they have developed in the other Muslim countries. They appoint their own people to power in those countries. It all appears very normal and a lot of commitment to Islam is also expressed.

They do not bring in people who do not believe in Islam. They bring people who declare their commitment to Islam. But they dread countries that are truly Islamic. This is because if the schools and universities impart an Islamic training to the future generations, they would be thrown out of those countries. You all saw what beasts were churned out from the universities in the previous regime when things were not in our hands. In these very universities, if anyone wanted to say his obligatory prayers, he would have to do so secretly, out of embarrassment. It was evident from the beginning that it was not as if they were deeply concerned about Islam and hence insisted on the reopening of the universities. We should keep our eyes wide open while dealing with people. It often pains me to think that they had actually been trying to hold another referendum or to boycott the referendum for the constitutional law. A referendum of the likes of what Dr. Musaddiq used to hold—with one ballot box for those who oppose and one for those in favor and, in which a group of ruffians would be placed around the ballot box of those not in favor while a donkey would be brought in to put in a vote in that box! This was the kind of referendum they held and thereby managed to chart out an Americanized constitution. I scrutinized how for over twenty years, they did all they could to sidetrack the clerics so that they could bring to power some “Muslim” people but with an American ideology. And since the people were fearful of the Soviet Union they capitalized on it and attracted them toward America. We need to work hard. I have always been concerned over their conspiracies and am determined to write a will and to expose all their schemes that had been nipped in the bud. (According to them) the Majlis, the Council of Guardians, and the judges are useless. He used to tell me that they are all irreligious. Bani Sadr had repeatedly asked me to get rid of the government. His intention was to make a dictator out of me. And I would laugh and ask him to do it himself if he had the power to do so. They are ignorant. And they are irreligious. They planned to dissolve the Assembly of Experts and used to say “let’s go back to Bahman 22”. I must say that it is very wrong to demand to start all over again. Their proposal is to discard the Majlis and the Islamic Republic and everything else and to hold a referendum over whether we should have a democratic republic or an Islamic one or whether we should have an Islamic democratic republic. Even the religious ones wanted to include the term “democratic”. When we came to realize that they wished to introduce deviation in everything right from the beginning, we insisted that it should only be “Islamic”. They were naïve enough to ask for another referendum. They had no idea of what our people

were and had thought that our masses only comprised all those who whistled for them!

The ruffians dread the spread of the Islamic Revolution

Nevertheless, they are not going to leave us alone. Thus, the present generation must take on training the next generation. They cannot change the minds of the present generation. They insist on the reopening of the universities under the pretext of a shortage of expertise and by claiming that we are against knowledge. Has any other school spoken about the importance knowledge in the way the Qur'an has? We need newspapers, but we do not need newspapers like the "*Inqilab-e Islami*". We need magazines but not like the ones of the previous regime. We need experts but not experts like Sharif Imami. Nonetheless, they were least concerned about research, the university, the press, or freedom. The crux of the matter was that they feared the spread of the Islamic Revolution to other places. Their fear is lest this Revolution spread to the other Muslim countries or even to America and among the African Americans. This is their dread. And that is why they used to claim that it is impossible to even breathe without America. But it is for some years now that we are managing everything without any help from America. They are afraid that this Revolution may spread to other places like Iraq and Kuwait. People who have traveled abroad have informed me that the situation is ripe for a revolution there.

It is easy to publish a magazine but it is very difficult to publish a good magazine. It is easy to put in a couple of pictures, some articles, some poems, and some jokes together and call it a magazine. This does not need any expertise. Such magazines should be published that when our youth go through them, their contents would compensate for the fifty years ruin of this country. You should compensate for the destruction caused in those fifty years. For fifty years our press and the radio and television spread deviated stuff, only to prevent our youth from treading on the right path. God Almighty came to your rescue and things have changed. These people are looking at reversing the trend of the Revolution. Those who wish to publish magazines should equip themselves to train the future generation. Be concerned about the next generation. Islam hold all generations accountable. We are also obliged to do something about the future generations. We need to start our training from homes and from our primary and secondary schools. May God grant you success in publishing educative magazines! And focus upon quality instead of concentrating on quantity.

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

Speech

Date: Morning, June 27, 1981 [Tir 6, 1360 AHS / Shaban 24, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating the sacrifices of the Muslim combatants

Audience: The combatants leaving for the warfronts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance and value of sacrificing for the cause of Islam

Although I had no plans of speaking on Saturday, since you beloved youth are the protectors and the valuable soldiers (of God) and since I can see the depth of your determination in your faces, I am compelled to say a few words for you dear ones; even if it is in the form of a prayer for you.

These pictures that you are holding in your hands belong to the beloved youth that we have lost in the service of Islam and this Islamic country and who make all of us proud, and the memories of their sacrifice for Islam and the Islamic country will remain eternal. You are all supporting Islam today by God's grace. And it is not like it was in the previous regime in which you took all the pains but the benefits were reaped by the other powers. O my brothers! All your efforts today and whatever you offer in service are for your own country and for Islam. Our beloved Islam has offered great martyrs in the service of God right from the very beginning. And today, too, as you beloveds are, with God's grace, defending your own rights, your own country, and beloved Islam, you earn the same rewards as the armies of the early days of Islam in the battles of Uhud, Khandaq,¹ and the other wars. During those days, Islam was a divine trust placed in their hands which they protected by putting their lives at stake. Today, too, Islam is a divine trust placed in all our hands and we should strive to our utmost to serve and to protect it. I pray to God Almighty to grant you greater determination, stronger will, greater power, and unity among yourselves so that you can disappoint all the wolves that are lying-in-wait and are striving to revert this country to its earlier conditions.

¹ Uhud is the name of a mountain located close to Medina while Khandaq is the name of one of the battles that the Prophet (s) fought against the *kuffar* and is also known as the Battle of Ahzab.

National support to the Armed Forces

You know today that our noble nation supports you beloved ones. In the same way that you are striving in the service of Islam and your Islamic country, the entire nation, too, supports you and your beliefs from behind the warfronts and are with you. Whenever a nation supports its army, its revolutionary guards, and its other armed forces, they become invincible. And, with God's grace, may you all, with the power of your great determination, advance further at the warfronts and sever the hands of the criminals who are working on the instructions of America from your country. And may those few evil people who are sitting within this nation also join the others who have reached hell with the help of your determination and action.

May God grant all of you with good health, power, dignity, and honor and may He eliminate all the enemies of Islam from the face of this earth with His will!

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

Message

Date: June 28, 1981 [Tir 7, 1360 AHS / Shaban 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Occasion: The unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Mr. Khamene'i

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamene'i (The Imam's Representative in the Supreme Defense Council and the leader of the Friday congregational prayers in Tehran)¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat-al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ali Khamene'i—may his graces last:

We thank God that the enemies of Islam are foolish groups and individuals. And we are grateful to God that right from the onset of the grand Islamic Revolution, through all their plots, conspiracies, and all the speeches that they delivered, they only ended up making our nation more consolidated and united. And the Prophetic saying, "Those who support this religion cannot be eliminated by corrupt men"² became manifest. They only managed to expose themselves further wherever they gave speeches. And the articles they published only managed to awaken our nation further. And all their assassinations of our leaders only added to the resilience of the united ranks of our nation. Today, by attempting to assassinate you³—as someone who hails from among the descendents of the Noble Prophet (s) and Imam

¹ In response to Imam Khomeini's affectionate message, Mr. Khamenei issued the following statement:

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

Four days after the incident, I find myself in a satisfactory condition with the help of divine blessings and the tireless efforts of the dear hospital employees. It embarrasses me to recall that this incident made our great Imam to express his concern and compassion and our great heroic nation pray (for my recovery). As far as the question of discharging one's responsibilities is concerned, incidents such as this one are not so important as to evoke so much love and compassion from our Imam, the nation, and the employees of this hospital who have worked day and night. I, hereby, extend my greetings and my undying loyalty to the Imam of the *ummah* and assure him that we do not expect anything from him in the face of such incidents and we do not wish to cause him even the slightest of anguish."

² *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, vol. 2, p. 309; *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 1, *hadith* 115, p. 45.

³ On June 25, 1981, Mr. Khamenei was seriously injured by a booby trap bomb placed in a tape recorder devised by the MKO terrorist group as he was speaking at the Abu Dharr Mosque of Tehran after the noon prayers. Fortunately, he recovered from this assassination attempt with Imam Khomeini's prayers and the tireless efforts of the medical teams that were attending to him, though one of his hands did not recover.

Husayn (a) and whose only crime is to serve Islam and the Islamic country and to serve as a selfless soldier at the warfronts and as a learned teacher on the pulpit, and as a powerful orator at the Friday and other congregational prayers and as a compassionate guide in the service of the Revolution—the enemies of the Revolution have proved the pathetic level of their political acumen, their “support” for the masses, and their “opposition” of the oppressors! They have such a dearth of political sense that they sullied their hands with this crime immediately following your speeches at the Majlis and the Friday congregational prayers and among the masses, and directed their evil intentions toward someone who is well-known in the world of Islam for his invitation to goodness and righteousness. Through this inhuman act of theirs, instead of evoking terror among the masses, they have only managed to make the Muslims more determined and united. Doesn't this savage and amateur act indicate that it is high time that our precious deceived youth freed themselves from their treacherous traps and it is for their fathers and mothers to ensure that their beloved children are not sacrificed for the whims of the criminals and for them to prevent them from getting involved in their criminal activities?! Do they not know that by getting involved in these crimes their youth will only get dragged to ruin and will lose their lives for the selfishness of a handful of criminals?! We can take pride before God Almighty and his true *Wali*—the *Baqiyatullah*, may our souls be sacrificed for him—over these soldiers who spend nights in worship and their days in serving God Almighty at the warfronts and behind them. I congratulate you, dear Khamene'i, for serving this oppressed nation at the warfronts as a soldier and behind them as a clergy. And I pray to God Almighty for your good health so that you can continue to serve Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: Morning, June 28, 1981 [Tir 7, 1360 AHS / Shaban 25, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Aims of the big powers in creating dissension and disunity among the Muslims

Audience: Clerics from Pakistan and Mr. Mufti Jafar Husayn

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Enemy fears unity among the seminaries and universities

I welcome our dear brothers, *ulama'* and scholars who are here from Pakistan to see this simple cleric. I pray to God Almighty for everyone's success in serving Islam.

As you all know, the focus of the big powers for long years has been on extending their domination over the rich Muslim countries. The plan was make this happen at all costs, including the establishment of governments that would serve their interests. In Iran, for more than fifty years, the rule was at the service of such powers and especially America. They had made our universities imperialistic so as to serve their own interests. And this was not limited to Iran; this has been their plan everywhere.

They are very wary of two strata. One is the clergy, because they deal with the pious people and the Muslims of every country while the other is the university. Only if they succeed in creating a rift between the university and the clergy and manage to gain control over the university, can they think of eliminating Islam. However, since the clergy has not been very involved in the active trend of affairs and has only been involved in the dissemination of religion to the people, they intend to create a rift between them and the university and the masses. They greatly fear a strong interaction between the clergy and the masses. And especially now, as they have actually seen how the masses revolted at the call of the clergy. One of their tactics is to create a rift between the clergy and the masses. The other is to create a rift between the university and the religious seminaries with the help of their internal agents and by creating a negative trend against the clergy and by making allegations against them.

Our experience in Iran showed that there was not only a rift between the university and the clergy but there was actually an animosity between them. In other words, they had managed to portray the clergy as a corrupt,

reactionary, and opiating group; in fact they considered religion as the “opium of the masses”. On the other hand, they had instilled into the clergy, a false notion that the university only houses a group of irreligious people. This was their plot to create disunity among the masses. Thus, it was not possible to pray openly in a university. The university students were trained in such a manner by most of their teachers that they would end up inclined toward the big foreign powers. Therefore, the university graduates had no inclination toward Islam; not that they had absolutely no inclination toward Islam but their interest was simply too diluted. Although not impossible, it was very rare to find a “Muslim” teacher. But such were the inclinations and these two groups had been completely segregated from each other. And they were also trying to cause segregation between the people and the clergy. This was not only confined to Iran and you are probably aware that they had done the same in Pakistan, too, where they tried to create a rift between the clergy, the people, and the university. Their plan was to segregate the religious people and the clergy on one side and the university and the academicians on the other, so that there would be no interaction between them. For this reason, we have concluded—with God’s grace—that the university should be Islamic. And our university youth, too, have felt the need for the same and now (the university and the clergy) have come closer to each other and we hope that this trend will gain further momentum.

Pakistani clergy advised to strive toward unity

This is their conspiracy and you should all strive toward thwarting this plan. You should also strive to bring about reconciliation between the university and the clergy just like we managed to do in Iran. Disunity among them only serves the interests of the imperialists and the foreigners.

Yet another of their plans has been to create rifts between the Muslims and especially to create a wide rift between the Shiah and the Sunnis. Their motive has never been to strengthen the Shiah or to weaken the Sunnis; their motive was to weaken them both. The motive was to create a rift between the Sunnis and Shiah in Pakistan, Iran, and elsewhere so that they would become oblivious to all other matters and so that everyone would be engrossed in internal differences. This has been an old tactic of these devils. And they have always been misusing the religious sentiments of the masses. It is not as if they are trying to strengthen the Shiah faith in Pakistan and Iran and to eliminate the Sunni faith; they do not want either of them to survive. Their aim is to eliminate Islam because they have great fear of (the power of) Islam. If one billion Muslims were to unite together—without

having to forego their own unique cultures and their own particular sectarian beliefs—they would become most powerful beyond which nothing else would be possible. But they are preventing this from happening. They are trying to make the governments sow the seeds of dissension between them. They speak to each group differently. If we wish to live independently, like the Muslims of the early days of Islam, and without dependence upon anyone we should always bear these two points in mind. Firstly we should create unity between the academicians and the university graduates, on the one hand, and the clergy and the religious schools on the other. Secondly, we must bring the Sunni and Shiah brothers together. In the same way that the Sunnis have four different sects co-existing together without getting at each other's throats, we, too, are the fifth sect of Islam. We all could abide by our own sectarian religious obligations and yet unite together against the enemies of Islam. Most of our basic religious principles are common. All of us commonly believe in the Qur'an, Islam, and the Prophet (s). Let us unite over these common principles while as for our own unique customs and rituals, there is no need to fight over them. All our differences are only caused by them.

And as you all know, they do not even limit themselves to this. They had, for instance, also fanned differences between the *Akhbaris* and the *Usulis*¹ of the Shiah faith. Furthermore, they have gone to the extent of even creating various political parties. Secret hands were behind the formation of these parties and the differences between them. So they even created various political parties among the Shiah and the Sunnis. In Tehran, all these different political parties harbored mutual ill-will and animosity. Same was the case elsewhere. One of their tactics was to create different political parties so that they would remain involved in internal political battles. All these resulted in negligence toward the real problems that had been caused by the big powers. What could be better for them than to have all of us awake each morning, only to remain engrossed in party games and in internal conflicts. Conflicts between the university and the clergy, conflicts between this sect and that sect, and this political party and that, etcetera.

Conspiracy of the enemies to destroy the Qur'an

The need of the hour for the Muslims is to unite against the *kuffar* as well as those who are against the principles of Islam and the Qur'an and who

¹ Two groups of Shiah *ulama* who have varying views on the methods of extraction of religious laws. The differences between them had particularly peaked up during the 11th and the 12th centuries AH.

consider the Qur'an as a threat to their interests. We have all heard how a particular British Prime Minister¹ had picked up the Qur'an and had disrespected it, declaring that "as long as this (Book) is among the Muslims we shall never succeed in gaining domination over them"! So they had plans to eliminate the Qur'an from the very beginning. I am hopeful that the Noble Qur'an will show its true power everywhere. And now with this movement that has emerged from Iran it has made people believe that it is possible to stand up against the big powers. If a nation is determined, it can stand up against all the powers, in the same way that Iran is standing up—and shall God willing also gain victory—against all the powers that have united against it today.

I am hopeful that all of you will, God willing, gain victory. There is no difference between our country, your country, or anywhere else. We are all under the banner of Islam. The issue of "nationalism", too, had only been created by them. (Harping upon issues like) Arab nationalism, Iranian nationalism, Pakistani nationalism, Indonesian nationalism, etcetera is also part of their conspiracies. They are trying to establish exactly what Islam has denounced, declaring that there is no discrimination between the Muslim nations. We can all see what Saddam is doing to Iran under the pretext of "nationalism"; although we doubt if he is even a nationalist. All these things have been created by them, to cause conflict among us. While we are fighting to establish Islam, they send Saddam charging on to us with the claim that we are not Muslims! While our masses are crying out for Islam, his claim is that we are Zoroastrians! In any case, the situation is alarming and we need to wake up. I am hopeful that you youth will, God willing, wake up. Keep in mind that we are already facing these problems and we have the capacity to eliminate them. You should believe in yourselves. They had robbed us of our confidence. You should have faith in yourselves. Keep reminding yourselves that you do have the power to stand up against them and you are bound to gain success. May you gain success and victory! Let us all unite under the banner of "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger."

¹ William Ewart Gladstone, the Prime Minister of the Victorian Britain.

Telegram

Date: June 29, 1981 [Tir 8, 1360 AHS / Shaban 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acknowledging Martyr Muhammad Muntaziri's efforts for Islam

Occasion: Martyrdom of Muhammad Muntaziri in the Islamic Republican Party headquarters blast

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muntaziri—may his blessings last:

Although all the martyrs of the Revolution as well as the beloved and great martyrs of Sunday night¹ were from among our and your brothers and this grateful nation is in deep mourning for them and beloved Islam is proud of them while the enemies of Islam are joyous over their martyrdom, as far as your beloved son is concerned—based upon my personal experience of him—I need to congratulate you for bringing up such a son. From the very time that he gained knowledge of himself and entered active social life he had also gained a true knowledge of the Islamic ideals. And he involved himself in fighting the oppressors with commitment and positive enthusiasm. With his deep foresight, he strived toward spreading Islam and training selfless people. Your and our Muhammad had devoted himself toward divine goals and had strived tirelessly toward furthering them. You presented our society as well as God Almighty with a selfless, committed, intellectual, and dedicated son. He was the son of Islam and the Qur'an. He spent a lifetime in facing all kinds of torture, and especially mental torture at the hands of the enemies. He hastened toward God Almighty and traversed the divine path along with his friends and brothers. May God shower His mercy upon him and may He resurrect him with his divine Masters! I pray to God Almighty for patience and rewards for Your Eminence and his other survivors. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ It refers to the blast at the headquarters of the Islamic Republic Party on June 26, 1981, masterminded by the terrorist MKO group, in which Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Beheshti (Chief Justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran) as well as over seventy of the high officials of the country attained martyrdom.

Decree

Date: June 29, 1981 [Tir 8, 1360 AHS / Shaban 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Chief Justice of Iran

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili—may his graces last:

I hereby appoint Your Eminence as the Chief Justice of the country.¹ I am hopeful that as per my earlier request you will strive to your utmost toward the preparation of plans, programs, structures, and fresh parliamentary bills for the Islamic Republic of Iran on the basis of the sublime and sacred teachings of Islam and in cooperation with the Attorney-General of the country as well as the noble and virtuous employees of the department of justice. May God support you in delivering upon this important responsibility.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 8, 1360 AHS

¹ Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili was the Attorney-General of the country and was appointed to this post following the martyrdom of Ayatullah Beheshti on June 26, 1981.

Decree

Date: June 29, 1981 [Tir 8, 1360 AHS / Shaban 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Attorney-General of Iran

Addressee: Muhammad-Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi—may his graces last:

I hereby appoint you as the Attorney-General of the country. I am hopeful that you will strive to your utmost to further establish Islamic principles in the Judiciary along with the cooperation of the Chief Justice of the country, and will fulfill the demand of our oppressed peoples for the newly established Judiciary to function upon the basis of the sacred teachings of Islam. (I am hopeful) that you will, God willing, tap the full potential of the pious Muslim judges as well as the noble employees of the department of justice in discharging this important responsibility. May God grant you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 8, 1360 AHS

Decree

Date: June 29, 1981 [Tir 8, 1360 AHS / Shaban 26, 1401 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Friday congregational prayer leader of Qazvin

Addressee: Hadi Barikbin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban al-Muazzam 26, 1401 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Hadi Barikbin—may his blessings last:

Based upon the repeated requests of the honorable people of Qazvin—may God Almighty assist them—for holding the Friday congregational prayers in that city, I hereby appoint Your Eminence as the leader of the Friday congregational prayers in that city. (I am hopeful) that besides delivering upon this divine obligation, you will, God willing, invite the people to unity and solidarity, and shall acquaint them with their important duties, and shall prevent them from discord and disunity. I pray to God Almighty for everyone's success.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it has been dated as Tir 9, 1360 AHS but based on the date on the handwritten copy, Shaban 26, 1401 AH which coincided with Tir 8, 1360 AHS is the correct one.

Speech

Date: June 29, 1981 [Tir 8, 1360 AHS / Shaban 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The Tir 7 catastrophe and the persecution of Martyr Beheshti

Occasion: The catastrophic blast at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party on June 26

Audience: Judges of the Supreme Court and the heads and advisors of the various branches of the department of justice

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Beheshti lived a life of persecution in this country

I express my condolences to the Iranian nation and to you gentlemen who were the close associates of Mr. Beheshti as well as the other martyrs on this great tragedy.¹ The intention of your enemies is to focus their attacks on those who are the most competent. They target the people whom they fear. I have repeatedly mentioned that the late Mr. Beheshti lived a life of persecution in this country. All the opponents of Islam and this country had made him and his friends the direct target of their attacks. The man I knew for over twenty years and whose character I was well aware of and whom I believed to be virtuous and useful for this country was portrayed you know how by the opponents in their speeches and everywhere they went. They portrayed a virtuous man like him to be a dictator! You should be prepared for dealing with such issues. Or in other words, a country that has revolted for freedom and to liberate itself from the powers of the East and the West should be prepared to face all kinds of consequences. A man can either submit himself to all kinds of indignity and domination or then if he wishes to remain independent, he has to be prepared to face all kinds of consequences. Since our nation wanted to become independent and free and since it wished to sever the hands of the criminals from this country it is hoped that it will also withstand these consequences. These criminals mistakenly believe that Iran after the Revolution is also like the other countries in which if they blast a few bombs and if they eliminate a few of their beloved ones and martyr them, the nation will retreat. This is despite the fact that they have the experience with our nation in which, no matter how many times they assassinated our important personalities, our scholars, and

¹ It refers to the Tir 7 incident and the martyrdom of Ayatullah Beheshti and his associates.

our thinkers, our nation only progressed further with more determination; and shall continue to do so. It is not as if just because they have martyred a few people, the rest will resign. This has been a tradition from the very onset of Islam and all the godly people have shown resistance against all kinds of danger, hardship, and difficulty. No one will probably bear a lifetime of hardship that the Prophet of God (s) had undergone. And no one has probably faced the kind of hardship that he had faced right from his childhood and youth to the last days of his life and no one has stood up more determinedly against criminals and big powers. We have inherited this from the divine Masters. Well, an incident has taken place and I hope that this incident with which our enemies intended to inflict a setback upon us will, God willing, only prove to carry us further.

Introducing Mr. Musawi Ardebili as the head of the Judiciary

In my opinion, Mr. Musawi is the best replacement for the late Mr. Beheshti and for us to handle these affairs speedily. And as usual I also seek the counsel of you gentlemen on this issue. As you all know, he is competent for this responsibility and is well equipped with, both, the jurisprudential expertise as well as the moral requirements for the same. My experience with him over the long years indicates that he is the most suitable person for this responsibility. Thus, I think he should be appointed today itself. If you gentlemen have any other opinion and if you have anyone else in mind please go ahead and introduce him. And if he gains the approval of the majority, their opinion shall be honored.

The important responsibility of judgment

As you all know judgment is a very important matter. A judge should know that he is dealing with the lives, the property, and the honor and dignity of people. And you know very well that if, God forbid, an error takes place, it will only be aggrandized by the opponents of this movement and will be spread everywhere. You all witnessed how our opponents had begun with their plots and it was only through God's mercy that they got exposed. My advice to the respected judges is to keep in mind the importance of their responsibility and the importance that Islam gives to this issue and to take care to be discreet in their verdicts and as far as possible to try to foster reconciliation between the involved parties.

Nonetheless, it is a very important task and its responsibility is very high. You should take care to deliver on it competently.

I pray to God Almighty for everyone's success. This country belongs to all of you. There is nobody else here anymore. There are no foreign advisors. We want to handle things ourselves and, thus, need to be very careful to do a good job. In other words, if everyone only delivers upon the responsibility he has been vested with, soon, every aspect of this country will function smoothly. I pray to God for everyone's success.

Speech

Date: June 29, 1981 [Tir 8, 1360 AHS / Shaban 26, 1401 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating Martyr Beheshti's personality; struggle and *jihad* in Islam; the shameful acts of the hypocrites

Audience: Various strata of people and the members of the central board of "*Jihad* for Reconstruction"

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The persecution of Martyr Beheshti

I welcome you gentlemen who are here from the "*Jihad* for Reconstruction" and wish you success in every respect.¹ (Yesterday's) expected incident has been very tragic for our nation. (The victims of this incident) had prepared themselves to serve this country and as far as I knew them, they were among the virtuous and committed people. The most prominent of them was the late Martyr Beheshti. I knew him for more than twenty years. I was aware of the depth of his knowledge, his virtuosity, and his commitment. What pains me the most is not his martyrdom—martyrdom was too small before his greatness—it is the persecution that he suffered in this country that most hurts me. The enemies of the Revolution focus their attacks on those who are the most competent, committed, and effective in this Revolution. All through his life, he was the target of the attacks of foreign powers and their internal lackeys. He was subjected to shameful accusations. They wanted to portray him as an oppressive dictator. I knew him for more than twenty years and contrary to all the unjust accusations of these people throughout the country and all the "Down with Beheshti" slogans that were called out against him, I considered him as a committed, scholarly, and religious person who loved the nation and Islam and who was useful for our society. Do you think that these people who have taken on government jobs did and have nothing better to do? All of them were committed people who held public honor. They held honorable positions in the eyes of the clergy. It was not as if they came here to reap advantages just because they had nowhere else to go. May God deal justly with all those who wished to monopolize upon power and to sidetrack Beheshti, Khamene'i, Rafsanjani and others like them from the scenes! Mr. Beheshti and others got

¹ It refers to the Tir 7 incident and the martyrdom of Ayatullah Beheshti and his associates.

martyred in this gruesome incident—and hastened toward God—at the hands of the American agents and those regarding whom, if you had only gone through their book, “*Shenakht*”,¹ you would know that they did not believe in any of the Islamic principles. “And we, too, shall God willing join them.”

The path of struggle and the path of compromise existed throughout history

There have always been two paths from the onset of Islam right up to today. One path belongs to those who seek the easy way in life and are only focused upon finding a victim to exploit in order for themselves to survive. And the Muslims from among them would even pray to God although their main focus was always upon easy living. Such people could also be found at the onset of Islam. When the Doyen of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (*a*) wanted to venture upon his great journey, some of them advised him against it. They told him that since he was safe where he was, he should stick to routine life. Some of them also objected as to why a small group needed to revolt against a big power. So this has been a trend throughout history. Right from the onset of the Islamic movement there have always been such people who have given the topmost priority to personal comfort and ease. They believed that their duties were only confined to praying, fasting, sitting at home and reciting the litany, contemplating, gossiping about the deviants, and making allegations. This was the path of one group of people. They only believed that since man is to spend a few days in this world all he should do is to relax and spend time in prayer within the confines of his home. They had confined Islam to acts like praying, fasting, et cetera. And beyond this, neither did they have a proper understanding of Islam and nor did they give it any importance. All they did was to sit at home, witness everything, and criticize others.

Right at the onset of our movement, a prominent personality had mentioned that “the Iranians have gone crazy”! In his interpretation, it was “craziness” to revolt against Muhammad Rida and to stand up against oppression. A certain businessman, who was present at his home and heard him mention this, said to him: “Even so-and-so are involved in the Revolution, while some of them have even attained martyrdom”, to which that famous person said: “This is their stupidity! No one goes onto the streets and stands up before machine guns”! Once the SAVAK documents were exposed, it was discovered that this same prominent person had actually sent

¹ *Shenakht*: one of the published books of the MKO for elucidating their course of action and worldview.

out a ring for the safety of Muhammad Rida while our youth were being killed on the streets. This is the same group regarding which Imam Ali (*a*) has said that “all they are concerned about is to fill their stomachs with fodder”¹, just like animals. They give the topmost priority to the demands of their carnal desires. They say their prayers, observe fasts, and deliver upon all their religious obligations; however, they believe that man should not place himself into any kind of “danger”. And what this noble Islamic nation has done was “craziness” from their viewpoint.

And the other group comprises the prophets (*a*) and the great saints and they, too, have their own school and path. They spend all their lives in combating the oppression that takes place around the world. All those who have studied the lives of the prophets (*a*), the history of Islam, the life-history of the Noble Messenger (*s*), and the Infallible Imams (*a*) and the companions of the Messenger, know that they spent their entire lives in activity, war, and in sacred defense. If one were to study the life of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (*a*) he would find that his entire life was spent in fighting for the cause of God and His laws. The same applies to the other Infallible Imams (*a*), the most outstanding example of which is the life of the Doyen of the Martyrs, Imam Husayn (*a*). If Imam Husayn (*a*), too, was like the other “pious” people of his times who had advised him to remain besides the tomb of the Messenger (*s*) and to spend time in worship, there would have been no Karbala’ incident. We would only be left with a life of ease, and seclusion from society, and prayers and litany. However, the Imam (*a*) followed another school of thought. If our Infallible Imams (*a*) were to compromise with the tyrants and the oppressors, they would have been greatly respected! Even the caliphs were prepared to honor them in every way if only they stopped inviting people to their path. It was not coincidental that Imam Musa ibn Jafar (*a*) spent many long years in imprisonment. Similarly, some of the other Imams (*a*) would never have had to face exile or be summoned from Medina to wherever the caliphs resided;² if, like the other common people, they spent their lives in studying, teaching, and worshipping God besides the tomb of the Messenger of God (*s*). If they, too, had held such beliefs, this religion would never have been the one to stand up against oppression throughout history. These two paths have always existed throughout history. Thus, these two paths have been there right from the beginning of creation; the path of commitment to Islam and struggle against

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 45 (letter to Uthman ibn Hunayf).

² It refers to the compulsory migration of Imam ar-Rida (*a*) to the place of residence of Mamun, the Abbasid caliph, in Marv, Khorasan.

tyranny, and oppression; and the path of dictatorship, satanic powers, and compromise.

Throughout this movement, I have seen people who were “pious” and “learned” and reputable but who chose to lead a safe and easy life of seclusion, from the very first attack of the SAVAK in which they troubled and tortured some people. Some of them chose to sit aside silently while some of them complained but still chose to sit aside. In any case, they somehow compromised with the regime of those days. Those who prepared themselves right from the beginning to fight oppression knew very well that this battle involved hardship, imprisonment, and even martyrdom. Some of them faced imprisonment and suffered great torture but the moment they would be freed, they would begin their opposition all over again. This was because they followed a certain school and a certain path. The path that had been charted out through the prophets (a) right from the beginning of this world. The prophets (a) who were thrown into fire and were sawed up but who would have been revered greatly if only they had moved away from their chosen paths! These people who involved themselves in such affairs knew very well that any kind of opposition during the times of Muhammad Rida would mean imprisonment and torture. And yet they would choose to face imprisonment and torture and would continue their activities as soon as they were released.

The Shiah school: The school of confrontation and sacrifice

We should not think that these superpowers have left us alone. A nation that wishes to remain alive, self-reliant, and free and does not wish to be dependent, enslaved, or subjugated should be prepared to face everything. If the nation wanted to live an easy life, the times of Muhammad Rida would have been better for them, during which they could have come in the afternoons and prayed behind their congregational leader following which the prayer leader would go off for his own work while they could have gone ahead with their own business. This would be seeking an “easy” life. And that regime would still have survived while you would have been spending your days in eating and drinking and lazing in resorts and such other routine activities. However, is this man’s only responsibility?! Can man also make up some lame excuses for God? And let us suppose that one does manage to make up some lame excuse like “if we were to involve ourselves in such activities, all the countries and individuals dependent upon America and the Soviet Union from all around would have troubled us from within and outside the country, killed people, planted bombs, invaded the country, et

cetera”, fine, but what is our responsibility? Is it our responsibility to forego the path of Islam and the path of the prophets (*a*) and to choose a safe and easy life? And add a few more days to our beastly lives? Should we not be any different from the animals? The animals, too, have their own remembrance and glorification of God,¹ but all they think of is their fodder. Should man, too, be the same? Should he give in to all kinds of indignity just to live for a few more days in comfort?

This is the kind of life that some people have chosen for themselves while our youth and you gentlemen who are the members of the “*Jihad* for Reconstruction” are striving day and night in serving this nation at the warfronts and behind them. Should they sit aside and claim that these people have gone “crazy”? Should they sit aside and declare statements? Should their “intellectuals” deliver speeches condemning them? Well, they sit along with their friends and engage in discussions and chart out certain “religious obligations” for themselves. However, would they also be able to do that in the presence of God? Is it, God forbid, also possible to deceive God? They may possibly be able to deceive us and you. They could either approve of the crimes that are taking place in our country today or they could be against them. And if they approve of such crimes and think that those who attain martyrdom deserved to die and maybe even claim that they were “corrupt” people who should have been eliminated, would they also be able to say this in the presence of God? How will those people who believe in God and yet do not condemn such crimes answer Him? Are those people who have secluded themselves and are lying-in-wait and are playing around with the lives of our youth and children and who place bombs into their hands to plant them here and there and to get involved in sabotage activities, even human beings or are they beasts who do not dare to come out themselves and so send these children to commit sabotage? Do they think that our nation has undergone this Revolution at the behest of certain individuals?

Try all you can to eliminate the Prophet of Islam (*s*) from the scenes! Try all you can to eliminate God Almighty from the scenes! Try all you can to eliminate the divinely-appointed Imams (*a*) from the scenes! Try all you can to eliminate the Shiah school from the scenes! The Shiah as well as the other Islamic schools have gone through all these experiences. The Shiah school is the school of confrontation and sacrifice and this is how it will always remain. However, at certain times (in history), the time was not ripe for some people (to revolt actively against oppression) even though they

¹ *Surah al-Isra* 17:44.

were all striving to make it possible. And then came a time when active revolt became possible and took place. And, today, such a great and popular Revolution has taken place and our nation is prepared to face everything. Now do you think that you can succeed in eliminating the nation from the scenes by planting a bomb and assassinating a certain person, no matter how great he is? Or will you only succeed in enraging the nation further and making it more powerful and determined? You would need to first take away this (belief) “God is the Greatest” from the people!

Depriving the nation of a few of its popular personalities will not dampen its spirits. It will only enrage it further and will add to its unity and determination. You will never succeed in sidetracking this nation from the scenes by assassinating a few people and by placing bombs. This entire nation is active on the scenes everywhere and stands in opposition against you. You are mistaken in believing that you can stand up against this nation in which when a youth has lost both his legs (in sacred defense) and is brought to me on a stretcher, he still requests me to pray for his martyrdom or in which a mother who has sacrificed a son comes up and declares that she is willing to sacrifice another son in divine service and a nation in which its youth perform the supplementary night prayers at the warfronts and strive on the divine path and consider it a great honor and has, thus, cast aside an undignified “easy” and opportunistic life and spends his days and nights in the trenches in the scorching weather, without any water and still goes ahead and do you think that it will give up with my assassination or the assassination of the others like me!

The foolish acts of the MKO

Why are these people who claim to be the supporters of the masses and speak endlessly about their courage and spirit of combat lying in the safety of their homes and coercing our children to go out and plant bombs? Why are they doing such a foolish thing? Is this because you think that with such activities our nation will give up and will vacate the scenes for you all? You are gravely mistaken!

When the army chiefs had come over to visit me a couple of days ago, they seriously requested me to ask the individuals who approach me with proposals for peace not to take the trouble to do so! They said: “We shall never give up. We have entered into this imposed war like Husayn (a) and are willing to attain martyrdom like him”. I have repeatedly advised these fathers and mothers and these misled youth to firstly prevent themselves from becoming the stooges of the criminals. I have repeatedly advised these

misled youth to study the behavior of the leaders of these groups. None of these corrupt leaders are active on the scenes. They are all hiding in the safety of their homes and their basements and have manipulated you all into going ahead and risking your lives and taking the lives of others so that they can then come out of their hiding and pave the path for the return of America. Open your eyes a bit! They think that our nation will give up with the foolish efforts that they have been making and by assassinating our competent leaders. Our nation has many more competent people who can replace them. They had in any case entered the scenes to sacrifice their lives and our nation, too, has entered the scenes to attain martyrdom. If we and the nation wanted to give up the moment something undesirable took place we would never have entered the scenes in the first place. Do you think that a nation in which a young boy is willing to get crushed under a tank that he attacks with his motorcycle will give up with the assassination of one or two or even a hundred or a thousand people? They will need to make bombs equal to the total population of this country and equal to the number of youth and soldiers of this nation. Such a nation cannot be destroyed by furtively placing bombs in some building and by assassinating one or a few selfless people committed to Islam. This nation is a vast ocean and can easily replace those who get martyred at your hands. This roaring wave is still there until it disappoints America and other powers that have their greedy eyes fixed upon this country.

Such childish acts that only prove their weakness and prove that they are breathing their last breaths will not make us give up. If we had come in order to obtain an easy living, we would have given up as soon as a few people had been assassinated. Muhammad Rida had killed many thousands of our people on the streets and yet they did not give up. Even now, everyday our committed brothers from whom we should take our lessons are getting killed at the warfronts and are being replaced by others.

You are in grave error and are committing foolish acts. One day you propose to have an open discussion but when its scheduled time arrives, you flee off. Another day you request to appear on the radio and television and when you are given the permission, you do not show up. Some other day you claim that your desire is to strive for the masses and yet put a match to the crops of the people. You destroy all those factories for the sake of the people! You incite these masses to pour into the streets and chop off their heads, for the sake of the people! Who are these "masses" for whom you are committing all these acts? If you had the power, you would ruin the lives of the people. Are those masses you claim to be serving other than the Iranian

nation? You have stood up against this Iranian nation and are inviting others to stand up against these people. Do you want the masses to stand up against themselves?! You invite criminals and other corrupt elements to act against the people and when you cannot succeed in confronting them you resort to planting bombs. All these things show that you do not have the spirit of combat and that you simply make tall claims and neither do you believe in open discussions in spite of all your claims. There is no trace of Islam in your book and you interpret all the Islamic principles under a worldly perspective. You have distorted everything and are making claims to Islam. What is that Islam that you are talking about? Our nation will not get fooled by you anymore. If only those who had spent time in prison with you had to come on radio and television and expose your crimes the masses would know what beasts you were and are.

Advising the masses to remain alert

We cannot take strong action against them because there could be some misled youth among them. However, our nation should keep its eyes open and should stay alert over any suspicious activities. The nation should not wait only for the revolutionary guards to take action. All of you are the guards of Islam. The entire nation is the soldier of Islam and all of you should remain vigilant and should be watchful over all suspicious activities. If you ever find or doubt anything suspicious, you should inform the closest center. Do not be negligent over these matters. Even as the Prophet of Islam (s) lay on his deathbed, he had prepared his army outside of Medina to confront the *kuffar*. All those who confine Islam to eating, drinking, praying and fasting and do not bother to involve themselves in the affairs of this nation and society, as per to a Prophetic saying, are not Muslims. And those who are not active on the scenes and are indifferent to the affairs of the Muslims sit aside and criticize those who are serving actively on the scenes. All the groups and individuals should consult their own consciences. Are they joyous over this recent incident in which so many of our youth attained martyrdom? And I do know that some of them are.

I would like to share a few words with our brothers who serve in the courts and who are prison heads or jailors. They should not lose their calmness over such incidents and, God forbid, deal with their inmates—even the ones belonging to these corrupt groups—with un-Islamic violence and should instead deal with them calmly and respectfully. Our courts should scrutinize all these cases carefully and should interrogate and put them on trial and should ensure that all their actions are firm. However, no one should

think that now that a group of our people have been killed at the hands of these groups, we have the liberty to, God forbid, treat the inmates who belong to these groups in anti-Islamic ways. And I do know that this is not done even though some of your ill-wishers make accusations against you. On the one hand, they refuse to condemn those who have committed such crimes and have killed innocent people on the streets and instead try to even justify their acts, while on the other hand they are totally indifferent to the atrocities that are inflicted on our society and are perhaps even happy over them.

May God Almighty make all of us virtuous! May He grant us victory over the caprice of our souls! And may He grant us and our nation further determination! Everyone should remain active on the scenes while maintaining peace and calmness.

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