



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

SAHIFEH-YE ***IMAM***

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

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چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

Transliteration Symbols

<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
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters

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

Note:

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

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

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Speech

Date: January 30, 1982 [Bahman 10, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The oppression faced by the Islamic Republic

Audience: Abdul-Majid Maadikhah (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance), and heads of delegations dispatched to foreign countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The oppression faced by the Islamic Revolution

The gentlemen are aware of the situation; there is no need for explanation. However, let me recall that the Islamic Republic is one of the tyrannized governments in the world. It is so oppressed that its merits are portrayed as evils by foreign mass media in their incessant propaganda operations. They spread whatever lies (they want to). Recently, the BBC appears to have been a little bit tired of telling lies. Now, it is employing a different method by publicizing that it is flooded with mail. Many letters have recently been sent suddenly with almost unanimous implications. How come no one had sent any letter up until this time! Of course, among these letters, a letter is read so as to say that they have letters in favor of the group, because it uses invective language. The letters from the other side have been the same fabrications aired by these radios in the past three years. They rebroadcast them, as if they have received new letters.

We have no (medium) to oppose them, not even one foreign radio that can propagate the truth. We do not want them to overstate things; we want them to compare this great Islamic Revolution with all the revolutions so far staged, the revolutions that have been carried out in so-called civilized and developed countries and in small countries. We wish them to make a comparison and to evaluate the magnitude of the gains and the losses incurred by the Islamic Republic and how the Islamic Republic has treated the people, and the opposition. It has given all of them a chance (to leave the country) keeping all the roads open to them. All airports were open to all unless it was proved that they were the enemy of Islam and the people of this country.

Appreciating the people of Amol¹

You witnessed that they [foreign agents] carried out massive propaganda operations in the country. Now that they have gone abroad, they are extensively propagating that people are living in a suffocating atmosphere and that all are opposed to the Islamic Republic adding that out of 100 people only six or a maximum of 10 are in favor of the Islamic Republic, and that the rest are either passive supporters or totally opposed to it. They had pinned all their hopes on the people in the northern part of the country, intensely propagating that the people of that region were almost completely opposed to the Islamic Republic. They marshaled their forces and launched that savage and surprise attack in the hope that the people of Amol would join hands with them and they would proclaim Amol as the center of the province. Then they would advance towards Mazandaran,² Rasht and other places and occupy all other provinces. In their imagination, they wanted to come and take control of the capital with the help of people – the very people they had contrived to be opposed to the Islamic Republic. They wanted to change the government and then act the way they wished, destroying the “reactionaries”! When they faced the people’s opposition which was a significant factor, they were defeated. We should appreciate the city of Amol and its devoted people, a number of whom were unfortunately martyred. However, they proved that what the enemies had pinned their hope on was all opposed to them. Now, do they (foreign agents) want to come to Qum? Do they want to come to Tehran or other places? Nevertheless, the mass media bypassed the event and sketchily mentioned something and sidestepped the whole issues. They already had had such an intention. If something comes up, they say a word and aggrandize it and then ignore it. On the other hand, if a word is said against us, then they magnify it, and begin reporting whatever they wish to say.

Massive false propaganda against Iran

Therefore, when we feel that almost all mass media and the world are either opposed to us or refuse to tell the truth and that those who wield great influence go up against us, we should think of a way for ourselves. We should not sit idle so that others who are opposed to us would sing our

¹ One of the important cities of Mazandaran province 240 kilometers north of Tehran. Marked scholars and *muhaddiths* (traditionists) have risen from Amol leading among whom were Muhammad ibn Jarid Tabari, Fadl ibn Ahmad Zahri, Mir Bozorg and Sayyid Haydar Amoli.

² Iran’s northern province with a humid climate.

praises or utter what is our true interest. For this reason we should set out to raise our own issues and discuss our problems. Now is a good opportunity for you gentlemen who are here. I hope with the support of the Blessed and Exalted God you will be successful everywhere you go and give interviews. Go and participate in gatherings and have talks with people. People in different countries are not like governments or big powers. People, even the American people, are not like their governments. They have propagated so intensely against us that people in those countries may think a large number of Iranians are gunned down or slain every day.

One case cited was that of a six-month pregnant woman whose name has been mentioned and her features described in detail. Foreign media propagated that this woman had been executed with her six-month fetus. They put the blame on you and us for whatever they do, propagate and disseminate it in other places. Those who do not want to get too much involved quote others as saying or writing something. Quoting people's statement is a method of rumor-mongering. So and so has said or written to them!

Anyhow, we should propagate by ourselves just as Iran rose up by itself. It did not sit idle to wait for a power to assist it. Iran did not wait for a group to come from abroad and assist it. Iran did it by itself, expelled all, established the Islamic Republic up to this stage and will do up to its completion, God willing.

The incomparability of the Islamic Republic to any regime

When we compare the newly born, three-year-old Islamic Republic with the 20, 30, 60-year old revolutions, we see that Iran is in no way comparable to them. Many massacres were carried out in those revolutions and at times millions were killed and the suffocating atmosphere prevailing in those countries has persisted until the present time. The Soviet Union is embroiled in a choking environment; life there is such that everything is imposed on the people by bayonets. Let the bayonet be lifted and it will be revealed that its nation has not been in agreement, as it seems. As regards us, it is not at all the case. Contrary to all revolutions, there is no suffocating atmosphere now; there was none at the outset as well. Basically, the doors were open; everyone could express whatever they wished; every newspaper wrote whatever it wished; everyone did whatever they wished. So much adverse propaganda was carried out in the streets, on the walls, everywhere, to such an extent that people realized that it was not a matter of propaganda. They did not mean to propagate and do their work; it was a case of an attempt to

overthrow (this regime), to stage an armed struggle. They did launch an armed struggle. Then outside the country rumors are bandied that people are being killed. Which people have been killed? There were a number of dissidents who took to the streets and embarked on an armed struggle and were handed out mild punishment. Definitely, no government in the world can tolerate an armed insurgency?

For instance, in Egypt which is backed by the US and others, there has been no armed struggle, and only for their fear of Islam they have detained so many people. The fact is that they fear Islam. Such is the case in other places. Without launching an armed struggle, without an uprising and such things, just presuming people might rise up later or organize a small protest, so many of them are detained and imprisoned. However, when those who launched an armed struggle here and those who sympathized with them and created turmoil were arrested, they are raising a ballyhoo abroad. Some of them could not be released because they organized similar protests in prison, beat and at times killed officers in prison. Well, they were punished for doing so, a just punishment for the protection of the society. A cancerous tumor is removed to protect the entire body. To protect the society, this was necessary. However, most of them are now in prisons, experiencing the difficulties suffered by other prisoners. They are undergoing rehabilitation and education. We have always reminded the gentlemen here about them. Rumors are, however, underway outside of the country.

The necessity of overseas activities by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance

Finally, we should paddle our own canoe. We should not sit and wait for one from abroad to do such and such because they will the opposite. Our guidance ministry should take action to do something abroad. Now that opportunity has come up and you gentlemen are departing abroad, you should seize the opportunity and speak about Iran's problems; tell the people about Iran. Those who spread lies are aware of the realities. However, people do not know many of the issues. People should be enlightened. You should go to mosques, or shall I say you must go to other places of gathering. Give interviews with journalists and newsmen if they give this issue coverage in their newspapers. Anyhow, our duty is to do our work by ourselves and do not wait for others to do it. One of our important tasks is to widen the scope of our propaganda. Now that nothing is done abroad in our favor and that we do not have friends to support us abroad, we should go abroad by ourselves and speak about our problems. Therefore, this is a good thing to do; it is very

useful; at every opportunity we should do it. Any time an opportunity comes up, a certain group should publicize the truth. When foreign people come here, issues should be elaborated for them and since they have come to touch with reality here, they can tell others in their respective countries about them.

I hope you will be successful and, God willing, will propagate (the truth) and present the Islamic Republic to the people as it is. I hope you are successful and return successfully, God willing.

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

Message

Time: February 1, 1982 [Bahman 12, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the doctors and nurses for rendering medical services to Muslim combatants

Occasion: Anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution (Ten-Day Dawn Celebrations)

Audience: Doctors, nurses and medical corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Congratulations to my honorable fellow countrymen on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of the dear people of Iran! More congratulations to those injured in the war. Pens and words are inadequate to appreciate these sacrifices. I should appreciate the esteemed doctors, the dear nurses and hospital staff who, with their unsparing, brotherly and sisterly treatment of the people making sacrifices for Islam and the country, have helped the most valuable layers of the society. Serving all respected patients, particularly those who have made sacrifices in the cause of the sacred goal is a value that cannot be assessed by natural and material standards. I pray that the Most Blessed and Exalted God to grant happiness and mercy to those who make round-the-clock efforts in attending patients and those making sacrifices in the cause of our sacred goal. It is hoped that you will make a better use of the blessing the Most Blessed and Exalted God has granted you and add to the volume of service to these valuable self-sacrificing people and other patients, who are your brothers and sisters in faith, with kindness and affection. I implore the Most Blessed and Exalted God to grant victory to Islam, health to the patients and blessing to martyrs.

May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 12, 1360 AHS

Statement

Time: February 1, 1982 [Bahman 12, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Pure intention in doing one's work

Audience: Waiz Tabasi Abbas (the Imam's representative and superintendent of the holy shrine of Imam Rida), board of trustees and officials of the holy shrine of Imam Rida

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God willing, the tasks will be done well and based on pure intention under the supervision of Mr. Tabasi, who is trusted by all. Basically, when one can carry out his routine work in a spiritual manner, there is no reason why he should not do so. That is to say, there is no reason not to regard God to be present in and witness to all activities.

Permission

Time: February 3, 1982 [Bahman 14, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious affairs

Audience: Muhammad-Rida Nasiri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.

And now, His Most Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Nasiri, may his blessings endure, who has devoted part of his honorable life to the acquisition of religious disciplines, is hereby authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, to collect religious funds, spend the one third of the Imam's share and half of the holy share of *sadat* (descendent of the holy Prophet) in locality and for the needy *sadat* and send the rest back to me to be spent on sacred theological seminaries.

And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, to what our pious predecessors have advised to keep company of piety, and to evade carnal desires. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1402 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, February 3, 1982 [Bahman 14, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8,1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Explaining the resistance of Iranian people against the enemies

Occasion: Birth anniversary of Imam Hasan Askari (a)

Audience: Friday prayer leaders of Khuzestan Province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ignorance of the claimants of Islamology and sociology

Reciprocally, I extend my congratulations on the auspicious occasion of the birth anniversary of Hadrat Askari (a) to the gentlemen. I also congratulate you on the anniversary of the victory of revolution and beseech the Most Blessed and Exalted God to guide us all to proceed in the cause of Islam and put Islam into practice as much as we can.

What is felt is that the Islamologists who claim to know Islam and be versed in sociology are aware neither of Islam nor of the Islamic society. You see these persons, groups and foreign mass media that claim to be learned in these issues. Excluding the mass media, these persons and groups claim that they know the society, the people, votes ... Since they were not aware of the status and power of Islam and the situation of our society—that is the Iranian society—they imagined that in the very first days or months this revolution could not hold on and that it would disintegrate from inside and outside. They did not know that a revolution could be popular and inspired by an Islamic idea or launched by a group or by a number of people. These two are far different from each other. As regards the former, no one collects a group of people to initiate the revolution, no power stages a coup. The people (of Iran) gradually felt that they should do it after experiencing so much pressure in the course of long years. Thank God, the clerics as well as preachers made great efforts to enlighten the people. When people launch a revolution, a group, even armies, cannot destroy this revolution. It is possible, let us suppose, a big power—like the US, for example—attacks and occupies Iran, but it cannot disturb the revolution; it cannot tame this people. We saw that a power of that enormity like Russia attacked Afghanistan, but when the Soviet forces entered Afghanistan, they were weakened. It appears that they are regretful of it, but they are ashamed to admit this. If the US

supposedly comes to occupy Iran, it can do it at the beginning, yet it cannot sustain it. It can send its aircrafts and fighters to bombard the cities and do such things, but when they land on the ground, people will tear them to pieces with their fists and teeth. Those who presumed to be able to restore Iran to its previous situation with a group of people had not understood Islam, the Iranian people or the enormous development, that took place in Iran. You and we see how people are putting up a resistance in Khuzestan and places where war is raging.

Taking pride in Friday prayers in war-zones

When I see Friday congregations in some cities such as Khuzestan, Abadan, Ahwaz, Dezful and others, I really take pride in having such places. Islam has such regions that are subject to bombardment every moment, yet people in these regions and Friday prayers leaders speak with that power; its Fridays are spent so full of glory. A Friday prayer (congregation) that is held in a war-stricken region differs from that in Tehran, in Qum or in other places. The former has a special virtue. Fridays in these war-torn cities inject morale into Iran, into the army. Those who imagined that they could attack Iran and do something were naïve. Let us take Saddam for an example. He was deceived by big powers and could not understand anything. He made the attack and you saw that, thank God, he has now begun to decline. Their (Iraqi) bombardment of our cities from afar indicates that their military power is weak. On account of their weakness, they lob missiles from across the borders or fly overhead and drop bombs. This is because of the military weakness they suffer. What is ridiculous is that while the world is observing the situation, Jordan's Husayn¹ persists in joining this man;² he wants to commit suicide. It is because he does not understand the situation. As a matter of fact, they are neither familiar with Islam nor its power nor the Iranian people and their commitment to Islam. They imagine that the people of Iran are like them, like their own citizens. They do not know that if, one day, they remove the bayonet from their own cities, people will destroy them. Conversely, Iran drove out those big powers and is now celebrating its fourth anniversary in spite of their predictions that Iran would be destabilized in a few months. Thank God, people are so powerful as before and have even grown more so, and they feel as they committed as before.

¹ King Husayn of Jordan.

² Saddam Husayn head of the regime ruling Iraq.

Impact of martyrs' last will

The example you quoted from that old woman has been cited to me quite often. There are numerous instances like these. The old man whose sons had been martyred came here, crying. He demanded permission to go to the warfronts. I told him that he was old like me and could not go to the battlefield and fight. Well, he argued that he could go and do something. This is the situation. Or take that woman or that girl who insisted on going to the battlefield. We told them it was not possible for them to go to the warfronts. However, they persisted in going to the threats of war. So did the youths. Have you seen the last will of the young adults? These last wills can stir and awaken one. Thank God, Iran is a model country and I hope that with the guidance of Friday prayer leaders people will turn to Islam and keep their own power as they have. I hope that Islamic injunctions will, God willing, be implemented. Of course, this movement and revolution is the prelude to the implementation of Islam. You, the others and we did not have a different purpose; you didn't want to gain power; you wanted to revive Islam and, thank God, are close to it. There are, of course, difficulties and shortcomings as far as clerics are concerned. We are particularly short of preachers. You said seminaries have been set up there; they are quite beneficial. Today, we stand in drastic need of preachers. We need clerics to a great extent. We are consuming our stock. Our clerics are dispatched elsewhere and the Qum Theological Seminary faces a shortage. So do other places. The seminaries should serve as a backing so that, God willing, they would remain safe and secure. I have repeatedly stressed that these seminaries should be preserved in their traditional form. If *fiqh*, the *fiqh* that prevails among us, deviates from its pristine path, it will be destroyed. We should preserve *fiqh* in the same context and power that our mentors have preserved from the beginning to the present day and in the same order. I hope that you gentlemen will all be successful. I again thank the gentlemen for coming here to see them in person. This is one of the blessings of this movement and revolution that we meet the gentlemen, and be at their service. May God grant you all success and advance Islam until the reappearance of the Imam of the Time, May God's peace be upon him. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Speech

Time: February 4, 1982 [Bahman 15, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 9, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Documents of the crimes of the US and Saddam

Audience: Mahdi Karrubi (the Imam's representative and superintendent of the Martyrs' Foundation), disabled veterans of the revolution and the imposed war

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The war-disabled veterans: the proofs of US crime and the bravery of our war veterans

I thank you brothers and dear ones who have come here despite your ailment, causing me to feel regret as well as pride. You dear ones, your relatives, the martyrs and their families have documents to produce. Your existence is indicative of two documents: first, the document of the crime committed by the US and the US-affiliated Saddam and, second the authentic document of your bravery. You demonstrated your commitment. You have demonstrated that you are committed to Islam, the noble Quran and the Muslim people. You are the leaders of this revolution and we lag behind. I sincerely admit that we do not have any document to produce even if we claim, but you dear ones demonstrated your commitment to Islam and the noble Quran without claim or without expectation of praise and reward. You and the martyrs of this nation and your relations and families of the martyrs enter the presence of God with a registered document, but we do not have such a document. Happiness belongs to you and your family and to the martyrs and families of the martyrs. By committing this crime, Saddam demonstrated how committed he is to the US and how sympathetic he is to the Arabs; you demonstrated how criminal this man is, a criminal who wants to annihilate the people of both Iran and Iraq in order for his masters to satisfy their desires. You demonstrated that the likes of Saddam and Husayn, Jordan's Husayn,¹ "the brother" of Saddam, do not have such pluck. Those who want to rule with bayonet and send army to the battlefields with bayonet do not have the pluck to confront people who welcomes death with courage and who embraces martyrdom with their commitment to Islam. Saddam ruined himself with his own hand due to his idiocy. Now, it is the turn of

¹ King Husayn of Jordan.

Jordan's Husayn. They are disgraced in their own countries and among their own people. The volunteers whom Husayn has claimed—as said by some informed individuals—is not the case of any voluntary act. Yes, he himself is the sole volunteer, but he does not go to the warfronts; he is more cowardly than to enter the battlefields. He sits in his own seat and sends a group at bayonet point as so-called volunteers to be killed.

A proof of vitality of the people of Iran

All the people of Iran today have proved to the world that they are a living nation, a nation committed to its own ideas and a people who eagerly embrace martyrdom in the cause of their belief. Everyday we witness persons who ask us to pray for them to get martyred. We pray that they emerge victorious. The problems of revolutions are numerous and the problems of our revolution should naturally be a hundred times more than those of other revolutions, because we were a nation having been supported oppressed in the course of the rule of a monarchical regime and particularly in the course of 50 years of the dirty rule of the Pahlavi dynasty. We had no friend or backer save God the Blessed and the Most Exalted. Our dear nation and all of us rose up, started the movement and pushed back all powers. If other movements and revolutions had stood against the power, it was because another power was behind them. We stood by ourselves; no country supported us; we did not trust any power or country other than God. This is a spiritual and divine power that has emerged in all and in you, dear youths, who are present here. With the document of the US crime, your own spiritual power is greater than that of Husayn and Saddam. They rely on material power and you resigned yourselves to the divine power. Our country and our dear people revolted and overthrew the corrupt monarchical regime on 22 Bahman (February 9) and established the progressive Islamic order, although no one and no country gave us militarily support and we ourselves did not have anything to math the Satanic power of Muhammad-Rida Shah, our people had only an unwavering faith in the school of Islam. The cries across the country were divine cries; they were the cries of truth echoed out of your throats. God has promised you victory. You should abide by your commitments. If you fulfill God's promise, God will fulfill His promise. If you help the religion of God, God will help you. God's help in these three years was quite manifest; any plot that was concocted against you and the Islamic Republic was thwarted by God the Most Exalted through your own or others' effort. From now onward, you should be happy and hopeful that you now stand before God holding this document, a talking and obvious

document and your martyrs are in the presence of God the Most Exalted and with that document, God will help you and foil the plots. I should reiterate that when I see the likes of you the spiritually powerful ones, with this magnificent and grand spirit, I feel ashamed as to call myself a committed person. I beseech God, the most Blessed and Exalted to grant mercy to martyrs, happiness and health to you and dignity, happiness and health to your relatives and families.

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

Speech

Time: February 8, 1982 [Bahman 19, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The value and spirituality of Bahman 19, 1357 AHS (Air Force March)

Occasion: Commemoration of Air Force Day

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Commander and Personnel of the Air Force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Self-sacrifice and joining the army of Islam

I congratulate the entire nation, the oppressed people of the world and you dear ones who are present here, on the occasion of happy, Ten Day Dawn, the anniversary of the victory of the revolution and the 19th of Bahman. It is my hope that your valuable struggles are recorded with the Most Blessed and Exalted God and meet the approbation of the Most Blessed and Exalted and the great *wali*, Imam of the Time. I am proud of the fact that this nation is interested in Islam and that they staged and pushed forward this revolution because of their interest in Islam. You, dear ones, are the source of honor; it is you who recorded this honor for the army, for the military forces in the world and with the Most Exalted God. What you dear ones did in those days, on 19 Bahman¹, was the greatest of tasks; it was the greatest in terms of spiritual and worldly values. The day when victory was not in the offing and your lives were at stake, you selflessly joined Islam and the army of Islam. May God preserve this honor for you and make you happy in both worlds. What I should tell you is that as long as you keep your commitment to Islam and develop brotherly relations with all the strata of people, this revolution will be protected. You will proceed shoulder to shoulder with your brothers, who are the dear members of this nation to advance this revolution and, God willing, implement the injunctions of Islam everywhere and in all parts of Iran. This should be a paradigm for all nations and oppressed people of the world so that, God willing, Islam is revived everywhere and you enjoy everlasting happiness. Thank God, among the army, all armed forces and all government organizations, all individuals rely on Islam and on the Most

¹ Reference to the march conducted by the air force warranty officers on the 19th Bahman at Refah School and the meeting with the Imam.

Blessed and Exalted God. If, God forbid, among them one or a few devious elements are found, he will naturally have to follow suit and come to the right path. You should be happy that you rely on God; one who trusts in God will be triumphant. God has given you the promise of victory. As long as you help God, He will help you. Helping God means helping His religion, helping his believing servants. If you abide by this promise, God the Most Exalted will fulfill His promise. I implore the Most Blessed and Exalted God to grant health and happiness to the entire nation, particularly the military and disciplinary forces, especially you, dear youths, who created honor for the army.

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

Speech

Time: February 8, 1982 [Bahman 19, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: On the plagues afflicting and deviations from the revolution

Occasion: Commemoration of Air Force Day

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Hashemi Rafsanjani Akbar (Majlis Speaker), Majlis deputies, ministers, people from all walks of life, army personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Inability of powers in confronting nations

I congratulate the nation, the oppressed people of the world and you gentlemen who are a good example of this nation on the anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution and the Ten-Day-Dawn ceremonies. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted to grant success to all in serving the servants of God, and perpetuating the victory. The principle of the perpetuation of this victory and revolution lies in one thing that seems to be on top of all affairs and that is, the government, the Majlis and those who are in the army and the *Sepah* (Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) should all be of the middle and lower classes of society. The domination over countries and our country by aliens has been made possible by affluent individuals and those who held huge capitals or, power for their own protection and reputation. As long as the Majlis and government organizations are composed of middle and lower classes of people, it will not be possible for a big government, or a big power to disturb the order. The big powers would always compromise with one individual in every country who would act and operate to strengthen his own power and capital. They would conspire with this individual and plunder the nation or meet with the village chieftain to pillage the village. Never could big powers confront nations and if ever they had, they were never able to carry out their plans; so they never ventured to do so. Whenever they wanted to remove a government, a monarchy or a president who refused to act in accordance with their objectives, they would create another power to pit against him and destroyed that power by this power. The play was not in the hands of people, nor was it in the hands of the middle or lower classes.

Man's infinite aspirations

Why they would act in such a way has one spiritual aspect and that is because man sees no limit in his inner nature; his aspirations are boundless; man's wishes know no boundary. When such is the case, if one is enslaved by these unstoppable aspirations and finds that a superpower fulfills one's wishes and material needs, power and supremacy over a nation, one is no longer concerned to work for the people, because one belongs to a well-off and powerful class. The lust for power and wealth and name and fame has no limit, no boundary. To retain one's power and the support enabling one to preserve one's power, one treats people in a way that places all the prestige and treasures of the nation at the disposal of that supporting power, retaining a meager share for oneself. Now you see that there are powers in the world in terms of wealth and property that if they divide their property among our 36 million population—if one of them divides his properties—the entire 36 million- population will become well-to-do and be elevated to their so-called class. One of them was like this. However, one who has such enormous wealth is greedier for worldly gains than a beggar in your locality; his avid desire for wealth is greater and has a greater craving for amassing wealth. To whatever extent one's property is increased, to that same extent one's greed will run up. However, one's power is increased, one's greed for power will rise.

Giving ground to well-off individuals to oppress people

If man is not refined, he uses that power for himself. When he employs that power for himself, the big governments, the superpowers that exist find such a powerful man and empower him more so that he would oppress people and plunder the treasures of a nation. Study the situation in the past 50 years or more when alien powers appointed Rida Khan, as they admitted in later years, and empowered him so much that he oppressed the entire nation, imposing his tyrannical government on them and stripping the people of everything. He was just one person. They colluded with that one person and accomplished their ends. Then they installed Muhammad-Rida with all his entourage. They consisted of the privileged and pleasure-seeking people and, borrowing their words, the high-class people. We should note, our nation should note, that when their parliament is composed of the middle class, one in which there are none of those pompous titles of dukes, lords and so on and, when in the government, there are none of those well-off individuals and so and so capitalists, when in the army we don't have those major generals and so and so who possessed unlimited lands and multi-story

houses, this country will remain secure. The day when people notice some of you are moving from middle classes to higher social classes, and are after power or wealth, they should be aware and put such individuals aside. If people want this revolution to proceed successfully and accomplish its objectives, they should keep an eye on all those who make up the government on the president, and on parliament deputies, so that may not move from middle to upper or well-off classes.

Know that if the government, the people, the parliament, etc., are such, when a power wants to launch an attack on the country, it will confront 30 million people and cannot do anything. It will not be able to find one who is powerful and compel that powerful one to oppress the nation and plunder the people for it. History has been this way. As long as such individuals among the nation have not been found to reach the stage to gain financial or other powers and govern the people, superpowers cannot destroy and govern these nations. Finally, however, a superpower is able to meet one, two, or, five hundred persons whom it feeds to satisfaction and unleashes them to plunder the people, with it sitting behind and handling the major governmental affairs and entrusting the minor affairs to the indigenous people in the subject country. In principle, the oppression of nations originates from within themselves and the powerful ones among them. You should be thankful for having such a parliament in which there is no member from the well-off class, the class that if it divides its belongings among our nation, our people will become rich. You don't have such people now. In the government, too, you don't have such rich and powerful people. The government does not have such a power. The president does not have such a power to impose a devious thing on the nation. We don't have such a parliament that can approve of the government executing something devious. As long as this middle way is preserved, this republic is secure. There is no possibility for big powers to control such a government. With whom can they plot to stage a coup? With whom do they want to stage the coup? If they want to bring men from abroad, whom do they think they will be confronted with? They will be confronted with a nation all of whom are from the class that advanced the movement with power and dignity. They study the affairs and then take action. They are now planning to sow differences and amid this discord find an individual and empower him so that the country will grow weak gradually and people lose their morale and then offer the country to them. As long as our country is, thank God, purged of the high well-off class that used to hold the reins of affairs and as long as the affairs of our country are in the hands of

the likes of our president, parliament speakers, prime ministers, ministers and deputies, rest assured that no foreign power can destroy this victory.

Officials' lust for power, source of the revolution's defeat

The day when you see that a deviation has crept into the Majlis, deviation in terms of seeking power and wealth among ministers and the president, it is the mark signaling that we might suffer defeat. Then you must prevent it. A president who wants to reign over the country, should be stopped by the people. A Majlis that wants to wield power and do what the former deputies did in the Majlis, should be prevented by the people. People should preserve Islam, the Islamic Republic, the government, the Majlis, the president and the like. They should protect them against, God forbid, taking an adverse course. There is a devil inside man trying to mislead him, so it is necessary for man to purify himself.

You, who want to serve the people, the government that wants to serve the people, the president and the like who want to serve these people should note that they are servants. They should believe in their heart that they want to serve the people. We are living in the Islamic Republic, the Islamic Republic that has been administered by the Noble Prophet, and the Commander of the Faithful (a). We want such a government whose leader says his patched shoes are more valuable to him than being a ruler or ruling is less valuable than his patched shoes.¹

You should bear this idea in your mind and people should also watch over you. The day when any one of you and us deviate from the path Islam has recommended, deviate from the original path, and the path of Prophets, the early signs of defeat of Islam will appear. As long as such a problem has not emerged, do not doubt that victory will stay. Of course, it should be for God.

Giving thanks to God by serving the deprived

You have come to this Majlis (parliament) for God. When a Majlis is an assembly which grants no special privilege (to its members) so that when you as a Majlis speaker or deputy or prime minister go to the bazaar, do not step aside and give way to you. You should give thanks that this mentality is no longer here. It is not such that when a deputy goes among people they should treat him in a different manner. All people are equal. When you have such a mentality, when you feel that you have no worldly privilege over another,

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 33.

you should give thanks and as a sign of gratitude serve the people, the injunctions of Islam and our benefactors. The people living downtown, the barefooted, as you put it, are our benefactors. If it had not been for them, we would have been in exile, in prison or in isolation. It was they who saved us from these problems and relieved all of us and propelled us to this position, which we presume to be of value. Take notice that you gentlemen were the ones who were in prison, in exile or in isolation and that these people came and relieved us of all these difficulties. If we serve them up to the end of our lives, we cannot compensate for their services. May God grant us success to be their servant and be successful in appreciating this favor. You see to which class those who are making self-sacrifices in the warfronts belong. If you find among all of them one who belongs to the gentlemen who have enormous capitals, or those who formerly enjoyed power, if you find one it will be right for you to ask us for a reward. But I am sure you will not. All are from this population. Those who are guarding you and the people who are guarding you and the people in cities and villages are from among this class. It is this class to whom we should hold ourselves indebted; we have been indebted to them from the beginning. They have no expectation; they never expect to gain what their desire is. You should be attentive to the fact that it was they who made you parliament deputies, minister or president. They are our benefactors. We should appreciate and serve our benefactors. It is they who are safeguarding this country and the Islamic establishment in this country. You gentlemen cannot go to streets and, shall I say, alleys and control the situation. You have a different job to do; you have a different duty to fulfill; they also have a different job to do. However, their job is such that they protect you as well. I hope that this morale remains in force in the nation. With the morale prevailing in our soldiers, *pasdars* (Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) and those guarding this country—it is a very valuable morale and a spirit injecting love for martyrdom and exposing oneself to the claws of death to save Islam and the country, this country will not suffer damage. May God grant this morale and spirit to all. As long as this spirit is in force, rest assured that this country is insured and will never suffer any losses. May God grant all of you and all of us success to serve the people and to worship God. Serving the people is among the greatest acts of worship. May God relieve us of the evil of those who want to restore this country and the Muslims to isolation or subjugation to foreign powers. May God either correct or destroy them.

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

Message

Time: February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Evaluation of the issues of revolution in the fourth anniversary of the victory of the revolution; complimenting the people's role

Occasion: Victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution (22 Bahman)

Audience: The Iranian nation¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the eve of the 4th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, if we cast a look at the early years of the revolution up to the victory and early days of the victory up to the present day and carefully observe the ups and downs and developments in the past few years, particularly the years of the victory and evaluate the thoughts of different classes of people and groups, we will arrive at a valuable understanding and see very useful results that are constructive lessons for the present and future generations. Perhaps historians, sociologists and intellectual and committed biographers will rise to relate profoundly this useful task for the future generations.

If we look at the behavior of different classes and groups with a superficial look from the early days of the revolution up to the victory and from the victory to the present time, and evaluate it, we can differentiate between the expectant claimants and the self-sacrificing people who have no expectation. The strata of people who led the revolution to victory with unsparing sacrifice, generous selflessness and without any expectation, have not been indifferent to defending the revolution and removing the problems from its victory up to the present day and have no expectation of name or fame despite the fact that they shouldered the heavy burdens of the revolution. They are the million-strong masses of deprived people of the society whom God may grant success and happiness. In contrast, there are strata of people and groups who either have had no involvement in the revolution and its victory or worked sabotage to preserve the previous regime, restore it or bring a non-Islamic regime to power, hatched plots

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini read out the text of Imam Khomeini's message on the 21st Bahman at a ceremony held in commemoration of the martyrs and the disabled of the Islamic Revolution at Wahdat Hall, Tehran.

(against the revolution) and actively were and are involved in acts of sabotage. There are groups who took, and are taking, advantage of the popular revolution and the blood of our valuable youths to reach their satanic aims, utilizing the name of Islam for their sinister purposes. There are also other layers which are either affiliated with devious schools or ideas outside or inside the country and are engaged in cunning or childish activities. They are not acquainted with Islam and its spiritual power or are only superficially aware of it, nor are they familiar with the Iranian society and the power of their faith.

Today, we are proud of the enormous masses of people committed to dear Islam and the brave youths and combatants who rose up courageously as of the outset of the revolution and responded to the call of truth. Many of these people achieved their sublime goal, which is to meet God. There is another dear group who lost their health or their valuable limbs in the cause of Islam and the goal. Still, one observes them with cheerful and bright faces. We also honor the brave mothers who have lost their dear ones and dear fathers whose young children have been martyred. They behave before us in a way that they seem to be celebrating the wedding of their dear ones and young sons. Whenever I come across these dear great youth or read the constructive last will of a martyr, I feel humble and poor. They have the document of their faith and commitment to Islam in their hands and the tombs of martyrs and bodies of the disabled ones are talking evidence that bear witness to the grandeur of their eternal spirit. If they have any complaint, it is because they have not reached the station of martyrdom or while they have obtained the reward of martyrdom, they complain of not being able to return to the warfronts to defend the country and cry out "war, war until victory".

The US and its lackeys should come to their senses and stop plotting any further. Iran is no longer a place for pillaging. It is hoped that the governments that follow the US and offer the precious treasures and capitals of their nations to the US and rise up to engage in military and propaganda war against Islam and the Islamic Republic in order to get closer to that plunderer wake up from their deep slumber, join their nations and rid themselves the disgrace of dependence on foreign powers. Have these dependent governments not notified that the White House announced with utmost disregard that it would not endanger Israel interests for these governments and their oil. Did they not realize that exercising the veto power and threatening organizations ,the US demonstrated their disregard for them?

Now that our country is celebrating the Ten-Day Dawn ceremonies marking the anniversary of its independence and freedom from the clutches of super criminals, it is hoped that we will soon celebrate the downfall of the Baathist government of Iraq. On the anniversary of the victory of Islam and the country and the Ten-Day Dawn celebrations I congratulate the honored people of Iran, particularly martyrs, the wounded and the disabled and their families and relations. The victories, pride and honor of the nation are indebted to the sacrifices of these dear ones and their co-combatants. These sacrifices are the marks of honor on the arm of the nation and on their forehead. History will record their struggles and the angels of God will register it in celestial books. May God the Most Blessed and Exalted grant overwhelming mercy to the martyrs and bestow health and eternal happiness to the injured and these beloved ones.

Greetings to the combatant people and salutation to martyrs and injured combatants! May God grant honor, happiness and victory to the combatants of Islam in the fronts of defense of right against wrong!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Habib Shatti (Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Conference)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Habib Shatti, Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Conference,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution with appreciation. I pray to the Exalted God, for the dignity of Islam and Muslims and hope that under the shadow of unity the hands of occupying aggressors such as the usurper Israel and aggressor and traitor Saddam, will be curtailed from Islamic countries, and Muslims can achieve the high Islamic goals.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Ahmed Sékou Touré (President of Guinea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ahmed Sékou Touré, honorable President of Guinea,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution with appreciation. It is hoped that Islamic nations under the leadership of their Muslim and sympathizing leaders will sever the hands of criminals and aggressors such as the usurper Israel, and mercenary and aggressor Saddam from Islamic countries. May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Yeh Chien-ying (Chairman of the National Congress of China)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Yeh Chien-ying, Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the National Congress of the People's Republic of China,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution with appreciation. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant victory to the oppressed people of the world over the arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Indira Gandhi (Prime Minister of India)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Her Excellency Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution with appreciation. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant victory to the oppressed people of the world over the arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Before noon, February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The isolation of Islam and the Quran and the oppression faced by the world Muslims

Audience: Mahdi Karrubi (Imam's Representative and Superintendent of Martyrs Foundation), Abdul-Majid Maadikhah (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance), families of Lebanese martyrs, foreign guests participating in the celebrations marking the victory of the Islamic Revolution, foreign students participating in the first international gathering of "Students' Islamic movement", memorizers and reciters of the Quran participating in the international gathering on the memorization and recitation of the holy Quran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Isolation of the Quran and Islam and oppression against them

I am grateful to the gentlemen who have come from different countries closely observed the situation in Iran and who, to a certain extent, perceived that the Islamic Republic has been tyrannized in the world. I particularly thank the dear children who have come from Lebanon and are heirs of the martyrs and their families. I beseech God the Most Blessed and Exalted to grant all of them health and happiness and hope that the Islamic Republic is materialized in all Islamic countries in the same way that it found reality in Iran. Of course, I cannot express my appreciation for all the groups separately, but there are reciters, families of martyrs and generally all the gentlemen whom I should thank.

Today I should make some statements in front of the honored representatives of Islamic and non-Islamic countries. The noble Prophet (s) had been quoted as saying that Islam was oppressed from the beginning and will be also forever. I want to touch on the oppressions faced of Islam today for you, gentlemen. In the holy Quran, we also see that the noble Prophet had complained to God the Most Blessed and Exalted in the following words: "*And the messenger said: O my Lord! Behold, my people have taken this Quran as a thing to be shunned.*"¹ He complained of the Quran being

¹ Surah al-Furqan 25: 30.

rendered obsolete among his people. Today, I would like to talk about this isolation and oppression before you, honorable gentlemen, to see what situation Islam and Muslims are in. The Quran and Islam have been rendered obsolete because the obsolescence of the Quran and Islam means that important Quranic issues and Islamic matters are either totally made outmoded or many of Islamic governments have revolted against them. Among the important political issues of the Quran is the invitation to unity and prevention of discord. Various explicit and implicit references in the holy Quran have banned Muslims and their rulers from dissension and discord. The holy Quran has said, "*And do not quarrel, for then you will be weak at heart and your power will depart.*"¹ Let us examine as to what status these two important principles that constitute the two important political principles of Islam have among Muslims. Have Muslims heeded these two principles? Or have they obeyed the two important principles? If they obey these principles, all their problems will be settled; if they do not, Islam will be watered down and lose its tone and scent.

Dispute in place of unity among Islamic countries

Muslims are of two groups: one group is the Islamic nations, the masses of people and the other, those who govern the former—the rulers of Muslim countries. Let us see if these rulers who govern and these governments, all of whom claim to be Muslim and obey the Book of God really act according to this important political principle of the Book of Allah or have turned their backs and objected to it. On the other hand, there is another principle, which is among the important principles urging Muslims not to be under the domination of unbelievers. God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, has not authorized Muslims to succumb to the domination of any of the unbelievers. Muslims should not accept the domination of unbelievers. This is among the political principles preached by the holy Quran, which invites Muslims to observe it. However, we see that the heads of Islamic countries are either in conflict and engaged in political and propaganda disputes or fail to develop understanding and unity. We see that there is no unity among Islamic countries; there is dispute. At times, armed struggle and, occasionally, propaganda and political conflict rage as the result of which Muslims have been weakened.

¹ *Surah al-Anfal*, 8: 46.

The cry of “O, Muslims”

The holy Quran has warned that if you develop a conflict, you will be debilitated. You observe the signs of incapacitation among Muslims. You observe the traces of debility in Arab countries. What is worse than vulnerability and helplessness that the vast Islamic countries, with all their power in political and military terms and in terms of wealth, have in front of Israel. How do you define helplessness? Is it other than the fact that a government or a nation cannot do what it should to preserve its system? Muslims are vulnerable against the enemies, who have attacked Islam and Muslim territories, are expanding with each day passing and are not content with just one country. See these children who have come from Lebanon, from south Lebanon! See these children who are heirs of the martyrs of Islam! What answers do we have for them? What answer can man's clear conscience and Muslims provide for these children, who have come here with their small hearts? They want Islam to support them. They are under the oppression and tyranny of Israel in their own lands? The noble *Hadith* by the holy Prophet of Islam (s) reads: “If a Muslim cries for help from Muslims and the latter fails to respond, he is not a Muslim.”¹ I cry from here: O, Muslims of the world! O, governments claiming to be Islamic! O, Muslims of the world! Come to help Islam, come to help the oppressed people who are under the pressure of big powers; come to help the small children who have lost their mothers and fathers; come to help the countries that have been subject to the attack of superpowers; come to the aid of yourselves, come to the aid of your people. O, Muslims of the world! Big powers are dominating and have dominated everything of Islam using ploys and propaganda schemes with the help of their affiliates inside Islamic countries. Rescue Islam, O, Muslims of the world! O you who have come from all countries, from many countries, to Iran and observe the situation in Iran at close range—some of you or all of you have seen the situation in the West and south of Iran and have observed that which has been carried out by the US at the hands of the US—affiliate Saddam—bring your observations to the attention of the world.

Unjust Israel-related accusations against the Islamic system

If you do not have any information about Afghanistan, Afghan *ulama* and many of the Afghan dignitaries are here in Iran. Ask them what happened to Afghanistan. O, Muslims! Come to help Islam. Superpowers are

¹ *Usul al-kafi*, vol. 2, p. 164.

at loggerheads with Islam; superpowers do not want Islam to exist, because they have observed that under the flag of Islam, if one billion people come together, life will become difficult for them in the world and their criminal hands will be curtailed. What has become of Muslims and what has become of Muslim rulers who have given away all their prestige and honor to the US? What has become of them that they offer the great Islamic treasures belonging to the barefooted weaker nations to the US, which backs Israel in exchange for it, and announces that they will not barter away Israel with Muslims. What has become of Muslims? Why should Muslims be acting the way they are? Why should the propaganda machinery of Muslims act against a group of Muslims who want to rescue them from foreign domination and from international thieves? These propaganda operations are against this group. Why do they take up hostile stand against Iran? What has Iran done? Why do a number of court clerics excommunicate Iran? The Quran has stipulated that if anyone claims to be Muslim, consider him/her to be Muslim, accept him and do not reject him. What do they know about Islam? We cry that we are Muslims and want the holy Quran and the instructions of the holy Prophet to be implemented in this country. We have announced our objection to Israel and the US over the past 20 years and still these writers of magazines, and newspapers and these radio broadcasters accuse us of having friendly ties with Israel. Do we have friendly relations with Israel or those who merely watch what Israel is doing against Muslims? What has Israel done to Lebanon and what is it doing against Syria? Israel has annexed the Golan Heights to its country and has greater ambitions, and you say that we want to recognize it. Do we have friendly ties with Israel? We have cried out over the past 20 years to come together and remove this cancerous tumor among Muslims, to retake Jerusalem from Israel, and relieve Islamic countries of this cancerous tumor. Do we have friendly ties or you who employ chicanery to recognize Israel as a country in the face of Islam and sympathize with such a country whose oppression against the world are crystal clear. Do you dare to stand against God and help the enemy of God—the staunch enemy of Muslims—to grant it domination over you, give it peace, and recognize it. If you recognize Israel, it will not recognize you. You stand watching Israel, God forbid, govern all of you.

Inviting the oppressed to rise

O, Muslim nations! O, oppressed people of all Islamic countries! Dear nations who are under the domination of individuals who present your treasury to the US while you are living in hardship and wretchedness! Wake

up! Rise up! O, oppressed people of the world! Rise up and stand against superpowers. If you resist, they cannot do anything. You saw that the Muslim people of Iran unified and rose up together and with empty hands and without weapons, they stood against the enormous satanic powers of Muhammad-Rida and the superpowers, who had rallied in array behind him. They were able to drive out all of these powers and removed from the scene this corrupt government, this illegitimate and corrupt monarch with their power of faith and the cry of *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greatest), sending them to hell, and replacing that regime with an Islamic government, the government that you now see in Iran, an Islamic government, a government that sides with the weak people, with the oppressed peoples of the world. The people established such a government despite the fact that they had no financial power, no physical power and no military power; they only had the power of faith. If you help God the Most Blessed and Exalted, He will help you, as the holy Quran says: "*O, You who believe! If you help Allah's cause, He will help you and confirm your feet.*"¹ If you help God—helping God means helping His religion, helping His servants, helping the oppressed—He will help you. You should stand against oppressors and urge them to restore the right of the oppressed. Stand against the superpowers, which want to rule over you from across the world; from the US, from across the universe, these powers come and want to govern us, subjugate us, you and everyone under their power and destroy our resources. Regrettably, most of the governments agree with them.

The need for the presence of the Quran in all aspects of life

Therefore, today Islam is oppressed and the Quran is "antiquated". The injunctions of the Quran are "outmoded". You call for prayers from the minaret of a mosque and perform prayers, yet you disregard most of the political commands of Islam. How will the Quran be relieved of being outmoded? Of course, recitation of the Quran and its presence in all aspects of human life is necessary, but not sufficient. The Quran should be present in all aspects of our life. When the Quran says: "*And hold fast, all you together, to the string of Allah, and do not separate.*"² In another verse we read: "*And do not quarrel, for then you will be weak in hearts and your power will depart.*"³ If such progressive political commands were acted

¹ Surah Muhammad, 47: 7.

² Surah Al-e Imran, 3: 103.

³ Surah al-Anfal, 8: 46.

upon, the sovereignty of the world would belong to you. We have rendered the Quran obsolete and paid no heed to these issues. The Quran should be part of all aspects of life; its recitation should be done, but if some verses are obeyed and others forgone, we will come across problems. This is the main cause of our troubles. There is nothing. When it comes to political injunctions, the Quran enjoins Muslims to kill those who kill Muslims. Today, Israel has stood against Muslims and is killing them; the US has stood against Muslims and is killing them and the US mercenary, Saddam, has stood against Muslims and is killing them. God has ordered to kill the individuals who rise up against Muslims or a group of them and murder them.¹

Saddam's baseless peace-loving claim

Saddam claims that he is a pacifist, but he has usurped our land, the territories south and west of our country. Yet, he says he is a peace-lover. In this sense, Israel is also a peace-seeker. Israel has usurped the Golan Heights, and aggressed upon a group of Muslims. It can thus claim to be a pacifist. The US can also say it is a peace-lover. All superpowers say they want peace to prevail in the world, but they mastermind all wars in the world. Saddam claims to be a peace-lover, but he has transgressed upon an Islamic country. You all see what the indecent man has done to an Islamic country. This indecent man! It is not a question of Iran alone but the whole world. What counts is the world Muslims. That which is important is Islam. If all of us are destroyed, Islam should remain. The saints of God sacrificed their lives for Islam. The Prophet of Islam suffered more than everybody else for Islam. We are wasting the pains suffered by the Prophet of Islam. I hope that you, gentlemen, who have come here from different countries, will convey the innocent cry of this nation everywhere and make people understand that Iran is not a dreadful country as the US and Zionist propaganda have depicted. During this short period of time and despite strict sanctions imposed on us, government has done so much for the needy and for the oppressed than is not accomplished in the course of 50 years of the US rule (in Iran). In terms of water supply, land distribution, road construction, this government has done more than others can do in 50 years time. In spite of all these accomplishments, we are accused of attempting to destroy the country.

God willing, I hope that you will return to your countries and convey your observations despite the fact that the superpowers do not allow them to

¹ Reference to *surah al-Hujarat*, Verse 9.

be published in the mass media. However, you should disseminate them in interviews, in your contacts with people, tell them that Islam is peace-loving. Now, Iran says that Saddam should leave here and that an international organization should investigate his crimes. We did not have any war against the government of Iraq, or its nation. They attacked us. That is, the government of Iraq that launched the attack, but received a slap in the mouth and, thank God, was defeated in the world, a defeat that he cannot overcome even with the assistance of Jordan, Morocco and the US. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant health and happiness to all Muslims, to you, friends, dear brothers and to these innocent children who affect human beings who see them. I pray to God to grant mercy upon all martyrs and associate them with martyrs of the early years of Islam.

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

Decree

Date: February 10, 1982 [Bahman 21, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty to prisoners

Audience: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Grand Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, May your sublime presence endure,

Enclosed please find the list of 243 convicts of the courts of justice, 1137 convicts of Islamic Revolution courts and 334 convicts of the courts of Islamic Revolution of army, totaling 1714 prisoners, who are liable for amnesty or mitigation in punishment on the occasion of 22 Bahman (which marks victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran) with agreement of the Supreme Court of the country. The list is being presented to you for approval.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili
20/11/1360 AHS]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Reference to duties and authorities of the leader, provided in Article 110 of the Constitution.

Message

Time: February 11, 1982 [Bahman 22, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Stating the situation of Iran and the revolution on the 4th anniversary of the victory

Occasion: Anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution (22 Bahman)

Audience: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Thank God, three years has elapsed since the victory of the Islamic Revolution and we are on the threshold of the fourth anniversary. Based on the predictions made by the strata of people unfamiliar with Islam and the brave people of Iran, the Islamic Republic should have left behind over two years of its defeat! The sweet dreams the domestic opponents and their foreign supporters had and the promising illusions in which they were given golden places, crumbled one after the other with the unremitting efforts of the dignified people and prolific youth of Islam. These blind-hearted people, who are unaware of the help of God, who cannot understand divine promises, who consider the Islamic Revolution to be inferior to other revolutions and who look at this phenomenon from a material perspective, make erroneous calculations. They are unaware of the human values, the power of faith and the development emerging in the revolutionary people of Iran by the will of the Omnipotent God. They define values based on their material views as domination-seeking and oppressing the downtrodden people. The problems ensuing Iran's post-revolution period and the all-out plots of big and small powers impelled them to draw the conclusion that the Islamic Republic would inevitably be overthrown in a few months and the US and its domestic agents would take over. It was exactly this very same motive that instigated domestic splinter groups and the agents of foreign world-devourers such as Saddam to confront Islam and the Islamic Republic. In so doing, he has placed himself, his deceived supporters and uninformed army in a trap from which there is no escape except surrender or destruction. More unaware and dependent than Saddam is Jordan's Husayn,¹ who has not waken up from his

¹ King Husayn, of Jordan.

feigned slumber after the experience sustained by his criminal brother¹ and has volunteered to fight Islam and the holy Quran. He has taken the lead in enlisting for this crime and treason against his nation and army. However, he is unaware that Jordan's people are Muslim and will never fight against Islam. He will not succeed in this engagement; his fate will be similar to that of the deposed Shah of Iran with his great satanic power and the support he received from big and small powers. Such will be the fate of Saddam by the will of God. They do not know what the uprising of an integrated nation of men and women, young and old mean. They do not know that a nation which has risen for God, helped His heavenly commands and saved the oppressed and deprived people will enjoy the assistance of the Omnipotent God. Inspired by my Islamic and human duty, I advise him not to be deceived by the promises of the great Satan and not to get entangled with the avenger army of God. Instead of leading this foolish un-Islamic movement, he had better equip his army for the liberation of Bayt al-Muqaddas, wherein lies his interest and those of the Arab and Islamic people. Foregoing this, playing with fire and confronting the power of Islam will bring about a painful consequence. The people and the government of Iran do not want any damage and loss to be inflicted on Islamic countries; rather they want to stand against the enemies of Islam, particularly Israel, the staunch enemy of Islam and Arabs; prevent the world-devouring plunderers from dominating Islamic countries, Muslims and oppressed people; and curtail the hands of plunderers and tyrants.

Now, the outset of the fourth anniversary of the victory of Islam in our dear country, it is necessary to make a few remarks however repetitive. The holy Quran says: "*Certainly reminding is ion the interests of believers.*"²

1- The Most blessed and Exalted God's help for our Islamic country and every Islamic country is given on the condition that our country and countries help the true religion of Islam and its progressive commands, and also the oppressed and deprived people of the society. If we do not help the Truth, we should not expect God's assistance, so is implementation of Islamic justice in judicial and executive organizations across the country. Among the important issues is an expeditious investigation into cases of prisoners, particularly those whose crime is less serious than that of corrupt, apostate and rioting splinter groups. An investigation into the cases which have been postponed for certain reasons has a priority, as is the case of an

¹ Reference to Saddam Husayn President of Iraq.

² *Surah az-Zariyat*, 51: 55.

investigation into judicial courts and that of the public prosecutor's office is of special priority. I hope that the executive organizations and offices treat the people in a way that would not need any investigation.

2- The strengthening and development of propagation activities, particularly outside of the country is the most important issue. In the past few years, our country has been almost deficient in this area. In the face of all propaganda apparatus of the world-devourers abroad, whom dear Islam has frightened, we are deficient in terms of correct propaganda. Our embassies have not done any positive action and the ministry of culture and Islamic guidance, irrespective of its recent efforts, has not been able to promote this important and vital issue. Our Islamic country is innocently subjected to attacks by mass media and lie-fabricating machinery. It is necessary that the government removes this defect as much as it can and makes serious efforts to convey the cry of the oppressed to the world by expanding radio networks so that nations can keep abreast of what has gone and is going on here, though in brief. Some groups should be dispatched abroad for enlightening and propagating on proper occasions, and conveying the cry of innocence of our nation and the crimes of tyrannical powerful ones to the nations and oppressed peoples of the world, and help them understand that the opponents of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as it is quite manifest in their words and deeds, are primarily opposed to Islam. They oppose Islam wherever it is present.

3- After the revolution, the people of Iran faced problems and difficulties which are inevitable prerequisites of any revolution. They should know that this revolution is more fruitful and less damaging than all revolutions of the world because of its popular and Islamic nature. Our revolutionary people should know that for preserving Islam and the revolution, safeguarding its fruits and guarding the blood of the martyrs, it is necessary to display revolutionary patience and forbearance and ignore biased propaganda of the enemies of the revolution and Islam, who leave no stone unturned to demotivate and disappoint people about the revolution and the Islamic Republic. They should know that most of those who spread poisonous propaganda against the revolution are from among classes whose illegitimate benefits have been cut or those have been deprived of living in pleasure and debauchery. Firstly, the deprived classes who constitute the overwhelming majority, are loyal to Islam and the Islamic Republic. Of course, great goals generate great problems and difficulties as well. The deprived and suffering classes of the revolution did not undergo pain and agony, as did the dignified Prophet of Islam in the course of his life,

particularly the 13 years prior to the *Hijrat* (migration). However, since their goal was great, they tolerated with a jovial face. The goal of our revolution is the same as that of the noble Prophet. With revolutionary patience and tolerance move forward to promote divine justice and spread our beloved Islam.

4- Among the noticeable shortcomings that we have suddenly faced after the revolution is the shortage of religious judges and Islamic preachers. Today thousands of judges and preachers need to be trained through the efforts of celebrated people, *ulama*, teachers and scholars of seminaries across the country, particularly those in Qum, Mashhad and big provinces. From every part of the country requests are made to send judges and preachers. The need is increasing every day. Theological seminaries should spend time for this very important affair and make sustained efforts. Of course, in Qum, thanks to the efforts of respected learned people and teachers this process has already started, but since the volume of the work is great, it is necessary that seminaries increase their instruction efforts so that, God willing, this shortage be removed in the coming years.

5- One of the important affairs that has been heeded by celebrated men and *ulama* of Qum Theological Seminary, but in which no positive action has so far been taken, is the creation of order and discipline in seminaries. It is necessary that this process be launched from theological seminaries in Qum, which should take serious and fundamental measures. Of course, discipline is the most important religious duty for protecting seminaries against infiltration of devious elements with misleading ideas, ethics and actions. This is the responsibility of all, particularly the learned people, *ulama* and teachers. With the serious cooperation of all and the approval of distinguished *maraji* (religious reference authorities), this idea can be put into action. At this time when theological seminaries and honorable clerics have a very effective role in the advancement of the goals of Islam and strengthening the Islamic Republic, there is no doubt that the powerful and power-seekers will not remain idle; rather they will attempt to weaken this dynamic power. This evil objective cannot be achieved except through the infiltration of corrupt elements in seminaries, who will pave the ground for the decay and collapse of this divine phenomenon from within and, God forbid, gradually divert the people in the long run. All of us know that if, God forbid, seminaries fail to train *fuqaha* (Muslim jurists) and qualified *ulama* and preachers who are loved by people, and the seminaries are administered in chaos and without any correct program and Islamic and rational criteria, all should expect the disaster of the defeat of the Islamic

Republic and the great Islam. If, today, through everyone's concerted efforts we fail to prevent the flow of corruption from its source, tomorrow will be late and it may reach a point of no return in the future. It is totally wrong to compare the present day seminaries with those of pre-revolution period when clerics, due to wrong propaganda, pressures and misunderstanding were not allowed to interfere in politics and the affairs of the country. Although a number of people who failed to understand the situation might have raised voice against this mentality because of grappling with satanic illusions and the thesis that "order lies in disorder", these people are in minority. A large group of thinking clerics who are attentive to issues of this nature are working out ways to resolve the dilemma. Finally, purging is necessary in all government, civil and military organizations, and it is even more in the seminaries and universities which enjoy special characteristics and are in unison with each other. With the purging of these two Islamic and national bases, entity of Islamic Republic will continue growing and progressing. With the deviation of these two, the revolution and the republic will deflect from its main course.

6- As the officials of the Islamic Republic and I have repeatedly announced, the nation and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran have resigned themselves to the sacred injunctions of the Quran and Islam. By the rule of the holy Quran, they consider themselves brothers in faith of all Islamic nations and different countries in terms of culture and geography, and seek peace and peaceful co-existence with all governments and nations. As long as no government transgresses the borders of our country and is committed to the commands of Islam, they consider them to be their brothers and call on all countries and nations to rise against aggressors, whoever they might be, taking up an integrated stand to rescue themselves from the clutches of world-devourers. Also, by the rule of Islam, they will defend themselves in the face of aggression against their rights and boundaries and punish the aggressor, in which case no power can, by the grace of God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, stop them from this sacred defense. I advise governments to abstain from any rancor and power struggle and shake the hands of brotherhood with the government and people of Iran so as to drive out usurper Israel from Islamic countries and the occupied lands, brush aside racism and linguistic supremacy which are condemned and rejected in Islam and embrace happiness in both worlds. No power can overpower.

7- Last year was a catastrophic year for the Iranian people, who lost great and committed civil and military personalities in Tehran, Tabriz, Shiraz and other parts of the country.¹ Although the enemies of Islam and the Islamic Republic imagined that they would defeat Islam and the Islamic Republic and enfeeble the morale of the people through such savage assassinations and that no one could supersede them in the administration and advancement of the affairs, everyone observed and the blind-hearted enemies realized that these calculations were wrong. These domestic and foreign calculators with all their claims had not understood the Islamic Revolution, which had emanated from the pure heart of a nation and was mingled with the soul of people and their faith and belief. It appeared that natural animalistic and satanic aspirations had closed their eyes and ears and blinded and deafened them from spirituality.

A nation in the heart of whose women and men love for martyrdom simmers and whose young and old outpace each other for achieving martyrdom and abstaining from animalistic and worldly passions and have come to believe in the unseen world and the Supreme Friend, will not leave the scene with these losses however big they might be. We all saw that each case of martyrdom generated noticeable growth for our brave nation in such a way that consecutive martyrdoms insured the Islamic Republic, making it immune from damage of the time. The martyrdom of each of our dear ones is a document disclosing the disgrace of unbelieving and hypocrite splinter groups and accelerated their inevitable defeat. Now, by the will of God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, the Islamic Republic of Iran enjoys power that is unprecedented. It is hoped that the powerful divine hand will back this, plundered and oppressed nation and support the armed and popular forces in the battle against the evildoers. May God's mercy be upon the martyrs in the path of truth in the course of history as of 15 Khordad up to the present time,

¹ After the ouster of Bani Sadr, who served as a communication and support link of anti-revolutionary elements, from the presidency, the terrorist *munafiqin* (hypocrite) organization adopted an armed confrontation with the Islamic Republic establishment, darkening its already dark record by exploding the central office of the Islamic Republic Party and martyring 72 senior officials of the system and carrying out street assassination attempts, martyring the Friday prayers leaders of Tabriz and Shiraz and killing personalities such as Martyr Hashemi Nejad. In spite of their human rights rhetoric, the US and Western governments kept mum in the face of these crimes and even gave refuge to the terrorists, aiding this terrorist organization in their killings and crimes by providing them with financial, military and propaganda resources.

and happiness and health be bestowed upon the disabled and injured of the war, the oppressed and the refugees and families of martyrs.

8- I humbly extend my gratitude and appreciation to the honorable and committed people of Iran and I thank God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, that at the present age which marks the rule of Satan over the earth, such an informed, brave and selfless nation in the cause of belief, faith and love for gaining proximity to God and struggling in the cause of God has granted this oppressed and plundered nation victory against the arrogant powers without relying on leftist and rightist powers, and helped them curtail the hands of the arrogant powers from our dear country and its resources, isolate the deviants and hypocrites and drive them out of the country. I desperately implore the Most Blessed and Exalted God to guide them in the right path and grant them resistance in the face of these (untoward) eventualities and inevitable problems following the revolution. The dear nation should know that resistance is of special importance that the Holy Prophet of Islam (s) had been quoted as saying: “*Surah Hud* of the Quran made me old, where it says: Continue in the right way.”¹ You and we, who have the honor of following the holy Prophet and claim to be his followers, should struggle to preserve the sacred religion, dear Islam and the Islamic Republic, removing the problems firmly and with open arms. May God be your friend and shelter, dear ones, and grant you revolutionary patience so as not to be impotent in confronting problems. May He grant you revolutionary insight so as not to be impressed by ungodly and arrogant powers that are heedless of Islam and the Islamic Revolution and not to follow the rumor-mongers opposed to the public interests of the revolution; and you must rise to confront them.

9- In the end, I congratulate the world Muslims and great people of Iran and the oppressed people across the world on the anniversary of glorious victory of Islamic Revolution. Congratulations to all for the victory of Islam and the forces of right over Satan. Congratulation to the people and particularly the armed military, disciplinary and popular forces on the victories at the fronts of defense of Islam and the Truth.

To show our appreciation of this great blessing and in honor of the Ten-Day Dawn ceremonies and the 22 Bahman, which marks the victory of the

¹ The Holy Prophet of Islam (s) commenting on verse 112 of *surah Hud* “So continue then in the right way as you are commanded, as also he who has turned (to Allah) with you, and be not inordinate (O mankind)...” observed: *surah Hud* made me old.

honorable people, I am asking Hujjat al-Islam Musawi,¹ the esteemed Chief Justice of the country to send a circular to all public prosecutors and judges to investigate the cases for pardon, in addition to the list provided for amnesty as soon as possible, that is in no more than 2 months, and provide the list of prisoners who are liable for amnesty in accordance with religious law and send it to me. It is necessary that in providing this list the concerned officials not show strictness and make effort so that prisoners can join our dear people and traverse the path of the Islamic Revolution with them. It is appropriate to stress that no negligence should be shown in this affair. As I have noted earlier, public prosecutors and judicial courts are obliged to investigate the files, which have been delayed for any reason and give them priority. I beseech God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant victory to Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah a-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili.

Permission

Time: February 13, 1982 [Bahman 24, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hashem Dastghayb

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.

And then, his most Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Hashem Dastghayb, may his blessings endure, is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs and collect religious funds such as the blessed share of Imam (a) and the share of the *sadat* (descendants of the Prophet) and *zakat* (Islamic tax) and injustices done to the Muslim worshippers and spend them on relevant cases, the holy theological seminary of Shiraz and propagation of sacred religion of Islam.

And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, to what our pious predecessors have advised, to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and otherworldly affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers. May peace be upon him and God's pious servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dated Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1402 AH

Letter

Time: February 13, 1982 [Bahman 24, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners and immediate investigation into the cases of the convicts

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, (Chief Justice)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Ardebili, Chief Justice of the country, may God Almighty assist you,

In respect for the Ten-Day Dawn celebrations and the 22 Bahman which marks the victory of Islamic revolution of the honorable people of Iran, communicate to all public prosecutors and esteemed judges to investigate into the cases at the soonest time possible and that is in no more than two months and provide a list of the prisoners whose amnesty is in order according to sacred religious law and send it to me.¹ It is necessary that the concerned officials in providing this list do not show severity and should make greater efforts that prisoners can join our dear nation and traverse the path of revolution with it. You are advised to stress that this matter should not be neglected. The public prosecutor offices and judicial courts are obliged to investigate the cases that have been delayed for some reason or another as soon as possible and give them priority. I beseech God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant you success in this important matter.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Reference to duties and authorities of the leader, provided in article 110 of the Iranian Constitution.

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Hafiz al-Asad (President of the Republic of Syria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hafiz al-Asad, President of the Republic of Syria,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulation on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. At this time when global imperialism and international Zionism headed by the world-devouring US have mobilized all their forces to suppress Islamic revolutions and independence and liberation-seeking nations and have flagrantly annexed Islamic lands to their mercenaries such as the usurper Israel, and shamelessly voiced their open support for this aggression and crime, the unity and decisiveness of the world Muslims against these ungodly aggressors are obligatory upon all Muslims, as is the rejection of their supporters and reactionary colleagues in the region such as the traitor Saddam.

It is hoped that Muslims are saved ever sooner from this destructive discord and that they will regain their lost glory in the light of unity and solidarity as soon as possible. May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muammar al-Qadhdhafi (President of the Republic of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Muammar al-Qadhdhafi, President of the Libyan People,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation.

It is regrettable that at a time when the Muslims need greater unity and solidarity their blood-thirsty enemies headed by the world-devouring US, criminals such as Saddam and the Baath Party have aggressed upon the revolutionary and Islamic Iran in the name of Islam, and kill defenseless people with bombs, missile and other destructive weapons while the reactionary rulers of the region support their crimes, provide the aggressors with all resources and raise no objections to these savage deeds.

May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the 3rd anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Shadhli Bin Jadid, President of People's Democratic Republic of Algeria,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. It is hoped that on the eve of its third anniversary, this glorious revolution can proceed victoriously despite all the plots and efforts made by the enemies of Islam, particularly the world-devouring US, against its establishment, and will serve as a model for other Islamic nations which are under the oppression of their despotic and ungodly rulers such as the criminal Saddam, help them drive out these mercenary servants of colonization from their countries with solidarity and integrity and cause them regain their lost dignity with sincerity and unity by clinging to the string of God. May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Leonid Brezhnev (Chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Union)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Leonid Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Union,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I beseech God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to save the deprived and oppressed people of the world from the domination of tyrants and arrogant powers. It is hoped that the glorious revolution of the honorable people of Iran will be a model for them as well.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Theodor Zhivkov (President of the Republic of Bulgaria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency, Theodor Zhivkov, President of the Republic of Bulgaria,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant liberation to people under oppression and the world oppressed people of the world from the evil domination of colonialists and tyrants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Pál Losonczi (President of the Republic of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency, Pál Losonczi, President of the Republic of Hungary,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I beseech, God the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant victory to the oppressed people of the world over arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the messages of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Gustav Husak (President of Czechoslovakia)¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Gustav Husak, President of Czechoslovakia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to rescue the deprived people of the world from the burden of oppression and tyranny of arrogant and colonialist powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

¹ Prior to November 1989 (Aban 1368 AHS) developments, the countries of Czech and Slovak bore the official title of Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia comprising two republics: Czech and Slovak. After this date and as a result of the emergence of open political atmosphere and the demand of the people of Slovak, the name of this country changed to Federal Republic of Czech and Slovak. The National Assembly of the Republic of Slovak (parliament) in 17/7/1992 passed the independence declaration, and the sovereignty of this republic and the constitution of this country on 1/9/1992. The Federal Parliament of Czech and Slovak, by legal acceptance, also voted for the division of Czech and Slovak and proclaimed the establishment of two independent countries as of 1 January 1993.

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Yutseh Daniel (President of the Republic of Mongolia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Yustaseh Daniel, President of the Republic of Mongolia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I implore God, the Most Exalted, grant victory to the world oppressed people and nations under suppression over colonialists and arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Erik Honker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Erik Honker, President of the German Democratic Republic,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and extend my appreciation. I implore the Exalted God to grant salvation to all the deprived and oppressed peoples of the world from the burden of domination of colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 15, 1982 [Bahman 26, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Truong Chinh (President of Vietnam), Pham Van Dong (Prime Minister of Vietnam)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Truong Chinh, Chairman of the State Council, and Pham Van Dong, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I beseech God the Most Exalted to rescue the deprived peoples and grant them victory over the oppressors and arrogant powers and unify all oppressed peoples in the way of realizing this lofty goal.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1402 AH

Message

Time: February 16, 1982 [Bahman 27, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 21, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muhammad Abdul-Aziz (Secretary-General of the Liberation Movement of Western Sahara)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Muhammad Abdul-Aziz, Secretary General of Liberation Movement and Chairman of Command Council of the Saharawi Arab Revolution,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. It is hoped that, God willing, this glorious and great revolution that succeeded in putting an end to the rule of a tyrannical 2500-year long regime can serve as a guide to other revolutions and oppressed people under oppression and can eliminate from the scene mercenary and oppressive regimes like the Iraqi Baathist regime and other affiliated and reactionary regimes and help them take control of their own faith, regain their independence and dignity and discard the criminal dictators such as the cruel Saddam into the dustbin of history. May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhulah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 21, 1402 AH

Decree

Time: February 17, 1982 [Bahman 28, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 22, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the officer for coordinating propaganda activities abroad

Addressee: Abdul-Majid Maadikhah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Maadikhah, respectable Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance,

Thank you for your efforts and those of other groups and individuals who took great pain to commemorate the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution. Considering that our propaganda efforts outside the country, with all the poisonous propaganda against Islam and the Islamic revolution, are of great significance, and in view of the fact that their coordination and consistency will produce greater impact, I appoint you as coordinator of propaganda outside the country so that with the approval of God, the Most Exalted, and the cooperation of all individuals, institutions and organizations active in this field, you can carry on with this vital matter and prevent disorder and individualism in order to suppress poisonous atmosphere and false propaganda of rumor-mongers and lie-fabricating machinery as much as possible, and introduce the Islamic Republic and motives of the revolution of Iran the way they are. I beseech God, the Most Exalted, to grant success to you and your colleagues. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 28, 1360 AHS

Message

Time: February 21, 1982 [Esfand 2, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Junius Richard Jayewardene (President of Sri Lanka)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1402 AH

His Excellency Junius Richard Jayewardene, of Sri Lanka,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message congratulating us on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of the people of Iran with appreciation. I implore God, the Most Exalted, to grant victory to the oppressed people of the world over arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: February 22, 1982 [Esfand 3, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty for prisoners, appreciating combatants

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Majlis Speaker), Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Stressing amnesty for prisoners

Today, I would like to emphatically stress the issue regarding the prisoners, excluding those whom we cannot pardon in accordance with the command of God. Let me reiterate that the case should be settled as soon as possible. Mr. Musawi¹ should advise (the concerned officials) everywhere, in all provinces, to carry out the relevant tasks and investigate the problem as soon as possible so that, God willing, a noticeable number of them and, if possible, all of those deserving pardon will be granted amnesty in the New Year. Now, they have committed a sin, a pardonable sin. They have deviated, but a deviation which is pardonable. Provide a list of them and send it to me for the coming New Year so that, God willing, they will be released. I advise the individuals deceived by certain groups to make a comparison between the present and former governments and between the present and former people. Study the services rendered by this government in this short span of time in spite of the enormous difficulties all countries and almost all superpowers have created for this government and people. Then see what path they have actually selected. What do they want to do on the path they have chosen? What do the *munafiqin* (literally meaning hypocrites) and their brothers want to do? I beseech God, the Most Exalted, to guide these youths, these girls, these boys, so that they will no longer fall into their trap, or that they free themselves from their trap, God willing.

Appreciating combatants

I should appreciate the army and the *sepah* (Islamic Revolution Guards Corps), the gendarmerie and other armed and popular forces, which are,

¹ Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, Chief Justice.

thank God, advancing powerfully. They have done epic deeds in *Chazabeh*¹ region and will, God willing, do more there. I hope that we get close to the final victory. Our victory is when Iraq and Iran and other Islamic countries are affluent and all can continue with their lives comfortably and peacefully and free from the domination of foreign powers.

A question that has been raised among people and made them call on me here time and again in the past few days and one that Ahmad² has also repeatedly recalled is the news item broadcast by foreign radios. I was listening to a foreign radio station a few days ago. I heard a foreign radio station saying that Khomeini was on his deathbed. A story crossed my mind: once a man wanted to brag about his physical strength. He said at a session that he was the one who did such and such, enumerating his feats. Among his words, were that he was the one who killed so and so man, who was the champion in such and such place. That man whom he claimed to have killed happened to be present at the meeting and replied: "The one whom you killed is listening to your words!" I remembered that the one whom that gentleman, who was supposed to be on the verge of death heard his words and laughed at his dim-wittedness. God willing, I hope that those who are abroad will return and stop such nonsense; they know that they will not get far; they know that they are no match for this nation. Well, you always claim that the nation sides with you. Okay, if the nation is with you, come and cooperate with the nation, cooperate with the government. Don't sit at a corner, splinter into different groups and swear at each other.

I implore God, the Most Exalted, to grant health to all the gentlemen and this nation and these wounded ones. I appreciate the nation which, thank God, is present in the scene. As long as they are present in the scene, they will not suffer even if others engage in corruption or carry out illegal acts. May God protect all of you.

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

¹ Chazabeh is one of the war-torn regions where the Iranian army and *Sepah* have gained great victories.

² Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Message

Time: February 23, 1982 [Esfand 4, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (President of the Maldives)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, President of the Maldives,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message congratulating us on the third anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with appreciation. I beseech God, the Most Exalted, to grant Muslims and the oppressed people of the world victory and success over the enemies of Islam and colonialists.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1402 AH

Letter

Time: February 23, 1982 [Esfand 4, 1360 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a Letter of Students

Audience: Sayyid Abul-Fadl Marzani (representative of students of the village of Madan Firuzeh, Neyshabur)

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

To His Highness our dear and kind father, Imam Khomeini,

We hope that you will accept our warm regards and that you are free from any kind of illness and adversities. We wanted to write you a letter and advise you just, as we read in our religious book in the fifth grade, like Imam Muhammad-Taqi (s),¹ who had advised the governor of Sistan. But we came to realize that this is a big mistake and sin, because you are a great and pious man who have stood against Eastern and Western powers and who are fighting against satanic powers. We, children, do not know much. How can we venture to advise you? As such, we decided to write you a letter and extend our warm and kind greetings and implore the Great God to keep you under His protection in all undertakings and grant success to you and the forces of Islam over the forces of Saddam and the Baathist infidels as soon as possible. Amen, O Lord of the Universe.

O God, O God, Keep Khomeini alive till Mahdi's Revolution.

Representative of the fifth grade
students (A. Sayyid Abu'l-Fadl
Marzani,
Neyshabur 26/11/1360 AHS

¹ Ninth Shiah Imam also known as Taqi and Jawad (born in Ramadan 195 AH, died in Dhul-Hijjah 220). He was buried in the mausoleum of Bani Hashem close to the tomb of his grand father Imam Musa Ibn Jafar (s). He lived for 25 years; his Imamah (spiritual leadership) tenure was 17 years.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My dear good children,

How good it would be for you to have written the advice you had in mind. We are all in need of advice and the advice of you, dear ones, is unprejudiced and inspired by your purity of heart. Now, as an old father, I advise you, dear ones, to endeavor for the acquisition of knowledge, ethics and good deeds so that you would be useful and committed individuals for great Islam and your dear country.

May God be your friend and guardian.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1402 AH / Esfand 4, 1360 AHS

Telegram

Time: February 28, 1982 [Esfand 9, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Commending the station of martyrs and families of martyrs

Occasion: Martyrdom of the son of Isfahan Friday Prayer Leader

Audience: Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri (Isfahan's Friday Prayer Leader)

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
We are from God and to Him shall we return*

Your Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Tahiri, Friday Prayers Leader of Isfahan—
May your blessings last long,

The saddening news of the martyrdom of your brave son¹ was a source of great sorrow. However, who is superior to the pure descendants of the noble Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him and his progeny) in martyrdom in the cause of dear Islam, and who is more superior to you who are the brave son of the Doyen of Martyrs (may God's peace and greetings be upon him) and to your honorable family in patience and self-sacrifice in the cause of God, the Most High? Who is superior to the great people of Iran in safeguarding and struggling for the implementation of Islamic justice? And who is superior to Saddam and Saddamites, who are reminiscent of the criminals of the early days of Islam, in committing such crimes and martyring the children of the Quran and the pure progeny of the honorable martyrs of Karbala?

We do not fear to see the martyrdom of the apple of our eyes in the cause of Islam, this sacred goal. Our document is the fathers and mothers of our dear martyrs who welcome the martyrdom of their dear ones with a smiling face and spiritual bravery that reminds us of Hadrat Ali Bin al-Husayn, Imam Sajjad and his honorable aunt Zaynab the great, daughter of Ali ibn Abi Talib, may God peace be upon them.

I give my condolences on the martyrdom of the children of Islam in the battlefields and behind front lines to the Hadrat Baqiyyatullah, may our soul be sacrificed for him, and to you and other families of martyrs and implore God, The Exalted to grant absolution and mercy to your dear martyrs and

¹ Martyr Ali Tahiri.

other martyrs, and dignity, patience and health to their families. May's God's peace, mercy and the blessings of Allah be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Time: February 28, 1982 [Esfand 9, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation for a letter sent

Audience: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi—may his blessings last,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter, which is indicative of your good health and your compassion to me with appreciation. It is hoped that, God willing, under the blessing of the Imam of the Time, may our souls be sacrificed for him, and the good prayer of the honorable gentlemen, we can render ever greater and better service to Islam and Muslims and not be ashamed in the presence of God, the Most High. It is hoped that where prayers materialize and under the holy shrine of the eight Imam on whom be all blessings and greetings you will not forget me in your prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1402 AH

Speech

Time: March 1, 1983 [Esfand 10, 1360 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Oppression faced by Islam; need for self-purification and correction of the self

Audience: Mahdawi Kani (Superintendent of Islamic Revolution Committees) and commanders and guards of the committees

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Criminals of history have prevented promotion of Islam

I am delighted when I see these faces, these Islamic visages and when I see the lively affection and fervor of you dear youths. You, dear ones, enlivened Islam; you dear ones insured Iran. These young committee members who had a great role as of the first day of the victory of the revolution will continue to have this role in furthering the revolution. I hope that they will teach this role to their posterity and children so that Iran will remain Islamic in the course of its history as it is today. I hope that your dear children are reared just as you youths who have no equal in history, so that they can protect their country and the dear Islam.

Islam was suppressed for many centuries because what Islam wanted was kept behind the curtain of secrecy and the program of Islam was never put to practice and was not said. People were kept unaware of Islam. The criminals of history strived to keep Islam veiled and did not let this liberating school, this independence-nurturing school, this school that is at loggerheads with oppressors, and the brother-in-faith of the oppressed be presented. I hope that at this time when we are present, we, all our dear ones, the *ulama* and preachers of Islam and all the youths who are engaged in rendering services succeed in presenting Islam, and remove the curtain that power-wielders had drawn over it so as to hide its verities. Governments and big powers denied the power of Islam. The governments that came to power, whether those opposed to Islam or those not opposed to Islam kept Islam behind a veil intentionally or out of ignorance.

Resistance of Islam against all powers

The power of Islam over the world and among different peoples of the world was under a veil. An instance of it, a brief example of it emerged in

our time, in our country, which proved that our youths are willing to sacrifice their lives in the way of Islam, and gallantly, as Islam decreed it, they stood against disbelief, polytheism, oppression and tyrants, and made sacrifices, to prove this fact. But no matter how hard the world powers want to deny this fact, and no matter how hard the corrupt preachers, regimes and powers want to trample upon this Islamic Republic and the values enshrined in the Islamic Republic, in the Muslim *ummah* (Muslim nation at large) and in Iran, they cannot do so.

You, dear youths, demonstrated that you can resist against all powers and can protect your country. Those who had, and have, deviated imagined that if the monarchical regime is ousted, Islam and Iran and all aspects existing in Iran would be destroyed and that Iran would be disintegrated by the two powers. They were ignorant of the fact that if Islam and the Islamic nation heed the issues they can stand against all powers and teach a lesson to the devious ones. They can administer the country more efficiently than when oppression and injustice prevailed in the country. You, young people, demonstrated from the first day that you abided by your commitment to God, the Most High, and to Islam. It is hoped that you will remain so to the end and your children and offspring will survive you with the same idea and insure Iran and Islam for good.

You demonstrated that you could create whatever you want. You performed a miracle in the world, the miracle of the divine power in human beings. You stood against all powers that wanted to swallow Iran and Iranians and plunder your resources. You confronted them and emerged victorious.

Victory over the self, the greatest of victories

You are victorious because God is with you. You are victorious because Islam supports you. You are victorious because you have faith. You are victorious because you welcome martyrdom. Those who are afraid of martyrdom and death are defeated even if they have a huge army. You won over your self. You, youths, overcame your self behind the front lines, in the country and among your brothers in the warfronts and regarded life as everlasting and eternal, and belittled this animalistic and natural life. You are now victorious for as long as this power of the self lives in you, as long as this divine ideals linger in you. You are victorious whether you suffer defeat according to superficial calculations and material criteria, or you emerge victorious. The great victory is that you win over your self and defeat Satan. And you, thank God, who are making such sacrifices in the cause of God,

you have overcome the Satan of your self. Today, I should thank you who supported the people. Your activity lent peace and tranquility to this nation. The nation should thank you, youths, who ensure the internal security across the country and those youths who guard the country in warfronts and God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, will thank you.

What counts is that man's actions are acceptable to God. I see that many of these dear youths have no fear of martyrdom. Perhaps all are like this. I beseech God, the Most High, to grant health and dignity to you, grandeur to Islam and Muslims and peace to all Islamic countries. I give you, dear ones, a piece of fatherly and brotherly advice: continue with your path. As you have brought glory for Iran with your good morality, good deeds, good behavior towards your fellow countrymen, prove your glory in the presence of God, the Most High. Victory is important, but sustaining this victory is difficult and more important. Thank God, today you are the youths who have brought and will bring peace to this country and keep on performing this task for people with smiling faces and with a strong faith, from which these good morals and sound behavior will emerge. I hope that you have this mentality for generation after generation, maintain your faith and pass it on to your offspring so that Iran will, God willing, be victorious to the end.

I hope that other Islamic countries that have entangled themselves in the confines of nature, each of whom has certain constraints, break these shackles and accordingly take steps with their Iranian brothers-in-faith in this great *Jihad* so that they would be triumphant in the *Jihad* against the superpowers. I implore God, the Exalted and Blessed, to awaken the governments that rule over the Islamic countries so as not to offer resources of their poor nations gratuitously to the big powers. They should note that today Iran has revolted and emerged victorious. It is obligatory that you, the governments and nations also cooperate with Iran so that, God willing, the bedrock of oppression would be eliminated and the flag of Islam hoisted in all countries.

I thank you, gentlemen, and the *ulama* that are engaged in guiding, particularly Mr. Kani.¹ I hope that the local *ulama* and the *ulama* of Islam will guide people on Islamic issues and that no crookedness would creep into Muslim ranks. However, every one of you is responsible for his own self and should curb your carnal passions lest, God forbid, this good esteem and the regard given you would be weakened. Advise the youths, who are among

¹ Mr. Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani, Superintendent of Tehran Islamic Revolution committees.

you not be harsh with people. We are all in need of advice and should behave according to the Islamic codes of behavior and treat the people based on Islamic ethics. May God protect you all.

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

Speech

Time: March 2, 1983 [Esfand 11, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Onorous responsibility of judges in the Islamic establishment

Audience: Muhammadi Gilani (Religious Judge of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts of the center), Musawi Tabrizi (Prosecutor-General of the Revolution), and religious judges of Islamic Revolution Courts of the center

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today the responsibility of the religious judges is heavy because they should preserve both the prestige of Islam and the clerics. By disseminating lies and aggrandizing your weak points the enemies of Islam are striving to tarnish the prestige of the clerics so as to sap the influence of the clerics in the advancement of Islam and so that they can destroy Islam and attain their sinister goals. Today, the responsibility of the judges is more important than that of the early days of Islam, because in the early days of Islam the religious judges were duty-bound to preach the observation of the rights of people, but today, in addition to this, the prestige and spirit of the clerics is also at stake. As such, you should be careful about your deeds and conduct and take care of them. Of course, if you act completely in accordance to Islam, the enemies of Islam will not abandon spreading lies and mounting protests, because they do not believe in Islam and the revolution. You should act in a way that they cannot find a specific instance of your weak points.

The Imam of the *ummah* also expressed his wish for the success of the officials and stressed taking greater effort for guiding and leading the prisoners.

Speech

Time: Morning of March 6, 1983 [Esfand 16, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 11, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Advice to athletes

Audience: Members of Tehran's selected soccer teams, winner of the cup of "*Qaid Azam*", Pakistan and the teams of Perspolis, Shahin and Istiqlal

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am not an athlete, but I love athletes

I am not an athlete, but I love athletes. I love the doers of good, although I am not one of them.² I beseech God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant greater success to you young people, who are the assets of this country and the source of hope for the nation and Islam, in doing sports in all human dimensions. One dimension is the one you are specialized in. It is hoped that you would develop other dimensions of man within you. Athletes have always had a sound spirit because they do not subscribe to sensuality and pleasure seeking; they heeded physical activity and followed the saying that "a sound mind is in a sound body". If you pay heed to the state of the society and the different classes of people, you will see that those who are engaged in seeking pleasure are not enjoying real pleasure. Bodies are cast down, spirit withered and indolence has overtaken them from head to toe. If they live in pleasure for two hours, they are in suffering for 22 hours. Those who are men of God heed God, do physical and mental exercises and are not affected by depression. This is a blessing that God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, may grant to all.

Export of the revolution through decent demeanor

You should be a model in other countries, as you are from the Islamic Republic of Iran. Today, we need to strengthen Islam and implement it everywhere and export Islam from our own country to other places the way it has now been established in our country. One of the aspects of its export is

¹ *Sahifeh-ye Nur* below the date 17/12/1360 AHS.

² The first half-verse of the distich: *Uhibbu as-Salihin, Lasta Minhum—Laalla Yarzuquni Salihan.*

you, the youth, who go to other countries and multitudes of people come to watch you, to watch your power. You should act in a way that you invite these multitudes to Islam in practice. You should represent the Islamic Republic in your deeds, in your behavior and in your conduct and, God willing, the Islamic Republic will travel with you to other places too.

I hope you will all be successful and sanctioned by God to carry on with your work and, as read and said by the gentleman, as you are advancing in sports, you will serve your people and this move is for the people. However, today our nation requires many things either in the battlefields or behind the front lines, and you are like a strong arm of this society.

We are isolated from among the reactionary governments and governments that want to plunder the people, because they are all against us. However, this is not the case among the nations.

People side with the truth; people are for humane values. It is the governments that have no information about these spiritual values. When you go abroad and contact the people many come to watch you, so you should display your physical values, your physical powers and thus maintain values of Iran. Because you portray to them the values of Iran, moral values, action-oriented values, ideological value you will spread them in those countries, God willing. When you are here, in Iran, you should also serve the society.

Our society needs the youths and their services. Today, Islam is in need of these youth here, who are physically and spiritually strong, to make their best to rescue the country from the corrupt ones. May God grant you all success and keep you alive for us.

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

Speech

Time: March 7, 1983 [Esfand 17, 1360 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 12, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Causes of backwardness of dependent countries

Audience: Muhammad Hashemi (Managing Director of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization) and the staff in charge of expanding the radio and television networks

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shattering the mistaken beliefs by the youths

I hold dear the step you, the youth, take for Islam and for your own country. I have previously pointed out that through their massive propaganda the enemies of humanity and improvement wanted to inculcate the idea in areas they wanted to dominate that people themselves were nothing and had to import all their needs from beyond their borders, from Russia or America. This was one of the causes of the backwardness of these countries. They did not allow these people to put their thoughts to practice. There was so much propaganda suggestion that these people feared to get involved in the practice (of what they believed in). God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, honored us by enabling you to make the Islamic Republic a reality. You succeeded in shattering the erroneous belief widespread in our country. What do you have that makes you feel inferior to other countries? Man is one and the same everywhere, of one type and of one nature. If (our thinkers) here are not better than theirs, they are not worse. However, they did not allow these better ones and the brains of our thinkers to function. Those intellectuals who fled the country had employed their thoughts for foreigners and put their minds to practice for foreigners. If a thinker wants his own country, Islam and his homeland, it is meaningless for him to flee and where can they flee to? It would, therefore, be better for these minds that lived in Iran but worked for aliens, for the US or for Russia, to leave and the thoughtful minds that work for their own country to remain. Thank God, in the past two or three years our youths demonstrated that they could do. Rest assured that in the long run you could do whatever you want. I hope that you will put your thoughts into practice and dispel the fear that they had instilled in you, enter the scene with courage and do the things by yourselves. In the same way that you drove out the superpowers with courage, you will work in your culture

as well and do your tasks by yourselves. You should gradually diminish your dependence on foreigners until a day comes when we have no dependence on foreign countries and make everything we need, God willing. Another thing that I have reiterated is that we have been (mentally) conditioned in a way that we should either be Western-oriented or nothing. That is if a young person, a lady, were Western-oriented from head to toe, such a person were of a high position and if she were like other Muslims, then she would be backward. Backwardness and advancement depended on this mentality of being Westernized, which meant that the style of her clothing and shoes had to be Western. Or, for example, whatever he/she consumed had to come from abroad. They wanted to make us consumer-oriented. For this reason, we had been made to consume. The likes of Taqi-Zadeh,¹ who once held power in Iran, had said that we had to be English or foreign from head to toe. We should be like this so as to be human. Being human meant wearing (Western) hats, shoes, clothes and make-up, etc. However, the teachings of the Prophets tell us another thing. The Prophets considered man to be possessing piety, the power of faith, humanity, knowledge and action. They considered the criteria of humanity to be *taqwa* and knowledge. But they (the previous regime) created an atmosphere to inculcate in us that if man wanted to be progressive, he had to avoid using his mother tongue, or had to use a few English or other European words while speaking. All these were things that had been inculcated in us. Even local traitors had been inspired by foreign traitors and were educating us this way. If Iran, God forbid, had remained in the hands of this corrupt regime for a much longer time, we would have lost everything.

The necessity of administering the country by ourselves

God favored us by returning Islam and Iran to us. We will now, God willing, do our work by ourselves. Basically, we should think that the country is ours and we ourselves should make it flourish. The farmers, those who work in factories and those who work in the industrial sectors should have this mentality that the country is ours. When it is ours, it is meaningless that somebody else comes and administers it. We ourselves should administer it. We should not let foreigners manage our factories and prevent us from making progress. Their coming was aimed at taking control of all activities and making us do footboy's jobs. They wanted you to toil in the offices, but they would not allow you to get involved in industry. They came

¹ One of famous statesmen of the monarchical period up to the time of Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi. He was among the marked freemasons and supporters of England.

here for this purpose and now, thank God, they have fled and left the country. You have now regained yourselves and God is your support. May God grant health to all of you. I thank you who made the radio and television operational. We should launch extensive propaganda; our radio and television coverage should be wide enough to convey our words to the world.

Obviously, they do not let out voice reach anywhere. If the slightest deviation creeps into our affairs, then you will see what (foreign) radios will do. Anyhow, may God protect all of you and may you be successful. I will do my part, which is praying; I will pray for you. May you be in good health! God willing.

Speech

Time: March 8, 1983 [Esfand 18, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Commending the character and struggles of Mr. Rabbani Shirazi

Occasion: The demise of Mr. Abdul-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi (member of the *fuqaha* or jurists of the Guardian Council)

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
We are from God, and to Him shall we return

With great sorrow I send condolences on the sad demise of the dear Hujjat al-Islam Rabbani Shirazi to Islam, the prominent saints of Islam, particularly Hadrat *Baqiyatullah* (may our souls be sacrificed for him), to the honorable people of Iran, theological seminaries, the esteemed residents and the families of the deceased. In the course of history, there were and are many who claimed virtue, struggle, bravery and commitment to truth and religion, yet practitioners of virtue, struggle and commitment to the truth are few in number. Only in hardship, difficulty and resistance against satanic powers can the vaunting claimants be differentiated from the silent committed ones and the selfless sincere ones from cunning impostors. The late meritorious crusader, Rabbani Shirazi, who is now resting in the precincts of Truth, and we have been deprived of his blessed existence, was among these few people. In the course of his honorable life, both before and after the revolution, he stood against falsehood and its supporters without showing leniency. He tolerated imprisonment, tortures and hardships courageously and never surrendered. He, whom God grants mercy and accepts to His threshold, joined the bliss of eternity with composed spirit in dealing with friends and believers and with unyielding spirit in treating the enemies of people. We, who lag behind stand in need of these men of truth and are deprived of their perfection and beauty. I implore God, the Most Exalted, to grant success to all to serve the people, and happiness and patience to the friends and families of the deceased to endure this tragedy.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: March 8, 1983 [Esfand 18, 1360 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Opposing mentalities of Muslim combatants and the enemies; non-compromise with criminals

Occasion: The demise of Hadrat Fatimah Zahra (a)

Audience: The combatants of the army and revolutionary guards

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The manifestation of the power of God Almighty in Hadrat Zahra's household

I also extend my condolence on the demise and martyrdom of the great lady of Islam to all Muslims, you, dear brothers in the army, *sepah*, *Basij* and Hadrat Baqiyatullah—may our soul be sacrificed for him. The humble house of Fatimah (a) and the family members who were raised in that house were not more than four or five in terms of number and in actuality manifested the entire power of God, the Most Blessed and Exalted. They rendered services that have amazed you, all human beings and me. The sermon read by Zahra (a) against the government, the uprising of the Commander of the Faithful and the patience he showed in 20 or so years, while at the same time rendering assistance to the ruling government and the sacrifices in the cause of Islam and selflessness of two of his sons, Imam Mujtaba, who served greatly by disgracing the tyrannical rule of the Umayyads and the great services of his dear brother the Doyen of Martyrs are feats we all are aware of. Despite their meager number and small tools of war, their divine spirit and the spirit of faith enabled them to overcome all the oppressors of the time, and keep Islam alive, becoming models for us and you dear brothers to put up resistance in the face of all powers which have risen up to fight against us despite our meager number and arms. As shown by our saints (a), we should stand against the arrogant powers sometimes through propaganda and sometimes using arms and subdue the arrogant powers. We follow their model. You, the youths, demonstrated that in the battlefields of the right against the wrong you stood against and defeated all of them despite their countless arms, countless numbers and assistance from Egypt, Jordan and other countries that directly helped them in the form of financial help and

weaponry, while you were small in number but glorified and strong in terms of spirit.

Impossibility of compromise with criminals

Brothers! Preserve this faith; maintain this divine power and preserve your commitment to Islam and the nation and advance forward. Like that mad man in the proverb, who throws a stone in a well and fifty wise men or more cannot bring it out, Saddam was a mad man who did an act and threw a stone in the well and generated this trouble for his and our people and other nations. Now, he has resorted to governments to come and intervene so as to save himself. He is no longer worthy of being saved and we will not retreat even a single step.

Compromise and conciliation with criminals is a crime against the committed people and Islam. Our stance has been clear up to now and will be so in the future: the criminal that has invaded part of our country should go. Muslims are obliged by the pure canonical law to come and expel them. The holy Quran says: "And if two parties of believers fall to fighting then make peace between them. And if one party of them does wrong to the other, fight you that which does wrong till they return to the ordinance of Allah; then, if they return make peace between them justly, and act equitably."¹ We consider the Baath Party to be criminals who are engaged in crime at peacetime and at wartime. In the course of their rule in Iraq, they were at war; they committed crimes against Islam, Muslims, the people of Iraq, prominent religious authorities and the *ulama* of Islam every day. Then, he (Saddam) acted madly. Madness and insurgency constitute the natural disposition of Saddam, who acted so foolishly that wise men of Islam and the world together could not untie the knot he made unless they employed armaments and the power of faith. You demonstrated that you could stand against powers. Your epic deeds in battlefields will be recorded in history.

Miracle of combatants in battlefronts

Today, if the powerful ones and propaganda blatherers write out against you and the Islamic Republic, deliver speech or concoct plots, they cannot hide the truth. You are right, as the Doyen of Martyrs was right. He fought

¹ Reference to Verse 9 of *surah al-Hujurat* that reads: "And if two parties of believers fall to fighting then make peace between them. And if one party of them does wrong to the other, fight you that which does wrong till it return to the ordinance of Allah; then, if it returns, make peace between them justly, and act equitably."

with a small number of fighters. Although he achieved martyrdom and his children were martyred, he kept Islam alive and disgraced Yazid and Umayyads. You are the partisans of that Imam. In great wars such as the battle in Abadan, Chazabeh Defile, Bostan and the like, you worked miracles. It was a miracle. A small population with meager instruments but great faith created this miracle. Saddam, who had done this wrong act in pursuit of his illusions, has become repentant. He has now extended his hand for help towards all governments and an approximately overwhelming majority of them helped. However, all the help they have rendered to him has not been able to bring him into the faith because they are bereft of faith.

The mistake lies here. They imagine that a big population and armaments will suffice; they do not know what brings victory is the strong faith and love of individuals. Small individuals with confident hearts attentive to God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, and love for martyrdom and gaining proximity to Him bring victory. Victory is not achieved by sword; victory is obtained by blood. Great numbers do not bring victory; victory is gained by the power of faith.¹ There are many pilgrims who go to Mecca, but those who perform the divine Hajj are few. *Sepah* and *Basij* and all these, the army and the like are in minority in the war as the holy verse says: "... How often has a little party vanquished a numerous host by Allah's permission..."

The difference between combatants of Islam and their enemies

There is a difference between your ideas and those of your enemies. They are fighting against Islam for gaining power, for displaying power, for power, but you are fighting for God, for His gratification and for the oppressed people in the course of history. Your defense of Islam and your victory is not limited to a victory in the battlefield. You are triumphant in all dimensions; you are victorious in all spiritual and material aspects. You are victorious in the course of history; your victory is the backbone of the victory of the oppressed people of the world in the course of history. You, who proceed towards Allah with open arms, towards proximity to God and towards martyrdom, are victorious, whether you emerge victorious in the battlefield or, God forbid, suffer defeat-though you will not. That which you have, the enemies do not; you have God's gratification while they have God's resentment and wrath. You are accompanied with faith and they countenance disbelief; you enjoy peace of heart and believe that in this war if

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 27, p. 30, H2 reads: "Many are the cries and moans and small are the number of *Hajj* pilgrims."

you are martyred, you will be victorious and if you are victorious, then you are still victorious. You have this belief and they escape from death. There is a difference between these two categories. One welcomes death for it is martyrdom, it is of Islam, it is defense of the right and the one who runs away from death and fights for the booty. These people are different from those who volunteers for martyrdom and victory. I hope that volunteers grow in number, register and go to the battlefronts. There is a difference between such people and those who go to battlefields at bayonet point. If they don't go to the warfronts, they will be killed from behind their backs. They get engaged in war as volunteers but are, in fact, impelled and coerced, pressurized and bullied with a thousand threats into fighting and disowned by their own nation. There is a difference between you, whom the nation supports and thus God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, is your protector and those who want to fight for Satan, for the Satan of the self. There is a difference between the Islamic Revolution of Iran and other revolutions in the world which are not accomplished for faith and for God. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, however, is for God; it was staged with cries of "God is the Greatest" from the outset, and will go on with this goal to the end.

The illusion of becoming the Commander of Qadesiyyah

These poor people who have fled the country or have been living abroad to go after their hollow satanic greed are spreading mendacious reports. One of their whooping lies aired by radios every night which was broadcast on two or three occasions last night is that Iran purchases arms from Israel. Iran has been at war with Israel for the past 20 years and has lambasted Israel and, according to its religious laws, is banned from holding any form of relation, nor will it have such relations with Israel. On several occasions this very last night, it quoted so and so person who claimed that Iran had purchased material from Israel. They are living in foreign countries and think of coming back to Iran, which they will surrender it to a bunch of devious individuals after the sacrifices made by you, the youth. Their thoughts are the same as those of Saddam, who entertained a delusion which the Great Satans strengthened in him to attack Iran. Now his country has fallen into chaos and disarray without a powerful army, but he still calls himself the conqueror of Qadissiyyah as Sad Waqqas¹ did. However, they were ignorant of the fact

¹ Sad Ibn Ali Waqqas was a companion of the holy Prophet of Islam (s) and the conquering commander of Islam in the battle of Qadissiyyah against the Sassanide troops.

that minor and small children here would stand against him and they cannot do such a thing for as long as these children exist.

Taking pride in the young combatants

You, brothers, obtained these victories with the power of faith, and Islam, particularly, with this recent victory in Chazweh Defile, you made them understand that their thoughts were wrong and that their wishes were dashed. As you have told me to pray, I always pray for you; I am a supplicant for you. I love you. You are my brother, my sons. In the presence of God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, I take pride in your victories, which mark your sincere commitment to Islam. In the presence of God, I am proud of having been living at this juncture when our youths are such, when the hands of those who dragged our youths towards corruption were curtailed. In obeisance to the US, they employed all powers, all propaganda schemes and made centers of corruption, gambling, drinking to drag our youths to corruption. God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, came to our aid, to the aid of our country and our nation. The Almighty God mobilized you, the young *Basiji* (volunteer paramilitary forces), and made this mobilization a divine one to safeguard this country and reject all evils and powers. And you are victorious.

May God grant you victory in the future in the same way that He has made you victorious here. May God make you victorious over the inner Satan! May you overcome the self and, God willing, be in His presence bearing badges of honor.

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

Letter

Time: March 8, 1983 [Esfand 18, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acting according to law regarding the amnesty and release of convicts, and other judicial affairs

Audience: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

The Grand Ayatullah, Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hadrat Imam Khomeini, may God prolong your glorious existence,

After greetings, may I would like to seek your Highness's opinion on the following cases:

1- The amnesty and pardon of convicts and prisoners in accordance with the constitution is only in the jurisdiction of the leader and should be carried out under special conditions. Some religious judges say that your Excellency has authorized that in cases where it is deemed advisable, amnesty can be granted and sometimes it is not written in the cases that, for instance, according to the special permission of the Imam this person should be released or pardoned and this practice causes disorder in the judiciary both in the public prosecutor's office and in courts. May I beg you to issue an order so that these permissions would not be private and be applied according to the usual procedure?

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It is necessary to act according to the law. Individuals should not interfere in this affair.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

2- To have order in judicial affairs and to avoid any exposure to accusation and ill-intention, the Supreme Judicial Council has hereinafter released a circular to the effect that honorable judges should be engaged in issues of judgment and the punishments determined by the Shariah and common law and leave the affairs such as religious funds and charity with the people themselves, the centers, and appointees, or they should in no way interfere in financial affairs. If your Excellency confirms this, please endorse.

3- At times, it is said that your Excellency have entrusted the right to interfere in some judicial affairs to some individuals who have no legal responsibility therein and this has undermined some responsibilities. You are kindly requested to express your opinion.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Irresponsible individuals should not interfere and every one should act according to the law.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Time: March 9, 1983 [Esfand 19 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to letter of a martyr's father

Audience: Muhammad Jafar-Zadeh Garashi¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini, may my soul be sacrificed for you,

Greetings and salutations to you-O, God's gift to Muslims and oppressed people of the world! I beg to inform you that this humble servant, Muhammad Jafar-Zadeh Garashi, father of martyr Ahmad Jafar-Zadeh, born in 1343 and martyred in 25/2/1360 AHS in Abadan frontline. I am proud that under the prophetic leadership of you and this period to offer son to whom the following verse is applicable: "Those who believe, and have left their homes and striven with their wealth and their lives in Allah's way are of much greater worth in Allah's sight. These are they who are triumphant"². He has appointed me as administrator (executor of his will) to grant the supreme leader whatever his belongings are. Now, the total sum of 90,000 tomans of the late martyr, his mother and I have dispensed with our share of the martyr's bequest without compulsion and coercion offer it in three checks and place them at your disposal so that we would act according to the will of our son. At the end, we implore the Omnipotent God to grant blissful life to the grand leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

Father of martyr Ahmad Jafar-Zadeh Garashi

¹ Father of martyr Ahmad Jafar-Zadeh.

² Referring to Verse 20, Chapter *at-Tawbah* (repentance).

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Thank God, I saw the likes of you, martyr-nurturing fathers and mothers, committed in the cause of Islam. May God grant His greatest blessing to the dear martyr and patience and reward to you, his respected mother and other family members!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 19, 1360 AHS

Speech

Time: March 9, 1983 [Esfand 19, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehtan

Subject: Internal transformation of the people of Iran; preservation of the prestige of the clerics

Audience: Friday prayer leaders of the Mazandaran Provinces and Dasht-e Gorgan¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The people of Iran, the best people in the course of history

I thank the gentlemen for coming here to meet them in person. I have said time and again that one of the blessings of this revolution is that we can become more acquainted with the *ulama* of different cities and see the more often. What I would like to say is that you see how good the people, the million masses of people, are. Definitely, in the course of history such a situation has not been observed anywhere. Iran with a population about 30 million, excluding a small minority, has been transformed to an Islamic country. All think of Islam being implemented here. The people pioneer in everything that comes up for the government and, the problems it faces. Do not think that in other places and in other ages such a thing has been experienced. If you notice, you will see that the people's volunteer participation in the warfronts and their submission to martyrdom with open arms did not exist formerly, not even at the time of the Holy Messenger and the Commander of the Faithful in this manner. We see in the holy Quran that the Prophet, the individuals whom he called to join the war, made excuses, saying that ay was hot or that they would go the next day. The holy Quran describes them as people who would find pretexts to return, that they

¹ The gentlemen consisting of: Tabarsi (Friday prayer leader of Sari), Ruhani-Zadeh (Friday prayer leader of Qaemshahr), Imadi (Friday prayer leader of Gonbad), Jabbari (Friday prayer leader of Behshahr), Nur Mufidi (Friday prayer leader of Gorgan), Taqipur (Friday prayer leader of Abbas Abad Tonekabon), Shairi (Friday prayer leader of Kordkui), Rabbani (Friday prayer leader of Bandar Gaz), Husayni (Friday prayer leader of Mahmud Abad), Tabatabai (Friday prayer leader of Kalakeh), Bakui (Friday prayer leader of Fereydun-Kenar), Suleymani (Friday prayer leader of Babolsar), Matin (Friday prayer leader of lardasht), Mahdawi (Friday prayer leader of Kiyansar), Ansari (Friday prayer leader of Nur), Yusefiyan (Friday prayer leader of Amol), Sayyid Abdulhadi Shahrudi (Friday prayer leader of Ali Abad Katul).

had work to do, and that their families were such and such . The holy Quran says that they wanted to escape. They wanted to escape; there existed many cases of disobedience. At the time of the Commander of the Faithful, the situation was worse; at the time of the other Imams you saw that people were not obedient. For the Commander of the Faithful in Kufah, you observed that the obedience needed was not shown and he complained about them.

Today, I believe that God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, has made this country successful so the people would be as they are and undergo such a transformation that all people, all masses of people, particularly the oppressed people, those who were deprived in the course of history be present in all affairs. If it was not for this cooperation, the government would not be established and the army was not able to lead the war to victory as it has been today. This is reason enough to appreciate everybody.

The need for preserving the prestige of the clerics

As for us, we should have a great regard for the fact that, in this revolution, the preservation of the prestige of the clerics depends on you, gentlemen. Today, the situation differs a lot from that in the previous time. In previous times, not many individuals stood against the government of Iran, against Iran, against Islam; they were small in number. Today, everybody mounts attacks from all sides you can think of, particularly against the clerics, constantly making critical remarks that the clerical regime is such and such, that the regime of the *mullas* (clergy) is this and that. Every day the enemies attack us without offering any reason. We should think about this matter lest, God forbid, we give them an excuse or a reason (to base their attacks on). We should serve the people; you gentlemen should serve the people. You do not want that, God forbid, a wrong thing to be done. Let us suppose if something wrong is done at macro-levels you should not interfere directly. As the gentleman said you should not interfere directly. Do not interfere directly; rather, refer to the government and right places that should attend to such affairs, to the courts and the like. Show the right way to the people; make people hopeful about the revolution. Everywhere there are wet blankets arguing that Iran has gone bankrupt, Iran can no longer administer the affairs and Iran has become this and that. The enemies make these despairing words. You gentlemen should counter these propaganda ploys. They are, of course, making propaganda at a global scale and we are short of this massive propaganda machinery. We do not have the tools to launch massive propaganda. However, we should promote Islam as much as possible. Assure the people at Friday prayer ceremonies, in congregational

prayers about the Islamic Republic and explain how good Islam is for them. Assure the people that the government now existing in the Islamic Republic and the top officials will not act against Islam. However, there are colossal problems, problems confronted by each and every province. You are informed of your own province. Problems are numerous. At present, the government cannot attend to the problems as it should and bring about a general purge. It is not feasible for the government today, nor is it possible for anyone to correct the situation in a country ruined and spoiled but her previous corrupt regimes. So many sinister propaganda schemes had been made in the past fifty years. For fifty years we observed the massive propaganda ploys against everything Islamic. They encouraged prostitution, set up centers of corruption and attempted to drag our youths to corruption. However, God came to help this country in light of this revolution that is, thank God, changing things for the better. You should awaken the people to the fact that they have many enemies. There are many in the name of *akhund* (clergymen) who are also the enemy of Islam. A plan is underway to undermine Islam. People should rest assured that this government and those at the helm are all working hard to improve the situation, to correct things, to correct the economy. Thank God corruption is not widespread. Some might do things in their homes, in which case we will not investigate. We should not, of course, track such cases. However, thank God, today there is no center of corruption, as I have been informed. There is no open center of corruption. You know what situation Iran was in formerly. If the corrupt Pahlavi regime was given a longer time to rule, God knows what they had planned to do. There were some cases which occurred in Shiraz, and in Tehran that are indescribable. However, thank God, they were stopped.

Need for Friday prayers leaders to treat the youths in a brotherly manner

I request the gentlemen to preach and invite the people. Suppose that these youths make a mistake or commit a blunder without ill intention, you should treat them in a brotherly manner. Of course, different devious groups might have infiltrated into them. You should advise them, treat them fraternally. If, after being advised, they find the right way and come to live, you should treat them in a brotherly manner; they should be preached, and counseled. If, for instance, they commit a mistake, it should not be raised at Friday prayers ceremonies. When secrets are disclosed, they might have adverse repercussions. I have not heard it happening in Mazandaran, but there are some places in which something like this happened. The Friday

prayer leader raised such issues at the Friday prayer ceremony, publicizing that so and so person had done such and such. This is below the dignity of a Friday prayer leader, say, to damage the prestige of a man who has committed a mistake or, intentionally done something in the presence of worshippers who are all listening to his sermons. You, gentlemen, should preach; you should call on people. In the same way that we are commissioned to preach, we should invite. God willing, the situation will improve. Rest assured that no revolution has been achieved so easily. The Soviet Union with the pomp and strength it has is still rulling with bayonets. It does not have any choice. It cannot do anything else. So, it acts using the bayonet. Wherever there had been a revolution, rampant corruption and massacres ensued. Thank God, Iran is going its way and proceeding well despite all the problems created by antagonistic powers. I implore God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant success to all the gentlemen. That which is my duty is to pray, to pray for the gentlemen and the nation and, God willing, I can fulfill my duty.

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

Decree

Time: March 11, 1983 [Esfand 21, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointing a member of Guardian Council

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 blessings endure,

According to Article 91 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran and in order to safeguard the injunctions of Islam and the constitution in terms of inconsistency of the ratifications of the Majlis with them, a council is formed and as the appointment of the members of *fuqaha* or jurists of this council according to the stipulated conditions has been vested in me, I hereby assign you as one of the six *faqih* or jurist member of the guardian council. I implore God the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant you greater success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Time: March 13, 1983 [Esfand 23, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of condolence on demise of Mr. Abdul-Rahim Shirazi

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (a prominent religious *marja* or authority)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ayatullah Marashi Najafi, may his blessings last long,

I acknowledge the receipt of your highness's telegram on the sad demise of the late Hujjat al-Islam Rabbani Shirazi¹ with appreciation. I beseech God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant an elevated rank to the deceased and patience and reward to his family members and longevity and health to your Excellency. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Member of clerical jurists of the Guardian Council.

Speech

Time: Morning, March 15, 1983 [Esfand 24, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Misunderstanding of the opponents of Iran of the power of faith and Islam-poisonous propaganda of the enemies against Iran

Audience: Families of martyrs of the Amol incident; personnel of the army air defense and the defense ministry; staff of the ministry of foreign affairs and the new ambassadors and charge d'affaires of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islamic government is unknown to enemies

I thank you brave youths from all classes, from the military, the foreign ministry staff and the families of the martyrs of Amol, and I pray to God, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to grant health and happiness to all. A mistake that all these groups opposed to Iran and Islam make is that they have not seen an Islamic government and a regime that all its components are integrated, a government composed of people and an army from people; therefore, they are not acquainted with this mode of government. The only such system existed in the early days of Islam, but was soon replaced by other systems. In their mind, they always envisage governments such as the government of Hitler and Rida Khan and other inhuman and non-Islamic persons who are not bound by any school of thought and compare governments existing in the world to the government that exists in Iran. They do not understand that this mode of government is different from others. Therefore, in their wrong mentality, a coup is possible in this country; in their wrong mentality, sabotage is effective in weakening the morale of this nation or a military attack against this country and this nation can work. They, even those who were in Iran at the time of the revolution, did not understand Iran, nor did they understand the power of faith and Islam. They believed that Iran, due to the revolution accomplished therein, with a disorganized army and dispersed people, and a confused state of affairs in the country could be overcome within a few days, if a power stood against it. These mistakes arise from the fact that they claim to understand Islam, but they actually do not. They claim that they know societies, but they do not. The point was what I stated that in a society like today's Iran such

developments had no precedence or if they did, people were not aware of them. Therefore, every one of them in their ignorance and lack of political outlook and understanding of Islam and our society collaborates at a corner and concocts a plot. In this group's imagination, they want to restore Iran to a monarchical system- a large number of them has such imagination- or transform the Islamic Republic into a democratic republic. These people consist yet another clique. On the whole, they do not want Islam. Even those who claim to be Islamic do not want Islamic government in the form now existing in Iran. They do not want the government to mingle with the people and the army to be in the bosom of the nation and the nation to be in the bosom of the army. They want a regime to be governed by a minority led by one at the top and people who are subservient to him thanks to the bayonet. It is a mistake to think that such a government can survive in this without the bayonet we do not have such a government. The masses of people and nations, the million-strong masses of people do not approve of their governments. They have not experienced a system in which all people become combatants in case of war. And they do not know that in case of an economic sanction all people unanimously think of self-sufficiency and the experts and specialists try their utmost to get rid of dependence on foreign powers. And I assure you that Iran will be more stable if such pressures persist for a bit longer. They failed to have cognizance of even the civil servants, those who work in factories, workers who are engaged in the cultivation of the farms in an Islamic regime. They compared Iran with some Arab countries or some Eastern countries; it is based on this outlook that they enter into this line of reasoning. And this is because they are not armed with the weapon that is in the hand of Iran. They do not know this weapon and that weapon is faith, the weapon of unity, the weapon of Islam and the weapon of the holy Quran. All have converged under the flag of Islam, the Quran and unity. However, they deny the unseen divine confirmations; they cannot understand them; they cannot open their eyes and see that at every corner of Iran an extraordinary thing occurs that cannot be done by ordinary human hands. They came to Tabas and imagined that they could come and deploy forces and under the pretext of rescuing the hostages invade Iran. But God, the Blessed and Exalted, sent the sands and winds and defeated them.

They cannot and will not understand that Iranian troops ranging from the army to the revolutionary guards corps and other armed forces are moving forward armed with faith. All (world) powers were arrayed on one side and the power of faith stood against them on the other, and the power of faith did and will overcome them. They have not seen a society in which Islam exists

and has been established in order for them to understand. Nor have they seen such a society in books so that they would understand. Their feeble mind cannot fathom what an Islamic society means. While they have read in history that very small groups and the very small army of Islam overcame large powerful arrogant governments such as ancient Iran and Rome which was the victory of faith, they played into hands of the Westerners who Westernized them and carried out propaganda against Islam, against faith and against Prophets. They neglected faith and Islam and on account of this negligence they got engaged in sabotages. If those who were in the woods had understood Islam, they would not have attacked Amol. While this attack was a cause of grief and claimed the lives of a number of our brothers, it made these inhuman groups understand that raising hue and cry was not the way to convince people to join their movement, as they had imagined. How can Muslim people, who are attached to Islam, are fond of the Quran, consider martyrdom an honor and whose almost every family has sacrificed a martyr and consider this an honor be agitated by a handful of bandits and a number of individuals who have no smattering of the Quran and Islam nor do they have faith and disturb a city of such faithful believers? It became clear that the case was not the way they imagined to be. Saddam or those who had impelled Saddam to attack Iran did not know Iran, and, the power of faith and Islam and he (Saddam) attacked Iran and fell into this trap. Now they are in a frenzy to get out of this trap but they cannot.

The Quran's decree on aggressors

Extensive propaganda that you know is being spread from (foreign) propaganda horns has recently gone to such extent as to say that Saddam wants to make peace but Iranians have refused this proposal. Iran will not withdraw from the stance it has adopted, and will see what way he (Saddam) suggests and what Iran will say about it. They are saying these while they know that our premier, our president, our Majlis speaker and our foreign minister all reiterate to have foreign observers come and see what we have to say and see whether we want peace or Saddam? If a thief comes to somebody's house and loots some of his belongings, occupies his house and burns some of his properties, is it fair to make peace between him and the owner of the house in a way that the thief can have a share of the house? Do you mean that so much damage that the thief has inflicted be ignored? Should so much loss he has inflicted be ignored? If the victims do not ignore it, then they are not peace-lovers! Do they mean that a country which has been attacked, aggressed upon, robbed and plundered by bandits, burnt and

destroyed by the enemy and had some of its youths killed should accept the peace offer of such an aggressor? They say, "We are in this country, have occupied part of it, but you still come and make peace between us! Which human being can accept this kind of peace? Is this called peace at all? Iran says as long as you (the aggressors) do not leave our house, as long as it is not made clear that you are responsible for the crimes you have committed and as long as you do not compensate the losses you have inflicted on Iran and the reparation verdict is not issued, peace is meaningless. It is because without these conditions and at a time when they occupied part of our territory and then by claim to it, peace become meaningless. The losses that Iran has suffered, especially the human losses as well as the material ones are very important. They inflicted these losses and now they come and invite us to make peace. Can we make peace when they want to annex part of our land to their country and change the borderline. Is this peace? We tell all Islamic countries, all Arab and non-Arab countries, we say we assign the Quran as our arbiter. The Quran is the heavenly book of Muslims, whom other people do not have. We set the Quran as the arbiter. We set a verse of the Quran as the arbiter and the wise men of the world, persons who want to make peace between us judge according to this verse and we will abide. Saddam says and confesses that he is Muslim, although we consider it unlikely. Other Islamic countries which say they believe in the Quran, and surely their governments will most likely say the same thing send their representatives, and we will open the Quran, the Chapter *Hujurat* and read one verse and say let us act according to this verse. The verse reads: "*And if two parties of believers fall to fighting then make peace between them. And if one party of them does wrong to the other, fight that which does wrong till it returns unto the ordinance of Allah; then, if it returns, make peace between them justly, and act equitably. Lo! Allah loves the equitable.*"¹ We tell the world to come and see if we are in Iraq's soil or Iraq is in our soil! If we are in Iraq's soil, you fight us and if Iraq is in our soil, according to the Holy Quran Iraq is mutinous and you should fight the rebellious country. We are not hoping you will fight the aggressors but at least condemn them. If you do not act according to the Quran to fight and drive the aggressors out of an Islamic country by bayonet, at least condemn them. If you do not condemn them, at least remain silent or neutral. What has happened to those who neither heed the Quran nor the rule of reason, nor even care a fig for international norms?

¹ *Surah al-Hujarat* 49: 9.

Accusing Iran of cooperation with Israel

A new rumor gets around every day. Every day they say Iran wants to do such and such with Bahrain. A plane flies over somewhere or crashes somewhere else, they spread rumors that Israel was cooperating (with Iran) and that the documented evidences are available. What documents? Our country has raised opposition to Israel for more than 20 years, curtailed the hands of Israel from its oil, totally cut relations, considers it a usurper and calls Muslims to unity to expel Israel, which make Muslims an object of ridicule-something that the corrupt U.S. does too. But other Muslim countries let go of Israel and want to compromise with it. Some of them are following the orders of the US, which have concentrated all its propaganda against Iran. They do not ask themselves even once what the core of the matter is. They have so much subservience to the US, so much subservience and fear! You offer your resources to the US, have good relations with it and seek its pardon and give him good service and dance to their tune. In spite of the fact that we are a weak nation and have a population of 35 to 40 million, have limited arms and weapons many of which were looted by plunderers during the revolution who hid them and are now using them against the people, we have stood against all countries that want to aggress upon our country. We have stood against all powers that want to oppose us and oppose Islam. Regrettably, many of these Islamic countries, instead of fighting Israel, instead of their extending hand in unity with Iran to bury Israel, which has fixed its covetous eye on Muslims, and whose plan is to occupy all lands from the Nile to the Euphrates Israel claims to own Mecca and Media and nurtures other ambitions, but Islamic government have done nothing to stop it, are trying to recognize it and have concentrated all their propaganda against Islam and the Islamic Republic. The moment we say we will not take a single step backward from our borders and from what we have said from the beginning, you will see that instantly a voice is raised from somewhere that peace is no longer possible because Iran is not for peace. What are the conditions we have said? Is it other than the fact that he should go out so that we can sit and reconcile with him? We say the rules of Quran are the arbiter. All Muslims should fight against him so that he would leave. If after the war, Saddam yields to the commands of Islam, then they can all sit and negotiate peace - a peace based on justice. Let Muslims come and see. They should not waste time on propaganda. The interesting point about their propaganda is that it is so distorted and full of contradictions that nobody can believe it even if it is true. These propaganda horns blare out a new thing every day and air obviously distorted matter. They have lost their credibility in a way

that anyone hearing such and such radio would say the radio told a lie. The radio that says that Iranian women and men have turn their backs to the Islamic government, and have detached themselves from this government, or quote some corrupt individuals who have escaped and have not been able to stay in Iran on account of their corruption, as saying that the youth and expecting women, children and others are killed in the streets every day, whereas the these terrorists themselves are perpetrating these things. They cause all this tumult and then say Iranians are doing it. It is right that Iranians are causing all the problems, but which Iranian? The Iranian who has risen in the name of *Mujahid-e Khalq* against the people and in the name of *Fadai-ye Khalq* against the people, they are Iranian but are not human.

The armed Forces are not allowed to join parties

Brothers! We should protect ourselves; we should not wait for foreign powers to help us. We passed up their help. “We do not hope in you doing any thing, so (at least) do not cause mischief.” If they want to cause sedition, we will confront them. We should take care not to be defrauded. Taking care of our business means that the military and other armed forces- the disciplinary forces, army, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and tribal groups—should be united; there should not be any difference. I advise all these forces and their commanders that they should not join any political party or group. If the army or the Islamic Revolutionary Guards corps or other armed forces join a party, that day we should toll the death-knell of the army. Do not associate with any party or group. Basically, your religious duty is either to join to a party or enlist in the army. You are free to withdraw from the army and join up a party. It is up to you. However, keeping both the army and the party implies that the army men should abandon their duty as army men and involve the army in political games. If you are a member of a group a party, leave that group or party even if it is a group composed of very good people, or a party that is a superb one. Nevertheless, subscription to a party is not permissible for the army, for the revolutionary guard corps, for the military or law enforcement forces. They will be corrupted. I advise those at the helm of the army and those at the helm of the revolutionary guard corps that they are duty-bound to shove the army, revolutionary guards and other armed forces out of (political) parties. If any of them is linked to a party, he should be told wherever he is. The same rule applies to the revolutionary guards and other armed forces. They should not tend towards any political directions so that they would be consolidated. If you do, you will eventually break up and finally stand against each other and will disturb

the establishment and weaken Islam. Your duty is to be united without having subscribed to any party or group, whatever it might be. You will not, God willing, join corrupt groups, or seek affiliation with even very good groups. You should be independent and without association with any (political) group. You should be independent and of the party of God, the most Exalted. All the people of Iran are duty-bound to be together. If there are parties, they should coordinate with the people of the country and the people of the country should consider themselves as brothers-in-faith with them. The different Islamic groups should not interfere in the affairs of the army either and should not have any men in it so that we can have competent and strong armed forces. The entry of politics into the army leads to the defeat of the army. You should know this and it is not permitted by *shariah*. I command you to stay either with the army or a party; there is no second choice; it is not possible to be enlisted both in the army and a party. Or you can be like other people whatever they are.

Suicide, is the best possible choice for Saddam

I advise all those who raise their voice against the Islamic Republic to have no more of it! You evaluated your power and came to realize that it is not possible to confront an Islamic power. You have assessed yourselves and realized that it is not possible. Now that you face reality, why are you showing obduracy? Give up obstinacy and get yourselves engaged in another business. I tell Saddam that I have one solution for him and that is suicide. In the same way that Hitler committed suicide after suffering defeat, commit suicide like Hitler if you are man enough.

Cut down on extravagance during New Year holidays

Brothers and sisters! I said we should restrain ourselves. We should not expect anything from others and turn our attention to God. So far, whatever victory you have achieved was because you trusted in God's power and your own power, which is derived from God's. And because the New Year is approaching, I would like to give the entire nation a piece of advice. While we are war-stricken, while we have been left with so many war refugees, so many patients and, so many disabled people in hospitals, each of you and some of your neighbors have offered martyrs, you should celebrate the New Year's festivities somewhat in moderation. You should consider all the layers of people who have struggled for Islam who have offered martyrs and who are families of martyrs or are hospitalized as your own family. You can withhold excessive celebrations that you have previously planned. During the

nowruz holidays visit the hospitals and speak affably to the war refugees and attend to them and alleviate their sufferings. If you wish to be a free strong nation, reduce the extravagance prevailing in the past times. During New Year share your joys with your friends, your nation, your people wounded in war, the disabled of the war and the war-ravaged people and the war refugees from everywhere. They are all your brothers and sisters in faith. Reduce a little bit of your merry-making and extravagance and pay others more respect and visit them more often. They are noble and prominent people; they have offered martyrs, disabled ones; they are maimed ones of the war; they have survived the acid test; their mothers have stood the test of time with their martyrs in whom they take pride: "I have another son; take him to the battlefield." We feel mortified before them; we feel ashamed before them. We should treat them in a way that they also enjoy the New Year festivity. Your celebration will persist when you share your happiness with them. I hope that our nation across the country would act according to this advice and win God's gratification.

I pray to God to grant health, happiness and victory to the nation. May you all be prosperous and triumphant!

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

Speech

Time: Morning, March 14, 1982 [Esfand 25, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of propaganda in confronting the enemy

Audience: Abdul-Majid Maadikhah (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance) members of Coordination Council of Islamic Propaganda Organization and the headquarters for holding the Ten-Day Dawn celebrations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Propaganda, the most penetrating of weapons

We should maintain coordination in all affairs, particularly coordination in propaganda, which is of utmost importance. You should endeavor to preserve unity and coordination in a way that would thwart any form of evil propaganda.

You know that propaganda is more effective than weapons in the war arena. One should be frightened by their (foreign) propaganda more than their weapons. Unfortunately, we are weak in this respect. We should strengthen our morale and, with all our existence, profess our ability to stand on our own feet. It is very important that our experts have confidence in their own expertise. You see what blow Muhammad-Rida inflicted on the morale of our physicians. He treated the doctors in a way that, for instance, he had to fly abroad to undergo a simple surgery. This behavior was a scheme to weaken the morale of our experts, inculcating the idea that they were lagging behind in all fields. Today, we should be determined to outdo them in all fields.

You, in whose hands a part of the propagation operation is, should struggle in this area so that people will come to believe that they will not fall behind others. Although the enemy dominates foreign radios, people know that they are telling lies. Be strong by trusting in God. Construct everything from afresh and ensure that they will push forward. It is true that you have little experience in the job, but consider that you want to work for God, not for name and fame. We want our country to be independent from all aspects. Therefore, we should persist in our task for the gratification of God so that we will render independent not only our country but also all the peoples of the world.

It is my hope that with coordination and discipline in propaganda, all the machinations of the enemy will be foiled. The enemy will not launch a military attack, because he knows that a military attack is not workable. They attempted to deal a blow from within us but to no avail. In spite of this, they did not desist from disseminating propaganda; they want to disrupt our unity by means of evil propaganda. So, you should close ranks as much as you can, be more coordinated and pursue one and the same goal. I hope you will be successful in your tasks and can serve the people.

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

A letter of Advice

Time: March 16, 1983 [Esfand 26, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Moral advice in response to a letter of elementary school students

Addressee: Students of Salman Farsi Elementary School

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Esfand 26,1360 AHS

Salman Farsi High School,

My dear children, I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter with appreciation. I hope that God Almighty grant you, dear ones, who are the sincere and affectionate children of today, success in education and noble morals and edification of the soul so that in the future you will, God willing, be among the servants of Islam, the country and your people, and be protected against the evil deed of perverted people who want to drag you towards deviation.

Endeavor to acquire knowledge and seriously adorn yourself with good morality and deeds as much as you can to bring pride for the future of your country. Do not refrain from respecting your mothers, fathers and teachers, who are your spiritual and cultural fathers and support the Islam and the Islamic Republic. May God Almighty support you all! May you be victorious and happy New Year to you! Peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: March 17, 1983 [Esfand 27, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Assignment to investigate the promotion and encouragement of non-commissioned officers and personnel of the law enforcement forces

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri, may your blessings last long,

In an attempt to remove the current problems of the gendarmerie and police forces, which fulfill their duties under the supervision of the Interior Ministry, you are thus authorized to exercise the powers of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces in the affairs of the above-mentioned law enforcement forces in consultation with the honored president until the regulations are rectified and take measures as you deem fit to promote and encourage officers and non-commissioned officers as well as the personnel of the armed forces and other cases falling within the authority of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Ruhullah Musawi al-Khomeini
27/12/60 AHS

¹ Mr. Natiq Nuri was the interior minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran when Imam Khomeini's order was issued.

Speech

Time: March 17, 1983 [Esfand 27, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The role and Impact of Radio and Television in the country

Audience: Political deputy and officials and staff of political and news department of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Improvement of the country by means of reforming (Iran's) broadcasting system

I thank and pray for you, sisters and brothers who are working in the broadcasting system.

You know that from the beginning of their establishment radio and television caused more damage to the prestige of the country and contributed to its dependence on foreign powers more than any other organization. This machinery during the reign of this son (the Shah), who was more evil than his father, committed treason against Iran by spreading corruption. You know that when a program is broadcast on the radio and television it may affect the whole country and even beyond it as far as the wave get. In the pre-revolution period, all the mass media and broadcasters excluding a few of them were at the service of foreign powers. Whatever activities they carried out were what these powers wished and whatever corruption these powers wished to spread in Iran was carried out by one of their propaganda agents through the broadcasting organization. Spread of corruption was carried out by the printed media and the radio and television, which screened infamous films to pervert the youths, and encouraged people to subscribe to consumerism in their commercials of foreign consumer goods. All these and many other means (of communication) were at the service of the West or East and were carried out by the radio and television. This apparatus was one of the major means of promoting such things. If, God forbid, this state of affairs would continue a few more years, it would have tolled the knell for Iran. Now, you should note that the machinery that was at the service of the West and East for long years aired their policies and served as agents to corrupt our younger generation has been entrusted to you to be transformed which is a daunting and valuable task.

Now you know that this apparatus is being used by young and old in all parts of the country, in villages, in cities, everywhere. This differs for the print media. Everyone may understand the pictures covered by the print media, but not all can read the content because they are illiterate. However, the film you screen plays a role across the country. If the movie is constructive, it will be constructive across the country. If one film is, God forbid, deviating, it will affect the entire country. You should not consider this like other forms of mass media. It has a special situation because children aged 2, 3 or 4 years watch it as well as the elder people and both groups are affected by its programs. This is an apparatus that can be the best of all in rendering services; it can also commit the greatest treasons. Today, the role of the radio and television is greater than that of all propaganda apparatus. If this apparatus is improved, the entire country can be reformed. If, God forbid, deviation creeps into this apparatus, a whole country can be led astray. Those who cannot read and write can watch films and hear the words; the educated people are also exposed to this programs. It is not such that this is exclusive to a group. Small children sit and watch these toys that are played and watch films, if these films are devious, these will deviate them from their childhood. This is above schools; this is a nationwide public school. The voice arising from these apparatus plays a role in the whole country and as far as the waves can reach. The voice heard from the radio and the images shown by television reach the entire country and beyond. Therefore, its responsibility is great and service rendered by this apparatus is a very great and valuable service. You shoulder both the burden of responsibility and value of service. It is a value if you are at the service of this nation and Islam. You can play a (significant) role. If you can transform these two media, which intended to deviate the minds of people from their inception, you can play a major role. Of course, this is a big challenge and needs great efforts.

Necessity of controlling the programs by informed individuals

Sometimes you see that when a word is said and aired by this apparatus or a sentence is said the bazaar is disturbed. There have been complaints that that an irresponsible person makes a statement which is shocking for merchants and other people, so this apparatus should not be directed chaotically. This apparatus is under the supervision of all the three branches of power because it is important. An apparatus in which all powers of the country have a say and have a representative, should not be managed in a way that everyone can say whatever he wishes. Irresponsible individuals may

happen to infiltrate and give interviews in which distorted issue might creep. A sentence may embroil you in a situation for which you cannot compensate for a year. This apparatus should be run in an orderly manner by individuals who are acquainted with political and social issues, and with the situation of the country. Its programs should be aired under their supervision. If everyone is supposed to say whatever one wishes on the radio or television and the words are broadcast everywhere, people may listen and misconstrue what the government wants to do while this may not be the case. The government that wants to serve the people, and wants to keep things in their rightful places should be wary. Sometimes, you may see that an individual emerges and drags Iran towards an undesirable situation. Now this man might be a corrupt individual or an interloper who has infiltrated the apparatus - this is most likely - or is an uninformed individual and does not know what is going on, is not aware of politics, and has no information about the society and the situation of Iran and its developments. He might utter a word or make a sentence in an interview, which might cause sedition and push Iran toward an undesirable situation. Therefore, as might be the case all over the world, this apparatus should be under the control of informed individuals who possess profound insight into problems and should supervise the programs to scrutinize and recognize whether the words uttered or statements made (during any broadcast) are correct or not,. You see that now when high-ranking officials want to speak, they do not come to stand and speak out right away. First they write down whatever they want to say. This is because a speech that he delivers will be aired across the world. If a word is wrong, or a sentence is against their interests, it will create suspicion. Even in the developed countries they do not allow every one to say whatever he wishes. It will be controlled by different persons who are expert in this field, who study check and weigh every word or sentence. You must endeavor to meticulously review these films shown on TV if you really have come to serve your country day and night; now, you have been given the opportunity to serve, you should be vigilant because, for all you know, a person might have infiltrated the organization and do something wrong in a sensitive part of the organization or air a (bad) film they know of deliberately. Such film must be previewed by experts. These films might bring about results that common people might not understand. Experts should reflect on them, deliberate on them to make sure they are proper films befitting the Islamic Republic and the interests of Islam and the country.

Special attention of the enemies to I.R.I. Broadcasting

Know that all the powers of the world now regard this aspect and have fixed their eyes to bring back this machinery that they have lost. It has not been a small thing. They wanted to make Iran dependent on themselves in different aspects, as it was the case before. Now, they are not going to give up this soon, so that we can assume we have taken over from them. Now that we have taken control of this organization they have come to realize the grave mistake of they had made. They will not sit idle to be content to what may happen. Now they are watching closely from everywhere and whatever development happens in Iran. One of the things they pay great attention to is the radio and television, because it is clear that this is more sensitive than other organizations. In the world we do not have anything as sensitive as this organization. Hence, it is a force to be reckoned with to a great extent. The devils count on it greatly. Different persons with different ideas might come and infiltrate your ranks and deceive you.

Man does not know the unseen. Well, they (foreign enemies) come and embellish their outward appearance. They have agents of different sorts. Bakhtiyar presented himself as a patriotic person for over 20 years. Later, it was made clear that he had been one of their agents. Now, he is still working for them. They have all sorts of people. In other words, we have genuine and faked forms of things in Iran. We should be heedful, particularly heeding an organization such as the radio and television, which can be very effective and useful at one time and harmful at other time. Everybody cares for this organization and you should also pay great attention to it lest an individual may infiltrate your ranks. You should be careful lest a film be screened for its very good quality but which will agitate the situation. A film can cause a retrogressive change in a situation. A statement can create a calamity. Therefore, it is incumbent upon you to identify those elements, clarify their identity and their past records. From the very outset of the victory of the revolution, I had reminded the gentlemen who came here to discuss these issues and told them that things must be carried out this way.

Designating known individuals to sensitive positions

We are now beset by groups that were engaged in such tasks prior to us. Before we got involved in these affairs, they were already engaged. They had schemes which we were subjected to. Now, some of the parties existing in Iran, had plans and things to do prior to us. We now understand what previous records this party and this *munafiqin* group had and what they wanted to do, what they wanted to do in prison, what they wanted to do

before and after. They will not quit their plan either although they cannot do anything. Nevertheless, it is sufficient that one or two of them infiltrate your ranks and you will see what deviation would creep. Therefore, individuals who are appointed to sensitive positions should be those with clear records. You should know what these people did before the revolution and what activities they were engaged in. The same method has to be applied to their families. We should know what kind of families they hailed from, what sort of people they were and in which fields they were active. If you really want this organization to serve your country and aim to save this country from those difficulties we suffered in the course of history, particularly in the past 50 years, you should carefully study the individuals who will occupy sensitive posts. The same rule applies in other places. Anyhow, a special attention is necessary here and should be given to this matter. You need experts to study everything and the nuts and bolts of all affairs. You need a group of experts who can correctly evaluate and fully understand the films, dialogues and interviews. All these guidelines should be adhered to so that, God willing, you will be successful. Rest assured that you are successful.

Preservation of divine assistance through sincerity in action

What is important is that you have taken a country out of the mouth of several dragons. They are all dragons, each one worse than the other. All are like the other in viciousness. You have now rescued your country, this nation. Every corner of the country is now in the hands of a group who should work on it. Rest assured that you and we who want divine issues and divine aims and our goal is for truth to replace falsehood, will be assisted by God. When we have such a supporter, we will be victorious. You see our nation today. You think it is a normal issue that an entire nation speaks with one voice. This is not a normal issue; it originates from the Unseen. It is not an ordinary issue to see that people all over the country, from Bandar Abbas to Azarbaijan speak with one voice when something befalls the country. Who can bring about such a thing? Which organization can accomplish such a thing? When the enormous foreign machinery wants to set something in motion, arrange a meeting, they have to use a thousand types of tactics and yet they cannot accomplish their task the way they have planned. However, you say a word, you have the entire country crying out in one voice unanimously. This is the Unseen hand with us and you should preserve it. Preserving this state implies purifying your service for God Almighty. Wisdom requires that when a human being endeavors, he does it for people and he should make the very same efforts for his Creator. The result is the

same in this world. You work here and take pains for whatever purpose and will obtain the rewards that you deserve. Now wisdom requires that on such a case, one should do things for God. If things are done for God, we will be able to achieve the ends easily. If we work for other than God, we will get it, but we may also suffer spiritual losses. Why not go after spirituality in all affairs so that material things would come to us, too? Material things are there. However when you follow spirituality, material gains will follow suit. It will not be necessary to take pains for material things. You had better work for spirituality, for your country, for the liberation of your country from the oppression and tyranny it has suffered. The nation has suffered at the hands of these persons who ruled here and committed oppression against them or the powers whose agents were here and did many wrongs. You had better work for this nation. God will give you everything both in this world and the other world, God willing. I hope God will make you successful. Make this organization Islamic in the true sense of word, to the extent that whenever you tune into a program you see it is different from those of other countries and experience a different thing. May God protect you! God willing, you are successful.

Message

Time: March 19, 1983 [Esfand 29, 1360 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Miraculous progress of the Islamic Revolution, victory in battlefields-describing the crimes committed by Munafiqin

Addressee: Union of Islamic Associations of Students in Europe

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Union of Islamic Associations of Students in Europe

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

Dear committed sisters and brothers! I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter and pray to God Almighty to grant success, health and happiness to you, respectable young adults. Three years have elapsed since the outset of the Islamic Republic and the interment of the 2500-year-old tyrannical monarchy. This new-born phenomenon confronting the plots, sabotages, crimes and treasons of domestic elements and big satanic powers and mercenary governments in the region and beyond the region traversed the centennial path and with the hand of the absolute power of God removed all the obstacles in the way of the glorious revolution of the oppressed people who were victims of oppression and torture and have thwarted all the conspiracies. Despite the fact that most of the propaganda and the mass media horns are at the service of the opponents of Islam and the Islamic Republic, who spare no effort in crushing this fledgling regime, employ all sorts of machinations, slander, lie, opprobrium and spread rumor, this regime remained undeterred. Perhaps if any other regime faced these formidable enemies it would collapse and disintegrate much earlier. However, the Islamic Revolution miraculously continued with its path and enlightened many of the Muslims and oppressed people of the world. It is hoped that a profound public revolution throughout the world finds reality in face of anti-human world-devourers. The Islamic Revolution proceeds powerfully, with its integrity and strength rising and its opponents facing defeat.

¹ *Sahife-ye Nur*, vol. 16, p. 113 inserted below the date 15/1/1361, but the date cited in the manuscript is 29/12/1360. The date 15 Farvardin has been the time when Imam Khomeini's message was read at the annual meeting of the Union of Islamic Associations in Europe, not the date of writing the message.

After the grace of God Almighty, who is the refuge and support of the oppressed, particularly those who make sacrifices for the elimination of oppression and curtailing of the hands of international criminals and who offer their youths, another important point is the popular nature of this revolution, whose greatest feature is unwavering faith in the great God and in victory. You, dear ones, who play an important role in foiling the false propaganda and baseless slanders will continue with your path by trusting in God and relying on the favor and assistance of God almighty and since the goal is the establishment of justice and equity, do not be worried about forthcoming events.

My dear sisters and brothers! I feel your numerous problems in that environment, as you do ours. However, both of us know that our path is the path of the truth and we all have stood against falsehood and by patience and perseverance the truth will overcome falsehood. God has promised victory. I hope that the time of victory is near. We endeavor to widen the scope of propaganda and launch activity in this important matter despite all the difficulties. You and we, who seek one and the same purpose and idea, should exert all our efforts to achieve it. It is appropriate to call your attention to the point that I do not think the massive propaganda operations of our enemies can produce much effect because they are carried out with great differences and contradictions. Command belongs to God. As we and you saw, the great victory achieved last week by our brave and committed combatants in their impressive victory, whose magnitude they have not yet been able to assess and present to the people despite all their efforts, as well as the arms and ammunition taken as booty from the enemy and the quantity which has been detonated from them has been so great that much time is needed to count or collect them. The number of the dead bodies of those misled ones has not been determined yet, and the number of the captives and refugees is so great that their evacuation and transfer to the center has not been made possible. Over 14,000 of them have so far been sent to Tehran. They have inflicted such a crushing defeat on the enemy that is rarely equaled in the history of wars. Despite all these victories and the enemy being pushed back to the borders of Iraq, the colossal international propaganda horns have not mentioned them even once but spoke about the victory of Saddam's troops until when their disgrace was disclosed. After the reporters visited the scene, a few of the victories were communicated. In spite of this, the world mass media cunningly reflected some of its dimensions and said that Saddam's order for withdrawal move with the incentive of new combat formation. I think that this flagrant scandal which

has befallen the mass media apparatus of the enemies of humanity in this war, particularly in a number of fronts such as Abadan and Bustan¹ and above all in Fath al-Mubin² is one of the victories for the people of Iran.

Another issue I should remind you of is that if you, brothers and sisters, study the words and deeds of devious splinter groups particularly the hypocrite splinter group, you will notice that from the time they were in prison with a number of prominent *ulama* such as Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Muntaziri and other friends. When people emerged victorious thank to the struggles of the brave nation and in three years after the victory they have opposed the honorable people in victorious disguises. With a brief survey you can come to know not only their eclectic ideas but also their various hypocritical deeds and behavior and ideas contradicting the Islamic principles. If you have not become familiar with their ideas, be acquainted with them. We have closely watched and are observing their behavior closely and have understood that these claimants of Islam are opposed to Islamic beliefs and principles. Many a crime these claimants of struggle for people have committed, ranging from armed revolt and slaughter of innocent people in the street to arsons, explosions and assassination attempts against innocent children, women and men who have been victims of their inhuman crimes. They have continued with their crimes to this day. At the outset of the victory of the revolution, they attempting to gain power. They attacked barracks and police stations, robbed weapons depots, stole light and heavy arms, robbed banks, committed numerous other crimes throughout the country and turned their houses which they had rented at exorbitant prices into centers of treason against the nation. However, thank God, with the armed forces and support of the nation, most of them have been tracked down. The worst crime they have committed is cheating and corrupting young and uninformed girls and boys and forcing them to carry out assassinations and

¹ One of the cities of Khuzistan Province 35 kilometers north-West of Susangird next to Hofel River, a branch of Karkheh River, with tropical climate. The city was under occupation for a limited period of time in the course of the war imposed by the Iraqi Baathist regime against Iran and the residents of the city were subjected to unchivalrous ground and air attacks of the aggressors.

² In the second year of the Iraqi Baathist regime imposed war against Iran an operation was launched in 28/12/1360 AHS called "Fath al-Mubin" for the liberation of the Western region of Karkheh River. In this operation, the enemy forces were demolished and the cities of Shush, Andimeshk, Dezful and the oil wells of Abu Qarib were liberated and the occupation forces were pushed back to the point where the region remained outside the missile range of the enemy forces. The region was completely purged within a week of the start of the operations.

arson. But God willed that most of them came to realize how they had been deceived by their own fellow members and they repented. Esteemed brothers and sisters! These warnings were given to prevent less informed youths and friends not to associate with these wolves in the garments of human beings and criminals under the guise of true Islam. They adamantly criticized imperialism hypocritically. Now it became clear that their true picture is so ugly. Now, it is clear that they have taken refuge in those countries and with their help have embarked on plotting against the Islamic Republic. By spreading rumors and mendacities, they want to entrap the innocent youth, executing the orders of their masters by taking advantage of the blood of the innocent and the deceived ones.

Inspired by your conscience and the pure religious law you, friends, are obliged to expose their crimes to whatever extent you can and not let the young adults who are the treasures of the nation fall in their trap. Know that if we are under the canopy of Islam and monotheism, we will be immune from the enemy's harm. Today, as before, all the afflictions of Muslims are caused by discord and failing to converge under the honorable banner of Islam. May you be victorious! May God be your friend!

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 29, 1360 AHS

Radio-Television Message

Time: March 20, 1983 [Farvardin 1, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulating the New Year and elaborating on the miraculous national developments

Occasion: New Year Holiday

Addressee: The Iranian Nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God willing, this auspicious feast and New Year will be merry and prosperous for all Muslims and the honorable Iranian nation and for all the sisters and brothers! May this feast be a marry one for all those who devoted all their efforts for the progress of Islam in the preceding year! I hope that the supplication offered on the first day of the New Year will find expression for our nation this year, as it was realized in the previous year. O, Transformer of hearts and eyes! O, Sustainer of night and day! O, Converter of months and years! Change our state for the better! ¹ All hearts, eyes and insights are in the hands of God Almighty and subject to His omnipotence. It is He who directs the universe, the night and the day; it is He who transforms the hearts, gives light to eyes, transforms man's states - and we found it in our dear nation, in women and men, the young and old. This transformation which causes hearts to get detached from worldly desires and mundane things and join the Supreme Truth, makes insights grow ever deeper and helps people realize what is in their best interest has been achieved to a great extent in our nation. I hope that in this New Year this state will reach its zenith. Today, we see that in the hearts of people who heeded the worldly matters prior to the revolution and paid little attention to the unseen, the manifestation of the unseen is visible. This enthusiasm and satisfaction with the proximity to God has found reality in them and the favor of God Almighty has been granted to the nation, strengthening their faith, as one of the signs of the advent of the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him). It is not without motivation that a nation experienced transformation despite living under a tyrannical monarchy for the past 50 black years. Their hearts have been transformed into ones with light much brighter than the rays of the sun, being endowed

¹ The supplication is read on the eve of the New Year.

with an insight illuminating the heaven and earth, a miraculous transformation that has found reality in all layers of people.

May this new day and this new year be happy for the people who have undergone development in terms of faith! It is hoped that their faith elevates to its utmost. Sacrificing their blood with courage and decisive resolution is a new thing that has found reality. Self-sacrifice has flourished in this nation and will thrive in the future, God willing. I hope that this year, like the previous will be auspicious and that all government organizations will act according to the laws of Islam and remove the problems with the power of faith and support of the nation one after the other. If we have numerous problems, we also have an unusual human power and a God-given power supports us. We, who consider God Almighty to be our support, seek to be liberated from the claws of the enemies of Islam. We seek the independence of the Islamic country so that no powers in the world can harm it. We will perpetuate this revolution for the gratification of God Almighty. Our nation, thank God, pushed forward this revolution with their increased faith and with divine power. I hope that in the coming year, we can be at the helm of the affairs more efficiently than in previous years and traverse our path for God more favorably. I hope that we can traverse the straight path of humanity more fervently and reach our destination—that is the station that God Almighty has promised to believers and mystics. It is hoped that, God willing, the hands of all powers will be curtailed from our country. Thank God, we have reached a station that we will never become weak in the face of the problems, thanks to the development emerging in our country, in our youths, in our women, in the nation. Thank God, so far each year has been and will be better than the previous year. I hope the predicaments befalling us will be compensated thanks to the faith emerging in us, in you and in the entire nation. It is hoped that this revolution will be transformed into a universal revolution and a prelude to the advent of the Savior, may our soul be sacrificed for him. I congratulate all the believers, all the oppressed peoples of the world, all Muslims of the world and ask the Muslims to take a step in the cause of Islam with their might and power, and support Islam so that, God willing, the enemies of Islam—those who cannot tolerate Islam—will be ostracized and isolated.

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

Speech

Time: March 20, 1983 [Farvardin 1, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Comparison between the Islamic Republic and the Pahlavi regime

Occasion: Arrival of the New Year

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Majlis Speaker and deputies, Chief Justice, members of the Supreme Judicial Council, Prime Minister, ministers, members of the Guardian Council, Prosecutor-General, Islamic Revolution Prosecutor-General, Religious Judge and the Islamic Revolution Prosecutor of the Tehran Province, Society of Teachers of Qum Theological Seminary, members of the Islamic Revolution Headquarters, Managing director and officials of I.R.I. Broadcasting, Combatant Clerics, Commander and Staff of the Joint Chief of Staff, Commanders of Politico-Ideological departments, representatives air force, army, navy, city police force, gendarmerie and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, central committee of Islamic Revolution, Basij (volunteer paramilitary forces), officials of Islamic Revolution organizations, members of the Headquarters for holding Tehran Friday Congregational Prayers, people from different walks of life

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The invulnerability of the Iranian nation

Reciprocally, on the occasion of the arrival of the New Year I congratulate you, gentlemen, who are the epitome of an oppressed and selfless nation and to all people, Muslims and oppressed people of the world and hope that this year will mark the dawn of great victories—the greatest of which is spiritual victory.

Let me touch on the dimensions which found reality last year and about which the gentlemen had discussed. Last year was the year of the test of powers, test of pens, test of tongues and test of anti-revolutionary activities in its wider sense outside and inside the country. Outside the country, the superpowers and their affiliates and inside the country different groups altogether tested and we also tested the powers as well as the domestic and foreign propaganda operations. If the Islamic Republic of Iran were similar to other republics or regimes, with all the all-out propaganda of all groups inside and outside the country and the domestic and foreign conspiracies, we should have tolled the death knell for the Islamic Republic. However, the tests enlightened the testers and us. Although they do not mention such things, but became clear that a nation like the Iranian nation which wanted to

survive under the great banner of Islam would not be harmed by such conspiracies, with these schemes concocted by those powers and their surrogates inside and outside the country. This is not a mere claim; it is an objective fact, a palpable thing. At the outset, they said this Islamic Republic could not endure more than two or three months. Then they brought in Saddam who presumed that within one or two weeks he would occupy Iran. Those who were waiting to see our country in trouble, could only think of their own gains, and were in the lurk to deceive the nation, hold the veins of our people and once more make the country dependent on the US or possibly on the Soviet Union. They tried all sorts of experiments: they experienced a military invasion, domestic plots and explosions and the like. All were tested and we see that today the Iranian nation is more integrated than the previous years. We promise that, with the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, this solidarity will become more stronger and that the groups who have been cheated or fallen prey would join the nation and work for their own country.

Today I make a passing comparison between the organizations in Iran and all the things in practice in Iran and those at the time of the former regime in reply to those who say that the time of Shah was better than today and to those who wish the world “Islamic” be removed from Islamic republic and those who shed crocodile tears for Islam and I know their innermost feelings. In a country whose administrators and those in charge of the government have a say in the formation of a government there are different organizations, which I will compare.

Comparison of officials of Islamic establishment with those in the former regime

Let me begin with the president. The gentlemen who say that the Shah’s time was better are actually saying that say Mr. Khamenei is crueller than the Shah! They want to say that Mr. Khamenei is plundering the assets of this nation inside and outside the country more than those who did at the time of the Shah! This is what they are saying! Let them compare our present president and the president prior to him with the presidents in the entire world and with the kings who plunder the property and take the lives of people. Can these be at all compared? I address those whose eyes and ears are shut because of their carnal desires and are unable to discern the limitations of their inner emotions. If they insist in saying so, then declare his properties, say, palaces and villas and the like he has plundered and is busy acquiring.

Then we come to the Majlis. Let us compare the deputies in the Majlis from the speaker Mr. Hashemi along with other gentlemen in the Majlis with the previous Majlis and the best organization, the government and the Majlis at that time and compare them with the Majlis run by Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Khan. Which Majlis speakers can be better than the present Majlis speaker? Which of the candidates of the people are better? Yes! In the course of the Constitutional Movement very valuable individuals were in the Majlis. However, in the recent 50 years we have not seen a person who truly represented the people of Iran. After the Majlis, in which the late Mudarris was a deputy, they sent agents and arrested and martyred him after all those tortures as soon as the Majlis term expired. Do you know any other Majlis which really represented the nation and one elected freely by the people? If you know, well, it is not necessary to tell it right now because you may say, "We are afraid to mention this in public." Tell me privately. We will not disclose your identity!

We come to the Guardian Council. No guardian council has ever existed during the entire course of the Constitutional Movement except in its early days when there was some sort of a guardian council. So, we did not have a guardian council. Are you saying that this present era is just like the previous one because we do not have a guardian council?! Or if we do, are the people the same as these people of those days and those who were involved in (forming) the council? You cannot say this either because we did not have a guardian council then. Are you saying that the non-existence of the guardian council which derives its existence from the Majlis, which, in turn, derives itself from a republic, is better? If you still insist in saying so, then put it down in writing.

And about the government. I can claim that from the time when government was formed in the world up to the present day, no government existed like ours. In those days, there were few individuals in the Majlis who attempted to rectify the activities of the Majlis but, generally speaking, I can say that when it comes to governments, we did not have, or have not had, one like the present one. There were kings or monarchs the best of whom only raised mild objections against plundering the country. Once, the last prime minister at the last days of Dr. Amini came there and I asked him, "how is it that an individual like other people who has nothing becomes rich after joining the government? Where has this wealth come? How has he become so rich? Well, he had no answer, and he did not reply. Perhaps he is now answering to God.

Now let us talk about the judiciary and the quality of judgment. At what point in time were such people members of the judicial council? If you know and we are unaware of, well, remind us, and explain how justice at the time of Muhammad-Rida and Rida Shah could have been better than today. Let us know if justice at that time was better than what it is today. I do not want to discuss the justice at that time, but you know the situation and what type of individuals ruled and passed judgment on the life and property of this country. Now you say the judicial council given reality by the *ulama*, is worse than the former judicial organization! With all the defects we have and we cannot remove the imperfections so soon, the present judiciary and present judiciary establishment is, nevertheless, incomparable to the previous one. If you say it is, tell us how. Collate the country's chief justice at the present and the one of the previous regime as well as the prosecutor generals of the present and former times. What you say that it was better at the time of Muhammad-Rida than today is something incomprehensible to me. The things were the way they had been.

Well, let us turn to the issue of the army. Was the army at the time of Muhammad-Rida better than this army we have today? Was it better than the present army which is making sacrifices and offering its blood in battlefields and is defending the country? If you know any one of the army men, or major generals, anybody of higher or lower rank, who would do such deeds in the previous regime, introduce them. However, you cannot introduce any. You call the present city police force worse than the one in former regime. Have you forgotten how head of police force in Qum treated your grandest scholar and how little regard he had for you? Have you forgotten how a government agent treated you when he came to Qum and the Shia center? How did they treat you? And today (you are saying that) everywhere the police are worse than the ones at the time of Muhammad-Rida?! Did we have any forces like the revolutionary guard corps at the time of Muhammad-Rida, in days prior to him or in the course of history? Did we have such revolutionary guards? If we did, let us know as well.

The gist of the matter is that the gentlemen are either uninformed or unaware of the issues. They attended a mosque and taught some lessons without being aware of other aspects, or, are informed but want to object. You, who say that the time of Rida Shah was better than today's, what status did you have at the time of Rida Shah? No only you, but also our late Shaykh (may God's peace be upon him) was in terrible situation. In one case, perhaps the case of the abolition of the *Hijab*, the late Shaykh (may God bless him)—the late Aqa Shaykh Abdul-Karim (God's peace be upon him)

wrote a note to Rida Shah, and warned him about the issue. He did not reply. The prime minister said that it was communicated to the attention of His Majesty, who replied: "You had better mind your own business." When a policeman came to this religious city with so many religious people and clergy, he did whatever he wished with you and nobody dared to utter a single word.

Is the present police force similar to that at the time of Rida Shah or Muhammad-Rida Shah? Why should we not know the value of God's blessing? I ask the gentlemen: "Well, all of them have some sort of deviation, but if they are destroyed, do you think you will be put at the helm of the country? Will they say "Minister so and so, gentlemen come and govern?" If this Islamic Republic is defeated, will a republic better than this Islamic Republic come about? Do you know of anyone to administer after they are destroyed? You know that everybody's eyes are fixed on those who would come and govern here and bring the country to a worse condition than it was at the time of Muhammad-Rida. You know that if this republic is destroyed, this Majlis is destroyed, this president is destroyed, an agent from the US will replace him. He will have a holier—than—Pope attitude like the sanctimonious chief of police of Qum during the time of the late Mr. Burujerdi¹. He might have a pseudo-holy appearance but he will destroy and deal such a blow to Islam that it can never ever recover. Can you imagine what you are doing? Can you sit one night and reflect what blow might be dealt to Islam if you weaken this nation, this government, this Majlis and the like?

The uniqueness of Iranian officials and nation in the course of history

I claim that the likes of the Iranian nation, Majlis, government, president, judicial council, Guardian Council have not existed since the dawn of the history of the world up to the present day. The best epoch in Islam was the age of the noble Prophet of Islam. At the time of the noble Prophet (s) when he was in Mecca, there was no government at work. When he came to Medina and launched the government, do you know how these sanctimonious people in Mecca and Medina, the very same people who professed their devotion, treated the Prophet? Do you know that the Quran has a verse in this regard? Have you read that the Prophet ordered them to go

¹ Mr. Sayyid Husayn Tabatabai Borujerdi, who died in 1340 [Solar year] was one of the Shiites grand *marja*.

to war and they did not and when they did they returned with an excuse?¹ Where can you find the likes of these revolutionary guards who weep to go to the warfronts and get martyred? Tell me. In the early days of Islam, people, excluding a handful of devotees, were not comparable with our revolutionary guards, with this military and disciplinary force. Which nation do you know has stood so firmly despite all the difficulties, sufferings after having offered so many martyrs, so much blood and enduring so much affliction and misery? You know what Iraq, Kufah, Mecca, Medina and their people were like in the early, brilliant years of Islam. During his time, the holy Prophet was more desolate and oppressed than he would have been today. People did not obey him; even his intimate friends did not obey him. At the advent of Islam the Commander of the Faithful (a) was more oppressed than any ruler at any time (in history). He was subject to so many adversities! Those very sanctimonious ones stood against him, arguing that he had to submit to their decision. The Quran was placed on spears. They threatened him that if he did not accept their demands, they would do such and such. They forced him to accept. Then they declared him an infidel, compelling him to repent because he had become a disbeliever². This was the situation in the early days of Islam. Afterwards, his government fell into the hands of the Umayyads and the Abbasids and you all know what the situation was like then? Later on it fell into the hands of other rulers.

Which time do you know that was like today? Why do you not appreciate God's blessing? Why do you not thank God for living in an age with such people? You live in an age when there exist such a Majlis, such a government, such a president and such *pasdars*. Gentlemen why have you closed your eyes (to realities) and allow frustration to invade your hearts and leveled these criticism? We do not want your cooperation, but what will you do with your divine obligation? Why are you sabotaging an oppressed government that all countries have attacked and carried out sabotage against? Your friends too have followed suit. You know that your sabotage is not very effective. I am really sorry for those of you and some other people who say they want genuine Islam. That wretched man³ says they want genuine Islam, not the Islam that says the hand of the thief should be cut! Is the Quran not the genuine Islam? If this government is overthrown, if the Islamic Republic is destroyed, Islam will be so isolated that it cannot be revived for good

¹ Referring to verses 12 and 13 of *Surah al-Ahzab*.

² Referring to incidents during the Battle of Seffeyn and the *Hakimiyan* incident.

³ Muhammad Rajawi, head of the *munafiqin* Terrorist Splinter Group.

unless at the reappearance of the Savior (the Shiite 12th Imam). Perhaps you also want to say we should encourage an oppressive and disbelieving government for oppression to aggravate so that the Savior would reappear! Well, this is a method! Do you think such people do not exist? Such people argue that it is meaningless to have a government and that a just government should not at all be established. You should prevent (the establishment of) such a government so that the Savior would come.

I hope that the Exalted and Blessed God will favor this nation and guide to the right path those who are opposed to the Islamic Republic and Islam. I hope that the New Year will be an auspicious and blessed year for the nation. In this year we and the nation must cooperate and reconstruct the ruins. I hope that these youths, these children, these teenagers who have been deceived and who imagine that this republic is preventing genuine Islam from being established will be awakened. On this presumption, they have been deceived and they became blind and deaf to the truth and ignorant of issues and embarked upon such dissident acts. I hope that they will be enlightened and unite and work shoulder to shoulder with people. I hope that all those in charge in the government cooperate with each other, be friends with each other, and people who are in the Majlis should promote friendship. All of you have one purpose; you all want Islam to be realized. Why should we bear resentment towards one another?

Encouraging brotherhood and abstaining from hostility

Brotherhood is one of the maxims that the holy Quran has decreed, enjoining the fact that believers are brothers both in this world and in paradise, and are sitting opposite each other in thrones. *“As brethren, face to face, (they rest) on couches raised.”*¹ I hope that these norms find reality here in this world to be reflected in the other world. We know that the unseen form of whatever we do here will be reflected in the hereafter. We will be afflicted with our own deeds there in the next world; nothing will be given to us from outside. It is we who set up the foundation of that world. *It is all your deeds that are given back to you.*² *“And whoever does an atom's weight of good will see it then.”*³ It does not mean that he gains the reward, but that sees himself. *“And whoever does an atom's weight of ill will see it then.”*⁴

¹ Surah Hijr, 15: 47.

² Surah Hijr, 15: 47.

³ Surah Zalzalah, 99: 7.

⁴ Surah Zalzalah, 99: 8.

Man will see the evil of his misdeeds. Our deeds, our beliefs, our morality, all will be reflected there. I hope that you will strengthen your brotherhood here so as to be reflected there and we will be brothers. Hostility is for the people of Hell, as put by the following verse of the Quran: "*Lo! that is the very truth: the wrangling of the dwellers in the Fire.*"¹ One of the afflictions the people of Hell will suffer is the enmity prevailing among them, the war and hostility they wage, lunging at each other like dogs! One of the great characteristic of the people of Paradise is brotherhood, friendship and love, which should be nurtured from here. Why should we be opposed to our brothers-in-faith, brothers who are all righteous and good and who want to serve? Let us suppose that someone's vote differs from the other. There is a difference of opinion among *fuqaha* as well. I hope that brotherhood among government, Majlis, the three branches of power and all the army men will be reflected in paradise where all are sitting as brothers in thrones in front of each other. May God grant success to all!

I hope that this year will be a good year, the year of construction. The previous years were all constructive and taught us good lessons. Some people passed the examination and some others failed. I hope that in this year even those who are opposed to each other in the Islamic Republic will be a bit more tolerant, reflect and will see that if this republic does not exist we should be either swallowed by the US or the Soviet Union. There is no other option. May God have mercy upon Islam, and upon the Islamic Republic everything of which is better than all periods of time. There are, of course, defects, which you should remove with the help if each other. May God grant you all health and happiness! Happy New Year to all!

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

¹ *Surah Sad*, 38: 64.

Message

Time: March 21, 1983 [Farvardin 2, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulating the victory of combatants

Occasion: Start of Fath al-Mubin operation

Audience: The Iranian Nation and combatants of the Islamic troops

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
If you assist God, He will assist you and make your steps firm*

I received the pride-bringing news coming from the warfronts against the satanic forces one after the other. Words are inadequate to express my feelings. May felicitations be upon the Islamic armed forces, whom God may grant the final victory. Congratulations on you for the glorious victory you ensured for Islam and your dear country, the land of the Savior—may our soul be sacrificed for him—with the assistance of the angels of God and the heavens. May God shower with His bountiful mercy the mothers and fathers who, on light-filled nights, raised you in their pure lap to fight courageously in the battlefronts and to combat your carnal passion. Let me give the good news to the valiant youths who struggle to please God and who emerged victorious in the highest spiritual and physical and inward and outward fronts. Felicitations to the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) for such valuable combatants, who struggle in the cause of God, saving the prestige of Islam and the Iranian nation and exalting all combatants in the cause of God! The great Iranian nation and the children of Islam take pride in you, chivalrous combatants. Praise be upon you who uplifted your country to mount the wings of the angels of God and making them exalted among the peoples of the world. Congratulations to the Iranian nation for such combatant youth for such appreciative people who set out to pray and jubilate upon hearing the news of victory by the combatants! I kiss your powerful hands, above which is the hand of God from afar and take pride in this kiss. You fulfilled your duty to dear Islam and the country and curtailed the covetous hands of superpowers and their mercenaries in the country,

generously fighting for the honor and dignity of Islam. "If only I could be with you so that I would gain a great benefit."¹

Greetings be upon the honorable commanders of the combatants and upon all those struggling for the dignity of the country and Islam! Curse and contempt be upon the *munafiqin* and deviants who wanted to set fire to the ammunition depots of such combatants. May God's wrath and curse be upon those ungodly people who wanted to save him with the help of Saddam, the Aflaqite. Let us thank God for being able to impose a disgraceful defeat on the forces of evil and dishonor them in the Court of God, the Omnipotent, making them detested by Muslim nations. I beseech God Almighty to grant you final victory and defeat the opponents of the Truth.

Greetings to you and God's mercy be upon the martyrs in the cause of the Truth and salutation to the martyrs of the fronts of right against wrong! May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 2, 1361 AHS

¹ Part of the written prayers said by marked men of religion and martyrs of Karbala. Quotation of this part of the prayers addressed to the combatants of fronts of sacred defense and martyrs of the imposed war indicates their lofty status in the view of Imam Khomeini.

Permission

Time: March 21, 1983 [Farvardin 2, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious affairs

Addressee: Isa Tarafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies,

Herein, his Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Isa Tarafi, may his blessings last long is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs and collect religious funds and shares and spend the share of the *sadat* (descendants of the holy Prophet of Islam) in the locality. He is also authorized to spend a third of the holy share of Imam (a) on promoting the sacred religion and reviving pure Islam in addition to his expenses and send back the remaining two-thirds to me to be spent on holy theological seminaries, may the Exalted God keep them from adversities.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, to what our pious predecessors have advised, to keep the company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his affairs.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dated Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1402
AH

Letter

Time: March 25, 1983 [Farvardin 6, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 30, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegram of congratulations on the victory of Muslim combatants in Fath al-Mubin operations

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Ayatullah Shirazi—may your blessings last long—the holy city of Mashhad,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram congratulating us on the great victories of the Iranian armed forces over the aggressive Iraqi forces with appreciation. I congratulate you and the residents of the holy city of Mashhad and hope that all the gentlemen will not spare me the good prayers for the victory of Islam over the disbelievers and for the brave Iranian forces under the sacred dome of the eighth Imam (s). I implore God Almighty to grant you health and happiness. May God's peace and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 6, 1361 AHS

Message

Time: March 29, 1983 [Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the New Year

Addressee: Erick Honker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Erick Honker, President of the German Democratic Republic,

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message on the occasion of the arrival of the new solar year with appreciation. I implore God Almighty to save the deprived and oppressed peoples of the world from the domination of colonialists, particularly the world-devouring US.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS

Message

Time: March 29, 1983 [Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the New Year

Addressee: Gustav Hosak (President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency, Gustav Hosak, President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message on the occasion of the arrival of the new solar year with appreciation. I implore God Almighty to grant victory to the oppressed peoples of the world over the arrogant powers and colonialists, particularly the world-devouring US.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS

Message

Time: March 29, 1983 [Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the New Year

Addressee: Paul Iosoniz (President of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Paul Iosoniz, President of Hungary,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message on the occasion of the arrival of the new solar year with appreciation. I implore God Almighty to grant victory to the oppressed peoples of the world over arrogant powers and colonialists, particularly the world-devouring US.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS

Message

Time: March 29, 1983 [Farvardin 10, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the valorous deeds of the combatants in the great Fath al-Mubin operations

Addressee: Messrs QasimAli Zahir-Nejad, Ali Sayyad Shirazi, Muinpur, Muhsin Ridai (Commander of the Armed forces and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Verily God loves those who fight in his cause like an impenetrable dam

Brigadier General Zahir-Nejad (Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran) Colonel Sayyad Shirazi (Commander of the IRI Army), Mr. Muhsin Ridai (Commander of the IRGC), Colonel Muinpur (Commander of IRI air force),

I acknowledge the receipt of your consoling and honor-bringing message following the great victories of the triumphant combatants in Fath al-Mubin operations which have made feel proud. Although these braveries, sacrifices and great victories of the greatly valued armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran are unprecedented for military dimensions and at the war fronts, they have brought us honor that words fall short of describing their meritorious grandeur when evaluated by normal criteria and military and war measures; limited words and phrases are inadequate to describe the bravery and lightning attack of the Iranian chivalrous forces. Although these victories and braveries are unrivalled and such attacks against the ground and air forces of the enemies who are armed to the teeth and equipped with heavy and light modern Western and Eastern weapons, it was unique in world wars to stalemate the enemy within less than one week in a way that the enemies abandoned whatever they had, escaped or surrendered in such a way that our armed forces have not so far been able to take account of the number of the captives and the dead or estimate the war booty. Although all these were realized miraculously and contrary to normal expectations, what awed one before the combatants at the warfronts and their supports in the battlefield such as the reconstruction Jihad, the selfless camera men, committed physicians, nurses, courageous reporters and million-strong people behind the frontlines was the spiritual side of the events whose grandeur cannot be depicted by any criteria or scale.

With which criteria do we, who are lagging behind and perplexed, those spiritual wayfarers who go into seclusion for 40 days, those *ulama*, those punctilious thinkers, Islamologists, intellectuals, writers, philosophers, world viewers, sociologists, philanthropists, and everyone resolve this riddle and analyze this question? How were these youth transformed? These youth had been brought up in a poisonous society in every corner of which the atmosphere had been poisoned by the stench of the tyrannical monarchy with its bazaar and shops, streets and recreational centers, its promenades and cinemas, its print media and mass media corrupt and poisonous, its ministries and offices, its parliament and courts, its educational centers from kindergarten to university being corrupt and the atmosphere prevailing in the country poisonous, and its institutions serving as factors responsible for corrupting the youths, and our young people having been raised in such atmosphere should have been defiled by the corruption in morality and faith in accordance with normal standards and habits. If an ethics instructor struggled to transform only one of them, he would fail even after long years of efforts. How were they transformed from that degeneration into youth fraught with knowledge of God and love of Him? How did these young people emerge from this revolution in a short period of time and developed into youth who wholeheartedly sought martyrdom and who sacrificed their lives for Islam? If we consider normal criteria, they should rather contribute to corruption. How come that they underwent such a transformation that the 80-year old people and veteran spiritual wayfarers had not achieved a ray of the light so profusely permeating these young people? Can this riddle be analyzed except by the unseen hand, divine assistance and celestial criteria?

Whenever I see one of these people and observe the love for martyrdom in his word and visage, I feel embarrassed and humiliated. Whenever I watch these lovers of God and these youths annihilated in the path of Truth on television, assemblies and circles preparing them for an attack on the enemy of God, with their supplications and whispers with the Beloved on the threshold of the attack against the enemy while they are overjoyed by the wish to grapple with death, I reproach myself and feel sorry about my state. Now, our nation has realized that "All days are Ashura and all lands Karbala."¹ Their assemblies of estatic love and supplications are reminiscent of the night of Ashura of the devotees of the Doyen of Martyrs.

My dear youths and esteemed commanders! Do not expect me to be able to praise you and appreciate your deeds enough. Suffice it to say that you are

¹ The expression is in Arabic language in the Persian text.

the beloved ones of the God Almighty. Your God has said He loves those who stand against the enemies of God like a solid dam for His gratification. This is the reward of your deeds.

Let me now thank the groups which help you and serve you at the fronts from different aspects, amid the war conditions and threats of all sorts. May God protect and help you and grant His profuse blessings to your dear martyrs and their honorable families who take pride in their children and kith and kin with courage and bravery, considering them and their children as the progeny of Islam and for Islam. May the peace of God and the distinguished men of religion be upon the martyrs and their families and upon the combatants in the cause of Islam and Iran! May God's blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: Mrch 30, 1983 [Farvardin 11, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence reduction of prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may his benign existence endure,

With greetings and wishes for the health of the leader and will all do respect, the second list of those proposed for amnesty and sentence commutation which following Your Highness's decree dated February", 1982 regarding the prisoners tried in courts and the revolutionary public prosecutor offices has been examined by a delegation comprising seven members and attended by supervisory council of prisoners, the prosecutor-general and the Islamic Revolution prosecutor and found their amnesty and commutation of punishment permissible in view of the religious law and the common law and is hereby submitted and referred to Article 110 of the Constitution and beg Your Highness to have mercy and grant amnesty and commute their punishment in accordance with the proposed list.

The total number is 12,023 (4936 for amnesty and 7087 for commutation of punishment). It is hoped that the kindness of that prominent *marja* will be effective in enlightening and awakening these convicts and help them return to a healthy life in the society in light of the fundamental development resulting from the great Islamic Revolution.

Sayyid
Ardebili

Abdul-Karim

Musawi

Farvardin 11, 1361 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

In appreciation of those who endeavor in this human practice, I agree with this.¹

Farvardin 11, 1361 AHS

¹ In reference to the duties and authorities of the leader provided in Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Message

Time: March 31, 1983 [Farvardin 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Gustav Hosak (President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Gustav Hosak, President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegram of congratulations on the establishment anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I appreciate your expression of affection on the occasion and beseech God Almighty to grant victory to the oppressed peoples of the world over the colonialists, particularly the criminal US.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 12, 1361 AHS

Message

Time: March 31, 1983 [Farvardin 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the combatants of Islam; reminders to the nation, the government and the armed forces of the country

Occasion: The fourth establishment anniversary of the Islamic Republic of Iran (12 Farvardin)

Addressee: The Iranian nation and the armed forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the official establishment of the Islamic Republic, let us thank God for His endless blessings and mercy and assistance to the Iranian committed combatants with His unseen forces in two spiritual and superficial dimensions. God guided them to the extent that they emerged victorious in two aspects. Actually, the miracle of the age was manifestly accomplished with their auspicious and powerful hand and the armies (of the enemies) equipped with modern and sophisticated weaponry supplied by satanic powers suffered disgraceful defeat in a short period of time, surrendered, escaped or were killed.

The twelfth of Farvardin, 1361 marks a different brilliance in the history of Iran, the brilliance of the light of God, the special support and favor of the Creator of the universe toward the oppressed and plundered people of Iran. One who fails to see this support and miracle is like a bat that cannot see the light of the world-illuminating sun. With all the causes to ensure them and give them peace of mind and with all the means available to inject fear into Iranian combatants, what instilled confidence and tranquility in the latter and fear and intimidation in the former? They enjoyed the support of the superpowers particularly the great Satan, the US. Most of the regional rulers supplied the enemies with various types of weapons, gave them billions of dollars of cash and would not hesitate to send their own troops to the battlefields. All leading mass media were at their service. We were, however, burdened with economic sanctions, the revolution and in a state of confusion and were confronting excruciating domestic and foreign conspiracies. They launched surprise attacks against us from the sea, land and air, occupied a large portion of our country, and embarked on destroying, looting our cities and killing our innocent people. This state of affairs served as a factor

contributing to the quiet state and tranquility for the aggressors in our country and fear for us. Does what God Almighty say “He cast panic into their hearts, a group of whom were slain and another group taken captive.”¹ not find realization in Fath al-Mubin? Does this verse “He it is Who sent down peace of reassurance into the hearts of the believers.”² not apply to the combatants of this warfront? Was what happened in the early days of Islam and brought victory to the army of Islam different from these events? Are the over fifteen thousand captives, thousands of dead and injured and so much war booty within one week something ordinary? Is the surrender of many groups to a number of forces unmatched with the former in terms of weaponry something ordinary and natural?

O God! The young Iranian combatants consider the victories to be from You and are not proud of their power. If they display pride and exaltation, it is because they are under the favor and support of Your Sacred essence. You instilled certitude and peace³ in their hearts and injected fear and intimidation into the heart of their enemies, who are the enemies of Islam. O God! Everything is from you. We hope You will continue showing this favor and support upon us until the final victory and until the time Your enemies and those of Islam are fighting the army of Allah and Party of Allah and up to the establishment of the rule of God.

Let me now give some reminders which the nation, the government, army and *Sepah* and *Basij* and other armed forces pay attention to:

1- All should know that all affairs including our victory rest in the hand of God Almighty. “*Victory comes only from Allah.*”⁴ We should note that in this true victory and other victories we should not feel a sense of pride in our power and should not be overpowered by the Satan of the self, as conceit is the source of laxity and discouragement. At wars, it is necessary for the armed forces to keep their necessary readiness to the last minute and till the final victory and should not be negligent of the enemy’s stratagem and its threat in any way, particularly the enemy which all satanic powers struggle to preserve and one which knows well that defeat is synonymous with its destruction. The great combatants at the borders must strengthen their fortifications and bases and do not neglect a moment for the enemy’s ambush, as moments of victory are highly sensitive. By your remembrance of

¹ Surah al-Ahzab, 33: 26,

² Surah al-Fath, 48: 4.

³ Original text is in Arabic.

⁴ Surah Al-e Imran, 3: 126.

the beneficent God and trusting His assistance, you should keep your readiness and equip and not take the enemy as desperate and unfortunate. Your God will grant you final victory.

2- Don't feel depressed about the lie-spreading and rumormongering propaganda horns, which are at the service of super criminals, refuse to cite the victories of our courageous combatants and have sunk into deadly silence and at times air reports of the advancement of defeated and desperate Saddamites in Shush and Dezful. Thank God, they will not be able to cover these victories that are brilliant like the world-illuminating sun, as recently their scandalous silence reached its apex, and they were forced to air the news reports in an erratic manner. You, dear brave combatants, who advance with a remembrance of God Almighty and the cry of "God is the Greatest" and attack the enemy should not expect the propaganda apparatus that have been slapped on the cheek to reflect your God-given victories correctly. Shine out like the moon and let them blow their horns of objection. You fight and defend for belief and expect God to grant you mercy and let the colonialist propaganda support them, who are ignorant of God and fighting against Islam for worldly gains and for Satan. Victory belongs to you, who are exalting. Trust God and advance. *"The real gain is for those who ward off (evil)."*¹

3- Although the war and defense of the Truth and the land has caused great pains and losses, has taken our most valuable youths and left many people in the war torn regions homeless, it had magnificent merits, thanks to the beneficent God. This imposed war spread the majesty and grandeur of faith and Islam over the expanse of the world. Great Iran, which was about to turn into an affiliated consumer country, into lifeless and humiliated people ready for abandoning themselves to oppression and blows thanks to the treasons of the Pahlavi dynasty and their affiliates, was suddenly caught up in an unprecedented leap and a divine revolution involved in an undeclared war with the conspiracy of oppressive world-devourers and their uncultured mercenaries and overt and covert support of superpowers. However, the Iranian people attacked the evil figure of the army of Saddam and the region's American agents so victoriously and bravely and smashed the Satanic myths one after the other, which was reminiscent of the holy hand of Ali Ibn Abi Talib (a) in the Battle of Khandaq, inspiring our forces to stand unmoved in the fight between the whole of Islam against blasphemy triumphantly, proudly and with a stature as endless as eternity.

¹ Surah al-Qasas, 28: 83.

Today, Iran is reckoned with in the whole world as a country committed to the school of Islam and resisting against the big powers. Even those who have risen with enmity against this republic and its strong youths out of ignorance or envy and internal frustrations remember within their selves with wonder and greatness and are afflicted by its victories.

4- Although I know that being committed to genuine Islam requires that the Muslim combatants treat the war captives and refugees with affection and chivalry as they, thank God, are actually doing although Saddam and his cohorts mete out savage and inhuman treatment, it is useful to remind you and stress that our youths and those who are in charge of keeping the refugees and captives make them savour the sweet taste of Islamic mercy and magnanimity and treat them in the way that their master and mentor treated the cruelest servant of God and the most criminal man—*Ibn Muljam*¹ (may God's curse and damnation be upon him) so that the captives, who have suffered a spiritual blow, feel comfort and compensation in the Islamic Republic and after liberation they would join the order of preachers of Islam and possibly sacrificing for it, something that is a valuable service to Islam and the Islamic Republic. These captives and refugees have most likely been sent to warfronts with coercion and threats of death of their families, as some of them have made this claim. Do not think that the proclivity to criminality and savagery that prevailed in Saddam also exists in them. How good it would be for the dear youth and guards of these deceived ones to transform one of Saddam's follower or those involved in crimes into an Islamic one who is at the service of the holy school of Islam. Know that "*whoever saves the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind.*"² and guidance is the greatest manifestation of revival.

5- Today, the world, even the blind-hearted, know that Iran is speaking from a position of power, that is a divine gift. Today, Iran is bound by the word it has said from the first day. We are not at war with any country, whether Islamic or non-Islamic and we seek peace and quiet for all. So far we have risen for defense, which is a divine obligation for all and a human right. We never intend to transgress upon any country. We want Islamic countries to be beside each other to defend with Islamic commitment the rights of Muslims and Islamic countries against aggressors and insurgents like the usurper, Israel. If this long-cherished wish of the Iranian nation and

¹ Ibn Muljam Muradi was a man from Kharajite and martyred Imam Ali (a) in the altar of prayers in Kufah Mosque.

² *Surah al-Maidah*, 5: 32.

government becomes reality, no country however big can transgress the boundaries of Islamic countries or any one of them or exercise force against them. We consider the interest of all countries, particularly our neighboring and regional countries, and in fact they should not ruin themselves or earn God's great punishment in the next world by being involved in activities aimed at the satisfaction of the ambitious lust of Saddam and his adventurism as well as the interest-seeking and hegemonic powers, which have pushed him into the trap. You must recognize and treat peacefully a country that wants to shake the hand of brotherhood with all Muslims of the world, taking lessons from the mad movement of Saddam and his fate. Know that if, God forbid, power falls into the hands of ambitious Saddam, he will not treat them less cruelly than Israel and they will repent that day when they have afflicted by one like a second Israel and even worse than it. It is to your advantage to accept this Islamic advice and do not play with fire. A worthier thing to do is that you should support the uprising of the oppressed people in the occupied lands of Palestine and practically support their demonstrations and uprising against Israel's oppressions so that in the same way that Iran toppled the tyrannical monarchical regime by means of demonstrations and the Islamic revolution, they will also overpower this cannibal—usurper and infidel demon. It is hoped that the innocent and oppressed people in the occupied regions continue with their demonstrations and anti-Zionist activities so that they will achieve victory. I beseech God Almighty to uplift Islam and its followers and destroy the satanic flags.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Memorial

Time: April 2, 1983 [Farvardin 14, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing hope for raising a meritorious child

Addressee: Fereshteh Arabi

In His Most Exalted Name

I wish happiness in the world and the next for dear Fereshteh, who is adorned with good morality. It is hoped that you will bring up your child according to Islamic ethics and religious etiquette so that he/she would be useful for the Islamic Republic and be a good servant for Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Farvardin 14, 1361 AHS

Speech

Time: April 2, 1983 [Farvardin 14, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Moral deviation, source of degeneration in the world, preventing the influence of deviants; observing religious laws and criteria

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and secretary-general of the Islamic Republic Party), officials and members of the offices of Islamic Republic Party across the country, members of the Islamic Association of Tehran Banks

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Love of the self, source of all corruptions throughout history

I hope that the New Year and the anniversary of the Islamic Republic will be a happy one for the Iranian nation and oppressed people of the world and the gentlemen who have gathered here. I hope that the oppressed people will be victorious, God willing, and the arrogant powers of the world will be on the precipice of downfall. I thank you, gentlemen, whether you are members of the Islamic Republic Party or the members of the bank and those working in other banks and other places as members of their Islamic associations. I hope that you and the nation will proceed further towards Islam, and be able to realize Islam and its divine objectives. It is also hoped that these divine and Islamic objectives will be realized in all parts of the world.

What threaten the world is not weapons, bayonets, missile and the like. What is pushing our planet towards the precipice of degeneration is moral deviation. If there is no moral deviation, none of these war weapons will be harmful to man. What drives men and countries towards perdition and degeneration is the perversion prevailing among leaders of countries and governments with moral decadence, leading the entire humanity towards the precipice of decadence. We do not know what will be the fate of man. Notice the big modern weapons in the hands of superpowers. For what purpose are these weapons used? Is it for the good of man? Is it for the bringing about peace as they claim? Or is it for the destruction of man and the selfishness of these leaders?

In our narrations, we read that love of the world tops all man's deviations,¹ which is a fact. The basis of the love of the world, the root of the love of the world is the love of the self that is also the attachment to the world. All corruptions found among human beings from the time man was created up to the present time and to the last day are rooted in love of the self. Love of the self leads to love of position, love of post, love of property and love of all sensual desires. The Prophets aimed to suppress the love of self as much as possible and control the self. Prophets also did not succeed the way they wished. They could not give expression to this ideal as they wished. In the just government of the Savior, justice will prevail, yet selfishness will remain prevalent in many layers of the people. It is the love of self that some narrations cite will excommunicate Hadrat Mahdi (a).² On top of all sins is the love of self. As long as this selfishness prevails in man, these wars, these corruptions and oppressions and tyrannies will prevail. If Prophets sought to establish a just government in the world it was because if a just government with divine and moral incentive and spiritual human values were realized, it could retrain the society and improve it to a great extent. If governments are in the hands of tyrants, in the hands of deviants, in the hands of persons who consider values to lie in their own carnal desires, they will think human values to be these very efforts to dominate others and satisfy carnal passions. As long as these governments are in power, humanity will proceed towards degeneration. If the aspirations of Prophets even some of their wishes, are materialized in a country that country will move towards improvement.

The uniqueness of Iranian officials and nation

Compare the Islamic Republic at the present time and the leaders of the Islamic Republic and this Islamic Republic Party in our country with any country you wish. On the whole, I do not think you can find another country in which the nation the government, the Majlis and the officials cooperate with one another to run the affairs of the country.

I am not saying that we do not have any defects, we have numerous failings and temporal desires, but we want to make comparison. I do not mean that Islamic Republic is now completely traversing the line drawn up by Prophets. It is also the case with Islamic Republic Party or other organizations in the country. None of us claims that all are completely

¹ *USul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 315, h. 1.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 52, p. 389, h. 207.

Islamic, yet we claim that a celestial breeze has blown in this country from God Almighty. A divine ray has started shining on this country and due to this exhilarating breeze wafting across the country with the grace of God Almighty, this country is moving towards Islam and the ideals of the Prophets even though in many of its places there are shortcomings and many unfit persons have infiltrated the groups, yet we should consider the issue in a society as a whole. In a society, we cannot say all individuals are upright. I no are, even during the time of the great prophets, and even in the Islamic era and during the time of our noble Prophet we can claim that all individuals in the society were upright. Nevertheless, when one makes an assessment, he should evaluate the society as a whole, not individuals, to see if the society is moving towards improvement or degeneration.

I do not want to say that human societies and individuals living in other societies are devious and decadent, but what I want to say is when we assess an establishment, we can find much better information about it. We can say without any prejudice that the system in Iran is better than those in other countries. This system is heading towards Islam and wants the ideals of Prophets to materialize. We do not know of any such organizations elsewhere. In those systems there might be individuals who are sound, but when considering the system as a whole, it is moving towards degeneration.

Proof of moral degeneration in the world

Looking into some limited and specific cases we can understand the issues of moral degeneration to some extent. Take note of the situation of these countries which have opposed the Islamic Republic since its inception in order to understand the extent to which moral degeneration has prevailed in man.

From the very beginning of this popular movement until the realization of the revolution, all groups and individuals everywhere in the country proceeded with the slogan of "God is the Greatest." God and remembrance of God constituted their cries. These divine utterances of the attributes of God and cries are still alive in this country as it was at the outset and amidst all this. This tendency towards Islam and Islamic ethics is alive in man. However, except for a few, which country exists to even consider us Muslim? Whatever we cry that we wanted Islam, many of these countries said that they were Zoroastrian or fire worshipper. Is this other than moral decadence in government organizations that are found in a lot of countries? People who are heedful of these worldly issues and what is going on in the world know that from the first day we have been opposed to Israel. It is over

20 years that our talks have revolved around the fact that Israel should not be an independent country and that this oppressor should be removed from the world; it is dangerous and threatening. However, so far these very countries that say they are Muslim and Islamic consider us to be Israel's cohort! We consider the US to be an oppressor and tyrant and saw our country in its lap as result of the treason of the former government and objected to it; people rose up and shouted "Death to America," translated their slogans into action and seized the den of espionage and expelled them and they all went their own business. But in spite of all this we have been accused of being America's cohort up to this day! As if the US and we have conspired to oppose each other! Is this other than moral degeneration pervading the heads of these countries? Many of the countries are moving towards precipice of doom.

They forced Saddam to attack this Islamic country and they attacked us from land, air and sea. Aware of things, some of the people who held the rein of affairs at that time committed treason against this country but said nothing. Saddam attacked our country in the name and under guise of Islam and combating the fire worshippers. Is this other than dirty moral perversion? Those who supplied Saddam with arms, money troops and claimed to be Muslim and moving in the path of Islam should be asked who they were fighting then. Do not the fight the people whose children and adults, men and women, government and Majlis and whatever one can see- as they all know- all cry Islam? Those who claim to be Muslim and follow Islam promote on their radios, in their propaganda, on their television, in their speeches the same things that were prevalent during the time of monarchy in Iran. The situation is the same. Now, do not our propaganda agencies, print media and radio and television, different organizations, the three branches of power promote Islam in different forms? Where can you find a place in the world in which its radio station teaches *fiqh* and divine philosophy? Do you know of any place where most of radio and T.V. time is devoted to Islamic promotion? Which party do you know in which leaders are like the heads of the Islamic Republic Party? Of course, I do not know the party members, but I know the leaders and whatever they confirm, we also confirm. I do not want to say that in the Islamic Republic Party unfit individuals have not infiltrated or that there are no individuals who have made mistakes or purposely done wrong. However, all in all, when we compare this party with other parties like the Tudeh Party or parties that existed at the time of Muhammad-Rida Shah, compare their heads to the heads of this party, their members to those of this party, their behavior to that of this party, in all

fairness, we see that this party is committed to human and Islamic ideals, while other parties are not like this.

If they object against the leaders of these organizations, and other organizations now existing in Iran, is nothing except opposition to human morality and values? The weapon is in the hands of our *pasdars* as well as our army, in the hands of the Saddamites, in the hands of Jordan and its government and in the hands of the US and the Soviet Union. All of them have weapons. We have weak arms, and they have powerful weapons. When these weapons are employed, these weapons by themselves are no problem, are nothing. The sword by itself is nothing.

The sword of the Commander of the Faithful and the sword of ibn Muljam were of one type. Perhaps the latter's sword was even sharper. However, the act will be judged based on who uses the sword. A single sword stroke of the former is equal or even more valuable than the worship of both worlds; and the latter kills a man whose single sword stroke is more valuable than all worships. He one who deals the blow is the criterion.

Using weapons for a divine purpose

From the outset of this imposed war it has been quite clear where and for what purpose our armed forces have used the arms. And everyone knows for what purpose the US and its followers, that is Saddam, have used their weapons. When we notice, we see that their planes pounded Dezful, Abadan, Ahwaz and Andimeshk and the like, hitting the people and ruining the cities. Now they have caused the destruction of these cities. After they left, there remains nothing but destruction in our country. Our arms were employed for defending this weak nation, in the way ordered by God. Now, Iranian arms, except those weapons in the hands of the *munafiqin* (MKO), who use them for the destruction and overthrow of Islam, are being employed for the realization of Islamic and divine deals. The reason I say the world is doomed to annihilation and that it moves towards decline of morality is because these two groups attacked us and rendered the women and children in Iran and Iraq homeless and destroyed our country, for which we should take pains for years to reconstruct and we see that different countries are helping such a tyrant and evil man, supplying him with arms and everything else, sending forces, doing propaganda, spending most of their time to destroy the Islamic Republic.

As it was clear in these writings and statements, the US president had said that they should do something to end this war, because it was no longer in the interest of the US. You see! What sort of confession is this that a

president of a country, a superpower country as it is called, makes such a confession that this war has been in the interest of the US so far. It was because the war was to disturb the Islamic Republic. Now, that they see that there was nothing they could do and that the Islamic Republic may grow into a great power and other Muslim countries might be awakened, which is a threat to the US, and is no longer in the interest of the US. Now, it has requested all people in charge to come together to stop the war and make peace. We said from the beginning that we did not have any war with anybody and that we want to have peace with all the world, that we have no difference with anyone, we do not want to occupy any country; we fight for defense as ordered by Islam; we are obedient to Islam and do whatever Islam has ordered. If Islam has ordered not to defend, we would stay put. Islam has ordered us to defend and we have to obey. They attacked and we defended ourselves. Those who say they are Muslim, these countries which say the basis of their work is Islam should act upon a verse of the Quran instead of attacking us. We all believe that if a rebellious group oppresses a group of Muslims, all should engage in a war against that aggressor so that he would return to the rule of God. When he returns, then they should sit together and, reform and make peace.¹

Determining the aggressor; Iran's logical demand

We reiterate the first statement we have made. It has been discussed and confirmed in the Majlis. The president, prime minister said the same and the Majlis speaker said the same. Our statement is an appropriate logical humane one. One who has aggressed upon us and inflicted so many losses and is now in our country must leave our country. The aggressor is the one who has occupied part of another country. If you want to invite these international bodies which we know of to some extent to sit and see who the aggressor is, they will not invite experts from just countries to investigate the issue. They have already condemned you! They have already considered us to be aggressor! That is the degeneration I reiterate. We are moving towards moral degeneration. What should we do? What should Islam do with this morality that has been disgraced, with the situation? The day when they are defeated and expelled from our territory they will say Saddam withdrawn his troops! After it has become obvious everywhere, people came from abroad and saw and said what the issue was, now again they do not want to admit that they have been defeated. They say Saddam has recalled his forces perhaps

¹ Reference to Verse 9, *Surah al-Hujurat*.

because they were peace loving! These are all signs of the fact that the world is in moral decline. These people who are running the world are heading towards doom.

Nations should note the fact that these superpowers should not drag nations along with them towards the precipice. People of Iraq should be aware of the issue that if Saddam remains in Iraq, he will push them towards corruption, and drag the youth towards perversion. God knows what moral damage has been inflicted on Iraq and the Iraqi youths by the disbelieving Aflaqi party! What is threatening human beings and countries is this moral deviation. Otherwise, what is wrong with weapons by themselves?

Preventing the entry of devious individuals into Islamic associations and parties

Let us bypass the issue and say a few words to the gentlemen who have come here. I have confidence in the gentlemen at the top of the party. I know them and those who were formerly in the party. Well, we have lived with them and know them. Yet these gentlemen are few do not have control all over the country and cannot represent the party everywhere. The righteous people who are in charge of the affairs should be very careful so that devious people or those who intend to infiltrate into the party and deflect it are not allowed. They should beware of such elements lest they join the party. Even a single one of them is threatening in his own capacity. Now there are numerous members in the party. Those who are at the helm of the party, not necessarily the high-ranking ones, and others who work in different places should be careful lest a devious person in an Islamic guise infiltrate their headquarters. Pay attention to their previous records and past activities, their families and what they do. It may be that man sees a lot of good in one thing but deviated individuals may come and deflect it or at least defame it. It is now sufficient that they defame something that is heeded by people. They plan to defame whatever we have namely, the government, the Majlis, the Islamic Republic and the Islamic Republic Party. We should be careful that the path God has set before us and want to traverse, be closed to individuals who want to deflect the path. If you take note of the words of the Blessed and Exalted God, you see that from the first day (of Creation), Satan has threatened that he would deviate God's servants.¹ This was the threat on the part of Satan to God. These people are of this kind; when they fail to attain something if they cannot kill them they will defame them up to their last

¹ Reference to Verse 12, *Surah al-Araf*.

breath. It would be better to enter such societies that are working in the name of Islam like Islamic associations that are present everywhere.

These Islamic associations are a good thing, a favorable thing and their members are, God willing, mostly good, but you should note what these associations are and what individuals join them. It is possible to see that an Islamic association has been deflected and defamed. If there are some devious people who intentionally try to defame these Islamic associations, you will see that across the country they say that Islamic associations are composed of dissidents. The persons who have contacts with individuals, wherever they are, should improve the situation and applicants should be accepted only after being identified. If, let us suppose, there is an Islamic association that wants to discredit an office, you should know that this is not an Islamic association. Islamic association should supervise affairs and stay wherever it is. For instance if an Islamic association in a bank wants to expel upright individuals and bring in unfit ones, this association is not Islamic.

You should be careful because there might be devious persons among you who try to deviate or defame you. Finally, we should endeavor to rectify whatever we have in this country, whether the Majlis or the government, a party, a bank and other organizations, so that they would benefit the Islamic Republic. Well, we claim you that we want an Islamic Republic, and the entire nation is for it: they want an Islamic Republic. The opponents are few in number. We who say we have established an Islamic Republic in Iran, then, if God forbid, people come to the Majlis and see that some people are ruining the Majlis and when they go to government offices and see a similar situation, it will be like the: "lion without a tail and belly."¹ We should endeavor to change the things we have to what Islam wants as far as we can.

Necessity of making bank affairs comply with religious rules

Our banks should note that today the bank is an Islamic bank, not the bank in time of Rida Shah and Muhammad-Rida Shah. Banks should consider the fact that they should make their affairs conform to Islam. Things should be like this. On the whole, we are not concerned about our society. On the whole, our society is an Islamic society and is moving towards Islam. But there are few case and people who are the cause of worry, and we are afraid that these dangerous people may creep into some places and deviate them. We are concerned about such things. We should be careful lest these persons

¹ Reference to the couplet in Mawlawis *Mathnawi*: Who has seen a lion with no mane, tail and belly—When has God created such a lion?

should enter and with their entry create deviation. We should not be negligent, arguing that only one person has supposedly come into this place and that others are not saboteurs. No. A single corrupt individual can corrupt an association and drag a country towards corruption. We should be attentive to these issues.

The limits set by the Blessed and Exalted God stipulate that if an individual does something in his own house that is reflected outside this house, he should be prosecuted and punished because those who make such corruptions in a country even in their own home will gradually spread into the society and corrupt it. The Merciful God, who has mercy upon all His creatures and wants all His servants to be morally sound and happy, has set these rules to be religious laws. When an individual takes to the street and draws a sword, draws a dagger to threaten people he should be killed. This ruling is not for the mere act of threatening people or is not out of enmity with that person. It is because if he is released, the country will gradually be dragged towards corruption, the corruption of one individual, two individuals, and four individuals here and there will steer the whole society to corruption. If the action was exclusive to him, there would not be any question, no talk, but corruption will spread, corrupt morality will pervade. Gradually, you will see the country has become corrupt. Islam prevents such acts from the outset. Islam has said that if one commits a corrupt deed he should be treated according to the law in an attempt to stop the growth of corruption from the beginning. You are obliged, the banks are obliged, Islamic associations are obliged, the Islamic Republic and the Islamic Republic Party are obliged, the government and all are obliged to prevent any single case of corruption, without conniving with it. They should pursue even one single case of corruption and destroy it so as to stem its spread. Otherwise, the whole system may become corrupt or be defamed. We have a sufficient number of people and preachers who may defame this Islamic Republic. We should not do something to help these individuals who are sufficient enough in the world to rise against us. But if you keep yourselves and if the Islamic morality pervades, and you all heed these issues, you know that Islamic morality enjoins that you should not be disunited and that you should be united. Islamic morality urges you to be together. If we have so far been progressing it is because of this concept. From the beginnings of this revolution all our achievements such as rooting out corruption or reconstruction efforts have been accomplish thanks to our unity, which is a telling instance of Islamic morality.

This brotherhood is one of the reasons that the holy Quran has called all of us brothers.¹ Muslims, believers and brothers should get together with good will and in an atmosphere of brotherhood, and thank God such is the case. We should preserve this divine blessing which God has granted us. This blessing is the greatest blessing that we should preserve. As long as we preserve this divine blessing, we are immune to all evils. The day when, God forbid, we lose this blessing our country will start to suffer. I hope that the Islamic Republic will move forward, as it is doing today and that all those who are doing something in the country, and developing an idea will stay close together and, for as long as this is the case, this state will persist and continue. So far, thank God, all plots have been foiled due to the awareness of the nation and the vigilance of the government and others. God willing, from now on these conspiracies will be foiled. May God grant success and awareness to all of you, to all the country, Islamic countries, all Muslim peoples to the extent that they can embrace Islam and can serve humankind. I hope that this Islamic Republic soars up to a station until the time of the reappearance of the Imam of the Time and, God willing, God will help us to keep good morality, good behavior and conduct and crush our carnal passions with His favor and power.

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

¹ Reference to verse 10, *Surah al-Hujurat*.

Message

Time: April 1982 [Farvardin 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the third anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran (12 Farvardin)

Addressee: Suharto (President of the Republic of Indonesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency General Suharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's message congratulating us on the occasion of the third anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran with appreciation. I beseech God Almighty to grant full independence and grandeur to the world Muslims in the face of enemies of Islam, particularly the criminal US. May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, April 10, 1982 [Farvardin 21, 1361 / Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reviewing the performance of Pahlavi regime

Addressee: Family of martyrs, Majlis deputies, representatives of the tribal people of the country, members of Ahwaz Mustadafan Basij, members of construction Jihad, medical cadre of dispensary organizations, headquarters for injured ones of the Health Ministry, Red Crescent Society, reporters and photographers and officials of the Islamic Republic News Agency, staff of the Ahwaz and Tehran broadcasting departments, staff of Tavanir Company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rida Khan's struggle against Islam and the clerics

I thank all the different groups who have come here so that I can meet them in person. I hope all of them, who are involved with the war and at the service of the warfronts, are successful in the same way that they have so far fulfilled their duty to Islam and the country, continuing with their services so that, God willing, their country, their dear country gains full independence and freedom and is relieved of the evil of the wicked. God willing, you all will be successful.

I would like to touch on some issues dealing with the former regime in the presence of a number of the honorable tribal people and staff of the radio and television here, issues which have been brought about through obvious planning in the past 50 years. It is not, however, possible to discuss all of them. I hope that our historians, who are men of learning, will consider these 50 years and see in this span of time how this father and son impoverished this country.

Let us make a cursory survey of these organizations that could possibly bring about positive changes in this country or stand against the big powers, and see how these groups and organizations trifled with this country and how they proved their servitude to the superpowers. We should cast a glance at political centers and look into the economic and social centers of this country, military power, propaganda groups, print media and groups that could be of influence for this country such as the tribal people. Let us see that

in the course of the past 50 years or so, how they treated the sources of influence that could stand against superpowers.

When Rida Khan came, he donned an Islamic guise and gradually took power. As attested to by England, he was brought to power by the British government. At that time, power was vested with them and he was their agent and commissioned to crush the organizations that could possibly take up resistance against the big powers as much as possible employing various procedures. Following him, his son, who in my opinion was more wicked than his father, followed suit, but in a different form. The first aim Rida Khan had in mind was to crush the clerics. In the name of reform, he launched his plans. He started implementing his plans, from the outset to the end, in the name of reform and the advancement of the country. Foreign agents and big powers, who had done extensive studies in this country, noticed that one of the groups that could mobilize the people in the face of foreign powers was the clerical institution. First, they began to undermine them and then quash them. If you consider the then print media, the then mass media, the then writers and speakers, or study whatever has remained of them, you will see that all mass media and print media and the radio and television and theater and all the organizations that could correct things in a country rose against the clerics serve the purposes of the aliens and that corrupt regime. He personally forced the agents to suppress the clerics using different guises and pretexts. The print media and mass media worked to discredit the clergy and separate them from people. This is itself a long history to relate. Those who look properly into the history of 50 years can understand what the matter had been. His followers also made great efforts to crush Islam and shatter the power of Islam. All groups of writers who were devious, broadcasters who were devious, the mass media were all at their service and protested against Islam. In their newspapers, I saw myself, that they insulted the Prophet of Islam. This was one group whom they considered likely to mobilize people against the interests of foreigners and superpowers.

The plan to make the university serve aliens

Another place that they fought against, but in a different form, was the universities. If universities were Islamic and national, those who graduated could enter the Majlis and form a government and sap the influence of aliens in this country. They pounded the universities as well though in a different method. They did not storm the universities and close them down; rather, they drew up plans by training instructors and professors who served them to make universities affiliated with foreign powers and with England at one

time and the US in the end, training the graduates, excluding a few of them, so as to be at the service of the foreigners. This is, itself, a lengthy chapter of the story which needs a lengthy discussion. They transformed our universities in a way that their products and graduates were at the service of aliens. The graduates who continued their education outside Iran and brought souvenirs were all at the service foreigners. This was how they liked it. Of course, among them were some who were different but were in the minority. This was the status of our educational centers.

The situation of Majlis and the army in the former regime

The Majlis or parliament was one of the centers—the center of politics of a country, the center of legislation of a country. Employing pressure and different schemes, they stacked the Majlis with people who, except for a few of them, were all at their service. Gradually, the minority was also dismissed. I know no deputy in the last Majlis—after they killed Mudarris—who ever called for Islam. They took the control of the Majlis, forcing it to serve the aliens. The government also followed suit. The government that was installed this Majlis and acted on the order of that king and pseudo-king brought individuals who were all at their service. The radio, television and propaganda machinery were all at their service. If one reads the then newspapers or listens to the cassettes of that time if they are available he realizes that they either had to be at the service of aliens, particularly the US, or indifferent. The centers they set up for young people to feast and drink, the shops that were provided for the sale of foreign films and products and the wine shops were not set up without an ulterior motive. They were created based on a pre-determined plan aimed at stripping the youth of their identity and attracting them to follow their line of thought. If it were not possible to carry out their plans in universities, they would do it in centers of debauchery, making the youth indifferent and uncaring or apathetic to their country. Whatever they wished to do, they did. Centers of pleasure, cinemas satisfying the sensual desires of the youth were prevalent making the youth aloof to whatever happened to this country, not caring for the fact that aliens were looting the treasures of the country and plundering its oil, etc.

Another thing was the army. The army manned by tens of thousands of foreign advisors, who acted as big brothers, could not be a useful army for its country. This army was useful for another country for it was at the service of others. This is also another lengthy story about which men of letters should study and write. This was the tale of the army.

Regarding the tribal people, one of the things they considered likely was that the tribal people might rise against them. The tribal people believed in Islam and wanted Islam to be realized and were thus likely to stand against them. Rida Khan wanted to either wipe out the tribal people and was highly successful in his attempt, or train persons among them to deviate the tribal people through covert and malicious tactics. Many of them lived abroad or resided in Iran but were devious. They were responsible for undermining and demobilizing the tribal people insidiously. All these helped this country to be what it is today.

The destruction of the agriculture and industry in the former regime

On the one hand, factories and farms and fields were totally destroyed in the name of reform. Iran which could, in proper circumstances, exports millions of tons of agricultural corps, is now stretching its hands before others for a staple of wheat! This was among the plots and crimes that the regime committed against this country. The factories were directed by individuals who did not let persons who were there from among Iranians to learn the ropes. Foreign experts came and took control of key jobs and the people there were rendered to serve as footmen!

If you set foot in any center or any place, you will see that aliens had gained a foothold there. This was the case in the former regime. Thank God, nowadays this is not the case. If one entered this country and visited the bazaar, the tracks of aliens were there. If one had been a man of understanding, he knew what the matter was. If he visited the bazaar, he would see foreign tracks there. They wanted to corrupt the bazaar. If he visited universities, again he would see their footprint there more than in other places. They wanted to distort the universities. If one inspected the army, he would see their foothold there. If he inspected factories, he would see their tracks. If he visited the Majlis, the government, everywhere, their foothold was there. They had influence everywhere, pulled the country towards the West or East with all their power and made our country dependent and defeated. If the country remained in their control a few more years, it would be incorrigible.

The Blessed and Exalted God has favored the nation, the Muslims and the country and awakened all. Despite the fact that, perhaps most of the people were indifferent to the issues I just mentioned, they suddenly realized that the US wanted to destroy us. This was what the entire country heeded: the US wanted to colonize us and ruin all our prestige, our Islamic prestige, our national prestige and our treasures.

This was an issue that was reflected throughout the country and people came to believe it. It was believable, because people realized everything. The spirit emerging in the country was a favor from God. No one can claim that he brought about such a thing. It was impossible for one man to awaken everyone from the newly-speaking child to the old man on his deathbed to this fact that we wanted to be Muslim, and we wanted our country to be free, independent and Islamic.

This was an unseen hand caring for the country and awakening the entire nation of the country. Today, this country of ours, thank God, is such that wherever you go you observe devotion to Islam. Wherever you go, among tribal people, you realize that tribal people have been relieved of the heavy burdens imposed on them by the former regime, and have turned to Islam. Visit the remotest village in this country, wherever you wish, and you will see the young and old cry out that they want independence and freedom and criticize the US and aliens.

The foolish plot of the enemies

These devious people who want to play the devil inside and outside the country are very foolish! They have lost their common sense. Their love of name and fame has blinded them, stripped them of insight. They do not know that in a country with this state of affairs, in a country whose people cry and rush to warfronts and love making sacrifices, one cannot commit mischief one cannot result people and one cannot stage a coup.

A country all of whose armed forces seek martyrdom and all of whose military and disciplinary forces, its armed revolutionary guards, all its tribal peoples, join the war, all welcome martyrdom, cannot be challenged by a several hundred men or more or less.

Their mistake is that they can neither understand the power of Islam nor their own nation. For this reason, they work out childish plots, foolish schemes in their imagination. In any field they wish to conspire, they do not know that the vigilant eyes of this country oversee their work from morning till night. They do not understand these issues. Thus, they fall into dangerous situation. They want to deceive our dear children. These children, girls and boys, who have been deceived should study and see what situation they are in and what situation our country is in; what situation the government has and what they have; where they have taken refuge and what the government says before them.

I hope that, God willing, this strong morale prevailing in this country, this Islamic and monotheistic moral existing in this country would remain in

force and we would hand over the country to its original owner, the Imam of the Time (s). God willing, we all will attend to his presence and hand over the country and nation to him. May God make you, us and the whole nation and all the Muslims successful to perform our Islamic duties.

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

Speech

Time: Morning, April 13, 1982 [Farvardin 24, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The necessity of preserving the, values and achievements of the revolution

Audience: Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi (Islamic Revolution Prosecutor General), Azarbayjan Friday prayers leaders¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The uniqueness of the Iranian government

I should thank the gentlemen in advance for taking the trouble and coming here from afar so I can meet them. I have said time and again that one of the blessings of this revolution is that we are able to see the *ulama* of different regions frequently. Once in a while they come here and make us feel honored. But in the past we were deprived of the honor of meeting gentlemen who were in remote places, and could only see those who resided in Qum. I appreciate everyone's efforts and thank God Almighty, who provided me with this opportunity. I hope we will all be successful in this path, which is the beginning of the way, and can go ahead now that obstacles have been mostly removed.

I can now make the claim in your presence that in our age, in the age we are now living, you will not find such a government, such people, such clerics as we have in Iran. I make this claim with confidence. You cannot find in the entire world a government that people follow and support. The reason is that other governments are not Islamic and that those which claim to be Islamic only bore the name of Islam, but are devoid of Islamic content. Study the governments that you can find information about say, the Islamic governments. Do not imagine that any of them have the support of their people; they are not as popular as this government is.

¹ The gentlemen: Muslim Malakuti (Tabriz), Baqiri Bonabi (Bonab), Maroj (Ardabil), Yektayi (Khalkhal), Al-e Muhammad (Ahar), Dadi Zadeh (Jolfa), Ruhani (Hashtrud), Qasimi (Saein Zej), Hajaji (Miyaneh), Fayd Pir Sultani (Khosro Shahr), Farrukhi (Garmi), Karimi (Pars Abad Moghan), Ishqi (Meshkin Shahr), Azimi (Azar Shahr), Intizari (Zenoz), Kamali (Sarab), Islami (Gorgan), Muhammadi (Marand), Aminiyan (Malakan), Mudarris (Bostan Abad), Shafii (Bileh Savar), Arjmandi (Maku), Harisi (Miyandoab), Husayni (Haris), FaSihi (Ajabshir), Najami (Salman), Sharqi (Maragheh), Alimi (Shabestar).

You witnessed what the central and regional governments were like in the past. I saw the governments at the time of the Qajar dynasty when I was young. Then I saw the governments at the time of the Pahlavi dynasty too. A government that was established in a city was the owner of the life and property of the people. People did not dare raise their voice against them. I myself saw the behavior of the head of a provincial government—a member of Salas clan, with its capital in Golpaygan, who had come to Khomein. I was a child then. One of the top businessmen of Khomein, who was a religious man and a good person, became the victim of this wicked man I do not know under what pretext he stormed his way into the man's home and intruded in his privacy, dragged him from his seat into the yard, fastened him to a pole and flagged him on his sole. Then I saw that wicked servant who accompanied the villain—I was in the corridor when he was crossing—slapped him on the back of his neck and took him away. What they extort out of him, I do not know any more. This was the situation of governments. You are aware of the situation of the men at the helm of the governments. You experienced it at the time of Rida Shah. How is it now? Now, you cannot find a president among all presidents to be a cleric, a true cleric and one who is indeed enthusiastic about the clerics. Nor can you find a government that people sympathize with.

Advising a Friday prayers leaders to cooperate with the government

You see how people make sacrifices in the war which has been waged against us. These youth, these mothers and these fathers and those behind the frontlines from all walks of life ranging from the clerics to the masses of people, make sacrifices. This development is a divine development. One cannot see this in any other context. This is a divine ray that has shone over this country, so wonderfully reviving this country. As long as this ray continues shining out, do not fear any harm. Beware, lest we may do something that will prompt God to deprive us of this favor and helping hand. We should be fully attentive to preserve this grace and favor of God. We should safeguard the favor God has done for us. I ask all of the gentlemen who are among our ranks, no matter where they are, to cooperate with people and the representatives of the governments and push forward the works with assistance of each other and with one and the same mind. If a mistake is made supposedly by a government official, you should not disclose it in Friday congregational prayers. Rather, you should advise him to do the proper thing. If he fails to listen to the advice, report to the center about the wrong done by the person concerned. However, it is not advisable to criticize

him in public as this may weaken the government. We should not now do such a thing.

At any rate, I hope that all of you, gentlemen are cautious and vigilant in safeguarding this system. Today, almost all foreign writers and all ploys are directed at weakening this republic. There are only a few foreign governments that do not raise their voice against us. Almost all are against this republic. All are planning to ruin Islam, which has been established here. Even a so-called Muslim, I mean a Muslim ruler who claims to be Muslim openly announces that wherever there is talk of Islam, he will destroy it. Well, the government of Egypt said so. Wherever Islam is in force, they will destroy it, because they see it as something harmful. Now, all of those who are opposed to you are angry because you want to establish an Islamic government. They raise their position to it. They object because if an Islamic government is established in a country, the superpowers cannot plunder the treasures of that country in chaotic conditions.

If Islam is not weakened, the clerics will not be weakened; only when conditions are unstable can they carry on with their intentions. Therefore, from the outset, when Rida Khan came to power until the end of his rule, he planned to weaken Islam in any manner he could. He worked to weaken its laws, weaken and destroy the clerics who served Islam. You saw what Rida Khan and his son did to the clerics, each in a different manner. This was because they did not want Islam to rule here so that they would be unconstrained to pursue their own desires. They feared Islam; they were scared of nothing except Islam. If there was someone who let them alone, they would not bother him. It has been related that when British forces came to Iraq, somebody was reciting the prayer call at the top of the minaret. One of them asked what he was doing. He replied that he was calling the people to prayer. The former asked if it harmed the British Empire. The latter said: no. The former said, "Let him say whatever he wishes." The act was not harming their empire. That time the measure was doing no harm to England, nowadays it is doing no harm to the US. This is the point we want to make.

The unity of people prevents intervention of foreigners

I have said time and again that Azarbayjan holds a special place in Iran. Azarbayjan has a neighbor with special qualifications. Azarbayjan has always been a dam in the face of such plans. Today, God willing, this characteristic should be more applicable. The *ulama* of Azarbayjan keep the people prepared as they are, because as long as the people are present in the scene and are mobilized, superpowers cannot do anything even though

they have power. Once discord creeps into the ranks of the people, between people, the government and the clerics, God forbid, that day the superpowers might interfere. As long as all people are together, the clerics and the people are in the scene and the government is popular and Islamic, they cannot do anything. They have power, but not common sense. You see that they cannot do anything. They can do something when they ruin us from within. If they did something from within us through adverse propaganda and distortions of all sorts, then they can do something and we should be preserve this unity.

If we actually want Islam—and thank God, you do—all of you want Islam- if we want Islam, we should preserve this republic. The objections raised by some people, saying this time is worse than the time of the Shah indicates that they are doing so instead of the U.S. They themselves do not initiate such acts, but try to do so through some corrupt agents. We should preserve this republic; we should protect the blessing God has granted us. You know that the day when they were in power, the clerics were forgotten and were about to be brushed aside and destroyed. If ex-regime had remained ruling for long, it would have completely destroyed the clerics. God willed that the foreign powers be toppled and now, thank God, the clerics are performing their tasks.

The blessings of Friday prayers

You see what a great blessing is this Friday prayer which is performed everywhere. Actually, if this Friday prayers had not found expression, what would we do? Friday prayers congregate and enlighten the people. If they were not performed, we would have faced many troubles. Thank God, everything is being held now. Everything is moving towards improvement. Of course, we should not expect a government to which all are opposed to reconstruct the country overnight. The country handed over to us was in ruins because of that much corruption. You know the corruptions in the bazaar, in the streets, in the pleasure centers and elsewhere. Such a country cannot be transformed into a lofty paradise overnight. It is not possible. Never has such a thing been possible. Never will such a thing be possible. Therefore, a companion is required to accompany this government so that this can be accomplished.

We are sure that all the people existing now in the Majlis, in the government, in the judiciary, in revolutionary organizations want to work for God, for Islam within their capability. They cannot do beyond their abilities. For example that we do not have judges to cover the entire country, because we were not prepared from the outset for such an enterprise. The judiciary

has not been in our hands from the beginning. Others used to exercise control over it. Now that we exercise control over the judiciary we do not have the sufficient number of competent individuals. The ones who are now passing judgment are much better than those drinkers to become judges. You do not know the situation of the justice system in the past. We also do not know exactly what the situation of the justice has been. Perhaps corruption has been more pervasive in the Justice Ministry than elsewhere. Now, if we want to implement Islamic justice all of a sudden, we need experts in the field, we require hard work and patience. The nation, particularly the clerics, should contribute. Thank God, the clerics have launched efforts to improve the situation. I implore God Almighty to grant health and happiness to all the gentlemen.

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

Message

Time: April 14, 1982 [Farvardin 25, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of the Holy Quds and the necessity of the struggle against the occupiers of Quds

Addressee: The Palestinian nation and Islamic *ummah*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The issue of Quds is not a personal thing or one exclusive to a country or to Muslims of the world at the present age. It is an event for the monotheists of the world and believers in remote ages, present day and the future, from the day Masjid al-Aqsa was founded to the day this planet will rotate in this order of existence. How painful it is for Muslims with all material and spiritual resources of the world at the present age that so much insult is hurled at the holy presence of God and His grand Prophets a place within their near sight ¹ by a handful of criminal rogues. How disgraceful it is for Islamic governments to sit and watch the US, this arch-criminal of history, to hoist a corrupt and valueless element to rule over Muslims despite their hold on the vital artery of the world superpowers, usurping the sacred place of worship and the first Qibla of Muslims, displaying power brazenly in front of them. How shameful is the silence against this immense disaster of history. How nice would it be if the loudspeakers of Masjid al-Aqsa would ring from the day when Israel, this wicked element, embarked on committing this enormous crime. Now the revolutionary and brave Muslims of Palestine are shouting inviting Muslims to uprising and unity with tremendous effort and divine clamor from the place of the ascension ² of the seal of the Prophets (peace be upon him and his progeny), launching a movement against global blasphemy? With what excuse in front of God the Omnipotent and the wakeful human conscience can one be indifferent to this Islamic question. Now that the blood of our dear Palestinian youth have weltered the walls of Masjid al-Aqsa and are gunned down by a handful of fraudulent people in response to demanding their rightful claim, is it not disdainful for ardent Muslims not to respond to their innocent outcry and not to sympathize with

¹ The original term was in Arabic.

² Masjid al-Aqsa.

them? Let their sympathy with them awaken the governments to employ their enormous Islamic power and curtail the hand of the world-devouring US, this criminal of history, which holds the evil hand of Israel from across the seas in token of support for the tyrants, and rescue themselves and the oppressed peoples of the world. It is hoped that the Beneficent God will favor man and¹ materialize His Quranic promise to make the oppressed people victorious over the arrogant powers.

Salutations to Quds and to Masjid al-Aqsa, greetings to nations rising up against criminal Israel and salutations to Muslims and oppressed peoples of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The original text was in Arabic.

Message

Time: April 14, 1982 [Farvardin 25, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Defining the status of women in Islamic culture and complimenting the combatant and brave Iranian women

Occasion: The auspicious birth anniversary of Hadrat Zahra (s)-Woman's Day

Addressee: The Iranian women

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Congratulations to the honorable people of Iran, particularly the honored women on the occasion of the holy Woman's Day, the day of dignity of the brilliant elements constituting the cornerstone of human virtues and lofty values of the vicegerent of Allah in the world.

More auspicious and worthier is the exalted selection of 20 Jamadi ath-Thani, the honorable day of the birth of a woman who is among the miracles of history and glories of the world of existence, a woman who raised in a small and humble chamber human beings whose light shines over the elements of this earth to places across the heavens and from this earthly world to beyond the celestial world. Greetings and peace of God Almighty upon this humble chamber which characterizes the light of divine majesty and a place for nurturing chosen ones among the children of Adam!

The role of women in the world enjoys special features. The well-being and corruption of a society emanates from the soundness and corruption of women in that society. The woman is the single being who can produce individuals in her lap and hand them over to society, from whose blessings a society, and even societies can prosper and attain human lofty goals or move in the opposite direction. Indubitably, what befell the dear people of Iran, particularly its innocent women in the past 50 black years at the hands of this wicked regime was accomplished with pre-determined plans of the super criminals of the world. Rida Khan and his criminal son with their crippled mind committed such a heinous crime that is unprecedented in the course of the history of this country.

These super criminals who consider the continuation of their life to lie in the captivity of nations, particularly Islamic nations in recent centuries when they found their way into oil rich and wealthy Islamic countries, realized that only a "religious stratum" can be the thorn in the side of the colonialists and

imperialists. They saw that a half-line decree of a religious *marja* (religious reference authority) loved by the people was so influential that it brought the government of England and the powerful Qajar imperial court to their knees.¹ They also realized that women had a fundamental role in that movement, and that in the Constitutional Movement and post-constitutional movement, women, particularly the deprived middle class, were able to bring men into the scene with their uprising. They felt that as long as these factors remained active, their plans would be thwarted. They found it necessary to weaken foundations of religion and religious leadership of the religious strata of the people in order to gain access to these countries and their enormous resources. From then onward, they thought of this scheme and its applicability and achieved successes until they found Rida Khan for rendering this service and brought him to power and he employed these three factors to launch their inimical campaign. Those who remember that time know what this criminal traitor did to this people with the assistance of their mercenaries and what approaches they adopted to gain ever quicker victory of their plans aimed to deflect the youth and push people towards consumerism and corrupting the innocent women. The present generation who has not experienced those black days can look at the books, poems, writings, plays, popular songs, newspapers, magazines, centers of prostitution and gambling houses, wine shops and cinemas, all reminiscent of that age, or ask those who have experienced that time. You can ask what oppression and treasons cloaked in the alluring name of the progressive women had they committed against women, this educative and human-rearing stratum. There is no doubt that religious women, particularly the deprived people, took up resistance. The treacherous colonialists, however, succeeded in achieving their goals among the affluent and pleasure-seeking layers of society who warmed up the market for their masters. Now that with the grace of God Almighty and the activity of the honorable people, particularly the lionhearted women, the hands of tyrants have been curtailed, still an insignificant minority continues with their ignorant activities. It is hoped that, God willing, they will also become aware of the tricks of the big and small satans and thwart their tricks. Today, in observing the Woman's Day, we should take pride in our women. What honor is higher than the fact that our honorable women stood in the front lines of resistance against the

¹ The *fatwa* (religious decree) issued by the prominent scholar Mirza Shirazi banning the use of tobacco at the time of Nasiruddin Shah of the Qajar dynasty. This pithy *fatwa* culminated in the cancellation of the Reji contract.

former tyrannical regime and after crushing it stood up against superpowers and their affiliates. The demonstration of resistance and bravery by our women has not been observed among men at any age. The resistance and sacrifices of these great women in the imposed war were so wonderful that words are inadequate to describe them. In the course of the war, I have seen scenes from bereaved mothers, sisters and wives which I think have no parallel anywhere in the world. What will remain as an unforgettable memory—though all the scenes are equally wonderful—is the wedding of a young girl with a dear revolutionary guard who has lost both arms and eyes in the war. That courageous girl overwhelmed with purity and sincerity said: “Now that I could not join the battlefields, let me perform my duty to this revolution and religion.” The spiritual majesty of this scene and its human value and divine melodies cannot be expressed or depicted by writers, poets, orators, painters, artists, mystics, philosophers, jurists or any other one whom you can imagine. This great girl’s selflessness, God-seeking deed and spirituality cannot be evaluated using prevailing criteria. This auspicious day is the day of this woman and these women, whom God may keep for Islam and Iran and its majesty. Let me now give a piece of sincere and fatherly advice to women who are young and whose husbands have ascended the heaven not to refuse marriage which is a valuable divine tradition since by doing so they can have precious and valuable children. They should not listen to the temptations of those who cannot distinguish between what is advisable and what breeds corruption. I also notify the dear revolutionary guards, soldiers and young adults to avail themselves of marrying these ladies and by choosing such worthy wives continue with their honorable life. May God be your assistance! Eternal peace and greetings to women, these valuable and resistant elements! Congratulations to all on the worthy day of women! May God be the support of this dear country and help us all!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, April 17, 1982 [Farvardin 28, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 22, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The worth and status of sincerity

Occasion: The birth anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah Zahra (s)

Addressee: The combatants of the army of Islam in the country's southern warfronts, Muslim Iranian students residing abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praising the selfless sacrifices of combatants

Reciprocally, I congratulate all the gentlemen here and all nations and oppressed peoples of the world on the occasion of the great birth anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah (a). I thank all the gentlemen, who have come here apparently in two or three groups, whether those coming from abroad or the gentlemen living here in Iran. Let me tell you that you should not expect people like me or any other human to praise you. As such praises cannot do justice. God Almighty is your client. You offered whatever you possessed, your precious life in the cause of God. Whether those who achieved the elevated rank of a martyrdom and ascended the heaven or you who are prepared for martyrdom, what counts is your presence in the scene.

You realized two subjects. With these two subjects no human being, excluding the saints of God and those who were inspired by God, can thank you. Firstly, you offered your greatest asset, life, and, secondly you offered it generously and sincerely. What counts is the sincerity that is manifest in you. With your sincerity and selflessness, you ensured the Islamic Republic. The victories that you have achieved, particularly, the Fath al-Mubin cannot be measured by any criterion, nor be adequately described in words. Nevertheless, what stands above all these is your sincerity and honesty before the court of God Almighty. What is most valuable in the sight of God your so selflessness out of sincerity, by which God Almighty describes the Immaculate Imams in the following words: *“And feed the needy, the wretched, the orphans and the prisoner, for the love of Him.”*¹ Giving

¹ Surah ad-Dahr, 76: 8.

someone a loaf of bread is nothing; what counts is doing it for the love of Him.

What is valuable in the presence of God Almighty and no human being can describe, it is the sincerity and love in you. You sacrifice your life; there are many who do so in devious ways. The form of action is similar, but the meaning and content is different. The content of the action is the criterion and measure, not the form of action. The sword of Ali (a) and killing the enemy by it is something that happens everywhere and many have done and do so. This is not value. Value is what occurred in the heart of Ali (a) and the degree of his sincerity.

The value of sincerity is not measurable

It is the degree of sincerity that describes one blow as being equal to acts of worship of the Thaqalayn and that of the Jinn and men.¹ It is this sincerity, seeking martyrdom and self-sacrifice in the cause of God that have accorded value to you. This value cannot be measured by any criterion. My dear children! Preserve this blessing. God has granted you such a blessing that has transformed you into sincere men who sacrifice your lives and everything in the cause of God thanks to His inherent grace and unseen hand. *“Lo! Allah hath bought from the believers their lives and their wealth.”*² The paradise that the customer offers you differs from the one that others find. I hope that this paradise is the paradise of proximity to God. I hope that your customer will receive you in His presence. The saints of God are not engaged with other than God even in the next world. They overlook and are directed towards God. You, who sacrifice your lives, join the battlefield with martyrdom in your mind, defend Islam, and disappoint all the countries casting a covetous eye on this country, are doing a valuable deed, but your sincerity and love and sacrifice in the cause of God are of the greatest value for you. It is sacrifice and sincerity that cannot be measured even in the scale of the unseen world. It can only be measured in the presence of God Almighty. We are honored to be living at such a juncture of time when the likes of you, dear ones, are living and we are breathing the air you are inhaling and exhaling. You have made self-sacrifices, you are sincere, you have overpowered your selves, but we are lagging behind. Do not consider it likely that your weapons, your machine guns and your rifles have made you victorious. Your enemy had more sophisticated ones. Yours were small in

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, p. 1.

² *Surah at-Tawbah*, 9: 111.

number and theirs great. Nevertheless, what made you triumphant is the faith and sincerity within you which is absent in your enemies. You enter the battlefield for God, and they for Satan. They are the army of the Satan's party and you of God's party. What made you victorious is the battle against the Satan of the internal battlefield. It was that sincerity and faith within you that made you victorious. You are the follower of the one who said: "If the entire world stands against me, I will stand by myself against them." It is faith that prompted him to stand against all so bravely. It is his sincerity and spirituality. You are his followers. I hope that of the spirituality and the magnanimity God has granted him and of the divine spirit that has been breathed into him by the Holy Spirit a part will be given to me and you and all.

Brothers, you are victorious, your martyrs are victorious and your nation is victorious. You have a nation which has no match in the entire world. The nation has you who have no match in the whole world. If your enemies volunteer for wars, they volunteer for Satan. They volunteer and you also volunteer. However, there is a difference between your voluntary act and sacrifice and those of the deviants. They enter the scene for the attainment of carnal desires and you for martyrdom and proximity to God. You are victorious whether you achieve spiritual martyrdom or, God willing, an outward victory. You emerged victorious in the battle against your selves, your inner Satan and destroyed the satanic temptations within you and purified your heart for God. You enter the battlefields with a pure heart, pure intention and firm resolution and you achieve the final victory. And final victory belongs to you. May God make you all, the combatants and the armed forces victorious! May God grant you final victory on both the inward and outward fronts! May God protect this country against the East and West! May God shower His unseen mercy upon you!

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

Message

Time: April 18, 1982 [Farvardin 29, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing the features of the army of Islam and guidelines to the armed forces

Occasion: Army Day (29 Farvardin)

Addressee: The Iranian Nation and the military forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Although Army Day in the Islamic Republic is not separate from the day of the people, thank God, the army is popular and at the service of people who are so indivisibly integrated and constitute one entity. Army Day is the day of the people. However, a day for the army has been declared for greater honor and praise of the valorous combatants. The honorable people of Iran declared 29 Farvardin as the felicitous day of the army, congratulating them on the occasion. This year by boundless gratitude to God almighty with the great victories the army and other armed forces have brought for the people of Iran and with the eternal honor they created in their victories, particularly the Fath al-Mubin for the Islamic countries, congratulations to them pour in more seriously and proudly. Long live the armed forces and the army and proud be the land of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) who has such committed and selfless troops. In this imposed war and defense of what is right, the Iranian army and other armed forces demonstrated to the world that the *mujahidin* (strugglers) in the cause of Islam and our honored country enjoy an invisible and supernatural power superior to calculations of the tyrant palace dwellers, a power that cannot be measured by the blind-hearted ungodly people and atheistic criteria. With which measures and criteria can one analyze the Fath al-Mubin? With which equations can one evaluate the unequal battle? On one side stands the a satanic power equipped with all light and heavy weaponry and enjoying the unsparing support of superpowers and most of the regional governments, which supplied this side with all resources willingly, with all international propaganda horns backing it, and commanding all elements required for it to gain strength. The other side consisted of armed forces who were only created in post-revolution period, with an army that has been recently rescued from the hegemony of the American advisors and commanders of the tyrannical monarchy, and has

undergone a change from an arrogant regime into an Islamic human one, and an Islamic Revolution Guards Corps along with *Basij* (volunteer forces) that emerged from the nation and were not so much familiar with weapons nor had they done military university courses or fully equipped with war instruments. All traces of weakness were visible in the latter. The only thing they enjoyed was faith in God and love of martyrdom in the cause of Islam. They treasured the spirit of selflessness. With meager war instruments, they crushed within one week the enormous satanic forces and an army equipped with orderly military array in thousands, forcing them to escape or surrender. Which intellectual analysts and thoughtful graduates from military universities can justify this miraculous victory? If the army and other armed forces did not enjoy divine spiritual assistance, how was this extraordinary victory achieved? There is a difference between the youth who spend the night in prayers and reciting the Quran and launch their attacks in remembrance of God and with the cry of *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greatest) and those who spend the night in sinful acts and begin the morning in a war against God. There is a difference between the bunkers in which the book of God, *Nahj al-Balaqah* and prayer books are found and the bunkers in which gambling objects, women and the like are found, as quoted by the victors. There is a difference between those who believe that in the war the Imam of the Time (may our souls be sacrificed for him) is their commander and those who consider Saddam the super criminal and Aflaqite as their commander. There is a difference between those who consider themselves as brothers-in-faith of the Muslim people of Iraq and never allow themselves to attack the cities and villages of their brothers and those who open fire day and night on our cities and villages, even the Arab-populated ones, massacring innocent children, women and old men, claiming that they are fighting for the Arabs. There is a difference between those who treat the war refugees taken captive during the battle like their brothers and those who treat the captives they have taken from Iran and most of them were Arab people residing in villages or cities and were not involved in the war so cruelly. For fear of greater disgrace, they refuse letting their relatives meet them. Thank God, today we have an army which is shining in the world proudly and with firm stature. This year, the Iranian people celebrate Army Day with such pride that is unprecedented compared to previous years. The army has stood against the enemy so brilliantly that is unmatched in the history of its existence. It is hoped that they will bring honor more than the years before this year. Let me here make a few notes, although you may have already heeded them.

1- Do not be negligent of the divine unseen favors. All military and disciplinary and armed forces belonging to any organization should try to preserve these divine favors for themselves and for the nation. The way to preserve these favors is to fulfill their commitments and make their utmost sacrifice for Islam and the Islamic government before God Almighty. Be present in the scene to defend Islam and the country for the gratification of God Almighty and not for carnal passions. The victories should not make you feel arrogant and never forget the unseen assistance, as conceit and negligence will degenerate man and undoubtedly decrease military strength. Next to trust in God, rely on your own power which stems from Him.

2- You know that you achieved the victories as the result of the integration of all armed forces with a single plan and united thought. This integrity and unity should be preserved, as instability in this divine favor is the biggest factor responsible for your debility and, God forbid, defeat. If anyone or a group plans to sow discord, report it immediately to commanders so as to prevent it. All the armed forces in the Islamic Republic struggle for a specified purpose and aim and all should act as a single hand against their opponents and enemies of Islam and the Islamic Republic. Know that as long as this unity and solidarity and this supreme Islamic goal exist, your country will not suffer harm.

I advice the army brothers, revolutionary guards , gendarmerie, police, *Basij* (volunteer forces) to consider themselves as brothers-in-faith as the Holy Quran has instructed and act in frontlines and behind the fronts unison, in which case you can enjoy divine and spiritual unseen forces and overcome all problems. God willing, you will be victorious. May God protect you!

3- Among the important issues which all armed forces should follow and which should in no way be neglected and which I have already underlined is that none of the armed forces, be they senior or junior, should join any party and group under any title, even though this party or group may be completely Islamic and loyal to the Islamic Republic. Anyone affiliated to any party or group should quit the army, the revolutionary guards corps and other disciplinary and military and armed forces. Commanders are obliged to notify anyone who is affiliated to any political or religious party or group to abandon that party or group or organization. If he disobeys, he should be dismissed from the army or other armed forces. All are obliged to introduce such persons to commanders. You should note that the engagement of armed forces in parties and groups and organizations will shake the pillars of the armed forces and any negligence is liable to prosecution.

4- We all know that Iran's army and other armed forces benefit from the nation's unsparing support across the country—something that is unprecedented. I do not imagine that anyone can claim that a nation except the honorable people of Iran, the young and old, women and men across the country so firmly support their armed forces and outpace each other in sacrifice and martyrdom, fervently volunteering for joining the warfronts. I also do not imagine that any measure except faith and selflessness in the cause of God and spiritual goal can unravel this riddle. I advise the dear army and other dear ones to value this divine blessing and to endeavor with all their might to preserve this great support and the nation's public presence in the scene. The way to achieve it is to keep up resistance and perseverance for the goal and making sacrifices for the dear Islam, Iran and the Islamic Republic. As long as you are present in the scene with full unity and solidarity to protect your country, Islam and the Islamic Republic, never fear the plots of the enemies of Islam to overthrow the Islamic Republic. Stand like an iron dam against them and proudly attack the criminal aggressors and crush them. The great nation supports you with one voice and mind and the favor of God Almighty and the rays of His eternal power are with you. I wish you to be victorious and proceed powerfully and drive out the enemies of God from your country and curtail the hands of domestic and foreign criminals and seek assistance from God.

5- The selfless people of Iran have lost many dear ones in the warfronts and sustained many pains and sufferings and experienced many fraudulences hatched by our sworn enemies and criminal and treacherous and opportunist pseudo-friends. In exchange, however, they have been proud and honored in the presence of God almighty; they are an example and model for the people of the world and proud and rewarded before future generations. I beseech God Almighty to grant eternal happiness to the nation, resistance and perseverance to the combatants at and behind the front lines, mercy and absolution to the honorable martyrs from the beginning of the movement to the present time and henceforth, good health and prosperity to the wounded ones of the war, patience and vigor to the survivors and the oppressed ones, bravery, sincerity and magnanimity to the army and other armed forces, survival and perpetuation to the Islamic Republic and prudence, tact to administrators, enlightenment and equity to the ignorant and unprejudiced opponents, misery and adversity to the prejudiced enemies, solidarity and unity to the Muslims of the world, independence and dignity to Islamic countries, abandonment of selfishness and refusal to follow aliens to rule

Islamic countries, understanding of dear Islam to all and might and splendor to Islam.

O God! Make the army and other combatants of Islam victorious over global blasphemy however powerful they might be and grant us sincerity and success to serve You.

Greetings to the honored army men and salutations to the revolutionary guard corps and other armed forces!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Time: April 26, 1982 [Ordibehesht 6, 1361 AHS / Rajab 2, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dispatch of Mr. Sanii for an investigation into religious sums and consolidation of the accounts

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Pasandideh, may his blessings last long,

I wish for your Excellency's health and happiness. You are notified that the religious sums at the disposal of persons or in their banking account must be precisely investigated into and put in one account in your or my name to be offered to the needy upon your or my order. It is necessary to put all accounts under the title of religious sums. I sent Mr. Sanii¹ so that with your Excellency's viewpoint these ambiguities would be thoroughly removed, and that it would be clear where and in whose name the religious sums are collected and donated. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
6/2/1361 AHS

¹ Mr. Hasan Sanii is one of Imam Khomeini's age-old and trusted friends.

Permission

Time: April 27, 1982 [Ordibehesht 7, 1361 AHS / Rajab 3, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious affairs

Addressee: Sayfullah Qasimpur

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Sayfullah Qasimpur, may his blessings last long, is hereby authorized on my behalf to collect religious sums, take charge of financial affairs and other charity organizations and spend half of the share of the sadat (descendants of the Holy Prophet) and one-third of the Imam's holy share in the locality in addition to his own expenses and return the remaining sum to me to be spent on holy theological seminaries.

And I advise him, may God Almighty assist him, to what our pious predecessors have, to keep the company of the piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and after-world affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers. May God's peace, blessings and salutations be upon him and our faithful brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khair 3, 1402 AH

Ethical and Mystical Letter

Time: April 28, 1982 [Ordibehesht 8, 1361 AHS / Rajab 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ethical-mystical advice and admonition

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

This is a last will and testament of an old father who has spent a life in vanity and has not set out with the necessary provisions for the eternal life. He has not taken a sincere step for God and not been delivered from carnal passions and satanic whims, but is not disappointed with the grace and favor of the merciful God. This father has pinned hope on His forgiveness and kindness. This hope is his only provision for the journey. My last will is the only thing I offer to a son who enjoys the blessing of youth and has the opportunity for self-edification and serving the servants of God. It is hoped that the great God will be gratified with him as is his father and grant him ever greater success to serve the deprived people who, as recommended by Islam, are deserving ones among the nation.

My son Ahmad, may God grants you his guidance! All beings in the world are poor, because their existence is not inherent in them. This rule applies to all whether pre-existent, everlasting, infinite or else. If you study the entire infinite chains of existence rationally, you will hear the sound of intrinsic poorness and need in their existence and evolution in a Being that is self-existent, One whose perfection is His Essence. If you are engaged in a rational conversation with inherently poor chains and ask them "O poor creatures! Who is capable of fulfilling your needs?" All will consonantly cry with the tongue of *fitrat* (primordial nature) that they stand in need of a Being who is not poor in existence and evolution of existence. This *fitrat* too does not belong to them, as the Holy Quran says: "*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) Allah's creation. That is the right religion, but most men know not.*"¹ The nature of unity belongs to God and the inherently poor creatures will not develop into an inherently rich one. Such a transformation is impossible.

¹ *Surah ar-Rum*, 30: 30.

Creatures are inherently poor and needy. None save the intrinsically rich One can fulfill their need. This inherent poverty is indispensable to them; it is perpetual whether this train of beings is eternal or not. None except Him is able to help out. Anyone's perfection or beauty is not his but a manifestation of His perfection and beauty, as put by the Holy Quran: "*Ye (Muslims) slew them not, but Allah slew them. And thou (Muhammad) threw not when thou didst throw, but Allah threw, that He might test the believers by a fair test from Him. Lo! Allah is Hearer, Knower.*"¹ This holy verse applies to any object, action, word and deed. Anyone who discovers this truth and rejoices will not be attached to anyone save Him, nor will one ask anyone save Him for one's need.

Try in seclusion to contemplate on this divine twinkle and inculcate the idea in your heart and repeat it so that infant heart opens its mouth and the glitter shows off in the domain and paradise of your existence, joining the absolute rich and making you needless of anyone except Him. Implore Him to grant you success to join Him, to make you needless of all but Him, to annihilate yourself in Him and to grant you entry.

My dear son! He, the Glorified and Exalted, is the first and the last and the outward and the inward, as the Holy Quran says: "*He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward.*"² "Is it possible for other than You to have a share of manifestation that you do not do so that he provides the means for your appearance? When have you been absent so that you would need proof to testify for you? When have you been remote so that traces of (creatures) would serve as a means to reach You? Blind be the eye not to see You watch over him."³

You have not been absent so as to entreat You

You are not hidden to the eye so as to search for You

He is manifest and every visible thing is His manifestation, and we are veils (our self is a veil). It is our selfishness that shrouds us. "You are yourself your veil Hafiz, rend the veil."⁴ Let us seek refuge in Him and supplicate and entreat Him, the Most Blessed and Exalted, to deliver us from the veils: O God! Bestow upon me complete renunciation of attachments so as to turn to You and light up the eye of our hearts to see Your light so that

¹ Surah al-Anfal, 8: 17.

² Surah al-Hadid, 57: 3.

³ Iqbal al-Amal, p. 349.

⁴ Divan-e Hafiz.

the eyes of the heart rip through the veils and attain to the source of majesty and glory and our souls be entitled to Your Holiness.”¹

My son! We are still bounded by the dark veils after which there are the veils of light. We, the veiled ones, are still taking the preliminary steps.

My son! If you are not among the people dedicated to spiritual stations, try not to deny the spiritual and mystical stations. The biggest trick of Satan and the tempting self that inhibits man from all human ranks and spiritual stations is denial and occasionally derision of spiritual journey resulting in enmity towards it. What all grand Prophets—may God greetings be upon them- and the immaculate Imams—may God’s mercy be upon them- and revealed books particularly the Holy Quran, the immortal and humanizing book, have come for, will be nipped in the bud.

The Quran, this book of guidance towards the knowledge of God and path of the spiritual journey, was deflected and isolated at the hands of ignorant friends with devious ideas and wishful interpretations which the infallible Imams (a) prohibited, crept into it and everyone interpreted it according to his own selfish ideas. This noble scripture was revealed in an environment and age where and when the most backward people lived in the darkest environment and was revealed to the divine heart of someone continuing to live in that environment. In it lies the truth and learning that was unprecedented in the world of that day, let alone the place where it was revealed. This is also the greatest miracle of the Quran. The paramount mystical issues that were unrivaled in Greece and its philosophers, and the books produced by Aristotle ² and Plato, ³ the greatest philosophers of those ages, were unable to grasp, and even Muslim philosophers who had been brought up in the cradle of the Holy Quran and availed of it interpreted the verses that outright sanctioned that all beings in the world are living. The great mystics of Islam all quote from Islam and the Quran. Mystical issues as presented in the Holy Quran cannot be found in other revealed books.

¹ Supplication in Arabic.

² Renowned Greek philosopher. Aristotle who was born at Stagira, in Macedonia, was an orphan since childhood. His father was a physician. At the age of 17, he went to Athens to study at Plato's Academy. Aristotle's works are varied and include Greek sciences and philosophy. His essential works are poetics, rhetoric, ethics, politics and metaphysics.

³ Greek philosopher, one of the most creative and influential thinkers of the world. He was born to an aristocratic family in Athens. Plato was a disciple of Socrates and his ideas are still live on the present world.

These are the miracles of the Holy Prophet, who was so acquainted with the source of revelation that it related to him the secrets of existence. He had ascended the pinnacle of perfection of humanity and the stages of existence and saw the verities openly and without any veil. At the same time, he was present in all dimensions of humanity and stages of existence and had fully grasped "*He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward; and He is Knower of all things*"¹ and wanted all human beings to reach it and since they did not, he seemed to suffer. Perhaps the verse "*We have not revealed unto thee (Muhammad) this Quran that thou shouldst be distressed,*"² might be an elegant reference to it and perhaps "No Prophet has suffered adversity as I have"³ is also a reference to this notion.

Those who have attained this station or similar to it do not adopt separatism or seclusion; they will rather serve as agents delegated to acquaint people with these manifestations and reconcile the deviants with these manifestations although they might have gained little success. Although those who went into raptures by attaining some stations and sipping a gulp of it and annihilated in Him found their way into great perfection, they did not reach the desired perfection. Musa Kalim—God's greetings be upon him—who fell into unconsciousness at the manifestation of the Truth regained consciousness and was delegated to serve. The Seal of the Prophets, by reaching the supreme rank of humanity and what was inconceivable to man, was commissioned to guide people with the manifestation of the grand comprehensive Name with the address: "*O thou enveloped in thy cloak, arise and warn!*"⁴

My dear son! What I alluded to—I am myself insignificant, and naught—is because if you do not reach any of these stages you should not deny spiritual stations and divine knowledge and should try to be among the lovers of the righteous ones and mystics. Although you may not be one of them, do not depart from this world with enmity towards the friends of the Almighty God.

My son! Acquaint yourself with the Quran, this great book of knowledge even by merely reading it, and find a way to the Beloved and do not imagine that recitation minus knowledge has no impact, as this is a temptation of the Satan. This is a book from the Beloved for you and for all

¹ Surah al-Hadid, 57: 3.

² Surah Ta Ha, 20: 1.

³ Al-Jami as-Saghir 2:144.

⁴ Surah al-Muddathir, 74: 1-2.

and the letter of the Beloved is favorable although the lover may not be aware of its content. With this intense love of the Beloved, Who is the absolute perfection, it will trace you and might help you. If we prostrate as token of gratitude for the Quran being our book, we cannot do justice in all moments of our life.

My son! The supplications and prayers handed down to us by the immaculate Imams (a) are the greatest guides to become acquainted with Him, the Sublime and Glorified, and they provide a rudder for servitude and relationship between the Truth and people. They contain divine knowledge and serve as means of familiarity with Him, being the gift of the revelation household and a sample of the disposition of the friends of hearts and lords of spiritual journey. Beware of the temptations of the unaware ones lest they keep you unaware of resorting to them and associating with them. If we arise to pray in our lifetime in appreciation of the fact that these righteous ones who have joined the Truth are our Imams and guides, we cannot do justice.

Among my advice, on the eve of my death and at my last tethers, to you who enjoy the blessing of youth is to select your companion and friends from among the righteous people committed to and attentive to spirituality, who are not disposed to the love of the world and its allurements and who do not overstep the normal limits in search of property and belongings and whose assemblies and parties are not infected by sin and who are adorned with noble ethics, as association inevitably cuts both ways—it can lead to improvement or corruption of people. Try to keep away from assemblies that make one unaware of the remembrance of God, for by acclimatization to these assemblies one might be divested of success, something that is an irreparable catastrophe.

Know that in man, if not in all beings, love for absolute perfection and attainment of it has been ingrained naturally. It is impossible that this love be separate from man; it is not also possible for absolute perfection to be two or more in number. Absolute perfection is God, the Sublime and Glorified; all seek Him and are enamored of Him even if they themselves are not aware of this, as they are in the veils of darkness and light and by these veils imagine that they seek other things. Whatever perfection or beauty or power or position they attain, they are not satisfied with and cannot find their lost ones therein.

The powerful countries and superpowers seek power above whatever power they obtain and those seeking knowledge are in quest of a higher level of learning they acquire, but cannot find their lost one which they are neglectful of therein. If the power seekers are granted control and dominance

over the entire world of matter ranging from the earth and solar systems to galaxies and whatever beyond them and tell them “if they want to dominate powers far above these and another world or worlds beyond,” it is unlikely that they do not have such a wish in their mind. In fact, in their innermost nature they say: “If only we could gain access to them as well!” Such is the case with the acquisition of knowledge. If he is doubtful as to whether another station superior to what he commands exists, his absolute-seeking nature would say: “if only there existed such a station and I could attain it or the scope of my knowledge would also cover it!”

What ensures all and quenches the raging flame of intractable and acquisitive soul is reaching Him. Since His real *zikh* (remembrance), the most Exalted and Highest, is His manifestation, drowning in it is soothing. “*Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest!*”¹ It appears to be crying: Attention! Attention! Engross yourself in His remembrance so that your wandering and bewildered heart that flies from this side to that side and from this branch to that branch would find tranquility.

Then O my son, may God assure your heart with His remembrance, listen to the advice and will of your perplexed and confounded father and do not knock on the doors around to attain venal name and fame, for whatever you gain of carnal passion you will still be distressed by not attaining the superior ones and envy the higher stations which add to the discomfort of your soul. If you say: “Why do not you yourself act on this piece of advice?” I will say: “Listen to what is said, not to the speaker.”² This saying is sound even if an insane or the enchanted makes it. The holy Quran, after stating: “*Nothing of disaster befalleth in the earth or in yourselves but it is in a Book before We bring it into being Lo! That is easy for Allah,*”³ reads: “*That ye grieve not for the sake of that which hath escaped you, nor yet exult because of that which hath been given. Allah loveth not all prideful boasters,*”⁴ In this world, man is exposed to developments. Sometimes disasters befall him and sometimes the world helps him flourish and he gains name and fame and wealth and blessing of all sorts, while both are ephemeral. Neither those shortages and disasters should deject or depress you in a way as to lose patience—as it happens that what seems to be a disaster and shortage is good and advisable for you—as put by the following verse: “*It may happen that ye*

¹ Surah ar-Rad, 13: 28.

² Ghurar al-Hikam 1:11/394.

³ Surah al-Hadid, 57: 22.

⁴ Surah al-Hadid, 57: 23.

hate a thing which is good for you, and it may happen that ye love a thing which is bad for you."¹ And do not lose yourself in the face of worldly gains and what is prompted by carnal desires and beware of condescending and overbearing to the servants of God, for it happens that what you think to be good for you turns out to be bad for you.

My son! The deplorable things which lies at the bottom of all adversities and afflictions and tops all mistakes and sins is love of the world which originates from the love of the self. The world is not an abode to be denounced as it is manifestation of the Truth and station of His divinity and where the angels of Allah have descended and the place for the education of Prophets and saints of God—peace be upon them—and the meeting house of the righteous ones and the location for the manifestation of the Truth in the hearts of those enchanted by the real Beloved. If the love of the world arises from love of God and as His manifestation, the Most High and Exalted, it is pleasing and prompts perfection. If, however, it stems from love of the self, it will be the chief factor triggering all sins. Hence, the despicable world lies within you. Interests in and attachments to other than the owner of the heart will lead to downfall. All oppositions to God and afflictions arising from disasters, crimes and treasons are the result of the love of the self, from which emanates the love of the world and its allurements and the love of name and fame. While no heart will be inherently attached to other than the owner of the heart, these veils of darkness and light which have caused us to neglect the owner of the heart and to mistake other than the owner of the heart as the Beloved, are the deepest of all darkness. The likes of us and we have not reached the veils of light and are still captivated by the pitch-dark veils. The one who said: "*(Iblis) said: I am better than him. Thou createdst me of fire while him, Thou didst create of mud.*"² has left behind the veils of darkness. Satan, who stood against God's command and refused to bow down before Adam, was affected by his veils of darkness; that is megalomania and self-conceit. While he cried: "*I am better than him. Thou createdst me of fire while him Thou didst create of mud,*"³ Satan was driven out of the realm of divinity. As long as we are in the veils of our self and are selfish and conceited, we are satanic and outcast from His court. How difficult it is to break this big idol, which is the mother of idols!

¹ Surah al-Baqarah, 2: 216.

² Surah al-Araf, 7: 12.

³ Surah al-Araf, 7: 112.

As long as we are humble before the self, we will not be humble before God and His commands. As long as this idol is not broken, the veils of darkness will not be removed. First of all, we should know what the veils are. If we do not, we will not be able to remove them, enfeeble them or at least stop their increasing growth every day. There is a narration which relates that some companions of the Holy Prophet (s) were in his presence when they heard a sound. They asked what the sound was. The Holy Prophet replied: It was the sound of a stone that had moved from the edge of hell seventy years ago and now reached the bottomless pit. The companion found out that a seventy-year-old infidel had died.¹ If the *hadith* (narration) is valid, perhaps some men of mystical knowledge have heard it themselves or with the aid of the Messenger of God (s) for the discipline of the neglectful ones and warning to the ignorants. If the *hadith*, whose wording I do not remember, has not been issued, this is the purport of the remark. We travel towards hell for a lifetime and perform prayers, as the greatest means for the remembrance of the Almighty God, throughout our life span while we have turned back to the Truth and taken to our self. How painful it is that our prayer that should elevate us to higher spiritual stations and carry us towards Him and the paradise of perceiving Him leads us to our self and to Abaddon.

My son! These references are not for the likes of me and you to find a way into the knowledge of God and worship of Him in a way deserving of Him. Despite the fact that the most knowledgeable human beings in terms of perceiving the Almighty and performing the duty of a servant before Him, the Exalted, have been quoted as saying that “We did not know You as You deserve to be known; we did not worship You as You deserve to be worshipped,”² so that we would realize our helplessness and insignificance and bury our selfishness and tame the recalcitrant self in the hope that we might succeed in subjugating and bridling our self and be delivered from the enormous threat remembrance of which stings the soul.

And lo! the threat will loom over us at the moments of separation and departure from this world towards the eternal abode. Hence, the one affected by the love of self and hence the love of the world with its different dimensions might discover some of these states at the moment of the agony of departure, realizing that God’s agent separates him from his beloved. One will thus leave this world with enmity towards God and anger and disgust at Him, the Most Exalted. This is the upshot and outcome of the love of the self

¹ *Ilm al-Yaqin*, 1002:2, attributed to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, 371:2.

² *Mirat al-Uqul*, 146: 8.

and the world, as narrations have enunciated. A virtuous and reliable related that he visited a man on his deathbed who said: "The oppression God is doing to me has not been done by anyone else' He wants to separate me from my children whom I have brought up in hardship." I stood up and left him and he died. Perhaps some of the words I quoted differ from what that pious man said. However, what I quoted is so important that one should think out a way for its remedy if the likelihood of it is verified.

If we reflect on the creatures of the world for a while—we are one of them—and come to realize that no creature commands anything independently and whatever he has are graces that God offers and are ephemeral gifts and that the belongings of the world are blessings of the munificent God bestowed on us from before birth till the death time after death through the guides who are delegated to show us the way, may be a ray of His love, the Most Exalted, from which we are veiled can be found within us and we can understand our vanity and nothingness so that a way might open leading us towards Him, the Most High. At least we might be delivered from conscious denial and stop taking pride in negating the divine knowledge and manifestations, as this will incarcerate us in dungeon of selfishness and egoism forever.

It has been quoted that the Almighty God addressed one of His Prophets to bring Him one whom he thought was inferior to him. That Prophet dragged the carcass of a donkey for a few steps to take it to God but changed his mind and repented. He was addressed that if he had brought it, he would have been demoted from his elevated station." I do not know if this quotation is sound or not, yet the position enjoyed by the saints of God if they deem themselves superior to others, they will decline from their position, as such an attitude is selfishness and self-love, even it involved a carcass.

Truly, why did the Seal of Prophets (s) so excruciatingly lament polytheists refusing to believe that God addressed him: "*Yet it may be, if they believe not in this statement, that thou (Muhammad) wilt torment thy soul with grief over their footsteps.*"¹ Is it other than the fact that He loved all the servants of God, as love of God is love for His manifestations? Dark veils of the deviant's selfishness and self-love distress him. This state results in his affliction, adversity and painful chastisement in hell, all due to his own deeds. The Holy Prophet sought prosperity for all, as he had been commissioned to bring bliss for all but the blind-hearted polytheists and deviants showed enmity towards him who had come to deliver them.

¹ Surah al-Kahf, 18: 6.

If we and you succeed in developing a ray of this love for the manifestations of the Truth as is within His saints and wish for the good of all, we have soared up one level of the favorable perfection. May God Almighty enliven our dying hearts by the grace of His mercy and the compassion of His chosen one, who is a blessing for the entire world! Men of mystical knowledge know that a vigorous treatment of disbelievers is among the attributes of a believer and battle against them is a mercy and covert graces of the Truth. Infidels and wretched people suffer agony every moment of their life and this tribulation, which is the result of their own deeds, increases endlessly. Therefore, killing those who are not corrigible is a mercy in the guise of rage and a blessing in disguise. It is also a mercy on society, because a member corrupting the society is like a decaying organ of the body that will kill if not removed.

This was what Noah, the Prophet of God (may God's greetings be upon him) implored God: "And Noah said: *"My Lord! Leave not one of the disbelievers in the land. If Thou shouldst leave them, they will mislead Thy slaves and will beget none save lewd ingrates."*¹ God Almighty says: *"And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrongdoers."*² With this ideative and the former one, all the *hudud* (punishment determined by the canonical laws), *qisas* (lex talionis) and *tazirat* (punishment determined by Imam or religious judge) are a mercy on the part of the Beneficent and the Compassionate on the perpetrator and a mercy upon the society. Let us bypass this subject.

My son! If you can, change your attitude to all beings, particularly human beings, into one of mercy and love by reflection and suggestion. Is it not true that all beings enjoy the mercy of the Creator of the universe from incalculable aspects? Is it not true that existence and all its blessings and signs are the divine mercy and gift on creatures? It has been narrated: "God's mercy encompasses all creatures."³ Can a possible being have something inherent or a possible being like him gives him something? Therefore, it is the propitious mercy that encompasses the universe. God is the sustainer and trainer of the universe and His training is universal. Is His training not a manifestation of His mercy? Is mercy and training possible minus His universal favor and attention? Why should we not then love the one who is

¹ Surah an-Nuh, 71: 26-27.

² Surah al-Baqarah, 2: 193.

³ Fusus al-Hikam, 178:1, Fas Zakariavayta.

liable to divine attention, favor and love? If this is not the case, is it not a defect in us? Is it not due to our myopic outlook?

Lo! I grew old and could not purge this and other numerous imperfections off my soul. You are young and closer to God's mercy and divinity. Struggle to purge this flaw off your soul. May God grant you, all and us success to remove this veil and come to realize what is required by divine nature! Previously, I touched on this subject. Let me now make a few more points that will help remove this veil.

Driven by divine nature, we love absolute perfection. From this love, wittingly or unwittingly we enjoy the love of absolute perfection as signs of absolute perfection. This nature necessitates that we evade absolute imperfection. Therefore, it is all the same if we do not know and do not come to know that we love the Almighty God Who is the Absolute Perfection and are fond of His portents that are manifestations of Absolute Perfection. Whatever and whoever we evade is not absolute perfection but absolute imperfection. Since we are behind a veil, we make misjudgments. If the veil is removed, what is integral to Him, the Most Exalted, is desirable and whatever is evil cannot be from Him and therefore is non-existent.

Know that the above mentioned conforms to an unailing proof and mystical viewpoint and understanding and has been pointed out in the Holy Quran, and believing in it is very difficult. Disbelievers are great in number and believers few. Even those who have demonstrated this conviction by adducing cogent arguments only occasionally believe it. Belief in such facts is not possible unless by struggle, reflection and suggestion.

Perhaps the claim that some of the argumentative matters are not necessarily to be believed in appears to be difficult to accept or to be baseless. However, it should be known that it is a matter of conscience and what the Holy Quran has treated in several verses, such as the verses of *Surah at-Takathur*.¹ As regards conscience, you know that the dead have no movement and cannot do any harm to you. Thousands of dead people are not active as much as a fly; they will not be; they will not waken in this world after death and prior to the day of resurrection. Nevertheless, one does not feel comfortable to sleep with a dead body alone. It is because your heart has not believed in your knowledge. You have not come to believe in what you know. However, the one in charge of a funeral parlor is closeted with them with peace of mind.

¹ *Surah* 102 of the Holy Quran, Meccan, with 8 verses.

Philosophers adduce rational arguments to demonstrate the existence of the Almighty God. However, unless what reason has demonstrated by proof does not find its way into the heart and the heart does not believe in it, they do observe the courtesy of being present before God. Those who believe in the Almighty God in their heart will observe the courtesy of being in God's presence even though they may not be concerned with reasoning or be abstaining from what conflicts with God's presence. Therefore, formal science including philosophy and disciplines dealing with monotheism are themselves veils and the greater the learning the thicker and denser the veils.

As we may know and see, the language of invitation employed by the Prophets (a) and pure Imams (peace be upon them) is not the common language used by philosophy and reasoning. The former is concerned with the life and soul of people and conveys the outcome of reasoning to the heart of the servants of God and guides them through their heart and soul. One can say that philosophers and contenders of reasoning increase the veils while Prophets (S) and men of the soul struggle to remove the veils. Hence, those undergoing training under the guidance of the latter are believers and devotees and the disciples of the former are men of argumentation and controversy and unconcerned with the soul.

What I said does not mean that you should not study philosophy and the science of argumentation and reasoning and rational disciplines; as such a move is treason to the intellect, reasoning and philosophy. However, I mean philosophy and reasoning is a way leading to the main destination and should not serve as a veil blocking your way into your destination and the Beloved. To put it differently, these sciences are passageways towards the destination and they are not themselves the destination. And the world is a farm for the hereafter.¹ And formal sciences serve as farms in the hereafter, as acts of worship should lead us towards Him, the Most High. Prayers are the loftiest acts of worship and *miraj* (spiritual ascension). All are from Him and to Him all return. For elaboration, good deeds are like the rungs of a ladder helping one to climb up to attain His knowledge and evil acts prevent one from perceiving Him, the Most Exalted. The world is entirely perplexed by Him and is like a moth flying round the candle of His beauty.

If only we would wake up from our slumber and enter the first stage or home which is *yaqzah* (in mystical parlance the term signifies the first category of the three stages of the soul's attachment in which light shines out over the entire components of the body both inward and outward). If only

¹ The world is a farm for the hereafter: *Awali al-Laali*, 66/267:1.

He, the Most High, attend to us with His kind attention and guide us towards Him and His exquisite beauty. If only this recalcitrant and intractable horse of the self would calm down and dismount the seat of denial. If only we would put down this heavy consignment and proceed towards Him with a lighter load. If only we would circle round the candle of His beauty like a moth, not complaining. If only we would take a step towards our primordial nature and would not trample upon the source of our primordial nature. And many other ifs, which I recall at my old age and on the threshold of death, having no access to anything.

And you O my son, avail of your youth and live in the remembrance of Him, the Sublime and Exalted, the love of Him and in conformity with your primordial nature. The remembrance of the Beloved is in no way clashes with political and social activities or serving the religion and God's servants. In fact, this remembrance helps you in traversing His path. However, beware that the temptations of the carnal self and inward and outward evils are great in number. It may happen that these temptations dissuade man from remembrance of God in the names of God and in the name of serving the people of God, driving man towards himself and his desires.

Taking care of the self is among the stations of spiritual wayfarers in distinguishing the path of egoism and theism. May God grant you and us success in observing these stations! Many a time the inner Satan will tempt us, the old ones, in a way and you, young people, in a different way.

Regarding us, the old people, Satan enters with the weapon of disappointment from perceiving and remembering the Manifest, arguing that you are now old and incorrigible. He says that the days of youth were the time for cultivation and harvest and in old age and decrepitude the power of correction has gone and passions and sins have rooted in all organs of the body with its branches extended throughout the body depriving you of competency of the perception of Him, the Most Exalted. You had now better take advantage of this world in the remaining days of your life.

Sometimes Satan treats old people like me as he does young people. He tempts you by saying that you are young and the season of youth is the time for pleasure and enjoyment and hence you act according to your desires. At the end of life, God willing, the way of repentance and God's mercy is open and God is the most compassionate and merciful. The graver and the greater the sin, the greater the occasions of seeking repentance, attention and attachment to the Almighty God! It happens that many people have taken advantage of their young days and in their old age, they spend the remaining days of their life on acts of worship, *zikhr* and prayers and visiting the tombs

of holy Imams (a) and through their intercession leave this world happily. We, old people, are tempted into arguing that it is not clear if we shall die soon, and that opportunity is there and we can repent. Moreover, the door of intercession through the Prophet (s) is open and that the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (a), will not allow his followers to suffer. At the time of death we will meet him and he will give his helping hand to us. Satan whispers many of these temptations into our ears.

My son! I speak to you now that you are young. You should notice that repentance is easier for young people and self-edification is accomplished more easily. In old people, carnal passions, ambition, love of wealth and egotism are stronger than in young people. Young people enjoy a more delicate and flexible spirit. The amount of the love of self and the world in young people is less strong than in the old. Young people can relatively easily rid themselves of the evil influence of carnal passion and turn to spirituality. In assemblies of preachings and ethics the young people are much more easily impressed than the old ones. Young people should be wary lest they should be entrapped by the temptations of the self and Satan. Death is equally close to the young and the old. Which young person can be sure that he/she will grow old? Who can claim to be immune from the events of the universe? Accidents of everyday life are closer to young people.

My son! Do not lose the opportunity and edify yourself in your young days. Old people should also know that they could compensate for mistakes and sins as long as they are in this world. However, when they depart from this world, they will lose control. Pinning one's hope on the intercession of the saints (a) and showing boldness in committing sin is Satan's greatest trick. Study the states of those who have pinned their hope on intercession and have been neglectful of God and boldly committed sins. Mind the moans and wails and supplications of these people. It has been narrated that at the end of his life Imam Sadiq (a) summoned his children and relations and told them something with this implication: "Tomorrow you should meet God with your deeds; do not imagine that your attachment to me is of any avail to you."

Moreover, it is likely that they will benefit from intercession, that their spiritual relation with the intercessor is in progress and that spiritual relation with them (intercession) are such that they would be entitled to benefit from such intercession. If this is not accomplished in this world, perhaps after purification and edification in the agonies of Purgatory, and even in hell, one will be entitled to intercession. God knows the quality of their death.

Furthermore, there are verses in the Holy Quran about intercession indicating that one cannot find rest through intercession. God says: “*Who is he that intercedeth with Him save by His permission?*”¹ Elsewhere the Quran reads: “*and they cannot intercede except for him whom He accepteth.*”² There are similar verses demonstrating that intercession is possible but who will avail of it, which group and under what conditions and when are factors nobody can say for sure. We pin hope on intercession, but this hope should lead us to obedience of Almighty God and not sin.

My son! Try not to leave this world while you have not completely fulfilled the rights of people, as your job will be greatly difficult. Dealing with God Almighty, Who is compassionate and merciful, is easier than with people. I seek refuge in God Almighty from my embroilment and those of you and believers with regard to the rights of people and dealing with entangled people. If we consider what is understood from the outward aspect of some of the holy verses, disaster will be great and the deliverance of sinful people by means of intercession will be accomplished after lengthy stages.

The personification of temperaments, deeds and attachments their relationship to man from after death until the great resurrection and from then onwards up to man’s edification, and their severance from man through severities and chastisements in Purgatory and Hell, the impossibility of a relation with intercessors and inclusion in intercession are issues whose gravity is backbreaking for man. No one can ever claim that severance (from bad deeds and temperaments) is possible in any other way unless the Satan of the self dominates and play with him/her and block the path of truth, making him/her deny light and darkness. Such blind-hearted people are great in number. May the bounteous God protect us against the evil of our selves!

My last will and testament to you my dear son is not to lose, God forbid, the opportunity. Strive to rectify your morals and behavior even though you may suffer pain and austerity. Diminish your interest in the ephemeral world and select the two-way road you may encounter, one leading to the Truth and shun falsehood and expel the Satan out of yourself.

Among the important things I should advise you is to help the servants of God, particularly the deprived and oppressed people who are downtrodden and defenseless in society. Employ all your power to serve them, as this service is the best provision and the best service to God Almighty and dear Islam. Spend all your energy in rendering services to the oppressed people

¹ Surah al-Baqarah, 2: 255.

² Surah Anbiya, 21: 28.

and supporting them against arrogant powers and tyrants. Involvement in sound political and social affairs is an Islamic, human and national duty in the Islamic government, as is assistance to the office holders and government officials loyal to the Islamic Republic. I hope that the vigilant and honorable people do not neglect this duty. It is hoped that as they were present in the scene and the Islamic Republic was established and continued with their help, the present and future generations will also faithfully support it. We all should know that as long as we abide by our promise to God Almighty, God would support us. In the same way that God has so far miraculously foiled the conspiracies of domestic and foreign criminals, He will thwart the all other plots henceforth.

It is hoped that the noble army and the dear revolutionary guards and mobilized forces and other military, disciplinary as well as popular forces have tasted the sweet flavor of independence and liberation from the captivity of the world-devouring superpowers and prefer their freedom from the chain of aliens to anything and any luxurious life, never falling into the disgrace of dependence on satanic powers. I hope that in the arena of gallantry and wisdom, you will prefer honorable red death in the cause of God to disgraceful life and select the path of the grand Prophet and noble saints (s). I implore God Almighty to strengthen this fervor, rapture and love and interest among men and women and young and old of this noble nation, granting them perseverance in the cause of the Great God and dear Islam, spreading the brilliant laws of Islam across the world.

My son! I would like to touch on personal and family matters and end the loquaciousness. My biggest advice to you, dear son, is the recommendation of your loyal mother. The rights of a mother cannot be enumerated and truly acknowledged. One night of a mother for his child is more valuable than years of the life of a committed father. The visualization of affection and mercy in the brilliant eyes of mother is the radiance of the mercy and compassion of the ever-gracious God. The Almighty God has adorned the heart and soul of mothers with the light of His divinity in a way that no one can do justice to describe it. No one can perceive this state except mothers. It is this eternal mercy that has granted mothers endless patience in the face of pains and afflictions from the embryonic state in the womb, throughout the course of pregnancy and giving birth and from infancy to the end (death). Fathers are unable to endure one night of these pains. The saying that goes: "Paradise is under the feet of a mother"¹ is a fact. This elegant diction shows

¹ *Kanz al-Amal*, 45439/461:16.

the greatness of mothers and urges the children to seek happiness under the blessed feet of mothers and respect them as they revere the Almighty God. Seek the glorious God's gratification in mother's satisfaction. Although mothers are exemplary, some of them enjoy special features. In the course of my life with your esteemed mother and the memories I have of her at nights she spent with her children and during days, I found her possessing great characteristics. I advise you, dear son and children, to take care of her and to win her satisfaction after my death. As I see, she is satisfied with you in life. After me make greater efforts to serve her.

I advise Ahmad to treat his close relatives and confidants, particularly sisters, nieces and nephews, with affection, love, peace and selflessness. I advise all my children to be of the same mind and heart and treat each other kindly. I advise you all to take steps in the cause of God and service of the deprived servants of God, as the well-being of the world and the hereafter lies in this. I advise the apple of my eye, Husayn, not to be neglectful of acquiring religious sciences and not to spoil the talent God has bestowed upon him and to treat his mother and sister with love and affection and belittle the world and select the straight path of servitude while he is young.

My last advice to Ahmad is to raise his children well and acquaint them with the dear Islam from childhood and respect their honorable mother and serve the entire family and relatives. God's greetings to all the righteous ones; I request all confidantes, particularly, my children to forgive me if I have had any failure and shortcomings in dealing with them and if I have done any injustice to them, and request them to ask God to grant me remission and mercy. "Verily, God is merciful and compassionate." I implore the Propitious God to grant success to my relatives to achieve happiness and perseverance, to immerse them in His bountiful mercy, to empower Islam and Muslims and curtail the hands of arrogant powers and tyrannical superpowers from committing oppression.

Greetings and praise be upon the Messenger of Allah, the Seal of the Prophets and his immaculate progeny, and curse be upon their enemies.

Wednesday, Ordibehesht 8, 1361
AHS / Rajab 4, 1402 AH
Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, April 28, 1982 [Ordibehesht 8, 1361 AHS / Rajab 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The importance of publication in society; the necessity of preserving the popularity of the revolutionary guards

Audience: Officials and writers of the publication of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance and value of publication

Firstly, I should thank the revolutionary guards corps and you, gentlemen, who are predominantly committed and work for Islam and the Islamic Republic. May God, the Glorified and Exalted, strengthen them and unite their martyrs with the martyrs of the early days of Islam on the resurrection day. May God grant His sanction upon their surviving families so that they will take to fruition this Islamic Republic against which all powers have stood and hand it over to the future generation.

The significance of publication corresponds to that of blood shed in warfronts. The pen of the *ulama* is superior to the blood of martyrs.¹ Although the blood of martyrs is very valuable and constructive, pens can be more constructive. Pens produce martyrs and nurture martyrs. Therefore, you should heed the value of what you are doing and what responsibility you are shouldering. The greater the value of action, the greater the responsibility! Now that you are engaged with publication and work for the promotion of culture of this group, you should note that you should produce a useful publication. Today's publication should make up for that in the former regime.

Compensating for past corrupt deeds is the duty of publications

In the past, publications pushed our youth towards corruption and degeneration, encouraging the girls and boys to commit cardinal sins. The greater part of the responsibility lay with publications of the time. Publications were a strong factor responsible for the corruptions. Active publications are, whether belonging to the revolutionary guards corps or

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 2, p. 14, h 26.

elsewhere, should note that what past publications did to drag our youth towards corruption should be compensated for. Of course, the youth in the revolutionary guards corps are great in number and it is possible that occasionally, a young person might do something on account of immaturity and in good faith which can turn out to be in conflict with what is desirable.

The publications should devote a portion of their activities to giving advice to the revolutionary guards. Allocate some of your activities to building the youth now engaged with this corps. In later years, this activity of yours will, God willing, construct this group and also serve as a publicity tool for others in a bid to thwart the evil propaganda operations in progress against us from everywhere. Perhaps, most of the radios beyond our borders and most of foreign publications are unanimous in opposing us as some of the samples brought to us show. They attempt diligently to misrepresent whatever good things we have here. If a good thing has been done, they belittle it or refuse to project it. Part of our propaganda should be devoted to presenting this Islamic Republic to people outside our country. With the languages available, such as English, Arabic and those in other parts of the world, you should enlighten people of other countries on what is going on here. Foreign writers, foreign broadcasters or those who were disillusioned here and fled to foreign countries present the Islamic Republic and its administrators as an eccentric monster. This should be redressed by propaganda. Of course, performance should be correct and the propaganda machinery must present those performances. If, God forbid, you observe a deviation in some of your friends who have goodwill but may occasionally make mistakes, notify those who are engaged in doing the propaganda. In your magazines, open a column for advice inside the *sepah*. Guide them in general and not personally so that it would serve, God willing, as a backbone of the Islamic Republic, pushing forward this Islamic Republic. May God grant you all success, happiness and health!

The need for preserving the popularity of the guards corps among the people

Know that the service you are rendering today, I can say, is more valuable than any services rendered to Islam in the course of history. In the past, they did not have such enemies as we are now confronting. Basically, relations between countries were not so close and sophisticated. There was no America. There was Islam in that part of the world and it dealt with Rome and Iran. Today, however, we have to deal with all countries in the world. People come from across the oceans and interfere in here. Other countries

want to interfere in the affairs of all countries. We should note that we who want to stand on our own feet should invite people to resist, invite them to be present in the arena. Invite the youth to what is good and expedient to goodness. The popularity you are now enjoying among people is extremely valuable. You should preserve it. As long as you enjoy this popularity among people and people support you, this guards corps can maintain its power and serve. If, God forbid, a slip creeps into the corps and is not prevented, it may become widespread. God forbid, certain individuals might have infiltrated your ranks and want to disturb the situation. This is an important issue, which I have repeatedly informed you about. You should pay due attention to this aspect. In what you are doing- the propaganda affair that is very important- you should note that people whom you well know should be engaged in this activity. As you experienced, your writings are meticulously scrutinized. Theological seminaries attentively study your writings. The seminaries should consider what you write lest, God forbid, a slip of the pen may occur. If, God forbid, there is one who wants to contrive a mistake, the seminaries should watch and prevent the mistake with the help of all.

My duty is to pray for you. I pray for you all. May God protect you all! I wish you success. May God grant success to the Islamic Republic which is working for God, to this nation that has now risen for God and is advancing so that this Islamic Republic will be linked to the universal revolution when the Imam of the Time (peace be upon him) will reappear!

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, April 29, 1982 [Ordibehesht 9, 1361 AHS / Rajab 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity of building and developing rural roads

Audience: Hadi Nejad Husayniyan (minister of roads and transportation) and officials of organizations affiliated with the ministry

The most important part of the activities of the ministry should be to develop the rural road networks, particularly in deprived regions which can help promote agricultural activities and facilitate transportation of products to cities and hence raise the income of farmers and deprived classes. It can also promote medical services for deprived people.

It is necessary to employ committed and well-trained Muslim forces so as to obtain self-sufficiency and greater independence. We should have intellectual independence and, thank God, we have greatly attained it. We should come to believe that we are able to construct our country.

Those who are now active in invention in the world are all our fellow creatures. Rest assured that you can achieve everything. Do not think that the former regime could not work for the deprived; it did not want to do, it did not even consider doing anything. The former regime was only given people empty promises.

If you look at warfronts, you will not see a single combatant from among the top brass and capitalists. All the people in the warfronts are from among these very deprived classes and slum dwellers. This revolution belongs to them; the rest are only onlookers.

Speech

Time: May 1, 1982 [Ordibehesht 11, 1362 AHS / Rajab 7, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of work and workers in Islam

Occasion: World Labor Day

Audience: Ahmad Tawakkuli (minister of labor and social affairs), workers of industrial and manufacturing units of the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The superiority of one day in a worker's life to the lifetime of a capitalist

I extend my congratulations on the occasion of the auspicious Labor Day to all workers throughout history. Congratulations to you, dear strata of society, who contribute to great human values! Happy this auspicious day to you and our entire nation! Thank God, today in our country, Labor Day, Army Day and Woman's Day are days for all. All are in solidarity and have given expression to a single divine unit, a unity as ordered by the Almighty God.¹ Thank God, this unity has been materialized in the different strata of the Iranian people. If there is a meager minority they will be assimilated in the majority. I do not know which dimension of labor I should talk about. I cannot present all the aspects that I have in mind in one limited session. Nevertheless, I will touch on some of its dimensions here. Refer what I present to your conscience and if you accept, I will appreciate it. I want you to evaluate it with a clear conscience and see what conditions the workers have in your country and in other countries.

Let me first highlight a trifling aspect of labor. Notice the group of workers including you who are working in factories and industries, those who toil on farms and finally the active toiling group. Today is your day and the day of all. Notice the jubilation of the workers and see if it is the working class that enjoys greater physical and mental health or the employer. Look at the capitalists who refuse to work and are sitting in a corner and spending their life idly. Refer to your conscience. Compare such a gathering, which is now a sample of workers who have, thank God, come here with another gathering composed of capitalists and idle people and those who sit at home and do nothing save eating and sleeping. If a person comes from abroad and

¹ A reference to verse 103 of *Surah Al-e Imran*.

observes your faces, your arms, your broad chests, the joviality in your countenance and the tone of your voice and then shifts to the gathering seated by employers, capitalists and good-for-nothing people, he will see the former are healthy and jovial and the latter napping or yawning, complaining of stomachache, headache, etc. It is because those who are not workers—in the general sense of the word—do not usually have happy times. Perhaps many of you do not notice the bitter days of the capitalists, employers and liege lords suffer. You are not aware how hard these sufferings are for them. One day of yours is more valuable than their lifetime. Due to their idleness, gluttony, sleep and debauchery they resort to opium, morphine, brazier, heroin or prostitution centers, because they cannot tolerate what is going on in their self nor can they endure the troubles they have. As far as I know and observed in my youth, most of these feudal Khans and liege lords took refuge in opium. Those who are not committed to religion take recourse to drinking, heroin and the like of them or to prostitution centers. You workers, thank God, have not and hopefully will not experience those troubles, ailments and sufferings.

You should appreciate the value of your labor, which retains the health of your disposition and spirit. If one sits idle, one's bodily activities and the functions of one's cells will come to a halt. Those who are active, their cells will function as much as their activity, making up for the deficiencies. You see that in a large group of workers perhaps one of two might be sick and depressed. The overwhelming majority of workers, thank God, are hale and hearty, but imagine that the liege lords are comfortable. This is what the workers might think. However, the liege lords or, borrowing their own words, the upper class, and in our word lower class, are incalculably dejected and in low spirits.

This is an issue that you should think of later and ponder among yourselves. Compare your youth with those who are idle and spend their life in debauchery. Your value and the value Islam has accorded you are in no way comparable to them. The Holy Prophet has been reported kissing the calloused palm of a worker. This is a token of value for workers throughout history. The Holy Prophet, who is the greatest and the best example of a perfect man shows humbleness before workers and kisses the palm of their hand. There is a point in kissing the palm of his hand, not the back of his hand. The palm of the hand shows the signs of labor and the Holy Prophet kisses it to display the value of labor to the world and to show to Muslims the value of labor. He kisses the hand of a worker so that Islamic nations and human beings come to realize the value of the worker.

Today's worker differs from the worker of those days. At that time and environment when and where the Holy Prophet lived as well as other regions, particularly Hijaz, where the Holy Prophet raised, there was either little or no relation with other countries. If there was drought in a city, it would be compensated for by other cities. People only needed their own countrymen and cities. If a city could not meet a need within itself, another fulfilled it. Nowadays countries are interdependent on each other and the living conditions are totally different from those in the past. The world is so closely connected that if you say something people in the U.S. will hear about it before it gets out of your room. The dependencies the world has developed and the dependencies countries have on capitalist and communist countries did not exist in time of the Messenger of God. The value of work at that time can be summed up in the fact that labor was honorable and that labor was useful for man and his spirit. Work is useful for man and his temperament, his soul, and is also useful for the society. However, there was no idea as to if one does not work, one will be dependent on the US or the Soviet Union. Such an idea was not then relevant.

Deliverance from dependence as the result of the efforts of workers

Today the value of your work is proportionate to the progress in the world. If a worker fails to work as much as he should he cannot cope with the progress prevailing in the world. Today, the dependency a country or an environment may find on others differs from the ones prevailing in former centuries or during the time of the Messenger of God. With your work today, you can create a value which was nonexistent then. With your work you can diminish this dependency, which has prevailed here since the time the East and West found their way into this country and in the course of the notorious Pahlavi monarchical dynasty. You know everything we have is dependent on them. They had made individuals and groups dependent. Today, if you work actively, in addition to the spiritual and material value your work generates for you, you will save a whole country from dependence. How much more should we be dependent on the US or the Soviet Union? This dependence should eventually come to an end. We should instill the idea that we are independent and should be independent wherever we work - in the agricultural sector, in industry and in factories. We should not stretch our hands before others for the fulfillment of our needs. Your work is so valuable it cannot be compared to previous times. The Messenger has been reported as kissing the palm of the hand of a worker to demonstrate the value of labor in

history in that environment. We are proud and you are honored that the Holy Prophet has given you such a distinction.

Some narrations state that a drop of sweat from the body of a worker is like the drop of blood from a martyr in the cause of God. How valuable it is! How valuable are those who are fighting in the warfronts and, thank God, have emerged victorious. They have recently achieved victories and will hopefully attain the final victory! The sweat of your body in factories is equally valuable, because you are also toiling to revive a country and to rid it of dependence on foreign countries; for the independence of the Islamic country. They are struggling to defend an Islamic country and Islam. They are workers like you and you are fighters like them. This is a great blessing given to workers in general and you, my dear ones, who are working in factories and the industrial sector.

You should notice that traitors to this country and those who were dependent on the superpowers struggled to prevent you from producing what your country needed. If it were not for the treason committed by governments ruling over us in the course of history and particularly in the past few centuries when aliens found their way into our country, you could also have developed an advanced industry. Today, you should keep this in mind. If you fail to be mindful of it, you cannot save your country and future generations. You should think that you are also capable of producing everything is produced abroad which you and your country need.

The value of labor and laborers in Islam

Let me make another remark. Notice the attitude of those who want to support workers, and those who want to drag the country towards the West or are active in the name of the East, the communist and capitalist countries. Also notice Islam's treatment of workers. I told you of how the greatest man in Islam treated workers. The treatment of the one who brought Islam and *shariah* from Almighty God, towards workers was what I pointed out earlier. He kissed the palm of a worker humbly. He kissed the indication of labor and glorified it. The Prophet of Islam (s) held human values in high regard. Workers were independent in those days. Whatever they earned belonged to them. Workers had independence and value and the Holy Prophet kissed the place value came from and thus proclaimed the value of the worker.

The second-in-command in Islam is Imam Ali (a). He himself was a worker and used to dig subterranean canals. He made aqueducts to produce water, not for him but for all. After digging the canal and producing water,

the Imam donated the aqueduct to the poor. He was a worker who worked to make his livelihood. He dug a number of canals with his own hands, as has been reported. It has been related that the day when people broke their allegiance to the Imam and he renounced the seat of the caliphate, he took his pick and shovel and went after his work. These were the two persons of prominence in Islam and we should set them as our example. Observe the respect Islam has accorded to the workers through the attitude of these two honored men. They worked alongside workers.

This attitude is not exclusive to Ali Ibn Abi Talib (*a*). Imam Sadiq and Imam Baqir were reportedly working in a certain place. Imam Sadiq was asked to let his followers do the work. The Imam replied: "I would like to do the work myself; I want to feel the heat of the sun on my body."¹ Imam Sadiq also had many tasks to do. His spiritual activity was much. He taught as well as promoted Islam. Nevertheless, he reportedly went to the place he owned and worked. How valuable this is! One who is the commander of Islam and enjoys such a high spiritual standing, working like this, thus teaching us the value of work. Notice the leaders of communist blocs! They make a lot of claims and rhetoric. They have chanted slogans and made claims in the course of time. However, when you observe them in practice, you see how they treat workers and how they look at workers. Also notice capitalists. What do they do? Both use workers as tools to take advantage of. Both blocs use workers as tools for their own benefits— one way or another. In communist countries workers are treated—I do not want to use this expression—as animals who are not allowed to have anything their own. Workers in communist countries are allowed to receive food in exchange for work. When they are unable to do anything, they are driven away. Some of them believe that such people should be thrown into the sea! The capitalist bloc has also beguiled you workers; capitalist bloc is plundering workers in a different way. Islam, however, attaches great value to workers. Islam has great consideration for labor and laborers. It describes the laborers and farmers in the same way it does the strugglers (*mujahid*) and learned men. It ascribes the same value to all of them. They are like a comb with a row of equal sticks. The holy Quran stipulates that capital, power and, the like, are not the mark of distinction. Value and honor rests with *taqwa* or piety, with human values.² However, these two blocs have pushed human values into oblivion. They do not care for workers, and do not regard them as human

¹ *Wasail ash-Shiah*, vol. 17, Book of *Tijarat*, p. 20, chapter 4, H 2 and p. 39, chapter 9, H 7.

² A reference to verse 13, *Surah al-Hujarat*.

beings like us. When Stalin was born he was no different from a vassal. Then he came to power and acted as he did and treated the poor peasants in the way that you have seen. Such is the case with the capitalist bloc. They place no value on human beings. They value only their own power. They help any country yielding to their power.

Advising laborers to get rid of dependence

Now if this Islamic country tilts towards either of the two blocs, they will do anything for it. However, human and Islamic values requires Iran not to depend on any of them. Any country demanding to be independent of them and separated from them, like our country, will face difficulties. Now, each one of the blocs encumbers your country in its own way. All the corruption spread by these pervert groups in this country and all the propaganda carried out by these groups outside Iran are masterminded by either this or that bloc. The day when, God forbid, Iran tilts towards the US you will see that all those who have come together in Paris and think that they can cause trouble for Iranians will begin eulogizing Iran and it will be the same with the other bloc.

We want to be independent. We want to be an independent nation. In the course of the rule of these two corrupt men¹, the British government and then the US entangled us in a way as to strip us of human values. They worked to drag our youth to corruption, to centers of corruption and to strip them of humanity. We do not want to be under their domination any longer. You should endeavor. The improvement or corruption of this country lies in the hands of the nation. You are important members of this nation, very effective members who can end dependence of your country on foreign powers. Farmers are another segment of this country who have the ability to remove this country's dependency on foreign countries. You two great arms of the country should strive so that our agriculture will not be in need of others any more. It is the same with the industrial sector. If you start today, you can obtain independence. Farmers can reach it sooner and you a little later. Yet the values of your actions are great. You are engaged in technical work. Do not think that only they can do this kind of work! In their propaganda, they inculcate the idea that we should be dependent. However, we should not be dependent; we should be independent of them. We should suffice to whatever we ourselves earn. We should plan to reach a level were we can export foodstuff, wheat, barely and the like. This country has considerable

¹ Rida Shah and Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

potential in this respect. You should make it so that others would depend on you in industrial matters. We can; you can and we can achieve this.

Let us suppose that we are not able to do this, yet we should endeavor, because effort is an act of worship and value. I have repeatedly made the point that we do not struggle to be hundred percent victorious. Of course, we want to be victorious, but we are not absolutely certain that we will be victorious. However, while we are not certain that we will be victorious, we fulfill our duty. We are human beings and you are human beings, and valuable. You want to preserve your value. You do not want to be given dolls or dragged to centers of prostitution to destroy your value and fill up your stomachs. You want to preserve your value and, by the same token, save your country which is of utmost importance.

You, we, all of our friends, all farmers, all laborers and all of the Iranian nation should remember that the value God Almighty has granted us and the independence He has granted you have made you proud in the world. Let corrupt pens deny you, deny Iran, deny the courts, deny the government. What counts is that the world has come to understand your value and the fact that you are a nation unequalled in the course of history.

The uniqueness of martyr Mutahhari's services

I hope that other nations take you as a model and follow our dear Islam so as to become like you and obtain their independence and freedom. May God grant you all health and happiness!

Since today falls on the anniversary of martyrdom of the late Mutahhari (may God peace and mercy be upon him), I would like to speak of him. The late Mr. Mutahhari was a versatile man who rendered services to the younger generation that few others have done. His works are exceptional. I know no one else whose works are exceptional like this. His works are exceptional and humanizing. He has served the country. In that suffocating atmosphere, this honorable man rendered great services. May God unite him with the Holy Prophet on the day of resurrection! May God bless the soul of all our martyrs! May God grant final victory to our combatants! May God grant the reward of martyrs to you dear laborers and all laborers!

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

Decree

Time: May 3, 1982 [Ordibehesht 13, 1361 AHS / Rajab 9, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the representative to the Red Crescent Society

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Ghayuri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Haj Sayyid Ali Ghayuri, may your blessing last long,

Since the Red Crescent Society of Islamic Republic of Iran is a non-profit institute and organization for rendering help to the deprived and troubled classes and is repeatedly demanding me to appoint a representative in that organization, you are hereby assigned as my representative in the Red Crescent Society. It is hoped that God willing, you will provide the necessary guidelines and supervise the affairs and help the officials of the society in the fulfillment of their heavy and sensitive duties, making them more prepared to help the deprived and oppressed people with your spiritual guidelines. It is hoped that in collaboration with each other you will perform this Islamic and human duty in the most appropriate manner. I wish for your success.

Ordibehesht 13, 1361 AHS

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speeches

Time: May 3, 1982 [Ordibehesht 13, 1361 AHS / Rajab 9, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Council of supervisors

Addressee: Muhammad Hashemi (Managing Director of the Iran Broadcasting Organization)

For greater coordination, it is advisable that the council of supervisors of the Broadcasting Organization be composed of the representative heads of three branches of the government because they can directly make decision and keep the managing director abreast of affairs afterwards.

Permission

Time: May 8, 1982 [Ordibehesht 18, 1361 AHS / Rajab 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Adopting a final decision on the assets of the late Sahib az-Zamani

Audience: Sayyid Abbas Mir Yunisi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dear leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic, Ayatullah al-Uzma al-Khomeini, may your life last long for Muslims, greetings and blessing and mercy of God be upon you!

The late Thiqaat al-Islam Mr. Sahib az-Zamani, the deceased representative of the people of Asad Abad, who died in a car accident had a house in Qum about which he had written in his last will and testament: "The said house and my belongings are entirely or mostly from the public treasury and belong to the *marja taqlid* (religious reference authority) and religious ruler Ayatullah Khomeini, may his life last long ...". Also he has a number of minor children who plan to move from Tehran to Qum. His wife, who is in the meantime, the guardian of the deceased's minors, has referred to me and requested that a final decision be made on the said house. The late Mr. Sahib al-Zamani was a committed and revolutionary person and apparently spent many years in prison and exile. Two or three years prior to the victory of the revolution, we observed him struggling for the revolution and even sometimes I took duplicated communiqués from him for distribution in Kangavar. Command belongs to you. May God's greetings, mercy and blessings be upon you! I beg your Highness to pray for me.

Islamic	Consultative	Assembly
Sayyid	Abbas	Mir
18/2/1361 AHS		Yunisi

In His Most Exalted Name

You are authorized on my behalf to transfer the house and the belongings to his family and clear him from obligations. I wish you success.

Message

Time: May 8, 1982 [Ordibehesht 18, 1361 AHS / Rajab 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehrasan

Subject: Complimenting the martyrs and combatants

Addressee: The Iranian Nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

May God's mercy be upon the great martyrs who irrigated and fertilized the blessed tree of dear Islam with their pure blood! Greetings of the rightful saints in the course of history to the combatants in the cause of God and to the army men, revolutionary guards and mobilized forces or other selfless military and disciplinary forces and tribal and popular forces who curtailed with the divine power the hands of domestic and foreign criminals from encroaching upon the Islamic country.

Praise be to the committed mothers and fathers who brought up such committed brave and devoted children. And greetings to the honorable Iranian people who stood like a solid dam against the superpowers of the East and the West. And salutations to the patient and courageous families of the martyrs and the righteous servants of God!

18/12/1361 AHS

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Time: May 10, 1982 [Ordibehesht 20, 1361 AHS / Rajab 16, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Preservation of unity and solidarity

Audience: Officials in charge of the intelligence unit of the Revolutionary Guards Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today whatever you see is extraordinary. All the works being done in cities and warfronts are among the favors God Almighty has granted us. You see how the troops of blasphemy with all those sophisticated weapons and numerous regular forces suffer defeat at the hands of a small army. This is the victory because of the fear that God has created in the heart of our enemies. In the early days of Islam, the army of disbelief was so scared of Muslims that they either surrendered with all their equipment or escaped. Today, the same situation is being repeated in Iran. Wherever there is talk of revolutionary guards, our enemies, be they the *munafiqin* (hypocrites) or Saddamites, become extremely scared. Those who are abroad are afraid of our revolutionary guards in Iran. Here, it is necessary to give you a piece of advice. Preserve your unity and solidarity. You should know that any difference or discord that might emerge, originates from man's innermost self. And any unity and solidarity emanates from God. I hope you will be strong and proceed powerfully. Directly you will be victorious. Greetings be upon you!

Decree

Time: May 11, 1982 [Ordibehesht 21, 1361 AHS / Rajab 17, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the representative in Literacy Campaign

Addressee: Muhsin Qaraati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

May 11, 1982

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhsin Qaraati, may his blessings last long,

Given the significance of literacy and the promotion of the Islamic culture and sciences and in view of your experience in this respect, you are appointed as my representative in the Literacy Campaign Organization. It is hoped that you will fulfill your heavy responsibility more efficiently in collaboration with the honored officials of this organization and the Education Ministry. Obviously, the support of the superintendents of the Literacy Campaign and the Education Ministry and making use of all existing resources will facilitate your victory over the evil of illiteracy, one of the sinister legacies of the former arrogant system. I entreat God Almighty to grant you success in this endeavor. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah Al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the decree has been registered under the date 20/12/1361 AHS, but the date put in the manuscript was 21/2/1361 AHS.

Letter

Time: May 11, 1982 [Ordibehesht 21, 1361 AHS / Rajab 17, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a telegram congratulating the victory of combatants on the fronts of the imposed war

Addressee: Sayyid Shahab ad-Din Marashi Najafi (one of the prominent religious reference authorities)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Ayatullah Mr. Najafi, may his blessings last long,

After offering my greetings, I would like to acknowledge the receipt of your kind telegram congratulating the great victories of the combatants of Islam. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulation to you and the devotees of Islam and the Holy Quran on the proud victories of the Muslim combatants. Since its outset, Islam has been embroiled in wars because of its selfish enemies and some unrestrained willful persons, but has proceeded with the grace of God Almighty and assistance from the Unseen. The brazen attack of the disbeliever Baath party of Iraq was instigated by the superpowers, particularly the world-devouring America with the motive of serving the enemies of Islam and humanity. It was predicted from the outset that it would face disgraceful defeat, bringing about adversity, antipathy and humiliation for the enemies of God Almighty and dignity and pride for Islam and Muslims. This and other victories are indebted to the divine favor of God Almighty and the support of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) and the pure prayers of the righteous ones. This miraculous spirit of the valorous armed forces of the army, revolutionary guards and the mobilized forces and other military and disciplinary and popular forces in the warfronts as well as the honorable Iranian nation behind the frontlines- an unprecedented act in history- are indebted to their good will, unquestioning faith and firm resolution. May God enhance this human and divine spirit! I hope that you and other prominent *maraja* (religious reference authorities) and distinguished *ulama* will not desist from praying for the final victory of Islam over blasphemy. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini
Rajab al-Murajjab 17, 1402 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, May 16, 1982 [Ordibehesht 26, 1361 AHS / Rajab 22, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran Religious Center, Tehran

Subject: The characteristics of propaganda in our time

Audience: Members of the supreme council of Islamic Propaganda, Supervisory Council of Islamic Propaganda offices, members of the training camp and staff of the Islamic Propaganda Organization, Friday prayers leaders of Qum and West of Tehran, students of theology of the office of propaganda in Qum and Martyr Mutahhari Religious school

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unprecedented propaganda attack against the revolution

Thank God, this gathering is attended by *ulama* and committed scholars. I am happy to have found the honor to meet the gentlemen and hope that all are successful in serving Islam.

Propaganda is one the issues Islam has emphasized from the outset and will do so till the end of time. It has a special priority in the time we are living. We all know that no revolution has so been subjected to so much propaganda and military attack as the Islamic Revolution has been. The revolutions that have taken place in the world have either tilted towards the right—rightists have agreed with it and if there have been any opposition, it has always been from the leftists or left-leaning individuals—or towards the left, or vice-versa. However, Islam is neither inclined towards the East nor the West and favors the straight path. The Islamic Republic has been accomplished with this understanding of Islam. Since it is not leftist, the leftists are opposed to it and since it is not rightist, the rightists are also hostile to it. You see that all mass media apparatus in the world, excluding a few of them, oppose the Islamic Republic and Islam either explicitly or implicitly. They devote scores of hours every day and night to suppress the Islamic Republic. On the other hand, people such as Saddam have been lured into opposing and attacking us. From the beginning, even when I was residing in the holy city of Najaf, I said that this man had been introduced as a dangerous man who suffered from a freakish sort of mania. He is ready to destroy all nations of the world to satisfy his egotism. Today, when by the grace of God Almighty and His assistance, the fate of the war in battlefields is being determined and Saddam's fall, and hopefully the Baath party's, is

close at hand, the mass media apparatus that cannot deny the progresses made by Iran, have embarked on different ways to poison public opinion. They inculcate the idea that if the Islamic Republic succeeds and overpowers Iraq and the Iraqi regime, it will extend its domination over the region, the Sheikhdoms and regional governments. These words are now being spread by the mass media with the aim of compelling regional regimes to take action against Iran and the Islamic Republic.

In order for it to be recorded in history, today I announce that the government of Iran and the Iranian nation are not against nations and organizations that are not devious. We have announced from the outset that we have not set an eye on the lands of others. In our view, land, nature and matter are not worth waging war against the Muslims of the world. This is a propaganda plot concocted by the opponents of Islam and belligerent people and their masters who suggest that oppressed people of the world should be suppressed so that the former can wield power and succeed in amassing wealth. Islam condemns such treatment and we, who follow Islam, and our nation, which is committed to Islamic injunctions never oppose the laws of Islam. We announce that the governments in the region or outside the region should beware that they may be pushed into annihilation for the sake of the US or other blocs.

Predicting Saddam's war with regional countries

We repeatedly warned them that they (regional leaders) are like tools in the hands of the superpowers, which would take advantage of them but who would not be of any benefit to them. Nowadays they are being warned against the consequences of not cooperating with Saddam and the plans Iran has for them. The superpowers want the regional countries to be like tools in their hands, to cooperate with Saddam to secure their interests and to be fall into a trap in which Saddam has been caught. They should beware that if Saddam is rescued and regains power, he is not that sort of man to thank the likes of them. He is a man with his mania of egotism. With this mania, he will wage a war against them, who have assisted him. He will ruin all of them. The Iranian nation and government and I announce that if you refuse to cooperate with Saddam and treat nations and us in conformity they Islam and the Quran, the government of Iran and the Iranian people are their brothers-in-faith and will support them. However, if, God forbid, they act deviously and fall into this trap, rest assured that they are not more powerful than Saddam. Those governments which want to help him like the Egyptian government can experience and see what will happen. I advise them not to

make such an experiment and beware of wasting the lives of the innocent youth! Do not take the youth to an arena the end of which is destruction.

The need for promoting propaganda outside the country

In such an environment where almost all mass media apparatuses propagate against Islam and the Islamic Republic, it is incumbent upon all to get engaged in propaganda activities. Today, propaganda has a special feature. All should launch domestic propaganda lest, God forbid, people be impressed by the evil propaganda waged by the superpowers. Overseas propaganda operations are also essential.

Our propaganda beyond our borders is defective. Persons coming here from abroad and meeting me complain of this failure. They say that only meager propaganda activity is in progress in countries outside Iran. In spite of this, the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance have recently charted out plans and, God willing, will be successful. Nevertheless, our propaganda should be intensified so that we can at least make nations understand that the propaganda in progress against Islam, Muslims and Islamic Republic is wrong. As you know when foreign reporters come here and see things for themselves, the fair ones acknowledge our reports. A few days ago, one of them announced that all the reports that the Iranian army has declared are correct. However, the global propaganda machinery will not desist from their anti-Iranian propaganda. For example, if Saddam's forces, advance a step forward, they trumpet the news of capturing such and such territories (of Iran) and laying siege to the Iranian army; but if Iran advances they will make no mention as much as possible. If Saddam's forces suffer a disgrace beyond doubt, they give it a minor coverage and quickly shift to another item and comment on the future of the war. Lo! If Islam emerges victorious, how will they react? Today, we are obliged to strengthen propaganda efforts as much as possible. The government and the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance are bound to beef up propaganda outside Iran. All the gentlemen should brace themselves for propaganda. Prophets were originally ordained to propagate, the saints of God were primarily responsible for propagating the faith and the *ulama* are promoters of Islam. They preach Islam. Our honored preachers who promote Islam, our prominent *ulama* and dear seminarians as well as other strata of society engaged in propaganda should speed up the pace of their noble activity. Of course, this activity should be integrated. All should proceed in conformity with a criterion, an order, and in an organized manner. My duty is to pray for

you, as I have done from the outset, and hope that I will be successful in fulfilling my duty.

Dissemination of knowledge from Qum to other places

Let me make a brief remark on the army and the revolutionary guards and their victories. Today, thank God, in our warfronts we are heartened by the youth from among the army, revolutionary guards, mobilized forces and popular forces. Those who have visited the warfronts and come to meet me say that they were all impressed by the bravery of the armed forces. They say, “we go to the battlefields to encourage the combatants, but actually they inspire us.” This is truly something that God Almighty has favored them with. These forces stay up to worship God and pray to Him are, of course, triumphant in wars. Certainly Saddam, the Saddamites and their followers are like a dying man who is breathing his last. I hope that Islam displays its luminous image everywhere. May God Almighty grant our Muslim combatants victory and strength! People are behind them and support them. Preachers also back them. They should continue with their activities, with their pure heart and their great and strong arms, as victory is close at hand. “Victory cometh only from Allah.”¹

We ask God to help us and grant victory to our army and to our nation. I wish success for all in projecting the light of Islam everywhere. I hope you, gentlemen, will be successful and endorsed (by God). As stated in our narrations, knowledge is disseminated from Qum to other places. Thank God, it is for sometime that this concept has been translated into reality. Today, it is my hope that this process will be expedited through the efforts of the *ulama*, teachers and preachers in Qum. Today, thank God, the whole of Iran is Qum. All *ulama*, all scholars and all people are now supporting Islam. May God include our name in the list of those who have made sacrifices for Islam, for the Imam of the Time (peace be upon him), as the signs of God’s blessing and the assistance of this honorable Imam has been revealed and will become apparent, God willing.

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

¹ Part of verse 126 of *Surah Al-e Imran*.

Decree

Time: May 19, 1982 [Ordibehesht 29, 1361 AHS / Rajab 25, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a member of the board of trustees of 15-Khordad Foundation

Addressee: Habibullah Asgarowladi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Habibullah Asgarowladi, who has a long freindship with me and who is a righteous, efficient and religious person is hereby appointed as a member of the board of trustees of 15-Khordad Foundation. He enjoys the same authority as the other members of the foundation do and has the right to vote as other members. God willing, this honored board will succeed in rendering services to further to objectives of the foundation.

Ordibehesht 29, 1361 AHS / Rajab
25, 1402 AH

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Time: June 23, 1982 [Khordad 2, 1361 AHS / Rajab 29, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreement with the proposal to reconstruct Howeizeh¹ using funds from the holy shrine of Imam Rida

Addressee: Abbas Waiz Tabasi (superintendent of the holy shrine of Imam Rida)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Waiz Tabasi, the respected superintendent of the holy shrine of Imam Rida (*a*), may his blessings last long,

After offering my greetings, I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter with your invigorating proposal. If oppressed city of Howeizeh has been reduced to ruins at the criminal hands of Saddam, this inveterate enemy of Islam and Shi'ism and the city of the true followers of *wilayah* (the Immaculate Imams) in the country of the eighth Imam (*a*) has been transformed into a den of owls and the innocent Arab Muslims of that city of blood and martyrdom both young and old, men and women are scorched in the flames of the tyranny of this disbeliever (Saddam), that claims friendship with the Arabs, who could be worthier of the superintendent the Holy Shrine and servant of the brilliant mausoleum of the Imam in reconstructing the ruins of the city of the friends of the holy Imam? Which station is higher than that of the *wilayah* of that holy Imam in specifying his dear friends, as the benevolent persons and honored friends of that holy Imam have followed the example of their *mawla* (Imam) and endeavored to reconstruct Khuzestan and other ruins left by this super criminal of the century? One essential point I must mention is that the enormous income which can construct cities and during your tenure has been used to render services was used for debauchery and pleasure during the plundering Pahlavi dynasty. How disgraceful are those who have supported and are backing that regime. I pray to God Almighty to grant you success in serving the Holy Shrine of the Imam and thank God that in our age, people like you have been appointed to this post

¹ One of the cities of Khuzestan Province 40 kilometers south East of Susangerd. The water of the tropical plain is supplied by a branch of Karkheh River. In the course of the Iraqi imposed war against Iran the city was repeatedly subjected to the savage attacks of the Iraqi Baathist regime, with many of its residents massacred.

and that darkness has been superseded by light and treason by trust. May God's peace be upon you!

2/3/1361 AHS

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: May 24, 1982 [Khordad 3, 1361 AHS / Rajab 30, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the combatants of Islam and congratulations on the liberation of Khorramshahr¹

Addressee: Iranian Nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Thank you for sending me the telegrams on the liberation of Khorramshahr. All praise is due to the Omnipotent God who favored and supported the Islamic country and the committed and selfless combatants, granting us the great victory. Rest assured that "Victory cometh only from Allah."² I thank the children of Islam and the valorous armed forces who embodied the powerful hand of God and who rescued the land of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) from the clutches of cannibals who are instruments in the hands of superpowers, particularly the world-devouring America, with a resounding cry of *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greatest) in dear Khorramshahr and hoisting the flag of "There is no god but God" on top of that cheerful city that was utterly ruined by the evil hands of the criminals of the century that it came to be called the "City of Blood".³ These combatants are beyond appreciation by the likes of me. They are most certainly appreciated by the Savior of mankind and Dispenser of divine justice across the world- may my soul be sacrificed for his footsteps. These combatants are

¹ In the second year of the war imposed by the Iraqi Baathist regime against Iran, an operation was launched on 10/2/1361 called Beitul Muqaddas in the Western region of the Karun river in order to liberate Khorramshahr. In the process of developments during the imposed war, Khorramshahr was regarded as the symbol of resistance of Iran and victory over Iraq. From the political aspect, the occupation of Khorramshahr was regarded as a winning card for Iraq. After liberation of the city by Muslim combatants and abject retreat of the Iraqi Baath army, the Iraqi regime approached the stopping point. Given the importance of these proud operations, Imam Khomeini, ® after the liberation of Khorramshahr, said, "God liberated Khorramshahr."

² Part of verse 126, *Surah Al-e Imran*.

³ Khorramshahr turned to ruin after the occupation by the Baathist regime of Iraq and was thus called Khuninshahr or the "City of Blood". After its liberation, it regained its original name Khorramshahr or the cheerful city.

honored by the Quranic verse, “Ye (Muslims) slew them not, but Allah slew them”.¹

Congratulations and thousands of congratulations to you the dear troops of Islam on this great victory achieved by the grace of God. We had insignificant losses and endless booty while thousands of the wretched, devious troops of the enemy who were either deceived or coerced by the Takriti Saddam, this super criminal of the time, were killed, wounded or held captives. You proudly brought eternal honor and gift for Islam and the dear country. Congratulations to the powerful commanders who command such selfless combatants, whose twinkling star of victories will sparkle in history up to the blowing of the trumpet! Congratulations to the honorable people of Iran with such brave and selfless children who immortalized their name and the country! Congratulations to the great Islam with such followers who took the examination victoriously and proudly in the two fronts of war against inward and outward enemy, triggering honor for Islam!

And you Children of the Holy Quran and members of the army, revolutionary guards, mobilized forces, gendarmerie, police, , tribal people, volunteer popular forces and the dear nation beware that however great and astounding the victories might be they should not keep you neglectful of the remembrance of God in whose hand victory lies. Beware not to be enamored by the pride of victory, as this is a great plague and a dangerous trap ensnaring man with the temptations of Satan, resulting in nothing but destruction for the offspring of Adam. Despite the fact that I am confident of your commitment to Islam, yet I should not neglect to remind you, as reminding is in the interests of believers. I also do not refrain from advice to neighboring and regional governments. They know that today with the liberation of innocent Khurramshahr, our victorious government and people will speak from a position of power. I ensure the regional governments that if they stop obeying the US and its affiliates and treat us in accordance with the rule of Islam and the Holy Quran, they will see on our part nothing but good and support. They should also know that the superpowers will not support them to the extent that they supported Saddam, this faithful servant, as they are small and weak. You have overtly seen the fate of this criminal and his iniquitous cohorts. Big powers do not side with you more than the advantage they take from you, making you perish for their own interests. I extend my brotherly advice to you not to do something that the Holy Quran forbids you to do. We deal with you at the command of God. Rest assured that the likes

¹ Part of the verse 17 of *Surah al-Anfal*.

of Husni Mubarak of Egypt¹ and Husayn of Jordan² and other disreputable colleagues yield no benefit for you and will ruin your religion and the world. If you want to enliven the dead Camp David³ Accord or Fahd⁴ in your meetings, Islam will not allow us to remain silent as we consider this a great threat to Islamic countries, particularly the holy shrines. In the presence of God Almighty I fulfilled my divine duty. Let us now raise our hands in supplication towards the One God and pray for the armed forces of Islam and devotees of the Holy Quran and dear Iran, imploring God to grant them health, happiness and victory.

Endless greetings and salutations to the committed commanders of the armed forces and the selfless combatants as well as the brave and jubilating people of Iran! May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Egyptian president who favored the American plan of despicable compromise with the Zionist regime.

² King Husayn of Jordan.

³ A contract signed at Camp David between Muhammad Anwar Sadat (president of Egypt) and Menachem Begin (prime minister of the Quds-occupying regime) in presence and with the intercession of Jimmy Carter, the US president.

⁴ Fahd's eight-article plan based on which the Quds-occupying regime was implicitly recognized and its security guaranteed. The plan was not translated into action.

Speech

Time: May 25, 1982 [Khordad 4, 1361 AHS / Shaban 1, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Preserving unity and considering one's duty

Audience: Friday prayer leaders of Kerman Province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for preserving unity and considering one's duty

I thank the gentlemen who have taken the trouble to come here and I pray for all. I also thank the residents and *ulama* of Kerman and the Friday prayer leaders of the province and pray to God to protect them. Once again, I make the remark that you should try to preserve this unity, unity among yourselves, unity between yourselves and the officials and unity between yourselves and the people. You see that all the efforts of domestic and foreign-based *munafiqin* and mischief-makers are aimed at creating rift among the people. This is the best reason for us to preserve our unity.

This great victory of our combatants who have achieved it and driven out from our land the forces of Saddam, who is dependent on big powers, is the result of preserving unity. Today, all the mass media apparatus attempt to either not reflect our victory or if they do, vociferously inculcate the idea that this victory poses a threat to the region. They immediately announce that if Iran emerges victorious it will do such and such to the region and the countries on the Persian Gulf.

What brings people together is the very Friday prayers leaders and congregational prayers. You, in Kerman, and others, in other cities, should try to establish mutual understanding. There is no ground for fear as the people are present in the scene and watchful. Today, the people's cooperation and coordination is unprecedented. Every day, we witness women who donate all the gains of a lifetime, that is a piece of gold, in the cause of God and war. One of the gentlemen told me that in the battlefield, he had observed a 12-13 year old boy whose arm had been severed and who immediately took his arm and proceeded towards the fronts. Well! Take note of what our duty is in such a situation. Obviously, our duty is very heavy. If, God forbid, we make a mistake, those whose interests here are in jeopardy will magnify our petty mistakes and launch propaganda operation against us.

Try to study what you want to say in your sermons. I hope Islam will spread through your hand and this becomes a prelude to the reappearance of Imam Mahdi (may God hasten his reappearance). I wish you success and divine approval.

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

Message

Date: June 26, 1982 [Khordad 5, 1361 AHS / Shaban 2, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegram congratulating the victory of Iranian troops (liberation of Khurramshahr)

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ayatullah Shirazi, may his blessings last long,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind telegram congratulating the successive victories of the honorable forces of Islam over Saddam's disbelieving forces and his Zionist brothers—may God disgrace them—with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) to whom we are truly indebted for these victories. With the approval of this sacred being which is the same as divine approval, the liberation of Khuninshahr, now called Khorramshahr was achieved. Congratulations to you, the entire prominent *maraji* (religious reference authorities) and distinguished *ulama*—may God add to their grace—and the proud people of Iran and the armed forces which are the army of Allah and brought permanent honor and pride for Islam and Iran, the bastion for the Household of the Holy Prophet and the cradle for raising the children of Islam. I hope you and the prominent *ulama* and honored residents of the holy city of Mashhad that have the honor of being in the vicinity of the Holy Shrine of Imam Rida, the place where the blessings of divinity are sent down, and those who find the honor of visiting the honorable Imam's mausoleum will pray for the victory of right over wrong and Islam over blasphemy. I extend my greetings and implore God to grant you success in serving Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 2, 1402 AH

Message

Date: May 27, 1982 [Khordad 6, 1361 AHS / Shaban 3, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulation the victory of the army of Islam—warning to governments supporting Saddam

Occasion: Shaban 3, marking the birth anniversary of Imam Husayn and the day of the revolutionary guards

Addressee: The Iranian Nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Congratulations on the occasion of the rising of the sun of Shaban 3 marking the birth anniversary of the dawn of spirituality and the guardian of Islam, who renewed the Holy Quran and rescued the *ummah* (people) of the Seal of Prophets—peace be upon him and his progeny. Felicitations on the birth anniversary of an Imam who redeemed Islam! The holy Imam delivered Islam having been distorted in the murky age of the tyrannical rule of the Yazidis who were about to cover the brilliant face of Islam. The Yazidis worked hard to push into oblivion the arduous efforts of the great Prophet of Islam and the Muslims in the early days of Islam. They were about to waste the blood of selfless martyrs. Congratulations to Muslims of the world and devotees of the red path of *Imamah* and to the selfless people of great Iran and the combatants, particularly the dear *Sepah-e Pasdaran* (IRGC) who designated this auspicious day as the day of *pasdar*. Blessed is today which portends the victory of right over wrong, the army of Allah over the hordes of Satan! Blessed be today with great successive victories, particularly that of Beitul Muqaddas Battle, as one of the enormous feats unequalled in wars.

The *Sepah-e Pasdaran* (revolutionary guards) as a stalwart pillar of the Islamic Revolution and a body playing a tremendous role in its victory liberated the Iranian nation and dear Islam from the dark and sombre nights of the monarchy by setting their mentor, the Doyen of Martyrs, Imam Husayn (peace be upon him) as their example. The *Sepah* served as an effective factor for safeguarding the revolution and its goals. In the fronts of the sacred defense of Islam and Islamic land, it resisted in full unity and solidarity with the army, *Basij*, gendarmerie, tribal people and other military,

disciplinary and popular forces “like a solid structure.”¹ They cast the enemies of Islam and humanity away from the battlefields in disgrace and brought glory to Islam and the honorable people of Iran. Neither history nor the Savior (12th Imam) (may our souls be sacrificed for him) will forget this honor. God, the Glorified and Exalted, will not spare the servants of Islam, and the Islamic country, in whose ranks these combatants are certainly included, His mercy and blessing.

O, dear ones who perform divine services and *zikr* (remembrance of God) and supplication at nights, diffusing light on celestial beings as in the night of Ashura,² and who shine out like a twinkling star in warfronts in mornings, fighting against the Yazidis as in the morning of Ashura! Appreciate the value of these spiritual and mystical nights and these knightly and glorious days. God Almighty has chosen you for His victory; He has not considered us competent to sit at the table of blessing, mercy, spirituality and sacrifice.

The traitorous Saddam has well understood that he cannot escape the trap designed for him and that he and the disbelieving Baath party are doomed to failure. As such, despite all his braggadocio and empty claims to “Qadesiyeh Commandership” and beating the hollow drum of being revolutionary and an irreconcilable enemy of Israel, he is seeking help from an American pawn, and a cohort of Israel and is desperately stretching his hands before the enemies of Arabs and Islam. He is begging them first to rescue him from his self-prepared fatal vortex and then divert attentions from the great enemy of Islam and usurper of their lands. They plan to make others accept the disgraceful Camp David Peace Accord by bringing Husni Mubarak to the fold of Arab community or put into practice the Fahd Plan³ that bring shame for the Arabs and above all for Islam.

I warn the Arab governments in the region that by succumbing to such plots, they will have to accept submission to the US are more shamefully to Israel, and earn enmity of the Iranian nation, government and the strong armed forces forever. If you don't return to the fold of Islam today, it will be late tomorrow. Don't be cheated by the US deceptions and the braggadocio

¹ *Surah as-Saff*, 61: 4.

² The night when Imam Husayn's family members and friends were martyred by the forces of Yazid.

³ Based on Fahd Plan presented by the Saudi regime in collaboration with the US, the entity of the Quds-occupying regime would be implicitly recognized by Arab countries. At that juncture, this plan faced the opposition of the combatant Muslims and Palestinians and was aborted.

of Husni,¹ Hasan,² Husayn³ and Qabus⁴ who truly need guardians and who must use their aims, ammunitions and weapons to liberate themselves from the clutches of Israel. You must not confront an Islamic country which deposed the Shah, with all his satanic power and big or small supporters, and defeated Saddam, an even greater criminal. Don't permit your mass media apparatus to follow the propaganda machinery run by usurper criminals to slander a government that intends to deal with the Muslim and regional governments in a fraternal, neighborly way. You witness that the respected Iranian president, government and parliament repeatedly advise you and invite you to friendship. They want the enormous power of Islamic Iran to be arrayed along with you to repel the enemies fixing their covetous eyes on your countries. They want to rescue you and your treasures from the hellish paws of world-devourers in favor of the innocent people of the region.

In the early days of our revolution and while the army, revolutionary guards and other armed forces were in disarray, Saddam who was fully-equipped and took advantage of a few local traitors launched an all-out war from the land, air and sea against our country and occupied a big part of it. In such conditions, Saddam occupied a large portion of our country. Nevertheless, as soon as our believing forces and the selfless people came to know about the aggression, they stopped the aggressors. The swift-winged eagles of our air force pounded the military positions throughout Iraq. If it were not for their Islamic commitment and the fear of death of innocent people and destruction of residential units of the brotherly people of Iraq, they would have given a good lesson to the disbelieving Baath Party. So that devious regional and other governments would never nurture the idea of confronting a nation that regards martyrdom as a heavenly gift. Today, thank God Almighty, with unseen sanctions and overwhelming love and faith, the people and the armed forces ranging from *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, *Basij*, tribal people and popular forces to military and disciplinary forces, *komite* and other forces, are prepared and equipped with weapons of all sorts. They are on full alert. The cries of these seeking martyrdom and war until victory reverberates the atmosphere shaking Iran if and the world. The Iranian people extend their powerful hand from a position of power towards all Muslims, particularly regional nations and governments neighbors for

¹ Husni Mubarak, the Egyptian President.

² King Hasan of Morocco.

³ King Husayn of Jordan.

⁴ Sultan Qabus, King of Oman.

friendship and brotherhood in faith. We advise them that it is not in their interests in this world and the hereafter to cherish the wishful thinking of supporting Egypt and Jordan and other traitors to their nations and dear Islam, to get together every day and to try to realize the plots of world-devouring America. If the governments of Egypt and Jordan had any merit and were concerned about human and Arab dignity, they would emancipate themselves from the slavery of the Zionist regime of Israel, would not attempt to win recognition for Israel and would not tighten their chains of slavery and abjectness by yielding to the Camp David Accord. Those who fancifully attempt to return Egypt to the fold of the Arab community in a bid to counter the Islamic Republic are making a grave mistake. In fact, they are burying themselves in the tomb by their own hand that is the criminal hand of the US. If, after the final victory, which is God willing, close, they repent their non-Islamic and non-Arabic behavior, there is room for consideration. This is, however, pending the agreement of our officials, particularly the tyrannized people of Iran, who have lost their dear ones. If the Iranian nation does not accept such reconsideration, none of the government officials in Iran are entitled to take any action in this respect. In Islamic Iran, people are the final decision-makers on all matters. Therefore, return to the fold of Islam and your nations as long as the opportunity is available and stop poisonous propaganda and plots against powerful Iran. Join hands with the government and people of Iran against Israel and other enemies of Islam and humanity, as in here lies the interests of this world and the hereafter. Now, the doors of deliverance are open to them and God is the most compassionate and merciful.

Now on the occasion of the auspicious birth anniversary of Imam Husayn (a), the honorable guardian of Islam and the Holy Quran, I have a few words with the harbingers of truth and fighters against the enemies of Truth as a reminder for conscious people. With his blood and the blood of his friends and dear ones, Imam Husayn stifled the blasphemous roar of the Yazidis in their nasty throat, while they hollered, "neither any revelation has been sent down nor any Prophet delegated."¹ This day coincides with the day of the devotee and selfless *pasdars* (the revolutionary guards) who ended

¹ Yazid Ibn Muawiyah has been quoted as hollering the statement officially.

with their pure blood the uproars of the Commander of Qadisiyyah¹ and his criminal friends in their throat.

Dear brothers and apples of my eye! Beware, lest the plagues of victory, atop of which is conceit, God forbid, entrap you unwittingly! Conceit might keep you unaware of the original victor- the Omnipotent God. This is a satanic trick that can cause you lose spirituality, which is the cornerstone of your victory, and can also trigger negligence of the enemy tricks, thus bringing about defeat. The powerful armed forces and the honorable people supporting you should never be neglectful of the manifestation of the power of God within you. The following verses of the Quran can be taken as testimony: “Victory cometh only from Allah”,² “Assistance is from God and victory is close by.”³ And “Lo! We have given thee (O Muhammad) a clear victory.”⁴

All beauties, glories and good belong to Him and all defeat, conceit and rebellion is from Satan of the self from which we should seek refuge in God.

Brothers! Mollify the prisoners of war. Although they are sinful, you should treat them according to Islamic and human standards. Hospitalize the wounded Iraqi prisoners of war as soon as possible so as to be treated. The doctors and nurses whose valuable efforts both in warfronts and in hospitals, are not hidden to our honorable people, are requested to treat the prisoners of war as if they are their relatives and brothers. Diminish the bitterness of captivity and injury in them with your Islamic behavior. Here, I would like to appreciate the clerics in warfronts, the Reconstruction *Jihad*, the Defense Ministry and all those who played a role in defending the Islamic country.

Another subject to be heeded by all armed forces, particularly those who are in contact with people in cities such as *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, *Basij*, *komite* and police is that they should mete out fair and human treatment to people, particularly the oppressed ones. *Sepah* and others should win the hearts of the people who support the Islamic Republic and the combatants in warfronts with all their energy, thus obtaining God’s gratification. Our dear people should value these selfless ones who devote nights and days to safeguard Islam, the country and the people and appreciate them.

¹ Saddam Husayn at the outset of his military aggression against Iran, inebriated with primary victories, in an interview described war with Iran as “Qadisiyyah Battle” and him as “Commander of Qadisiyyah”.

² *Surah Al-e Imran* 3: 126.

³ *Surah as-Saff*, 61: 13.

⁴ *Surah al-Fath*, 48: 1.

I always pray for them and beseech God to grant happiness to all and blessing and elevation of rank to the dear martyrs, patience and, health to their families, complete health and happiness to the disabled who are the apple of our eyes, final victory to combatants, dignity and power to Islam and preservation to the Islamic Republic.

Finally, I humbly appreciate the people of Iran who endured with open face the war ravages imposed on us. In fact, people have solaced the officials by offering their dear ones to the cause of Islam, by supporting their government behind the front lines and offering valuable helps, thus making the great Islam and their dear country proud in the world. Truly, if it were not for this Islamic and human spirit, the government would have reached deadlock in the very first steps. Thank God, this selfless nation is present in all scenes and serves Islam and the Islamic Republic. With the help of this people, our army, *Sepah*, *Basij* and other brave and selfless ones courageously stormed and crushed the enemy's strongholds. The enemy had worked for two years to construct, solidify and equip the strongholds. Our forces, sanctioned by God, destroyed the enemy's well-equipped and well-arrayed army, which was equipped with all forms of modern weapons made by the US, Soviet Union and France. Many of them were forced to escape, numerous others killed or wounded and many others have been taken captive. With hearts resounding with the divine grace, Spiritual Power and fighting spirit, we will soon see the end of the war. Let us appreciate God the Glorified and Exalted for His boundless blessings.

Greetings of God and His Messenger to the martyrs and wounded ones in the Iraqi imposed war against Iran. God's greetings to the fathers, mothers, wives and families of the pride-nurturing martyrs of Islam and dear Iran! Salutation of the people of Iran to the wounded combatants! Death and damnation to superpowers, particularly to the criminal US that is responsible for all the seditions in the region! May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's message was read out by his son, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, in a grand ceremony held after the liberation of Khorramshahr and in commemoration of the Day of Revolutionary Guards, marking the auspicious birth anniversary of Imam Husayn (a) in Tehran (concurrent with similar ceremonies across the country). After the parade which started from Tehran University, different units of *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, *Basij* and *comite* along with numerous people gathered in Imam Husayn Square in the heavy rain.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, May 29, 1982 [Khordad 8, 1361 AHS / Shaban 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Today's Iran, powerful and strong

Audience: Mr. Behzad Nabawi (minister without portfolio in charge of executive affairs and superintendent of Headquarters for Economic Mobilization) and members of the headquarters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The power of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Those who are old enough to remember the past know how the war broke out, how the parties to the war entered our country, what the consequence of war was and what ensued.

In World War II we had no power, and aliens entered into our country. I remember what befell our people. For instance, at that time, the necessary food items were not available and the amount accessible was rotten. If you compare today's life of the people with that of the past, you will come to realize that contrary to the past, today we do not suffer from lack of staples but from inflation.

What is important is that today we have been subjected to economic sanctions. This has been a blessing for us. When all doors were closed, new ideas started to flourish and there was flurry of activity. People are active everywhere. People have stood beside the government and have never left it alone. It is for nearly two years that people are efficiently administering the war. The liberation of Khurramshahr was not an ordinary thing. The fact that 15 to 20 thousand of enemy forces voluntarily surrendered themselves is not an ordinary thing. It is supernatural. Today, Iran is counted as a great and strong country and has become the talk of the town. Saddam has said his forces withdrew victoriously! Have you heard of the story of Nadir when he was defeated? He told his commanders to write that they were defeated. Mirza Mahdi Khan wrote: "Our troops received a minor blow." When the writing was submitted to Nadir, he threw it away and said: "Write what they have done to us." He had the power to admit the defeat. If they had the power to compensate, they would admit their defeat, but their defeat would be perpetual.

Meanwhile, the US browbeats us and claims to have lost interests. Okay, they have interests in the region, but we have taken them back. They want to interfere from that part of the world. What is the meaning of intervention? Intervention means that they have mobilized Saddam and the *munafiqin* against Iran. Intervention does not mean that Reagan comes in person. You, gentlemen, should value this nation and strive to win the people's satisfaction because they have accompanied you and us. I appreciate that you who have served Islam and Muslims and hope that you will be successful in your efforts.

Speech

Date/Time: 9 am, May 30, 1982 [Khordad 9, 1361 AHS / Shaban 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran Religious center, Tehran

Subject: The position and role of the oil industry staff

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Qaradi (oil minister), deputies, managers and staff of the oil industry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The position of oil industry and the role of its staff

You, dear ones, who have come here are, firstly, the target of the criminals more than any other and, secondly, you are serving in the most effective organization for rendering services to Islam and the dear Islamic country. I congratulate you with whose efforts this revolution emerged triumphant. You are brave men with whose strikes the former regime and its masters were crippled. Congratulations to you for this victory and power! I should, however, remind you of some points.

In this great victory that Iran has achieved and is, thank God, taking the last steps to defeat the enemies of Islam, who are breathing their last, you see that the big powers have been frightened. They sometimes threaten you and sometimes us and sometimes try to mobilize the region against the nation, you and us. It is because they are scared of the Islamic power and the unity emerging in Iran and the solidarity developing among the nation. The most important organization targeted by the criminals is the oil ministry, its staff and its contractors. You should note that the preservation of this country and Islam in this area depends on your commitment to Islam and your country. The criminals, *munafiqin* and deviants attempt to infiltrate your ranks and deflect your path. This stratagem is on top of their agenda. I hope that you the staff and contractors of the oil ministry who have so far preserved this lifeline of the nation will not neglectful of their tricks. Whenever guileful wizards infiltrate your ranks and want to create discord, know that they want to lead you to subjection to the enemies of Islam.

Oil is lifeline of powers in the region

If the US government at this time says it has friends and interests in the region, one should see what it means. Who are, and were, their friends? What are, were or will be, their interests in the region? They have friends and these

friends are so friendly that in addition to being mercenaries, they give out the interests of their country, and the wealth of innocent human beings to the powerful countries to serve their interests. By their interests they mean the ones whose disruption will threaten their lifeline. And their friends are the ones whose lives will be at the stake as soon as they leave.

We admonish all neighboring countries, Islamic countries and their officials who imagine to be Islamic that by interests and friends the US means the abundant resources of Islamic countries and the underground resources of Islamic countries and by friends they mean you (some Islamic countries), who serve the US and also offer your own resources to it. However, because of Islam and Iran they consider their interests and friends to be at stake.

The Iranian nation and government and all Iranian organizations want to rescue you (neighboring Islamic countries) from this wretched situation created for you. They take your wealth and resources which should be used for the welfare and development of your countries for free. They have deceived you and intend to let you in the same perilous situation which Saddam entangled in, so that they can get rid of the trouble caused for them thanks to Islam. Nations know that Islam is more dear and useful than all else for them, both for their life in this world and the hereafter.

The necessity for governments to set the Islamic Republic as an example

Governments should be admonished to take the Islamic Republic as a model. Nations are aware of this need. People have been subjected to mental and physical tortures for long years. People who wallow about in poverty and destitution while others swallow their gold and black gold understand that accepting the Islamic Republic signifies driving out alien powers and hegemony of disbelievers and putting an end to their domination. Governments should be warned. Governments should heed the present regime in Iran and see if their status quo is better for them or if the situation undergoes a change towards that in Iran. They should note that today's Iran, the government, nation, Majlis, the army, the revolutionary guards corps and all others are a single organization and all support each other. If the government gets involved in a difficulty, the people will come in to remove it. If our borders are threatened, people, the oil workers and other organizations will support the government, whereas, in the past they closed the oil valves and emerged victorious. Today, they open the valves and they did and are victorious. If a problem afflicts the government, the youth, the nation, women and men, young and old will strive to remove it.

You see that foreign governments and superpowers created so many problems for us and imposed economic sanctions on us, but with the help of the people those plots were thwarted. If you, foreign governments, are embroiled in similar situation and your people treat you as the Iranian nation treats its government, you can muster all your power, stand against the big powers, and be like a master not a slave. Serve the nation and Islam to lord over powerful governments. Is this better or if you sever relations with your nations and bid farewell to Islam and oppose a republic that is Islamic and wants to be free and independent? If you oppose the latter you will be abject and under the domination of powerful countries that when a matter emerges running counter to their interests, they will announce that they have friends and interests. What interests can the US have here other than your enormous resources? What friends can they have here except those who serve their interests? The US does not need any friends; the US wants servants. The US wants servants who offer the interests of their country to them, while they themselves live in abjection. Our nation, our government and we will stand against any hegemony and oppose it as far as we can. I hope that the favor granted by God Almighty to the nation which serves Islam will continue and that the service the entire nation renders to Islam and the Islamic country will persist. If, God willing, such a thing continues, the country will not suffer harm and people will humiliate the big powers and all their diabolical tricks.

The Unseen divine favors in the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Whatever we have seen from the beginning of the revolution up to the present time has been a miracle. Notice that the revolution has been accomplished in Iran. Which power was it that could oust and drive out a monarchical regime with all that pomp and pageantry and all those powerful governments supporting it, a 2500-year-old regime armed with the most modern weaponry? Which power is it that can achieve victory in warfronts despite all enemy's weapons? Which big power is it that can inject fear in their hearts that they surrender in multitudes? While they hold up in shelters equipped with all sorts of provisions, your brothers attacked with G-3 rifles from the open expanse of the desert. Our brothers frightened them that they had to down arms, or threw themselves in the river to survive. Others were killed and some decided to surrender.

Defeat of the country and captivity of the nation by creating discord

My brothers-in-faith should note what you have done and what divine mission you have to accomplish. Take note that you control the lifeline of the

superpowers of the West and East and the enemy is aiming at you, who have driven them back with your powerful hand. Beware of their artifice, which is in progress every day. The oil workers should know that they are being targeted and those who want to bring this country to its knees seek to create discord among them. Beware that if, God forbid, a difference emerges among you, your captivity will be renewed. You, the nation and we were under the domination of big powers because of the corrupt former regime. Everywhere contractors were from among them and treated us as lowly servants. Your strong hand and the power of your faith sent them to to where they rightfully belong and hurled them to hell. Today, thank God, the power is in your own hands, and you are controlling all fields. You thwarted all the conspiracies they concocted. This very economic sanction was a divine blessing, causing the mind of our experts to be set in motion and, thank God, they are proceeding towards self-sufficiency. Let me end my speech and pray for you. May God keep this Islamic power and your vigilance! May God destroy the enemies of our nation and defuse their ruses and grant happiness, health and dignity to you and the Islamic nations.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 1, 1982 [Khordad 11, 1361 AHS / Shaban 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran Religious center, Tehran

Subject: The ever-increasing responsibility of the officials of the Islamic establishment; warning to the nonaligned countries

Audience: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice), Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Majlis Speaker), Majlis deputies, members of the Supreme Judicial Council, religious judges and public prosecutors of the revolutionary courts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Increasing responsibility of the officials in the Islamic establishment

I thank the Majlis deputies, the gentlemen from the judiciary, the respected Islamic judges and the esteemed prosecutors general for coming here; I also want to congratulate the gentlemen, the nation and oppressed people of the world on the victories of Islam. I would like to make a few points on our present duties and them on the situation going on in the world. Of course, regarding the subject referred to by the respected Majlis Speaker, I cannot say much now, but I would like to talk about some general issues. It is hoped that, God willing, in another opportunity the problems will be settled. As he said there are problems and I also admit that we have problems, but all are determined to overcome the problems. The respected Majlis, which is, thank God, a divine assembly, the Judicial Council, the judges and the esteemed prosecutors general, who are all committed as well the government and the executive organizations, are all working to remove the problems. Their efforts give the good tidings of the removal of problems. When the efforts and plans had not been launched to remove the problems, the problems seemed to be great. However, after the decision was taken and plans launched, it is hoped that the problems will be removed quickly, God willing. What I would like to say is that any step the revolution takes forward, the responsibility of the gentlemen and all those involved in the Islamic Revolution, whether the government and others, will grow. In the early days of the revolution, with all the problems and chaos that followed which are inevitable everywhere, the excuses were acceptable. At another time because of corrupt people, *munafiqin* and deviants who are at large and continued with their criminal acts our excuses were also acceptable. In yet another development one might be embroiled in a war, such as today. In

these cases, there is room for excuse. However, thank God, these problems that were like a thorn in your side have been to a great extent removed. The war is, thank God Almighty, on the verge of being settled and the deviants and those affiliated to foreign powers are on the verge of destruction. Now, we are all responsible. Whether the gentlemen in the Majlis, who holds the highest of ranks, or the Judicial Council, and the judiciary, which is of great significance and the government, which executes the laws of Islam, are all responsible. From me, as a simple *talabeh* (theology student) to you gentlemen, the government, the judiciary, the judges and prosecutors general, Friday prayer leaders, prominent *maraji* (religious reference authorities), *tullab* (theology students) and thinkers committed to Islam now bear a great responsibility. God Almighty will no longer accept all our excuses. Today, we cannot say we are in the process of a revolution and can do nothing. We cannot say the war is raging and our hands are tied. We cannot say these groups are so active in Iran engaging our attention. These are issues that have either been settled or about to be settled. Therefore, the Majlis should take more steps and pass the bills with greater speed and make the laws completely Islamic. If a law, a proposal or a bill carries a single non-Islamic point, this is rejected in Islam and by God Almighty.

Effort to make the country Islamic

We should endeavor to improve the situation in the same way that through the efforts of people, the million-strong people, the revolution emerged victorious. We are indebted to the efforts and sacrifices of the people. May God grant health to all and mercy and happiness to our martyrs! We are indebted to them. We are bound to pursue the goal they set. Their goal is reflected in their slogans from the outset of the revolution to the present day and, God willing, in the future. They want independence, freedom and Islamic Republic—a republic based on Islamic laws, a republic sanctioned by the Messenger of God (*s*) and the Imam of the Time (may our souls be sacrificed for him). If something is done in contravention of the Islamic rules, neither the Prophet nor our Imams will endorse them. We should strive to take long Islamic strides towards Islam. If you pass a bill, God forbid, against Islam, you cannot find an excuse. If the esteemed judges and the Judicial Council, God forbid, take a step in contrast to what has been stipulated, they are not excused: they will be accountable to God. If Friday prayers leaders and the clerics who are engaged in the Islamic Republic take a step or make a statement, in contrast to the interests of Islam, they will be held accountable. All of us are accountable and responsible. “Each one of

you is a caretaker and each one of you is responsible.”¹ We should strive to proceed towards Islam and implement Islam, Islamic laws, Islamic judicial laws and Islamic political laws as soon as possible and as competently as possible in this country. If you decide to do this, you will definitely be able to. As you know all the laws in the former regimes—almost all of the laws, penal codes and political laws ran counter to Islam. Those in charge of judgment were persons who had taken charge of the seat of judgment in contravention of the criteria set by Islam and are in hell. If the officials who busy serving the nation, make an offence, though unwittingly, they will be called to account. You should carefully watch and scrutinize, lest something contrary to Islam may be done. I pray for you gentlemen. I will fulfill my duties, one being to pray for you; I hope you will also pray for me, lest I may shirk this duty.

Warning the conference of non-aligned countries

Let me touch on the issues coming about today in the region and the world. Of course, you, all or majority of you, know what is going on in the region and the world. The US, Britain, France, Germany and other countries have set out unabashedly to raise hue and cry in a bid to re-install Saddam. They want to get together so as to refine Saddam’s image. However, whether they meet in Baghdad, whether these so-called non-aligned countries assemble in Baghdad or not, the die is cast. This dead body² will not be restored to life. Even if you (non-aligned countries) converge in Baghdad³, you will appoint a dead man as your chief. In fact, you have selected a dead criminal and this is a shame for you non-aligned people, a shame that will be engraved in your forehead till the resurrection day. If you imagine that by going to Baghdad and appointing Saddam, or the like of him, as chairman, you can decontaminate one whose crimes are so great that words and pens are inadequate to describe, you are wrong because he will not be cleansed with the water in all the seas in the world. If you want to raise his flag and revive him, it will not be hoisted. He is now like a corpse which is making some abortive attempts. You cannot do anything to restore him to life. Don’t put yourselves into trouble. Damage neither your own reputation, nor create

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

² Saddam Husayn.

³ Reference to the conference of the heads of non-aligned countries that were to meet in Baghdad to appoint Saddam Husayn as president of the conference as provided by the regulations, but with the warnings of Imam Khomeini their effort failed.

trouble for us. Those who have come here from across the seas cannot restore Saddam to life. I give them the same advice. If Jesus Christ (peace be upon him), who restored the dead to life, comes, he cannot restore this dead body to life. As this act requires guiding him. God Almighty addressed the Prophet of Islam, who was nobler than Jesus (peace be upon him), in the following words: *“Lo! thou (O Muhammad) guidest not whom thou lovest, but Allah guideth whom He will.”*¹ Jesus (peace be upon him) revived natural corpses, but he will not be able or want to revive a corpse whose heart has died, who has been divested of all his possessions, who has lost his prestige and whose cherished Qadisiyeh has been shattered. Therefore, what do they want to do? Those who come together to sit in Baghdad in the name of non-aligned conference, should know that it is not clear if many of the governments would agree. The governments that are attentive to developments, and are not afraid of the US and others and those countries that care for their reputation and think of Islam might not agree with you. If you want to convene the conference despite the opposition of these governments and appoint him as chairman, know that you have brought shame for yourselves that history will not forget. The water of all seas cannot cleanse this shame and you cannot bring prestige to one who has had no reputation from the beginning. Even if he had, it has been lost. You take note of the orders he had given to his military commanders to kill everyone in Khunin Shahr or Khorramshahr and to fire their last bullet to kill that last remaining person in this city. However, his commanders did not listen to him; they could not listen to him and surrendered in multitudes. One who subsequently claims he has ordered for withdrawal- perhaps tactical withdrawal- cannot restore his prestige. Do not damage your reputation for this disreputable man.

Warning against Saddam’s crimes

We offer you our advice. Iran gives you its advice. Sit a while in seclusion and drive out the US, Soviet Union and other powers from your mind and think if you go to Baghdad, what you will be able to do. I forewarn you of Saddam’s crimes. I don’t consider it unlikely on the part of Saddam, who is at the end of his tether, to kill some of you and then put the blame on Iran in an attempt to force you to raise opposition to Iran. There is fear of this treatment by Saddam. Don’t think that this criminal cannot do these things. This criminal commits whatever crime. This crime I cited is likely, as he bombards some places and claims that Iran has done it. He is a friend of

¹ *Surah al-Qasas*, 28: 56.

Israel and says that Iran purchases weapons from Israel. Now, the superpowers and their mouthpieces are making farcical maneuvers. One says that it did so with America being informed, America says that it urged them not to do so, and their parliament reprimand them. The thing they intend to tell is that Israel export arms to Iran and all have confirmed this issue that if Israel touches the oceans, it will defile all of them. Israel is itself aware of this fact. So with claims such as “We have helped Iran” they want to besmirch Iran’s reputation, as they are well aware that Israel’s agreement with Iran will definitely ruin the latter’s reputation.

Anyway, the issues which are currently going on trigger the fear that if they converge, they might kill some of them in Baghdad or en route and then blame Iran for it. Or when they come together in the assembly venue, Saddam might leave the assembly, excusing himself saying that he wanted to wash his hands, and dismantle the assembly. Be careful not to fall into the trap spread by Saddam, who is a dangerous man. People who are at the end of their tether, criminals who are at their end of their tether argue: now that I am departing, let all die with me.¹ Such is the case. Let them now sit and think if Saddam with his stinking corpse is worth to be valued this much. The US, which says it is not ready to barter away Israel for the world and plunders your assets and still says it will not exchange Israel with you is not worth serving in exchange for damaging your reputation before your people, the people of the world and the future generations. I hope that you will waken up and heed the issues and not entangle yourselves in destruction, nor put us in trouble as well. May God acquaint all Muslims their Islamic duties! May God acquaint you, the Iranian nation and us with our Islamic duties and grant us success to practice Islam and implement Islam everywhere.

May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon!

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 29, p. 179. This is the remark made by Abdullah Ibn Zubayr when he was grappling with Malik Ashtar in the battle of Jamal and the former was sitting on his chest.

Message

Date: June 2, 1982 [Khordad 12, 1361 AHS / Shaban 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating people's readiness for the reconstruction of war-torn regions

Audience: The Iranian nation

In His Most Exalted Name

Following the enormous victory of the strong combatants of Islam and liberation of Khurramshahr, the city of red tulips, the dear, kind and selfless people of the country, the prominent *ulama* and Friday prayer leaders in different provinces have sent telegrams announcing their readiness for the construction of the cities devastated in the war. They have displayed their degree of selflessness in this important and humanitarian matter. Truly, this permanent and untiring presence in the scene and the preparedness and sincere sacrifices of the brave people of Iran are a source of pride for every Muslim and are amazing to the world. It can be said that this is one of the divine graces and blessings of the war which has made people ever closer and kinder to each other to the extent they share the sorrows and joys of each other.

I cannot do justice enough to appreciate this amount of selflessness and sincerity. It is only God who can appreciate your virtues and reward you through His encompassing mercy. May God reward your valuable efforts!

A point that I should remind you of is that to achieve the speedy advancement of the works, the gentlemen and the respected people who have voiced their readiness for reconstruction should note that they should coordinate with the "Supreme Council for Reconstruction of War-torn Regions", which functions under the supervision of the Islamic Republic government. You are advised to provide your assistance, whether financial or material or human, with the guidance of the said council so that, by the grace of Allah, you will attain your sacred goal most efficiently, and prevent the wastage of forces which are the result of absence of coordination.

Finally, I apologize for not being able to answer your letters one by one. I beseech God Almighty to grant you success and to destroy the enemies of Islam and humanity as soon as possible. God's peace, blessings and mercy be upon you

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 3, 1982 [Khordad 13, 1361 AHS / Shaban 10, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran Religious Center, Tehran

Subject: The importance of unity and solidarity

Audience: Families of martyrs of the cities of Bushehr, Sari, Qa'imshahr and Tehran, female theology students of Fatimiyyah School in Najafabad, Mr. Muhsin Rida'i (Commander in Chief of IRGC) and all IRGC commanders

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Divine favor lies in unity and solidarity of forces

As the dear brothers are willing to meet me, I am also willing to meet these dear brilliant faces. Some of the issues are important and due to their significance, some other issues should be postponed for a while. Thank God, today and on the threshold of 15 Khordad, the situation in Iran, in general, and the situation of the armed forces, in particular, greatly differs from that of the previous year. Thank God, solidarity has developed among the armed forces, although efforts had been made to separate them. It was an American design to pit the forces that could be active against each other. The design was thwarted and buried. As quoted by the people who frequent here, they have been astounded by the spirit of brotherhood permeating the groups. It has been related that at times when one enters the meetings convened by the brothers, one cannot distinguish between the military man, the revolutionary guards corps and the mobilized forces. They form a close knit group! This is why God Almighty has favored you and us. This is divine help. Divine help means that one must respect His rules and act according to His commands. This is divine help. One of the commands that is greatly emphasized is unity and solidarity, particularly among the military forces. If, God forbid, a difference creeps into their ranks, it is the day when the US has achieved its goals.

Preserving the prestige of Islam

Well, as you may see sometimes people act according to or against their own wishes. Today, one should not consider his own wishes. When Islam and its prestige is at stake and one sees that all powers and all propaganda operations are against all of our organizations, particularly, the dear revolutionary guards, one should sacrifice all his personal wishes for Islam

and its laws. You and all our combatants are the ones whom one is ashamed of facing—because you are ready to sacrifice your lives for the sake of Islam. We are not fortunate enough to make such a sacrifice. We can only pray for you. When you were supposed to offer such a gift, if, let us suppose, something runs counter to your wishes you should struggle against it. This is an inward struggle that one is always engaged in and should be always wary of.

Satan has many petty things to do—furtive ploys that man cannot perceive instantly though he will appreciate them later. Satan poses many temptations. One should stand against Satan and curb carnal passions. Preserve the unity and solidarity now prevailing among you and other brothers in the army, mobilized forces and elsewhere as well as the tribal people who are a power and, thank God, interested in Islam.

Unity to repel the enemy

In the former regime, at the time of Rida Shah, plans were underway to destroy the tribal people. Many of them were destroyed. Now, they are, thank God, a power and are your friends. Be friends with each other so that you can reach the destination. Rest assured that as long as the present situation prevails in Iran, the country will proceed. Many of those who were pessimistic about Islam cherished the hope that Islam would come to its end in a few months. When their dreams did not come true, they expressed the hope that it would be destroyed in a few more months or a near time in the future. Now, they see three years have elapsed while solidarity has developed and stability has strengthened. I hope as this newborn revolution,¹ grows older, its activity, strength and solidarity will also grow. Those who are waiting in the hope that Iran would be restored to monarchy or those who want to establish a secular democratic republic will all go to hell and cannot do it, God willing, provided that we heed this verse that says, “*If ye help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm.*”² God Almighty has this condition that His help follows our help. If we help God and act for God and His religion, He will help us. If there are grievances now, we have to forget them and wait until things are improved. Then one can do something if that grievance has not been addressed. However, today is not the time to assume a bad disposition against somebody. One can say something that might, God forbid, bring harm to another. You may say

¹ Islamic Revolution and Islamic Republic establishment in its embryonic stage.

² *Surah Muhammad*, 47: 7.

something and the military men say something else. This should not be the case. We all should be united. A common enemy has come and we should first and foremost drive it away. When the common enemy is repulsed, the complaints may be settled later. If there are still grievances, it will be easier to address them later. I pray for you and hope that you will preserve the prestige you have developed now.

Thank God, if you look at the newspapers, Iran is today on top of the news headlines in the world. All are scared of this Iranian and Islamic movement. Of course, Islamic nations do not fear nor should they be frightened because Iran does not plan to push aside the Islamic governments and do something against them; on the contrary, it wishes Islam to materialize and they, too, must conform with Islam. We are all on their side. Our common enemy today is Israel, the US and the like; they want to mar our prestige and subject us to oppression. We should repel this common enemy together. When we have, then everyone has his own government and will proceed. I wish you success and God's affirmation. I pray for you and hope you will also pray for me so that I will not forget praying for you. May God protect you all! I hope you will enjoy the favors of God Almighty under the shadow of the Imam of the Time (peace be upon him).

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

Message

Date: June 5, 1982 [Khordad 15, 1361 AHS / Shaban 12, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The divine day of 15 Khordad, a reflection of Ashura

Occasion: Anniversary of 15 Khordad uprising

Addressee: Iranian Nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Infinite praise is due to God. Today, 15 Khordad 1361 AHS, marks the anniversary of Khordad 1342 as the event which molded the auspicious revolution of the great people of Iran and the day when the seed of the great Islamic Revolution was planted. The dear nation should seek this blessed event and seed on the evening of Ashura 1383 AH which coincided with the hours of the martyrdom of the Master of the oppressed and martyrs, when the pure blood of Imam Husayn was shed on the seething earth of the desert of Karbala and irrigated the root of the Islamic revolution. The honorable people of Iran staged the crushing uprising on the inauspicious anniversary of the explosive disaster falling on 15 Khordad 1342, inspired by the events of Ashura. If it were not for Ashura and its warmth and fervor, it would not be clear whether such a revolution without organization and precedence could materialize. The tragic Ashura event inspires revolutions at any juncture from 61 AH to Khordad of (13) 61 and thence onward to the revolution of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him). On that day, the Yazidis dug their own graves and registered their downfall and the fall of their criminal and oppressive regime. And on 15 Khordad 1342, the Pahlavi sympathizers and their criminal leaders dug their own graves, and brought about their downfall and eternal damnation. The honorable people of Iran, thank God, send curses upon their graves powerfully and triumphantly.

The anniversary of 15 Khordad in 1360 differs from that in 1361, which we are witnessing. In 1360, the country and honorable people had, unfortunately, many problems such as the imposed war, treason of some treacherous elements in favor of the foreign powers and acts of sabotage by corrupt elements ranging from the *munafiqin* to other devious terrorist groups, resulting in the martyrdom of a large number of our dear ones who were committed to Islam and the Islamic Republic. However, thank God, on the anniversary of 15 Khordad 1361, our powerful combatants with sacrifices

and devotion backed by God Almighty and inspired by the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) and the support of the honorable people across the country, emerged victorious over the warmongers and are taking the last steps, while the criminal Saddamites are in the agony of death. And the sinister designs of the domestic mischief-makers and mercenary groups came to naught, thanks to the efforts of the revolutionary guards, disciplinary and mobilized forces and the cooperation of the dear nation. In 1360, through the intense activity of the traitors and those affiliated to the US aided by the evil hand of ingenious criminals and terrorists and their diabolic tricks, a rift was about to emerge between the revolutionary guards, these committed and selfless youth and the dear fighters of the army whose sacrifices we are witnessing in the warfronts. God knows where this innocent country would be ushered in with this sinister plan and what would befall this honorable nation and Islam. By the will of the great God and through the efforts of the Majlis (Islamic Consultative Assembly) and with the support of the noble people in 1361 on the anniversary of Khordad 1342, these germs of corruption and treason and American master criminals were removed from the scene and slid into the grave of oblivion.

Today, with gratitude to the favors of God Almighty, the armed forces command such solidarity and unity that frighten the ill-wishers. Despite the false propaganda launched by the blathering enemy's mass media apparatus, the unity of expression and fraternity are very strong among the legislative, the judiciary and the executive branches—something that is unprecedented in history. I hope that, this divine ray that shines on Iran, thanks to Islam and the commitment to it, will continue. Let the defeated enemies and isolated ill-wishers whose hands have been curtailed from everything content themselves with these notorious lies and childish wishes. They fabricate that Iran is anxious for power and the clerics line up for holding the rein of affairs, that Iran will be embroiled in chaos in the near future after such and such events and that the Islamic Republic will be transformed into a secular democratic republic! Let them know that they will not live to see these pleasant dreams come true. Thank God, dear Iran has reached a level of stability that Islamic amity prevails among all organizations, and with the death of individuals, whoever he may be, the country will not suffer. No one, except their dreamy friends, listens to these lies. In our life in this revolution and prior to this, we have seen incredible and wonderful scenes ranging from Rida Khan roaming in religious theaters and kindling candles, to Muhammad-Rida publishing the Quran and wearing a pilgrimage garb, from Saddam becoming a devoted and pious Muslim to Carter becoming Islamologists, making

pronouncements of religious decrees for Muslims to wage *Jihad* (holy war) against Iran and to Begin's and Reagan's spokesmen making threats. Perhaps if we live longer, we may see them in mosques and in queues for congregational prayers! Exactly at a time when the Islamic Republic invites Muslims to Islamic unity in an attempt to protect the Islamic lands and the holy shrines, a proposal comes from the hub of revelation to mount *Jihad* against Iran in an attempt to thwart the cry for unity. They beat their chests in favor of the US, the enemy of Islam, and Israel, which is struggling to occupy lands from the Euphrates to the Nile and exercise domination over the holy shrines. In about two years, when the Aflaqite Saddam aggressed upon Islamic Iran and destroyed the cities of Iranian-Arab Muslims and slay the young and old with artillery, missile and other weapons, the world-devouring governments and their paws did not condemn him (Saddam) and the human rights organizations and the like had kept mum. Today, however, when the half-dead body of Saddam and the infidel Baath party of Iraq are in the agony of death, all propaganda horns and apparatuses run by the world-devourers and their affiliates cry for peace and seek assistance from Israel, Egypt and Jordan. The US occasionally threatens Iran. It has not yet realized that Iranians who rose up to curtail the influence of America, and who wholeheartedly *Jihad* in the cause of God are not afraid of such threats. If the Muslims of the world waken up from their slumber and get united with each other, no power can threaten them. Iranian authorities have always invited them to brotherhood and unity at any opportunity. It is hoped that they will come to their senses and do not barter away their human and Islamic prestige with mundane things offered by the satanic powers. You (Islamic countries) should not rise up against the Islamic Republic and sacrifice yourselves for the Aflaqite Saddam and his masters. Shake the hands of brotherhood with the Islamic Republic, which is ready to back you in order to rescue you and the Islamic countries. Otherwise, the great people of Iran and its valorous armed forces will not undertake any responsibility before God Almighty and Islamic countries for any event that may befall them at their own hands. The Iranian nation cannot be indifferent to events posing a threat to Islamic countries, particularly to the land of revelation and where the holy shrines are located. The people of Iran, like other Muslims of the world, are responsible before God for the predicaments and threats underway to undermine Islam. Today, the most dangerous of these threats are the Camp David peace plan and Fahd plan, which will endorse Israel and its crimes. All of us, particularly the Saudi government, are responsible before Islam and the Holy Quran and the future generations. I fear that nations and

Islamic governments come to their senses when, God forbid, Israel has attained its tyrannical and criminal goals by means of the criminal US. I consider support for the idea of an independent Israel and its recognition to be a disaster for Muslims and Islamic governments, deeming opposition to it to be a great Islamic obligation. I seek refuge in the great God from these machinations concocted by pseudo-Muslims against Islam.

The great Iranian nation keeps alive the anniversary of 15 Khordad as the Day of God. The people of Iran will not forget the honor the honor of this uprising in which, with clenched fists their pure blood, people stood against the tyrannical Pahlavi monarchical dynasty and laid the solid foundation for the Islamic Revolution that culminated in the downfall of the most powerful criminal in the region. The Iranian nation is now celebrating the sacrifices and struggles of the brave youth of the Islamic country, who laid the foundation emerging from darkness into light, from being humbled into being proud and from slavery into independence. The people of Iran commemorate the Doyen of Martyrs, who cried on the night of Ashura "Alas! We never surrender to abjection"¹ and the 15 Khordad and the ensuing days of God that enjoyed the warmth of the divine light of Ashura and the sun of beauty of the Husayn, attaining to knowledge from the rays of his guidance and resistance in the face of the falsehood. May God Almighty guide this nation, which has sacrificed everything including their brave dear ones whose tall stature was firm as eternity and whose warmth of blood was exhilarating like the love of the elegant beauty of the Truth in the cause of the friend at the altar of sacrifice as of 15 Khordad 1342 to Bahman 1357 with the light of His guidance, making them prolific with the manifestation of His omnipotence and firm with His refreshing ray for restoring the right and invalidating the wrong, not divesting them of this unity and dignity. There is nothing to fear and no power but God. God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.²

¹ "Alas! Compromise with the enemy and abjection, are far from us!" The utterance was made by Imam Husayn (a) in response to Yazid's to pay allegiance to him.

² The text of Imam Khomeini's message was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini to a large gathering of people who had come together at Imam Khomeini Square to commemorate the anniversary of 15 Khordad 1342 uprising. Present at the gathering were fighters from the liberation movements of the world, multitude of the mobilized forces from tribal people, armed forces, women and people from all walks of life, with the clergy walking in the front row. The placards carried by the demonstrators read: "15 Khordad was for Islam, was in the name of Islam and under the guidance of the clerics", "commemorating the epic of 15 Khordad, is commemorating the Islamic values in history".

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 5, 1982 [Khordad 15, 1361 AHS / Shaban 12, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Occasion: Establishing the 15 Khordad Foundation

Addressee: Founding members of 15 Khordad Foundation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I hope this blessed foundation, set up to serve the esteemed families of the martyrs of the revolution and oppressed people of the society, and whose superintendents are reliable and trustworthy, will be successful in this valuable Islamic services. It is hoped that the government and the honorable people will not spare their support for this foundation. It is also hoped that the honorable foundation gives priority to remote deprived villages. May God grant us success in working for the welfare of the deprived people!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 15, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: June 5, 1982 [Khordad 15, 1361 AHS / Shaban 12, 1402 AH] ¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the bravery and sacrifices of tribal people

Occasion: Establishment of the tribal camp of Mustadafan Basij Unit of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Addressee: Participants in the tribal camp

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the brave tribal people of Iran! Greetings to the zealous fighters who have made up the most strenuous defenders of Islam and Islamic country in the course of the Islamic history of Iran, and have constantly safeguarded the borders, deserts, mountains and the expanse of our country thwarting all plots of the enemy. Salutations to you dear people who have occasionally endured the hardest of ecological conditions and greatest shortages and deprivations, tolerated difficulties, have never into the hands of aliens and sold-out individuals and uncontrollable flunkies who are on the lam but have ostracized and repelled them instead. Greetings to you lions and lionesses who gave hope to the brave combatants by mobilizing the tribal people and dispatching material aid and rendering other cooperation whether in frontlines or behind the frontlines, providing a solid support for warriors and contributing to discovery and neutralization of the plots of the enemies. From here, I extend my salutations to you, dear ones, and press your hands warmly. I hope that you will continue to serve as a strong impenetrable dam against the enemies of Islam and your Islamic country. It is my hope that you will keep uncontaminated the pure and clear tribal environment from the poisonous propaganda operations launched by hirelings of the aliens and block the roads to all of their conspiracies, vigilantly thwarting their traitorous plots. It is hoped that God Almighty will help you in traversing this sacred path and grant you success, and that you also will never forget God in all stages of your life.

Finally, I ask the government officials to quickly remove your problems and shortages in addition to other responsibilities they shoulder. God willing, after the end of war and reconstruction of war-ravaged regions, priority will

¹ *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume set), vol. 16, p. 176 inserted below the date 14/3/1361 AHS.

be given to attending to your problems and removing the complications.
God's peace, mercy and blessings are upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 6, 1982 [Khordad 16, 1361 AHS / Shaban 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Preparation for confronting domestic and foreign plots

Audience: Friday prayers leaders of Zanjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Preparation for confronting plots

First, I should thank you gentlemen for taking the trouble to come here to meet me. What we are afflicted with these days and do not see to end any time soon are the issues which may arise after our victory in the war. It is not clear that the US will stop her covetous plans in this country. The Iranian nation and we are determined not to return to the previous situation, to that bondage and captivity, to the deprivation our nation suffered, the deprivation the country sustained and the anti-Islamic practices prevailing in the country. From this aspect we should prepare ourselves for resistance in the same way that through the resistance of people from all walks of life including the clerics and other strata, this revolution developed and achieved victory. We should also be prepared for the blows we might, God forbid, sustain both at the hands of the internal opponents who have lost their illegitimate interests and who can no longer commit the injustice they used to commit against the deprived masses of people and attempt to restore the situation and by external elements, the governments affiliated with the US or other powers. The clergy, whom God Almighty may protect, should fulfill this duty. They should spearhead the people. The rank and file may not know what is up. The persons who come here from abroad or the personalities based abroad at times send me messages saying that you still don't know ourselves what you have done and what has happened in the world as the result of the revolution. It is indeed true that we cannot understand the depth of what our people have done under the canopy of Islam and Imam of the Time (peace be upon him). This should be understood gradually. However, as far as we know, it is clear from the tone of all mass media apparatus directed by the US, the Soviet Union, Israel, Britain and others that they have suffered a blow. If you listen, you will find that all these fabrications and shenanigans are not something ordinary. Well! Many wars have broken out in the world; many massacres and devastations have taken place. However, when we notice, we see that

only a minimal part of what happens in the world is reflected in the media. However, the mass media apparatus cover and fan the events in Iran every day and night, trivializing where the events are in favor of Iran, while magnifying those being detrimental to Iran. From these reactions we should understand that they have suffered a blow. We still do not understand the greatness of the blow they have suffered. However, from what we understand it is clear that we should preserve resistance and the Islamic spirit.

Setting the Holy Prophet as a model in enduring problems

You gentlemen should know that the events which took place in the advent of Islam, the hardships suffered by the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) when he was in Mecca and Medina indicate that the Prophet—it can be said—did not have a happy day in the material sense of the term. If you study the Islamic history, you will find this out. Every day he was embroiled in a problem and difficulty his opponents had created for him. When he was in Mecca, the Quraish harassed him, affronted him and pestered him so much that he could not stay there. In Mecca, he was subjected to economic sanction. Occasionally, the Prophet and his companions found some provisions after much effort. Take Khadijah's¹ story for instance. She was a wealthy widow and offered all her wealth to the Prophet and became so poor that she reportedly sucked the skin of a plant in order to satisfy her hunger. We should think of what the Prophet did and for what reasons he did them. He was a human being, but you see he was responsible. He was a man for whom God had specified a duty to fulfill. God had sent Islam and ordered the Prophet to resist. "*So tread thou the straight path as thou art commanded,*"² This holy verse is repeated on two occasions in the Holy Quran: *Surah Hud*³ and *Surah ash-shawra*.⁴ The difference in the two *surahs* is that the latter reads: "And be thou upright as thou art commanded" and the former reads: "So tread thou the straight path as thou art commanded". The Prophet has been quoted as saying: "The verse 112 of *Surah Hud* aged me."⁵ It was because he was anxious that his companions may not put up resistance. Right! He was resistant himself. However, his companions were also commanded to be resistant, in the same way the

¹ Hadrat Khadijah, mother of believers, was the first wife of the holy Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him). She was mother of Hadrat Zahra and the first women believing in the Prophet.

² *Surah Hud*, 11: 112.

³ *Surah* 11 of the Holy Quran, Meccan with 123 verses.

⁴ *Surah* 42 of the Holy Quran, Meccan with 53 verses.

⁵ *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

Prophet had been commanded to be. Likewise, those who have embraced Islam are commanded to persevere. This perseverance should last to the end.

Now we should carry out this mission as far as we can. If the nation pays attention to the problems and difficulties suffered by the Prophet and the Muslims in the early days of Islam, they will understand that they had far more a greater amount of difficulties while we have not yet reached that point. You see that today inflation is rampant in Iran but obviously, we are not suffering from hunger. Foodstuffs are there though expensive. The government is trying to provide welfare for so-called low-income class as much as it can. God willing, it will do it. We should enlighten the masses of people who are subjected to evil propaganda by foreign groups and radios. We should enlighten the people to the fact that they have done something that these radios have changed so much and that these affiliates to foreign powers so closely pursue the issues. Why do not they pursue the events so closely in other places? It is because an unprecedented thing has happened here. In other places whatever has been done, whatever revolution has been accomplished has been dependent on a power. If it has been subjected to a blow by one side, the other side has supported it. Anyone who has staged a coup has been either affiliated with the Soviet Union or the US. The revolution you and our nation accomplished is exemplary. It has been unprecedented in recent centuries. Since the time when the superpowers came in to subjugate other nations, no such event has occurred. There has been no nation which has tried to preserve its identity, has put up with what it possessed, and has tried to get where it would need no one and would not rely on either the West or the East. This is exclusive to Iran. In such a case the masses of people should be enlightened that they are doing a hard work and that difficult tasks call for great efforts. We do not only work for material gains to be reproached by others. We should work to gain spirituality. From the outset, the Muslims in Iran and the nation have cried for Islamic Republic and the laws of Islam. When we want to serve Islam, we should no longer expect, for instance, a garden to be given to us for serving Islam. We serve for the sake of Islam and God will reward us.

Accusing Iran of having relations with Israel

Therefore, resistance is something that necessarily comes with any revolution. This revolution should be more resistant than revolutions elsewhere—we have to tolerate the difficulties caused for us from all sides. You notice that people took to the streets and marched to commemorate the 15th of Khordad, the day when so much damage was inflicted on people.

Saddam bombarded the city of Ilam, a poor district in that city, and killed many of those who had taken to the streets. It is not clear yet how many more have been martyred. Some 200 others have been so far reported wounded. If a portion of such a big crime had been committed by Iran, you would see what foreign mass media apparatus would have done. However, in this case they simply say Iran has claimed such a thing has happened. Then they quote Saddam as saying that this was in retaliation for what they did to Basra! Well! Saddam fabricates a lie. He should find an excuse. He tells a lie and commits such a crime. We should expect such crimes. We should not ask why he did so, because he is known for such crimes. The reason is the revolution you have accomplished. You cry for Islam; they say outright that Islam should not prevail. For example, the Egyptian government openly says that Islamic Republic must not exist. Egyptian president and Israeli president have adopted a unified stance on pounding Islam. He claims to be the president of a Muslim country and Iraq claims that Iran has relations with Israel, while Israel and Egypt pledged to help Iraq against Iran. Notice the one which they claim to be helping us. As you may have noticed they have started a scenario on the foreign radios in the past few days. One was for us, and the other against. The former asked "why you did so?" The latter said you were in the know! One said we did not say to do so. Their parliament said why so and so happened. They had taken the game for granted. Following this game, they dwelt on a mechanism of calling on people to note that this cooperation has been made and this help rendered. They have talked about the quality of the relationship. All right! This was a maneuver they launched. However, their bluff was called. If Israel, God forbid, supports Iran and such a disgrace befalls Iran, well it should not have shaken hands with Egypt in an attempt to overt Saddam defeat. Israel attack one of their military sites, which they later blamed on Iran, but now both sides join hands and want to undermine Iran and Islam. As regards other countries, I don't know what I should tell them. Iran wants to rescue them and protect them against difficulties and servility they are suffering from. Instead, they intend to kill us. Of course, they are not capable of doing it.

But why should Islamic countries act like this? Why should they be in such situation that Israel dares attack an Islamic country Lebanon? All is for the fact that they have given respite to Israel and develop friendship with Israel and perhaps are helping it. We should resist.

Refusing to raise particular problems at public rostrums

The Friday and congregational prayer leaders should make people understand that we have done something that brings hardship. This enlightenment is not exclusive to Friday prayer leaders. We stress Friday because congregation is greater on that day. Therefore, Friday and congregational prayer leaders and *ulama* (religious scholars) should fulfill this duty. You all did it for God and you all say if something is for God it will be ensued by difficulty as our Prophet has said: “Paradise has been wrapped in hardship.”¹ One who wishes to obtain the paradise of proximity to God, should also endure the hardships without being disheartened. Beware that these interlopers should dispirit the people. One of the issues I have always stressed besides observing unity of expression, is, as pointed out by the gentleman, holding seminars. Get together two or three times a month and exchange views to develop mutual understanding. Also organize meetings with other *ulama* in different cities and villages. Every one of you should develop this understanding in his own province. You should also be connected with government authorities. If a problem emerges and you gentlemen inform people at the pulpit that such a thing has happened, this will weaken the government. Today, preservation of this government is obligatory—a religious obligation. In the same way that removal of that corrupt regime was obligatory, today preservation of this government is also obligatory. Gentlemen—I mean the entire *ulama* in cities, particularly the Friday prayer leaders who address the public once a week—if a problem occurs or you have grievances against a governor general in a city or against an official, you are advised to settle it between yourselves. Subsequently, you should refer to the concerned officials. But you should not disclose it to people, telling them who has done what. This treatment results in debilitation of the government and today it is not advisable to weaken a government that is wholeheartedly serving the people. Obviously, any officials may sometimes make mistakes. It has always been the case. You who are also serving people may also make mistakes. We should not declare to the people that so and so has happened. Don’t discuss the mistakes with people. We should settle it privately. Summon the one who has made a mistake in a private session attended by *ulama* and speak about the mistake. The governors general are not such that if *ulama* invite them, they will turn the invitation down. The situation is never going to be like what went under the

¹ The original *hadith* (narration) reads as follows: “Paradise has been wrapped in hardship” *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 67, p. 78, H 12.

previous regime. Now, the situation is such that the governors are from among the people and come to people to develop understanding. Such is the case with regard to other officials who are, thank God popular. Officials ranging from the prime minister and president to others are like other people and attend meetings, as do other people. I hope that you and we will be successful in serving this republic, in sanctioning all officials, in solidifying unity among all and in acquainting people with their duties. It is among the paramount works to acquaint the people with their duties and remind them of the hardships of the early days of Islam and how they transferred Islam to us. This is something that should be said and I hope that your warm breath will, God willing, waken up the people and that you will be successful. Pray for me to succeed in fulfilling my duty to pray for you all.

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

Message

Date: ?

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the services of Construction *Jihad* and highlighting the establishment of nationwide councils

Addressee: Members of the Construction *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Construction *Jihad* in a country that has been vitiated by the criminal hand of the notorious Pahlavi regime and the plots of domestic and foreign subjects truckling to superpowers, particularly the world-devouring America, can serve as the strong arm of the Islamic Revolution in the construction of the country. It is hoped that the nationwide councils of the Construction *Jihad* will be successful in their spiritual construction through reliance on God Almighty and the assistance of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him), so as to be more successful in their construction efforts for building the Islamic country ever more magnificently. While appreciating the valuable services of this organization, I implore the great God to sanction all of you and grant you success in continuing your valuable services. God's peace, mercy and blessings are upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Warning

Date:?

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Screening The Fifth Person serial

Audience: Muhammad Hashemi Rafsanjani (the then managing director of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Broadcasting Organization)

Today telephone Mr. Rafsanjani immediately and notify him that the Foreign Ministry has warned that The Fifth Person serial scheduled to be screened on the national television runs counter to the policy of the government these days. You must be more vigilant.

Message

Date: June 7, 1982 [Khordad 17, 1361 AHS / Shaban 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Zionist regime's attack against South Lebanon; bombardment of Ilam by the Iraqi Baathist regime

Addressee: Iranian nation, people of Lebanon and Muslims of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
We are from God and to Him shall we return

I utter the blessed words of *Istirja*¹ not for the Israeli crimes in martyring and wounding many of the innocent Muslims of beloved southern Lebanon, not for the occupation and destruction of the cities and villages of this Islamic country at the criminal hands of the Israeli infidel Zionist regime, not for the thousands of brothers and sisters in that innocent Islamic land becoming homeless, not for the innocent Palestinians for being subjected to the tyranny of Israel, not for the martyrdom of over 40 women, men and infants in Ilam who became the target of criminal Saddamites while they were chanting slogans against the US and Israel in the streets and not for injury of over 200 Muslims of innocent tribal people or the destruction of mosques, hospitals and civilians quarters although for these unthinkable tragedies one should utter the *Istirja*. However, I recite the expression for the indifference of Islamic countries—in fact, Islamic governments. If only the problem was simply their indifference.

I pronounce the phrase for the support many of these governments extend to Israel and Saddam, these two illegitimate offspring of the US. Every Muslim everywhere and I should cry “We are from God and to Him shall we return” for the material and psychological assistance offered by governments of Islamic countries to the US, the master criminal, Israel and the Aflaqi Baathist Iraq, which executes the sinister aims of the US and global Zionism. Any committed Muslim should recite the *Istirja* for the proposal recommending *Jihad* (holy war) against an Islamic country which is opposed to Israel on the false charge of receiving arms from Israel and attempting to recognize the usurper Israel, which has aggressed upon the

¹ Reciting the expression “We are from God and to Him shall we return” when facing tragic calamities.

Islamic country of Lebanon and martyred thousands of innocent Muslims in the south of that country.

The aggressor criminal Israel should be approved of and the arch-criminal US should receive material aid with the resources of innocent impoverished Islamic countries and enjoy political and psychological support through the efforts of mass media apparatus run by regional Islamic countries while Palestine and Syria should remain alone. Saddam, who is completely opposed to Islam, should benefit from propaganda, material and military aid for attacking Iran and massacring the Muslim offspring of Arab-populated regions, while the Islamic country of Iran that has risen up for the revival of Islam and the Holy Quran should remain alone.

These and many other subjects are predicaments suffered by Muslims who should collectively recite the *Istirja*. I condole our innocent and helpless brothers in southern Lebanon on the great disasters which have befallen them. I also extend my condolences to the innocent people of Ilam and other war-torn regions in Iran on the calamities which have overtaken them, while beseeching God Almighty to grant mercy and salvation to martyrs during the defense of the two oppressed countries and patience and steadfastness to their families. I implore God Almighty to awaken the slumbering governments that are neglectful of the interests of Islamic countries and disregard the laws of the Holy Quran and vanquish the enemies of Islam and Muslims. God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Khordad 17, 1361 AHS / Shaban
14, 1402 AH

Decree

Date: June 8, 1982 [Khordad 18, 1361 AHS / Shaban 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a representative in the supreme council for the reconstruction of war-torn regions

Addressee: Yusuf Sanii

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Haj Shaykh Yusuf Sanii, may his blessings last long,

You are hereby appointed as my representative in the supreme council for reconstruction of war-torn regions. I hope that, in concern with the esteemed clerics of war-torn regions and committed experts, the council will succeed in mobilizing people, in using material and spiritual resources of the volunteers throughout the country and in employing and making proper use of the workforce. Obviously, the respected clerics across the country and the martyr-nurturing people of Iran will help the said council in the materialization of its human purposes. I beseech God Almighty to grant success to the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in charting out correct and well calculated plans for the reconstruction of the said regions.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dated Khordad 18, 1361 AHS

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 12, 1982 [Khordad 22, 1361 AHS / Shaban 19, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reflection and depth of military advances-; Saddam's false claims to be peace-loving

Audience: Ali Sayyad Shirazi (Army Commander), commanders of brigades of ground forces, independent units and deputies as well as army commanders

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The victory of combatants, the reason for opposition of superpowers

Before anything else, I am grateful for meeting you, dear young combatants, on a day which, God willing, is the key to all victories.

We always receive reports from abroad and from those who go out of country or from other personalities that we have not understood the depth of what we have accomplished in Iran. All these studies and advances only reflect the superficial aspects of the events. As we are told, we are still unaware how major transformation this revolution has created in all our values. You should know that nations, even those which are not Islamic but are categorized as the oppressed people of the world and are always under the domination of arrogant powers have pinned their hope on the revolution which has taken place in Iran.

This is a great feat achieved by our combatants and nation in its natural dimension, which has a depth so great that it prompted all foreign powers and mass media apparatus to rise up against this revolution. If it were an ordinary development, so much commotion would not have been made or voices would not have been raised in the world. The deeper the opposition of the mass media apparatuses and that of the big powers, the greater your military and natural advances are. If it were an ordinary event, the US should not have followed it up persistently, trying to nip it in the bud. The Islamic Revolution is an extraordinary development. If we study even the superficial aspect of the events, we will see that the outward values studied by the mass media apparatus and the military officials of the world are so enormous that they are gradually becoming clear for the world. So far the spiritual depth of

¹ Inserted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* below the date 23/3/1361 AHS.

the revolution and the nation has been less heeded by the world outside Iran. All attention has been focused on military issues and advances, which confirm that the offensives launched by the Iranian combatants are unprecedented; they are of different nature, they are not the same as other wars in the world. The superpowers and foreign media only heed these advances, defeats and the like. They plan to disturb the situation and undermine the Islamic establishment. Despite the fact that Iran has a small population of about 40 million all powers are opposed to it. In the post-revolution period anywhere, the situation and the system are confused. However, today they have noticed that we are celebrating the fourth anniversary of the revolution and everything we have is better than before. If there had been a defect in our system, in the military and in the law enforcement and in the integration of the armed groups, today such defect has been removed. All these are calculated based on material standards. We cannot appraise the depth of the issue from its spiritual aspect. They attempted to keep the populace unaware of the world situation in the course of history, particularly in the former regime, addicting our youth who should have served the country, to narcotics. They created so many centers of prostitution for the people in the past decades, which grew in number at the time of Muhammad-Rida Shah.

You should understand that, in moral and cultural terms, if this revolution had not come to Iran's rescue, Iran would have been on the precipice of destruction and would have lost all its identity. They had tried to make us dependant on foreigners from all aspects and make us realize that we were not able to do anything. They inculcated in us the idea that war has no meaning and that we could not fight against any country. In three or almost four years, we caused the world, the big governments in the world and the big powers of the world understand the depth of this outward progress. What you, brothers, and your friends and fellow soldiers have brought home is that although our population is small, we have the ability to confront any power.

The divine development in the Iranian Nation

Let us, however, treat the spiritual depth of the subject, which is foremost among all other issues. Iran was a country where the intellectual class and the mass media attempted for long years through their pen and propaganda to drain this country and its beliefs, brainwash the youth and make them believe that they were nothing and thus had to live under the protection of the West or the East, and that, they are not able to do anything.

This revolution emerged out of such people who were indoctrinated by such a regime, particularly in the past 50 years. The university had such a training, the army underwent such a training and so did everything else. The revolution's spiritual depth signified that in less than one year this population underwent a tremendous development. That comfort-seeking population was transformed into a combatant one. The alienated people who relied on others for whatever they needed were changed into thoughtful people proceeding towards self-sufficiency.

If God had not come to the rescue of people, God knows what prostitution would have brought about for the country. Many of you may know about the event in Shiraz.¹ You may have heard of the play in which a man wanted to marry a boy. They sought such things, attempting to lead the country to this state of affairs. God came to the rescue of this nation, an innocent nation and transformed it into a *Hizbullah* (party of God) population who devotes everything to God. This is significant. There are persons who struggle to purify their selves and take pains for 50 years to attain a station. However, God Almighty transformed these youths in a short period of time, and helped them reach a state which was difficult for others to achieve in 50 years a station in which one wants nothing except God and embraces martyrdom so warmly. This is an important issue. We should always bear in mind that this is not something ordinary to be accomplished by one person, 100, 1000 or all people. A 40-million strong population all powers, propaganda, words and writings were at work to train to be profligate suddenly changed into one of *Hizbullah*, discarded all that smacked of sensual and carnal passion, stood against big powers and defeated them. This is a transformation the East and West cannot understand. They can understand things that can be evaluated by material standards. However, as far as spiritual matters are concerned, they have no idea as to why a country of 40 million people has changed into one in which people offer their youths to get killed and wish they had more sons to offer. These young people have lost their hands and legs and are sad for not being able to go to warfronts any more! The astounding events occurring in the warfronts are indeed impressive. You who have been in the battlefield know better what these events are. When the gentlemen come and speak with me, one will be amazed by what has caused such a transformation. Of course, since God has so willed, one should not be amazed. All these developments have been

¹ Reference to the obscene and immoral show by a group of foreign artists on the streets of Shiraz during the Shiraz Culture and Art Festival.

made by God's omnipotence. We should consider victory to belong to God. Victory belongs to Him. We are nothing. Victory is what He has granted us.

The strong presence of the clerics, revolutionary guards and military men in warfronts

The power Iran enjoys, which all countries reckon with and many are unjustifiably afraid of, is something God has granted us. It is not something we can attain. It is something God has favored us with. We should therefore rely on the belief that we are nothing and that whatever is there emanates from the unseen. It is that unseen source that helps us. It is not a trifling thing that a large population constructs a formidable stronghold with great efforts and takes refuge in it and then a small number of people storm it and all those in the fort surrender. They surrender because they are afraid. Who has instilled the fear in them? Our number was not comparable to theirs. We were in the open desert and exposed to harm. They were in strongholds and bastions they had erected and were not exposed to threat so as to be afraid. It was a fear God Almighty injected in their hearts. God has said in the Holy Quran: *"And He brought those of the People of the Scripture who supported them down from their strongholds, and cast panic into their hearts."*¹ In the early years of Islam, God brought victory to Muslims by casting panic in the heart of their enemies. We are indebted to these great divine favors and at the same time to the people who help each other so fervently. It is unprecedented in history from the beginning to the present day that the clergy, military men, police and *pasdars* stand together and fight an enemy. This is something which has had no precedent in the past and will possibly have no one in the future. Maybe, by the grace of God, such a thing that all people from all walks of life act together can be found somewhere else too. The scenes of unity of armed forces in the bunkers which have been related to me are really wonderful. Appreciate the merit of these scenes.

Rational conditions for peace

Let us turn to some of the problems facing us today. You know that from the outset of the war up to the present day, whether the day when Saddam beat the drum of Qadesiyeh or today, when there is no talk of him and he has gone where God knows, our problems have been rational. The problems we talk of have not been problems we planned to impose. If we present them to the wise men of the world and all the warriors of the world, they will accept

¹ Surah al-Ahzab, 33: 26.

them from us. From the beginning we said to Saddam: "You invaded our houses, our cities, our country. You attacked us unawares and entered our country and caused so much destruction, committed so many crimes and killed so many people. You should go. One of our conditions is that you should leave our country." Which human being can say this condition is imposed by us? Well! A thief has broken into our house and stolen our belongings. Now you call upon us to make peace! What you have taken belongs to us! Well! That is it! They were thieves who broke into this country and snatched away whatever in the cities. Whatever people possessed, they carried away. They took whatever they could carry and destroyed the rest. They left behind destructions not ever observed anywhere else. When Mongols invaded Iran and occupied a city, they did not ruin everything in the city. However, Saddam extirpated our cities. Right! We say you carefully entered our country and perpetrated so many crimes. Now you say we make peace with thieves! Make peace! You mean Khuzestan belongs to you or other places you have occupied belong to you. No. Never! No one will accept this. We say you must leave unconditionally. Otherwise, we will drive you out. You had better not bring these poor youths by force and get them killed. You had better leave this country yourselves. This is a problem that all wise men of the world accept from us, that the one who has broken into our house and destroyed everything must leave now. If you want an understanding to be accomplished, you should first leave this country.

Encouraging the criminal

The second problem concerns the damage they have inflicted. The losses we have suffered are of two types: material and psycho-political. The material aspect, although it is too much for us, is not so much important. They destroyed many of our cities and ruined whatever we had. They killed many of our youths; each of them was more valuable than all their army. Still the material value of their crime does not count. The main thing is the psychological and political value of the question. If one comes and does whatever crime he wishes and then calls for peace saying: "Why so many crimes? All right! I leave and make peace!" Should we really make peace with him?

If we connive at this treatment, we have not only ignored a material but also winked at psychological felony. We have encouraged a tyrant and a group of oppressors to commit oppression. They can then return commit the same crimes and then call for peace! They can constantly commit a crime and then call for peace! They should be restrained from doing evil. Such

transgressions should be prevented in the world. One of the cases that should be considered is that you should compensate all the damages you have inflicted. Now you say—and you are lying—“we leave and accept so and so.” Right! Let them first leave and then experts all come and evaluate the damages they have caused. Another group should also come and identify the aggressor. If we leave alone the aggressor today when we are in a position of power, he will be emboldened. The day when Saddam began beating the drum of so and so, we had this problem. Today now that power is in our hand and there is no Saddam, we still repeat the same words. Our word is that the aggressor should be identified. If we are the aggressor, let the world do whatever it wishes to us. If they are the aggressor, they should be treated in accordance with justice. We want justice. We never sought war. If Iraq had not attacked us, we would not defend. We defended. We have not waged war, although our combatants and commanders of the army and *Sepah* asked us to give them permission to enter Iraq and do so and so. We advised them to defend and no more. Well! We have the right to defend. Defense is a rational thing. It is a thing that even animals resort to if they are subjected to attack. Defense is a natural urge. So far, we have always defended. We have not fought any one.

Saddam’s peace-loving gestures, Like those of Israel

If we say we are not warmonger like you, we are right and have evidence. We are defending. You who claim to be peace-loving, your claim is like that of Israel. Israel also calls for peace. What does this mean? They have invaded and usurped the cities of Lebanon and now call for peace and cease-fire. Cease-fire is feasible when Israel is expelled from the cities of Lebanon with a blow in the mouth. Sit and identify the aggressor. Even then, peace should not be made without preparation. The aggressor should be identified. Is it right that Israel comes and commits whatever crime and then says we have nothing else to do? You may go after your own business; whatever we have appropriated belongs to us! Is this the meaning of cease-fire? This is the cease-fire demanded by Saddam. This is the kind of cease-fire that Israel has raised. We lose everything and then you come and make peace with whatever you have stolen belonging to you! The cease-fire they are now talking about is like this. The time cease-fire is in force and after a few hours will shell Abadan and kill the people there while they are going about their normal business. Then, they will accuse us of attacking their cities. They will say that these acts are acts of relation.

You who call for a cease-fire! Well, you say they attacked you and you also attacked them. Did they attack your cities or you? Why should you attack them in retaliation? Why do you retaliate by attacking Abadan? You are now doing the same things you did to Abadan from the outset. This is not a cease-fire.

We repeat the conditions we set at the beginning. One is the unconditional withdrawal from our country of the Iraqi army with their armaments. They say, they will agree to leave Iran and let us cross provided that we make peace with them. They want the war to end provided that we forget whatever damage they have inflicted on us and whatever crime they have committed against us. This is ridiculous indeed. A group wants to come to help and so, now that somebody wants to help us then we should give up our claims. It is not necessary to identify the aggressor and that we should. Reconcile with each other. It is not necessary to compensate the damages we have suffered! This is not the meaning of a cease-fire. This is not the meaning of peace. We repeat the same thing we said at the beginning and our government officials follow suit. They should withdraw unconditionally. If they don't, we will drive them out unconditionally. If they stay, they will lose. The longer they remain, the more greatly they will suffer. They must pay for all the losses they have inflicted on us. We don't know the amount. Experts should come and assess the amount. The aggressor should also be identified.

We are concerned with the spiritual dimension of the matter. If the Baath Party gives up and is eliminated from Iraq and the people of Iraq, these innocent people are allowed to determine their own government, we will not demand a penny from them. It is because that spiritual dimension does not apply then and because the aggressor is gone. We should settle the spiritual side of the matter. We are responsible for these young adults. We are responsible for this army. We are responsible for these women and men who have lost their children. Can we make peace unconditionally because we want to help you? Our Islamic principles do not approve of giving bribe to help them. Some governments are like this. They give their oil to the superpowers and entreat them as well. An Islamic government is not like this.

Imposed peace means encouraging the criminal to commit more crimes

We abide by what we have said from the beginning. We will not retreat an inch. We don't want to impose our views or say an irrational thing. Nor do we want to withdraw from what each and every reasonable mind accepts. We

insist on this demand because of the spiritual dimension, because a criminal should not be encouraged to commit more crimes. If we make peace, it means we have encouraged this criminal in his crimes. We seek peace urgently, but unconditional peace. It does not mean that they can continue with their occupation of a part of our country. They should leave our country. However, if they mean we must ignore what has been done, never! Such disregard will damage the prestige of Islam. No one has the right to disregard this matter. Of course, letting the pilgrimage to Syria go through Iraq, which can help remove misunderstandings is not something we can be grateful to you for. If it is done as a normal issue, we will be grateful to you, as this is a divine obligation. We condescend to no one. You should not take something from us because you want to help us. You who claim to be opposed to Israel and I know you are telling lies, you have made our people crossing your country conditional on our accepting the peace deal! You mean we should condone whatever you have done! Is this the meaning of peace? Is this the meaning of giving way? You condition giving the way on something that is not feasible.

The world should know we are ready to make peace, we are ready to proceed there but at the same time they should open the way. We accept that along with the procedure, the two groups should come to investigate. In the 15-day moratorium to leave- let us suppose they don't tell a lie- an internationally recognized group should come and investigate into the crimes they have committed, computing the damages they have inflicted on our cities and villages. Of course, some damages have been inflicted on us that cannot be indemnified - our youths. This damage is irreparable and should be investigated in the other world in the presence of God. Besides opening the way, a group should come to investigate the crimes and assess the damages they have inflicted on Iran. Also, you should agree on a group to come and identify the aggressor. When these conditions are fulfilled, we will agree to the peace settlement.

As for letting us go through your country, you should be grateful that we want to go and fight against your enemies. If you are telling the truth that you are opposed to Israel and do not want to defraud us on the presumption that Iran and those at the helm of affairs are unaware and if you do not want to conspire and do a dirty trick, let us pass through your country.

Demanding peace is just an excuse

We repeat what we have said from the beginning. Now, we accept from them that they want to leave. All right! Start leaving. However, by leaving

the story will not be finished. This is one of the conditions we set. Two more have remained: the psychological and political dimensions, are what we underline. We do not want to insist on the material dimension because you may ask us to cancel or forgive your debts. Can we waive something that will encourage the criminal in his crime? We should disgrace the criminal in the world and punish him for the crime to constrain and restrict the scope of these crimes, if we are not able to totally prevent it. At least we can limit it so that no unrestrained man intrudes into other countries and destroy the cities and plunder the people's property or burn everything and then say let us make peace! This is not peace. This means we should pay them tribute so that they could make peace. Today is not the day they can make such demands. They should give up such behavior today. They have no power to make such demands and imagine that others would support them; the others are like them. With your own army you acted like that. A small number of our troops were able to take back Khurramshahr. Those whom they want to hire from abroad do not want to work for them; they want to work for themselves. They will be vanished with a puff. Therefore, the question is that we are embroiled today in such a situation here and such a corrupt regime, Israel, there. We are ready to fight on both fronts. This land is ours and we will fight. There is also ours. We are ready, but for giving us a way to go, should we give them something in return? Should we forget about the aggressor? Should we sit together and make peace, shake the aggressor's hand for committing so much crime? Never! This is not rational and not feasible. Giving way is something that they should beg us to come and do it. We volunteer to do it and they should beg us to help and stop them if they are truly opposed to Israel. If this is not the case and they are not opposed to Israel and want us not to go, they have set the condition so that we should make peace unconditionally. This is not a problem.

I hope that in the same way that you emerged victorious in warfronts—you will always be victorious—likewise, you are successful in spiritual matters. The latter is more important than the former. Material gain is subordinate to spiritual matters. The stronger spiritual matters are the stronger you will be. One believing man can confront thousands of disbelievers. In the course of the time you were engaged in war, you observed that when faith comes in, evil would be destroyed.

I wish God will enhance our faith and strengthen you in both spiritual and material things, and rescue Islam from the evil intent of all powers. I hope the development in Iran will remain advancing until the reappearance of

the Imam of the Time and this nation can competently hand over this country to him, God willing.

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

Speech

Date: June 12, 1982 [Khordad 23, 1361 AHS / Shaban 20, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The silence of regional governments in the face of Israeli crimes

Audience: Abdul-Majid Maadikhah (minister of culture and Islamic guidance), Bahram Afdali (Navy Commander), Ali Ilahi (politico-ideological director), superintendents of politico-ideological offices in naval bases, personnel of the navy, representatives of liberation organizations from across the world, managers and staff of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The silence of regional governments in the face of Israeli crimes

Before anything else, I should thank the gentlemen who have come here from the navy and the Culture and Islamic Guidance Ministry and foreign guests. I hope that God Almighty will favor the weaker nations and curtail the hands of tyrants.

Today, Islam is beset with an affliction; the ears that should listen to the problems of Muslims have become deaf and the tongues that should function for Muslims' interests have become dumb and the eyes that should see the disasters befalling Muslims have gone blind. What should we do with these dumb, deaf and blind people? Do not these regional governments consider the problem of Lebanon as a disaster? Is it not a disaster for Islam and for Muslims of the world? Is the Israeli attack on Lebanon and the incessant killing not a disaster for Islam and Muslims? Does the outright confession of the fact that this disaster has taken place with the approval of the US not get into their ear? If they are not deaf, why do they not hear the outcries and moans of our dear ones in Lebanon? If they are not blind, why do they not see the dead bodies piling on each other every day in Lebanon and Iran and the dear young and old, women, men and children who are mown down in the warfronts and behind the fronts? If they see and consider it a disaster, why have they kept mum? If they love Islam, the Holy Quran and the holy shrines,¹ why don't they speak out today when the religious sites are

¹ In the terminology of the Quran and *fiqh* (jurisprudence), the city of Mecca and its sanctuary is called *haram*, because it is forbidden to perform many of the permissible and legitimate acts there. The veneration of the city is due to the existence of the Kabah and Masjid al-Haram there. According to some narrations and by virtue of these narrations according to the viewpoint of some *fuqaha* (plural of *faqih* meaning Muslim jurist) the city of Medina and the Prophetic Haram are also counted among *Haram* places.

desecrated, and the Quran, Islam and the shrines are threatening? Why do they still help? What has happened to them in whose presence these disasters and crimes occur? They not only keep silent but also condone them. They still want to confirm the Camp David Accord,¹ the Fahd Plan² and recognize Israel. In whom should we confide these disasters? With governments that have closed their eyes and ears and readily succumbed to the US or with oppressed nations which are in agony under the pressure of these governments?

The need for vigilance and unity of nations

The Muslim nations should be made involved in these issues, like the Iranian people. The disaster befalling Islam at the hands of the US and its hirelings- the accursed Pahlavi regime- was thwarted by the Iranian nation, the Iranian youth, the Iranian army, the Iranian navy, air and ground forces, the Iranian *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, the Iranian *Basij* and tribal people who were awakened and who clenched their fists and drove out the tanks. As long as nations are not so awakened and as long as nations are not so integrated, they should know that they are subject to corrupt governments and to the criminal US and to other superpowers. They command all those treasures and resources. If they refuse for one week to supply oil to these criminals, all problems will be settled. Nevertheless, they fail to do so. To whom should we complain of these disasters except the sacred realm of God Almighty? To whom should we lodge complaint against these governments except the sacred essence of the Almighty? How shall we complain against those who declare *Jihad* against Iran, which stands against all powers and wants Islam to materialize in the world? However, they are silent against Israel, which has risen up to fight against Islam and openly declares that whatever from the Nile to the Euphrates belongs to it and claims ownership of the holy shrines. Where can we take these pains? With whom can we confide about these tribulations? With whom should we discuss this deadly silence, the silence that sanctions the criminals and encourages the tyrants? Whom should we

¹ Camp David was an agreement signed between Muhammad Anwar Sadat, Egyptian president and Menakhim Begin prime minister of the Quds occupying regime in the presence of Jimi Carter the US President in Camp David region of the US, with Egypt recognizing Israel as an independent country.

² Fahd Plan was a plan proposed by King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. Based on the plan, the Quds occupying regime as an independent regime had been recognized.

request to favor us and break this silence? Is your population small? Is your wealth meager? Is your oil insufficient? Are your lands scarce? Don't you command any valid strategic organizations? All resources are there, but one thing is lacking-faith.

The Iranian nation had nothing but faith, which helped them overpower the superpowers. The governments of Muslims in all countries have everything but faith. What caused our country and our nation to emerge victorious was faith in God and love of martyrdom—love of martyrdom in the face of disbelief and hypocrisy for the preservation of Islam and the Holy Quran.

These dear guests, who have come here, can convey Iran's message to nations that they should think out a way and not sit idle in the hope that American paws may do something for them. At a time Iran is afflicted with this problem, the ruler of certain Islamic country is thinking of buying camels for his personal zoo! Where should we talk about this disaster? Fourteen camels are purchased from abroad for the zoo of so and so king in the region and carried by plane to his zoo. The big powers are plundering our countries, and this ruler is buying a camel!¹ I don't know when these ears will open! When will these eyes see? When will these tongues speak? "They are deaf, dumb and blind, so they do not understand."² Everything is due to the fact that they do not understand. Deafness, dumbness and blindness are a result of their not understanding.

Aggressors demanding extortion

Thank God, we are victorious on the domestic front. Our combatants from all classes, whether the navy or others some of whom are present here and may God protect them, or the ground and air forces as well as *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and others are present in the scene and standing against any event. Our country and its great capitals consisting of the youth are sincerely struggling for Islam, the religion of God the Exalted and Blessed. They are present at the scene for any disaster befalling Muslims. The funny thing is that our government suggests you to let our forces go through your country to fight the enemy, the enemy of Arabs and Islam and has made this one of the peace conditions because it has lost hope in you, but instead you say that for this purpose we should waive everything. Is this not a disaster for Islam? A selfless population who want to fight against the enemy of the Arabs, the

¹ Refers to the decision of King of Oman to buy an expensive camel for his personal zoo.

² *Surah al-Bagharah*, 2: 171.

enemy of Islam, enemy of the holy shrines, enemy of the entire region, but those whom we want to rescue are not only sitting but also watching indifferently and even are sympathetic to the enemy. They have gone so far as demanding bribe from us in exchange for letting us go through their country to fight for them! This treatment can be likened to a drowning man whom a lifeguard wants to rescue, but the former asks how much the lifeguard would give so that he would give the permission to rescue him!

The Iraqi government has used the story of Israel as an excuse to escape the divine justice and retribution. They say if we want them to give us permission to use the way to rescue them, we should connive at the crimes they have committed against us. This process reminds one of the Quranic verse that reads: "Deaf, dumb, blind, so they do not understand." Does it not apply to them? Did the government of Iran say something different from what it is saying today at the time when you thought you were powerful? Iran is making the same statements. The authorities of this country raised the two other subjects because they are disappointed with you. They say the condition for peace is that you let us go through your country. Another condition is that you must leave our territory. Does this not mean that they are witless, sightless and deaf, being resigned to selfish desires?

Iran, proof to all countries

Our government officials ask: where is the country of the poor people whom you expelled from Iraq and sent to Iran and whom we welcome warmly? One of our conditions is to let them in. Is this an irrational condition? Is this a condition beyond what we set at the beginning? Is asking to permit the residents of a country to their original homeland an excessive condition? No! This is something natural, a corollary to our primary conditions. We have not added anything new.

The cease-fire called by Saddam is the one which be followed by opening fire on people. The way Saddam wants to open for us is a way by which he seeks to rescue himself. He does not want to give way to us to get to Israel. He has considered the sides to the story. If we accept, then reconciliation will find reality and the Saddamites will be rescued. If we refuse, then it will become clear that we don't want to wage *Jihad* against Israel. We tell them we accept. They open the way and let experts come to investigate into what they have done in this country, what crimes they have perpetrated, and identify the aggressor. Now they want us to forgive their crimes because we want to work for them. These are strange things that history will record. History will record that Iran wanted go to rescue the

Arabs, the holy shrines and Islamic countries that are threatened by Israel and fight against Israel, this cancerous tumor, but Islamic governments demanded bribe from Iran for doing so. These are facts that history will record. This is a black mark remaining on the face of these individuals.

As long as Islamic countries and Islamic nations do not set as their model what happened in Iran and do not take to the streets asking their governments to confront Israel, be sure that these deaf and blind persons will not come to their senses. Nations should stand and demand the army and the governments in their region to help the Palestinians and the Syrians who have been subjected to oppression, to remove this cancerous tumor. If they also only watch and wait to see what will happen and remain indifferent and have the excuse that governments should take this action, they will not have a cogent answer to provide before God. Iran is a proof to all countries. God, the Exalted and the Blessed, may present Iran in the hereafter as proof for those who have given in to oppression and succumbed to tyranny and failed to revolt. If they believe in God and the resurrection, they should provide an answer to God Almighty. That day the US and Israel cannot come to their rescue. If they don't believe in such concepts, they should work out an answer for the oppressed peoples of the world, for the future generations. With the approach they have adopted, the future generation will, God forbid, fall into a trap. They should therefore come up with an answer for them. If they pay no heed to faith-related values, they should consider their value system, their national value and human values. They should not tolerate abjectness under the boots of Israel, in order to rule for a few days. Muslims should rise up and revolt. God has said: *"I exhort you unto one thing: that ye awake, for Allah's sake, in twos and singly."*¹ Don't say: "I am alone." You should rise by yourself. You should revolt collectively. You should revolt in unison. We are all obliged to rise for God and for the preservation of Islamic countries and against these two cancerous tumors: the corrupt Baath Party of Iraq and Israel, both of which have their provenance in the US.

The destruction of Israel follows revolt of Islamic countries

There is no excuse before the Exalted and Blessed God. Neither you nor we are excused. It is not a good excuse to say you had nothing and you had no power, because you are the most powerful of all. When you get together and shake the hands of fraternity, you will form a big world power. It is no excuse to say you do not have arms, because the weapon you have, is

¹ *Surah Saba*, 34: 46.

something the world do not have. You have the weapon of oil. The world needs your weapon; oil is the lifeline of the world. Use the weapon God, the Exalted and Blessed, has given you for the Exalted and Blessed God. Employ the strength the Exalted and Blessed God has given to your arms for God the Exalted and Blessed. May God awaken these governments and grant consciousness to the masses of people who have everything, but who live in abject poverty under oppression. I hope that Iran, which has so far severed the hands of oppressors, can preserve this freedom and independence it has achieved collectively, proceed towards a civilization and transform itself into a free and independent country. I hope that the Islamic countries heed these issues and do not sit idle till it is too late. Today is a day when Israel will be destroyed if Muslims rise in unison. I hope that these governments that Israel says it wants to take will waken up. Israelis consider these territories to be theirs; we see that they are advancing step by step. Rise up against this tumor, which is a threat to the entire region and to Islam. Don't waste time with rhetorics and meaningless, empty words.

I hope that these governments, which care so much for their zoos care for Islam. May God make these powers that work for Islam victorious. May God sanction you, dear youths, who have been present in the scene and worked for Islam since the outset of the revolution up to the present time and in future! I hope God will sanction all the Muslims of the world and they will be freed from the oppressive rule of big powers.

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

Speech

Date: June 13, 1982 [Khordad 24, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 21, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Value and spiritual status of positions in the Islamic Republic

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq-Nuri (interior minister) and governors from across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Noblest acts of worship

First, I should thank you, friends and dear ones, who have come from far places to meet me. I hope you will accept my apology for not being able to go through a long discussion. Therefore, I content with praying for you.

I implore God Almighty to make our country, wherever you dear friends are and your positions divine and sacred. I mean I hope you work for God, for servants of God, and for serving Islam, as serving the people and Islam is the greatest act of worship.

It is hoped that wherever you are, your office and your posts will change into places for acts of worship and your service to acts of worship. I hope that in contrast to the former regime in which wherever the governors served sin prevailed you serve the servants of God and the oppressed people through commitment to Islam, Islamic laws and the Islamic Republic. Above all, you should pay attention to the weaker class and this is itself a great act of worship for you. I hope you will succeed in this act of worship. Take the opportunity for serving in a regime, in a government in which the former sinful job is today an act of worship. The room where sin was formerly committed has today changed to a place of worship by serving the people. May God protect this place of worship for you and grant you success in performing this great act of worship—serving the Islamic Republic and the people. May God grant victory to Islam over atheism in Iran, in Lebanon, in Palestine and elsewhere! I wish God would punish those who oppress these people and who act against Islam. I hope that you are ever more successful in working for the impoverished people and seek your reward from God Almighty. May God grant you all success!

¹ Inserted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* vol. 16, p. 205 below the date 29/3/1361 AHS, and the reference made to the date quoted in the manuscript, i.e. 26/3/ 1361 AHS, is correct.

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

Decree

Date: June 13, 1982 [Khordad 26, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 23, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Friday prayer leader of Zanjan

Addressee: Sayyid Mir Aqa Zanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Mir Aqa Zanjani—may his blessings last long,

In accordance with the request of the esteemed people and *ulama* of the Zanjan—may God Almighty assist them—I hereby appoint you as Friday prayer leader of the city. It is hoped that besides the performance of this great divine obligation, you will acquaint the people with their other important Islamic and revolutionary duties, making them be aware of discord and difference. I hope that the respected people take the opportunity and endeavor for ever more glorious performance of the unity-provoking Friday prayer. May the peace, mercy and the blessings of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 23, 1362 AHS

¹ Inserted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* vol. 16, p. 205 below the date 29/3/1361 AHS, and the reference to the date quoted in the manuscript, i.e. 26/3/ 1361 is correct.

Message

Date: 1982 [1361 AHS / 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the message of Libyan leader regarding the imposed war and unity of Islamic countries

Addressee: Muammar al-Qadhdhafi (Libyan President)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Colonel Muammar Qadhdhafi, leader of the People's Republic of Libya,

Thank you for your kind message containing well-intentioned points. It is hoped that this benevolent spirit enhances in all Islamic nations and their leaders and people, safeguard Islam, Islamic countries and independence and freedom of nations shackled by Eastern and Western powers in the light of Islamic fraternity and submission to Islamic commands. I hope Muslims inspired by instructions of the Holy Quran will be kind to each other and harsh in dealing with infidels and bullies.¹ Islamic Republic of Iran, contrary to the propaganda horns that attempt to tarnish its brilliant image, is interested in shaking the hands of brotherhood with all Islamic countries. Iran is not permitted by divine commands to transgress upon any country, particularly neighboring countries and regional and other Islamic countries. Neither does Iran also tolerate aggression on its soil by any country and still stand firm against bullying and oppression to the last.

You well know that despite savage attack of the Baath party of Iraq and killing, pillaging and destroying Arab-populated and Kurd-populated regions and other cities of the Muslim country of Iran whose only offence is inviting to Islam and Islamic fraternity, Iran has only defended Islam and the oppressed people of the country. In spite of the fact that Iran is the strongest power in the region and many of the Iraqi cities are within the reach of Iran's armed forces, which are able to pound all of them in a short span of time in retaliation, yet Iran has observed patience and endurance for God's gratification.

¹ Reference to Verse 29 of *Surah al-Fath* reading: "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. And those with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves."

You also know that although Iran was a revolutionary country and on the agenda of all revolutions are murder and imprisonment of opponents and banning of parties and preventing propaganda plans by groups likely to be in opposition, Iran's revolution upon achieving victory, did not restrain the activity of any group and party in spite of the fact that some of them had shady records. This state of affairs continued until authentic and undeniable proofs and documents uncovered their conspiracies. In such conditions and according to the rule of Islam and in a bid to defend Islamic Republic that thinks of nothing but interests of Muslims and Islam, there was no choice except what happened. I assure you that the Iranian nation and its government will preserve the slogan of "neither the East nor the West" to the last and will not tilt towards either of the blocs, although propaganda horns occasionally present them as being disposed to the West and at times to the East, thus triggering doubt among our friends.

I thank you and some other Islamic countries that have realized the truth since the outset of the revolution and have supported the truth inspired by Islamic fraternity. I hope that this friendship and love will endure and that other Islamic countries stop opposition to you and us and preserve the Islamic fraternity.

I beseech God Almighty to grant victory to Islam and Muslims and help leaders of Islamic countries come to their senses to achieve the aspirations of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 16, 1982 [Khordad 27, 1361 AHS / Shaban 24, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Role of Construction *Jihad* in the fronts of imposed war

Occasion: Establishment anniversary of Construction *Jihad* (27 Khordad)

Addressee: The Iranian nation and members of the Council of Reconstruction *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I congratulate the noble and revolutionary people of Iran and all committed and believing people attempting to realize the ideals of the Muslim people of Iran on the occasion of the Khordad 27 marking the establishment anniversary of Construction *Jihad*.

Khordad 27 is a day when the Islamic Revolution managed to find its way into the remotest regions of the country through the establishment of this great organization, they accomplishing its historical and Islamic mission in all parts of the country despite all the acts of sabotage.

Verily, the children of Islam, the altruistic sisters and brothers, by joining this revolutionary organization made unprecedented sacrifices amid hardest living conditions in toughest geographical regions of the country, rendering so many valuable services to the tyrannized people of Iran in a short span of time. The strugglers who were martyred or disabled in the way of improvement of living standards of people are not few in number. Sisters and brothers who carried out cultural and development measures in hardest of conditions and who were martyred in the worst form at the hands of ungodly grouplets and *munafiqin* are not few in number. These ungodly terrorists well understood that these struggling youths who sow the seeds of the revolution in every village and by developing deprived regions and deprived villages and cities each of their inhabitants will turn to a soldier safeguarding the noble Islamic revolution. The US and its hirelings have well understood the outcome brought about through the efforts of the selfless strugglers. It is through the sacred *Jihad* or struggle of the children of Islam that the sapling of the Islamic revolution will be implanted in the remotest villages and cities of this land. That is why they consider each and every struggler as a combatant in the warfronts and one safeguarding the revolution, Islam and Iran.

The role of Construction *Jihad* in the war has not been less significant than that of the military forces. This is a confession repeatedly made by our army and *Sepah* commanders, declaring that if *Jihad* forces were not available, victory would not be achieved so fast. It should be admitted that the *Jihad* people have brought the greatest prestige and honor to the Islamic Revolution. By their commitment to Islam and faith in God Almighty, they set the best example and model for committed Muslim youths. Today, if one sets foot in every nook and cranny of this country or in the remote, deprived villages of arid climate, one will come across Construction *Jihad* altruists who have got themselves to these regions sooner than anyone else to struggle for removal of the shortages, problems, diseases and shortcomings by every possible means at their disposal and despite lack of sufficient resources. They have not spared sacrificing their lives in many cases for providing means of welfare to people.

Whenever I meet the fervent and energetic youths in the Construction *Jihad* or hear or watch in mass media apparatus their valuable cultural and development works, I sincerely pray for their success and happiness. Felicitations to you who brought prestige to Islam and the Islamic Revolution! Greetings to you who welcomed martyrdom so lovingly for realization of the ideals of the revolutionary Muslim people of Iran and Islamic programs! Despite the illusive propaganda plots launched by the enemy to dissuade you fulfilling your divine duties, difference of language and clothes has not barred your individual and collective efforts in this sacred cause. And you see that despite different customs and dialects all of you have come together to participate in this important gathering.

I hope in the same way that you have dedicated all our material and spiritual forces to construction of the country, you will likewise persist in construction of your self and that of others, as this effort is preferable to other construction efforts. As I have repeated time and again, always give spiritual construction preference to physical construction so that works would proceed in the best and fastest possible manner by the will of God Almighty and power of faith. This shall lead this country to self-sufficiency and complete development with the help of God and your collaboration as soon as possible. May peace, mercy and the blessings of God be upon you!¹

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini read out Imam Khomeini's message at a gathering of a large group of Construction *Jihad* members and the people of Tehran at a ceremony commemorating the Construction *Jihad* Day.

Speech

Date: June 18, 1982 [Khordad 29, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Status of police in the world, under the Pahlavi regime and in the Islamic Republic

Audience: Colonel Hijazi (chief of police headquarters) and officers of the headquarters, criminal investigation department and office of the prosecutor general

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Status of police in different societies

The status of police in the world and in the former regime was to serve the powerful. Those who planned to rule over the countries but could not control the whole people appointed powerful individuals or groups to control all, like Rida Khan who was a bully and entered the scene in the name of “saving Iran” and gained all powers and handed the country over to Britain.

Police in the world are not at the service of people and the helpless, rather they obey the bullies. The fact that you see all powers are on bad terms with Iran and magnify every trivial subject and belittle every important matter is because our today’s police and army differ from those in all other countries. Our police mingle with our people. Today, police along with other organizations are at the service of a school that had been suppressed for years. God willed to rescue this country. It was a blessing for people to come to realize these matters.

If we say, “the world magnifies small things and disregards what is connected to us, it is not irrelevant. Take the story of Abbasi Museum.¹ As far as I know no coverage has been given to the feast, while it was one of the important police operations. But if something of much less importance had been done in one of the friendly countries, they would have magnified it.

They are afraid of Iran, not individuals. In fact, they are afraid of this integrity and the fact that the police and army and government are at the

¹ It refers to the robbery from Rida Abbasi Museum and stealing artifacts from there. In this case, the officers of the Criminal Investigation Department found out the case and arrested the robbers in a short period of time. But the foreign mass media apparatus did not cover the story despite its significance.

service of people and people are supporting them. If a police officer is involved in a difficulty in the street, people cooperate to remove the problem.

Always bear in mind and remind your personnel of the fact that still hidden hands are at work and that they are not sitting idle. They have lost something as the result of which they will lose all other things. This matter has gone beyond the region and reached the US, because all are at the service of Islam. The police are also at the service of Islam. Your career is an act of worship and you are valuable before God Almighty for uncovering the robbery, because you give credit to a country that has risen up for God. I would like to appreciate you for this discovery. You took great pain and worked on it for months.

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

Message

Date: June 20, 1982 [Khordad 31, 1361 AHS / Shaban 28, 1492 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegram congratulating the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

Addressee: Shaykh Za'id Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirate government)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Shaykh Za'id Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirate,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind telegram congratulating the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan and with appreciation. It is regrettable that the holy month of Ramadan arrives at a time when the usurper Israel, after many years of crime and destruction and usurpation of Islamic lands, has recently committed another horrible crime and attacked Lebanon and the Muslims of this land. More regrettable is that the rulers of Islamic countries indifferently watch this big disaster or simply condemn it by releasing a communiqué and content themselves with some statements. Truly, it is a tragic case for which one should recite *Istirja* (a verse reading "We are from God and to Him shall we return" pronounced in time of death and disasters). The biggest disaster for the Islamic community is this recent disaster. I sense danger for all Muslims from this lamentable situation and hope that neglectful officials would awaken from this deep slumber and not witness the abjection and misery of Muslims who once governed the hemisphere. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 20, 1982 [Khordad 31, 1361 AHS / Shaban 28, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Depth of value and holiness of mourning assemblies; crucial responsibilities of the clerics, US plots in the region

Occasion: On the eve of the holy month of Ramadan

Audience: Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani, Muhammad Taqi Falsafi, *ulama* and clerics, Friday prayer leaders and preachers of Tehran and Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Great value of mourning assemblies for the Doyen of Martyrs

In advance, I should thank the gentlemen, the clerics and preachers for coming here from Tehran and, as I have been told, from Qum, to meet me. I hope all are successful in serving Islam and Muslims.

There are lots of issues to talk about, but let me take up a subject regarding the orators and *ulama* and a subject on issues of the day. As for the subject dealing with orators, I would like to say that the depth of your job and value of mourning assemblies have been little appreciated or not appreciated by some individuals. In the narrations handed down to us, a single teardrop for the innocent martyr of Karbala is defined as being so valuable. Even feigning crying in this regard has been deemed to be valuable.² This recommendation is not because the Master of Martyrs needed the cry, nor is it only for the sake reward for you or the audience. Although these concepts bring spiritual reward, why this reward has been attributed to mourning assemblies? Why God Almighty has reserved so much reward for shedding tear, even a teardrop and even pretending to be crying? The question is gradually unfolded from political aspect. God willing, it will be revealed more with the passing of time.

The fact that so many rewards has been considered for mourning, mourning assemblies and singing dirge has an important political reason besides their spiritual and ideological aspects. The day when these narrations were circulated, the Shi'ites were suppressed under Umayyad rulers, and

¹ Inserted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* below the date 30/3/1361 AHS.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 44, Chapter 34, pp. 278-296.

later the Abbasid dynasty. A small population and minority thought out a way to organize their political activities against the then big powers. For this purpose. They quoted the revelation sources emphasizing the great value of these gatherings and tears. The Shiites then came together for performing mourning ceremonies. Perhaps many of them did not know what was behind these tears and mourning. The ulterior motive was to organize a minority group against the majority. In the course of history, these mourning assemblies were organized nationwide, in Islamic countries and particularly in Iran, the cradle of Shiism, against governments planning to undermine Islam and the clergy. These mourning assemblies and groups were what the governments were scared of.

The first time I was arrested in Qum and taken away in a car, on the way one of the officers told me: “When we came to arrest you, we were afraid that maybe people in these tents understand and foil or attempt.” Not only these agents, but also big powers are scared of these tents. The big powers are afraid of the organization created without any single hand bringing them together. People are spontaneously organized across the country during Ashura and the two months of Muharram and Safar and in the holy month of Ramadan. It is these assemblies that bring people together. If one wants to render a service to Islam and one wants to have a word with the public, these speakers, preachers and Friday prayer leaders spread their words across the country. These gatherings become well-organized under the divine banner, under the banner of Imam Husayn. If big powers want to organize a meeting in their regions, they have to make great endeavors, take pains and invest great sums of money so that, let us suppose, they can bring together 50 thousand people or 100 thousand people in a city to listen to what the speaker wants to say. However, you see that thanks to these mourning assemblies that line the people as soon as a matter comes about in a city, the mourners of the Doyen of Martyrs and people from all walks of life from across the country come together without much trouble and propaganda and simply with a dirge sung for the Master of Martyrs (peace be upon him). One of the infallible Imams, perhaps Imam Baqir—I can’t remember well—wanted his household to ask a monodist to mourn for him in Mina.¹ The holy Imam did not need this crying nor did the mourning have any personal profit for him. However, study the political aspect of the move. Imagine when people from across the world come to Mina and see that one or more persons are mourning for Imam Baqir and talking about the crimes of his opponents and the way they

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 79, p. 106 below *hadith* 53.

killed him. It can a wave in the world. They underestimated these mourning assemblies.

Impact of the blood of the Doyen of Martyrs on 15 Khordad uprising

Perhaps Westernized people call us the “crying nation”. Perhaps insiders cannot grasp how rewarding a teardrop can be. Perhaps they cannot digest how rewarding a mourning assembly can be. They cannot understand the rewards cited for two lines of prayer. It is the political aspect of these devotions and attention to God and people’s attention to one point that mobilizes a nation for an Islamic purpose. Mourning assembly is not meant for crying for the Doyen of Martyrs for getting reward and bringing other worldly rewards for the audience- this is true of course. What counts is the political aspect which our immaculate Imams have designed to perpetuate the cause; they wanted the society to act under one flag and unified idea. Nothing can give expression to this idea as effectively as the mourning for the Doyen of Martyrs can.

Don’t think that if these mourning assemblies, these chest-beating groups and marching bands were not practiced, the 15 Khordad event would happen. No power could bring about 15 Khordad except the force of the blood of Doyen of Martyrs. No power can thwart the plots brewed against this nation who are subjected to an all-out attack by the big powers except these mourning assemblies. In these mourning sessions and monodies the elegies in memory of the innocence of the Doyen of Martyrs who sacrificed his life for God’s gratification and whose friends and family followed suit elevate the youths to a state seeking martyrdom in warfronts and taking honor at this martyrdom. If they do not achieve martyrdom, they will lament. The elegies in memory of Imam Husayn promotes mothers to a station that when they lose their youths in the battlefields, they offer to send their other sons. It is these sessions of mourning over the Doyen of Martyrs, the Kumail Litany and other devotions that elevate the people to so high a spiritual station. Islam has laid the foundation for this spiritual development provided we proceed in accordance with this idea and program. If they understand the purpose behind these mourning sessions and cryings and realize how God gives spiritual reward for these devotions, they will not call us the “crying nation”, but instead the “heroic nation”. If they understand that the impact and mobilizing power of the supplications bequeathed to us by Imam Sajjad (peace be upon him) who lost his everything in Karbala and who lived under a government that exercised control over everything, they would not question the whole basis of the supplications. If our intellectuals understand the

political and social purpose underlying these mourning sessions, supplications and *zikrs*, they would not object to their practice. If all the intellectuals, all the Westernized people and all powers come together, they cannot create something like 15 Khordad. That which commands this power and brings all together under the flag of the Doyen of Martyrs is mourning for the Imam.

We cry that we want Islam and the Islamic Republic because in the Islamic Republic the entire nation assembles in the name of Islam and God. We observed what power the Islamic Republic was given by the nation and in the light of rising up for God and the Islamic Republic.

Revolution in Iran, fruit of mourning sessions

Our nation should appreciate these religious sessions that keep the nations alive. During Ashura as well as similar auspicious days the nation becomes revitalized. If they come to realize the political dimension of these ceremonies, those Westernized individuals would also set up similar mourning assemblies if they want the nation and their country. I hope that these sessions are held ever more efficiently. Everyone from those noted preachers to the monodists can contribute to such sessions. Even the one who stands at the lectern and recites a few poems and the one who preaches the gatherings are also of effect. They naturally produce an impact wittingly or unwittingly.

We have almost reached this elevated state, as our nation all of a sudden launched a revolution unparalleled anywhere else. They abruptly experienced an inner explosion. A nation which the former regime had divested of everything, even human dignity, and was totally dependant generated a sudden explosion of faith thanks to these very sessions that pervaded the entire country and that assembled all strata of people around a single axis. The preachers and Friday and congregational prayers leaders should elaborate on these points so that people would not presume that we are a "crying nation". Enlighten them more efficiently than I know on the fact that we are a nation which overthrew a 2500-year-long regime with these very cries.

Great responsibility of the clergy at this juncture

As admonition is useful for gentlemen and believers, I give you some advice as reminder. All the gentlemen hearing my voice in any part of the country, whether *ulama*, Friday and congregational prayers and preachers, or the clerics in different cities engaged in such activities, should note that

today the prestige of Islamic Republic lies in their hands. If God forbid, they make undue interventions or commit acts unbecoming of the clergy, the Islamic Republic will be tarnished. The government should be kept in power. Today, the government is an Islamic government and we are all religiously obliged to support this Islamic government. The government officials everywhere in the country are officers of the Islamic government. If God forbid, they make a statement in contrast to your taste or to Islamic doctrine by mistake or because of unawareness, you should not confront or weaken them; you should rather advise them. If they do not listen to the advice, refer to responsible government departments. Friday prayer leaders in cities should not dismiss or appoint commissioners.

If Islamic associations which are active in the army or other organizations, should not interfere in affairs other than what they are charged with. Admonish the government and the commissioners. If they do not listen to the admonition, refer the case to the responsible bodies and it will be settled.

To preserve the prestige of Islam and the Islamic Republic, which you are safeguarding, you should not directly interfere in affairs which are not related to you and do not interfere in executive issues which others are responsible to do. Give admonitory view. If a governor or governor general does a wrong thing, don't expose it on the pulpit. Don't let him down! God will not be pleased. Talk to him in private and reach understanding. Ask him to change his approach. If he does not, report it to the relevant department. If you directly interfere, the prestige of the Islamic Republic will be blotted. You are in charge of safeguarding this prestige and it is an obligation for all to preserve the prestige of the Islamic Republic. You see that today all pen and tongues of the superpowers or their affiliated governments have been mobilized against the Islamic Republic. All of them are acting in accordance with a special approach; we should no longer give excuse to them.

I would like to remind you of a point, which I might have already mentioned. From the first days I was involved in this movement and the time the signs of victory was about to surface, I said in my speeches and interviews with foreign reporters here or in Najaf and Paris that the clergy commanded a position higher than executive matters. If Islam emerges victorious, the clerics would go back to their own business. However, when we took over, we found that if we tell all the clerics to go to their mosques, this country would be swallowed by the US or the Soviet Union. We tested and observed that the non-cleric individuals taking the rein of affairs were not up to the mark for our path. Although many of them were pious people,

our path did not go with their taste. We wanted to be independent, put up with our own bread and salt and not to knuckle under to the demands of big powers. Therefore, since we could not find individuals from among them to comply completely with the purpose for which our people sacrificed their youths and properties, we accepted our president to be from among the *ulama*. Our prime minister might be from among the *ulama*. As regards the other positions, we have said that we do not plan them to be occupied by the clergy. The day when we are ensured that non-cleric persons can direct this country in accordance with the instructions of God Almighty, Mr. Khamenei will return to his great clerical business and supervise the affairs. So will other clerics. If we said a word, but later realized that this word was mistaken and ran counter to the interests of Islam, we would not insist on our mistake. Any time we realize that the words we said earlier were wrong and that we should have acted differently, we will announce that we have made a mistake and that we had better go another way. We seek the interests of Islam, not the furtherance of our own words.

I have one more word to say to the gentlemen. The gentlemen might object as to why I said so then. You are right. In those days we imagined that among these educated, religious and thoughtful social strata there might be individuals who could direct this country the way desired by God. When we realized that we were wrong and that some of them really took us in by their disguise, we had to retract our words in interviews. We don't have the power of clairvoyance. Some of them were really good, but their opinion ran counter to ours. Now, the day when non-clerics can direct the country, the clergy will return to their position and resume their role as preachers. They will then hand over the executive organizations to those who work for Islam. However, as long as the present situation prevails and we are uncertain, it is likely that the clerics remain in their executive posts. If we find that with presence of a certain individual prestige of Islam is at stake- even if this threat is the least likely- we are obliged to prevent him as much as we can. Let them say whatever they want. Let them say it is a country of the *mullas* (clergymen), the rule of *akhunds* (clergymen), *akhundism* (clericalism) and similar titles. This approach is of course aimed at disappointing us to leave the battlefield. But we will not give in. Well! These words that I said to the gentlemen are enough for now. I hope that in the holy month of *Ramdan*, this great month, you will pray for the Islamic Republic and preach to the people not to lose hope and remain in the scene.

Israeli attack against Lebanon, an American trap for Iran

People should not imagine that victory has been achieved and they no longer have a role to play. There is always need for them. The government cannot manage everything on its own. The nation should accompany the government. Our war is not over. We are now at war and as long as we are at war, your youths should contribute to warfronts. In the same way that our youths rushed to the warfronts and many of them achieved martyrdom, they should likewise be present in the scene. We need them as plots are mounting. And regarding the issue of the day I should say that after the big power, and particularly, the US, failed in their conspiracies and see that this imposed war is also coming to an end, they have organized a bigger conspiracy, on which we are somehow unaware. They were aware of what is important to us and what we are sensitive to. So, they launched that Israeli attack on Lebanon to divert our attention from the war raging in our country. The US knew that we are sensitive to Lebanon and Lebanese people and that we are allergic to Israel, thus making this snare, sending his puppet to attack Lebanon to cause so much damage and to commit so many crimes. We know that if something is in the interests of the US, it will do anything to achieve it. We know about this attitude of the superpowers. They don't think what happens to women and children in this poor country. They struggle to keep Saddam in power. They also want Iran, that in their view is much important than Lebanon and elsewhere, to remain safe for them. The US sees that Iran has hundreds of kilometers common borders with the Soviet Union. What intimidates the US is the Soviet Union. The US fears if Saddam is destroyed, the Soviet Union would do a nasty thing there. Furthermore, they see that if the war goes on like this and Iran defeats Iraq, the two countries will united, and the oppressed people of Iraq will be freed from the clutches of this oppressive party, and join Iran, establishing a government as they like- Islamic. If Iran and Iraq join each other, the other small countries in the region will also join and the US will be deprived of this rich region for which it is ready to destroy thousands of its forces and thousands of people in the region. Their plan is to push Begin to attack Lebanon, thus whetting Iran's sensitivity to this country and prompting Iran to concentrate its forces to attack Israel. If Iran neglects war with Iraq, Iraq will carry out its plan, while Iran cannot do anything in Lebanon. This is their plan.

Our entire nation and government officials should note that while we do not consider Lebanon to be separate from Iran in terms of interests and all other respects, we should not act in a way that we can rescue neither Lebanon nor Iran. Avoid involvement in this matter. If today all eyes are fixed on

Lebanon and all speakers and writers focus on Lebanon, this is a success for the US in prompting us to forget our war with Iraq, in which case we lose both Iraq and Lebanon. Iran can then do nothing in both Iraq and Lebanon. Our way to Lebanon is through defeat of Iraq.

Notice that recently all mass media apparatus; that is—those I have observed—have kept silent on Iraq-Iran war. They might devote a few words, but all have turned to Lebanon. All the radios that spoke about Iraq-Iran war prior to the attack of this cowardly man against Lebanon, now have stopped covering Iraq-Iran war. When the US planned to cause Iran to abandon war with Iraq and entangle Iran in Lebanon to which Iran is sensitive, these radios have since kept mum regarding Iraq-Iran war. Beware that there is an ulterior motive behind Iraqi parliament's declaration some days ago to the effect that they want to leave Iran. They want to dispirit and dissuade our youths and the volunteers enrolling in tens of thousands, one hundred thousand, and discourage from going to warfronts. When they were dissuaded, Iraq might, God forbid, emerge victorious. If Iraq achieves victory, rest assured that you could do nothing in Lebanon, as well.

We should thwart the plan the US has worked out against us. All our speakers throughout the country and all our Friday prayer leaders across the country should preach that our way into Lebanon is through Iraq. We should not let Iraq muster up its forces and the help of others to reinforce its borders and then launch a surprise attack, thus returning to the previous situation. Our negligence in this matter is synonymous with suicide. All speakers, Friday and congregational prayer leaders, preachers and writers are obliged to foil these plots and enlighten the people on the fact that people should not be neglectful of our own war fronts. We want to liberate Quds but without delivering Iraq from this sinister party, we cannot do it. We consider Lebanon to be part and parcel of us, yet liberation of Iraq is prelude to liberation of Lebanon. We should not abandon the preliminary steps and trace the main question, devoting everything to it, while Iraq finds the respite to strengthen its foothold.

Saddam's delirious remarks

I don't know if you followed the long communiqué released by Saddam last night or not. If not, find it. It seems that those who have drawn the plan have written it and gave it to Saddam to read out. As far as I know of Saddam's mood, he is not in a condition as to be able to think or write something. He has lost his ability to think. You don't know how much delirium is there in the speech. If one knew as much as a first grade school

boy, he would not read what has been written for him. You don't know how much he has boasted of his victories and the bravery of his army in all fronts! Read the statement and laugh! He says, "Our retreat is a great victory for the Iraqi people. We saved the people from this country. They attacked our country, initiated the war but we stopped them and pushed them back as far as Abadan and Ahwaz." If one was as wise as a teenager, he would not do what he has said and done. He begins his speech with so many effronteries, portraying himself as a commander of such and such territories and charting illusive plans. He had been beguiled that day and today he has been given a sheet like a sheet of paper one gives to a child to read what has written, without knowing the contents. Others know what is in the sheet.

I wish you would find it. One who sees the nerving communiqué, which took one hour or more of my time to study, one will be astounded at what this man says and what he said at the beginning of the war and what he is saying today. He says: "To demonstrate that we seek peace, we order all our army to leave Iranian territory in ten days." If he is right, this is one of our terms, which will be fulfilled. There are however some other conditions which should be met. As long as these conditions are not fulfilled, we are at war. One is that they should indemnify the enormous damages they have inflicted on us. He has admitted that the damages sustained by Iran are innumerable. He further claims to have taken thousands of captives. He does not understand that tomorrow he should answer and deliver them. If we say we have taken thousands of captives, we have shown them to the foreign reporters. We also showed them on TV. When we say we have so and so many captives, we will deliver them at any time. However, this man who is heedless of political issues says the damages inflicted on Iran are incalculable. Tomorrow all the damages must be compensated for.

We reiterate that we have never initiated the war. We have not attacked an Islamic country, because we consider all Islamic countries to be our brothers in faith. We did not plan to interfere in an Islamic country and so far have not done so. Our army and *Sepah-e Pasdaran* have not attacked Iraq. However, you initiated the offensive and all the world knows this. To whom are you addressing this? Do you make such statements for your own consolation? Why did you not review the statement written for you? You could ask somebody to read it for you and make you understand what has been written in it. Who in the world does believe that Iranian army has attacked and occupied some of your cities? Who believes that you have pushed the Iranians back in self-defense to Khuzestan and that you are now leaving these cities victoriously? All right! Leave our cities and then call

your self victorious! We demand the Iraqi government to compensate us for the damages they say are inestimable, in a rational manner. If you refuse to pay, we will be at war and will get it by force.

Then, by the call of conscience and Divine instructions the one who has committed so many crimes against his country and ours should be identified. Some individuals accepted by both sides should come and investigate which side is the aggressor and evaluate the damages they brought about in Iran and in Iraqi cities. It is possible that a place would be shelled mistakenly; they might have targeted a spot but mistakenly hit a different place. However, now that they claim to have declared unilateral cease-fire, they are shelling Abadan every day, killing and wounding 20 or 30 and martyring a number of others. Their cease-fire is like that of Begin who declares cease-fire and subsequently perpetrates those crimes.

The world is suffering from such individuals, these arrogant feather-brained persons who sacrifice everything for one day of their hegemony. When should the world be relieved of these troubles? The answer is: The day when the US and Soviet Union are no more.

I hope that God almighty favors you, our nation, and we, as He has had from the beginning. We had nothing; He gave us everything. I hope this favor perpetuates. I hope that in this holy month of Ramadan all the gentlemen pray for the Islamic Republic, Lebanon, Palestine and the world's oppressed and deprived people.

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

Letter

Date: June 1982 [Tir 1361 AHS / Shaban 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a letter by a woman teacher

Addressee: Akram Yazdi Zadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Thank God you are all healthy and feel well lest the enemy may feel happy. We have nothing to tell you dear ones except praying and praying. I don't know how to disclose my inner feelings and love for the dear Imam. But I only know that I want but I cannot. I know the leader who is dearer than my life cannot read the letter of a humble and poor woman like me on because of numerous incoming letters (I also don't expect, because the Imam's existence is more important and valuable than everything else), but for the sake of God write me a line with the Imam's handwriting. I am currently a teacher and before being employed I dedicated one month of my salary by some oblation for the Imam's grandfather. I phoned the office on two occasions, you told me to bring the money to Jamaran. But since I live far from there, Shahre Rey, you advised me to send it by mail. I am now sending the money, an inconsiderable amount of two thousand and three hundred tomans, in this letter and hope it will reach you. If you receive the letter, please acknowledge the receipt so that I know my oblation has been accepted. Give the money to the dearer-than-my-soul Imam. He is free to spend it as he deems advisable. Please forgive me for my bad handwriting. I don't take more of your precious time. May God be with you all! May God grant longevity to our great Imam! In the hope of victory and liberation of all occupied lands from the clutches of the Zionists and imperialists, from Iran to the dear Quds, God willing.

Akram Yazdi Zadeh,
29/3/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Dear Mrs. Akram Yazdi Zadeh, may God Almighty assist you,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter and thank you for your feeling and commitment to Islam and the Islamic Republic. It is hoped that you are successful in educating yourself and others. I entreat God Almighty to grant you happiness and health.

Meantime, the sum you sent has arrived and I accepted it. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 22, 1982 [Tir 1, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 29, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, President of the Maldives,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram congratulating me on the occasion of the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan with my appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim brothers in your country on the occasion of the arrival of this great divine month. I implore God Almighty to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and the blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 23, 1982 [Tir 2, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 1, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani, Emir of Qatar,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph congratulating on the occasion of the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan with appreciation. It is regrettable that arrival of the holy month of Ramadan has coincided with the merciless attack of the filthiest puppet government—the usurper Israel—on the defenseless people of Lebanon. More regrettable is the deadly silence and indifference of majority of the rulers of Islamic countries in the face of these horrible crimes. It is not clear for how long these ungodly rulers will keep in store these boundless wealths and innumerable weapons and orderly armies and to what extent they will accept the abjectness and wretchedness of Muslims? When do they want to wake up from this deep abject slumber? May peace, mercy and the blessings of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 1402 AH

Message

Date: June 27, 1982 [Tir 6, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting the martyrs of 7 Tir; resistance of the Iranian nation

Occasion: Anniversary of seventh Tir tragedy

Addressee: The Iranian nation

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Verily, We are from God and to Him shall we return*

The arrival of 7 Tir anniversary¹ brings back memories of before and after the tragedy. Prior to the explosion, one is reminded of the brutal attacks of American agents on the genuine children of Islam and the revolution and on the organizations in which these children were active for promotion of divine purposes. The dearer and more useful and valuable the personalities for the Islamic Revolution, the heavier the plot for tarnishing their character and the more extensive the scope slanders and calumnies against them and the organizations such as the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the government, the judiciary, the revolutionary courts, the Guardian Council, and other Islamic organizations and dear personalities who have been present in the scene since the pre-revolution period to the victory of the revolution and continuing with their services and sacrifices. Those blind-hearted impostors who were ensnared by the US and who were utterly devoted to achieving their Satanic goals committed this heinous crime. They presumed that their sinister conspiracy would work and that by eliminating these dear committed ones the committed Muslim people would turn to them and their devilish aims would be fulfilled. They were driven by the incentive that after the martyrdom of these dear ones, the country would be disturbed and that they would embrace their victory and satisfy their world-devouring masters.

¹ On 7 Tir, 1360 after deposal of Abul Hasan Banisadr as president and his union with his like-minded forces in *munafiqin* (a notorious terrorist organization popularly known as *munafiqin* or hypocrites) and following open confrontation of the *munafiqin* with Islamic Republic and launching armed struggle and assassination attempts, explosion of a bomb planted by an interloper at the Islamic Republic Party Headquarters (located at Sarcheshmeh, Tehran) caused the martyrdom of 72 high-ranking officials of Islamic establishment including the innocent martyr Beheshti (the then chief justice) and a number of parliamentarians, ministers, deputy ministers, judiciary officials and senior officials of the country.

In painful moments, they stripped the nation of seventy or so committed believers and brave children of Islam each of whom can be likened to a fruitful palm tree. This disaster created fervent scenes and great constructive explosions. On that night when American mercenaries presumed that everything had been confused and chaotic and the Islamic Republic suppressed and that the dear nation would support and turn to them, the shining Islamic profile blazoned beyond the glittering images of *Hizbullah* (Party of God), with their castles in the air and visionary and satanic schemes collapsing. These miserable ones planned an explosion to extinguish the light of God and the Omnipotent God reciprocated an explosion at the sacred hand of *Hizbullah* protecting the Islamic Revolution and all its organizations against the harms of the day like an iron dam.

“They would fain put out the light of Allah with their mouths, but Allah disdaineth (ought) save that He shall perfect His light, however much the disbelievers are averse.”¹ What did the honorable martyrs of 7 Tir want in their steadfast struggles and unsparing sacrifices in the cause of God except victory of revolution and downfall of the flag of blasphemy and hypocrisy and unmasking the ferocious and hideous faces disguised as popular and Islamic? Many a time when these heart-rending events did not occur, they would remain at the scene of political games with diabolic disposition, but wearing charming masks, unceasingly inflicting blows at the revolution and its unfeigned children. They would act a stumbling block hampering the path of Islam and innocent Muslims and dealing the final blow of the US and other powers and defeating the republic or procrastinating its victory. But this sad disaster and successive martyrdoms accelerated the victory of the revolutionary Islam.

Thanks to God Almighty Who granted victory by His special favors to the land of Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) and to this *Hizbullah* nation in all fields and stages. As a result the Islamic Republic and its constituent organizations get ever more stronger.

Today, the dear Iranian nation which the ignoramus people, who have and will fail to understand the secrets of their presence, imagined would leave the scene after these inhuman crimes and martyring its valuable personalities, continues proceeding with its divine power. We hope that with the defeat of recent US plot to preserve Saddam and the Aflaqi party, our brave forces will open the way for marching towards Bayt al-Muqaddas by final defeat of the Iraqi government. It is our hope not to be witness to

¹ *Surah at-Tawbah*, 9: 32.

indifference of regional countries to Israeli attack and murder and pillage of Lebanon, particularly their recent crimes that pose a serious threat to this Islamic country. Muslim countries should know that with the deadly silence of some regional governments and their indisputable surrender to the US and Israel, today the dear Lebanon will go down the throat of this world-devourer and its scum (Israel) and in the near future other dear countries are exposed to the same threat. If today regional governments stand against these criminals with the weapon of oil and armament, the problem of Israel and then the US and any other plundering powers will be settled. We strongly condemn and voice our great regret over the fact that some Islamic governments have extended their hands towards the US, the original criminal and number One conspirator, and seek their salvation from the werewolf. The valorous nation and revolutionary government of Iran would have acted differently if they had not been entangled in the Iraqi imposed war and conspiracies to distract our attention from our major task, which can lead to our defeat on both fronts. I resolutely call on Islamic governments for umpteenth time, particularly regional governments, to rise up for protecting the dignity, life, principles and property of Islamic nations and unify their ranks with the governments of Syria and Palestine and us, defend the dignity and honor of Islam and Arabs in a united rank, and curtail the hands of these criminals from their auriferous countries once and for all. Don't lose the opportunity, as tomorrow is late.

I beseech God, the Exalted and Glorified, to grant majesty to Islam and Muslims, awakening to Islamic governments, dignity and honor to Islamic countries, blessing to martyrs of Islam throughout the course of history, particularly the martyrs of 7 Tir and patience and perseverance to the Iranian nation and families of the martyrs. Although I revere all martyrs, particularly the martyrs of 7 Tir, I cannot hide my deep regret over the loss of the innocent martyr Beheshti with his different dimensions and martyr Muhammad Muntaziri and his valuable struggles. We are from God and to Him shall we return.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 27, 1982 [Tir 6, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may his sublime presence endure,

Enclosed please find the list of 12 prisoners of the Islamic Revolution public prosecutor's office of the Central Province (ordinary offences) and seven others from the Islamic Revolution public prosecutor's office of Qum (ordinary offences) who according to the decree of the concerned religious judge and the Islamic Revolution public Prosecutor deserve amnesty or extenuation of their punishment pending your approval.

4/4/1361, Sayyid Abdul-Karim
Musawi Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this. May you be successful!¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 6, 1361 AHS

¹ Reference to duties and authorities of the leader provided in article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Message

Date: August 1, 1982 [Tir 11, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

Addressee: Ahmad Sokotoreh (President of Guinea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Ahmad Sokotoreh, President of the Republic of Guinea,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind telegram congratulating me on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan with appreciation. It is regrettable that the holy month of Ramadan arrives at a time when the bloodthirsty and usurper Israel, after many years of crime and destruction, has committed another horrible crime and burnt down Lebanon and the Muslims of this land. More regrettable is that the rulers of Islamic countries indifferently watch this big disaster or simply condemn it by releasing a communiqué. Some of them even attempt to compel those who have been subjected to aggression to accept the cease-fire dictated by Israel and the US. Is it not apt for Islamic community to recite *Istirja* ("We are from God and to Him shall we return", pronounced in time of death and disasters)? I sense danger for all Muslims from this lamentable situation and hope that committed officials do not abandon themselves to abject death more than this and bear in mind that we have never sought or initiated war and that our defense in the face of aggression is a human and Islamic right for any Muslim. It is this aggressor Aflaqite Saddam who must provide the conditions conducive to an end to the war and restoration of peace, and accept those conditions. I entreat God Almighty to grant majesty and dignity to all Islamic countries and bring destruction to all colonialists, particularly the world-devouring US and the criminal Zionism. God's peace, blessing and mercy be upon you

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 2, 1982 [Tir 11, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Message on the occasion of martyrdom of Mr. Saduqi (representative of Imam and Friday prayers leader of Yazd)¹

Addressee: The Iranian nation

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Verily, We are from God and to Him shall we return*

Sacrifice is part of a revolution. Martyrdom and preparedness for martyrdom are prerequisite of a revolution. Sacrifice in the cause of revolution and its victory is inevitable, particularly a revolution that is accomplished for God and His religion, for the emancipation of the oppressed and shattering the hope of world-devourers and arrogant powers. At any Friday prayer congregation, in any gathering, in any get-together and assembly for helping God, we should expect sacrifice and martyrdom.

Sacrifice for a great revolution is the mark of victory and getting closer to the goal. It is not undue that the face of the Doyen of the Martyrs of the world was more inflamed with passions and grew more fervent the more he lost his faithful friends and the more they approached the noon of Ashura, as he found himself closer to victory. The destination is our belief and struggle in its cause and the victory of the revolution, not the life or the world and its ignoble allurements. It is these martyrdoms that give the good tidings of victory to our nation. Did Islam suffer at the martyrdom of God's 72 chosen ones in the tyrannical rule of the Umayyad? Did the great revolution in Iran suffer from the martyrdom of seventy or so people in a twinkling of an eye

¹ "Martyr of Altar" Mr. Muhammad Saduqi was among the struggling *ulama* (religious scholars) and old friends of Imam Khomeini and activists in the revolution and struggle against the Shah's regime. His presence in Yazd Province was a base for the support of the Islamic Revolution. The great financial assistance of the benevolent and believing people of Yazd under the guidance of Mr. Saduqi was taken as a support for the activists. After the establishment of the Islamic Republic, his valuable services as representative of Imam and Friday prayer leader of Yazd, in development activities, establishment of charitable centers and foundations in the province and across the country, particularly relief centers for victims of natural disasters such as flood and earthquake, etc. was proverbial. After a lifetime of scientific and practical struggle and at the peak of fame, he was martyred at the altar in a bomb explosion planted by *munaḥiqin* terrorist organization while performing prayers.

and thousands of honorable youths loving God and martyrdom? Why should we be scared of suffering from the martyrdom of an honorable scholar and committed and selfless noble person? Should the venerable *fuqaha* (Muslim jurists) and noble Friday and congregational prayer leaders, who stood and who are still standing at the front row of the revolution, not be included in the front line of the martyrs and disabled ones in the cause of the Friend? Who is more deserving of martyrdom than the infallible offspring of the Prophet of Islam and his children and companions at a time when the infidelity of the Umayyad threatened Islam? Who was more deserving of martyrdom than our venerable martyr, the committed and selfless *faqih* (Muslim jurist) of Islam—the dear martyr Saduqi (may God be pleased with him)—in an age when global imperialism and its obedient offshoots inside and outside of the country pose a threat to dear Islam? This great martyr was present in all scenes of the revolution and was the friend and companion of the helpless and the poor and devoted his precious time to the victory of Islam and attending to the problems of the revolution, enthusiastically serving the people and the revolution. Wherever there was an earth-quake, martyr Saduqi was there to help mend the destructions as much as he could. Wherever a region was flooded, he was the one to be present there to provide relief aid. In the warfronts, his friends and he and the like of him would visit the warfronts from time to time and injected tranquility into the hearts of the combatants. These claimants of serving and revolting for the people, creeping in holes and pillaging armaments of the public treasury, actually strip the people of such servants. Now that they have been unmasked and their abominable faces disclosed and their hands curtailed from the life and property of the people of God, they come out of their holes like thieves and attack these selfless people unawares and deprive people of their existence. They figure such cowardly acts as a sign of their power and great victory for them and their masters, preparing themselves for ruling over this Islamic people with all their notoriety. They are, however, ignorant of the fact that each martyr brings the nation closer to the great aim and that they will be more disgraceful and notorious before God and people. While we are grieving over the martyrdom and loss of these noble men who served Islam and the deprived people, we are confident of and content with approaching the noble goal by which the drops of the blood of these martyrs augur. What counts for us is the great aim and character of the noble martyrs, and, thank God, the goal is close by and the character of grows ever more prominent. I lost a dear friend with whom and his great dispositions I was acquainted for over 30 years, Islam has lost a committed servant, Iran has lost a selfless

faqih (jurisprudent) and Yazd Province has lost an erudite superintendent but in exchange we steer closer to the ultimate end sought by the martyrs. I extend my condolences and congratulations to the sacred presence of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) and the dear nation and Islam and entreat God Almighty to grant blessings and remission to that honorable martyr, patience and reward to the nation, particularly the committed people of Yazd and fortitude and great reward to the family of this noble man, particularly his dear and brave children. I beseech God Almighty to grant victory to Islam and downfall to blasphemy.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 3, 1982 [Tir 12, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 11, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of propaganda inside and outside of the country

Addressee: Supreme Council of Islamic Propaganda

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, may his sublime presence endure,

Greetings to you. You are hereby notified that in the post-revolution period, due to the urgent need of the revolutionary society to an integrated organization and a distinct authority for Islamic propaganda to which all could refer, the supreme council of Islamic propaganda was established in consultation with the society of teachers of Qum Theological Seminary and in collaboration with Qum's propagation office in Tir 1360, which had been confirmed by Your Highness. To achieve its principal objectives, the council established the Islamic Propaganda Organization, covering the Qum propaganda office and the publication office affiliated with the society of teachers in financial terms. To coordinate propaganda activities of revolutionary organizations, the council created the coordination council of Islamic propaganda. An outline of the annual activities of the two departments is enclosed. Now, as the result of increasing development of activities, the organization has reached a stage that if it wants to expand the services it should do so with the cooperation of the government and revolutionary organizations. This cooperation will not be possible unless with the confirmation of the grand leader as the sole backbone of this propaganda organization. Supreme Council of Islamic Propaganda].

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Respected members of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Propaganda, may God almighty assist them,

I studied the report of the services rendered by the said council. I thank you for the cooperation you have had with Qum Theological Seminary and harmony as well as your close relation with the concerned officials. We all

know that at this sensitive juncture when the Islamic Republic and dear Islam have been subjected to a propaganda onslaught of mass media apparatuses affiliated to big powers and their surrogates and have launched these massive propaganda operations to disseminate falsehood, you, supporters of Islam and we should be equipped with the day's sharp weapon to defend the Truth and depict the real picture of Islam and the Islamic Republic inside and outside the country for the people. This divine and human duty is vested in us. I deem it necessary to give some reminders:

1- I extend my deep appreciation to the respected *ulama* and erudite persons in Qum Theological Seminary for fulfilling their divine duties in any difficulties, for being present in front of the imposed war and remote deprived regions and labor centers and proving their competency and that of the religious and scientific seminaries. Nevertheless, given the sensitivity of the situation and their standing in giving priority to propaganda affairs, it seems that more noticeable and specific activity should be devoted for this vital matter. In addition to holidays, they should devote part of their precious time to this matter beside their routine engagements. They should not let such a sensitive position remain vacant and appoint competent individuals when required. I entreat God Almighty to grant you all success.

2- Relevant government and revolutionary organizations are required to offer serious cooperation with the said council in this divine duty.

3- Obviously, overseas propaganda has special features and significance. Since the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance is responsible for this task, the Supreme Propaganda Council is required to help and cooperate with the ministry in absorbing and training competent individuals to send abroad to propagate Islamic culture, and fulfill this divine duty in complete coordination.

It is hoped that the Omnipotent God grants His special favors to all.

Tir 12, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 11,
1402 AH
Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 5, 1982 [Tir 14, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Enmity of deviants towards *ulama* and clergy

Occasion: Reply to a telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Saduqi (Friday prayers leader of Yazd)

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Mr. Marashi Najafi, may his blessings last long,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind telegram of condolence on the occasion of the martyrdom of the martyr of altar and son of Islam Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin the late martyr Saduqi with appreciation. Reciprocally, I extend my condolences to you and the dear people of Iran and theological seminaries and beseech God Almighty to grant mercy to this selfless soldier of Islam, who spent his life in rendering services to theological seminaries and attending to the needs of the deprived people, and was finally martyred at the hands of the vindictive *munaḥiqin* who are versed in dealing blow to Islam and the downtrodden layers of people.

In the course of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, it has been clear from the savage deeds of the deviants affiliated with the US that hostility to the *ulama* and clerics is on their agenda. The martyrdom of each of these dear ones exposes the crimes of these terrorists who claim to have the support of people. I beseech God Almighty to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims. I request you to pray for the Islamic Republic of Iran. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: July 6, 1982 [Tir 15, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Friday prayers leader of Yazd Province

Addressee: Ruhullah Khatami

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Ruhullah Khatami, may his blessings last long,

Following the heart-rending martyrdom of the third martyr of altar, the dear Saduqi, and consensus of the *ulama* in Yazd and on account of your popularity among the esteemed residents of this city, you who are known for being knowledgeable and pious are hereby appointed as my representative and Friday prayer leader of Yazd. God willing, beside fulfillment of this great duty, you will acquaint the people with their duties towards dear Islam and Muslims and the sanguinary and solid revolution of the noble people of Iran. I hope you will act resolutely in settling affairs and attending to the needs of people. It is hoped that the respected and religious people of Yazd, particularly the prominent *ulama* and revolutionary organizations, will take the opportunity and make the necessary cooperation in ever more glorious performance of the unity-nurturing and enemy-shattering Friday prayer. I implore God Almighty to grant success to you all. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: August 6, 1982 [Tir 15, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Investigate the assassination of religious and political figures

Addressee: Muhsin Rida'i (Commander in Chief of IRGC)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Muhsin Rida'i, Commander in Chief of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps,

The carrying out of assassination attempts on prominent and effective clerics such as martyr Madani,¹ martyr Dastqeyb,² martyr Hashemi Nejad³ and attack on Mr. Ehsan Bakhsh⁴ and recently martyrdom of the honorable martyr the late Saduqi⁵ have triggered concern, doubt and question, and cast suspicion on those guarding these clerics particularly the guards of martyr Saduqi. The matter has become controversial. The like of these great assets of Islamic Republic should not be eliminated so easily. Since IRGC responsible for these matters, you have to investigate the matter, looking into the record of the guards and submit a report. It is necessary to employ trained, veteran and committed *pasdars* for this important matter so as to avert similar losses.⁶

Tir 15, 1361 AHS

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Asadullah Madani, Friday prayer leader of Tabriz was martyred on Friday 20/6/1360 AHS by *munafiqin*.

² Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Husayn Dastghayb, Friday prayer leader of Shiraz was martyred in 20/9/1360 AHS by *munafiqin*.

³ Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Karim Hashemi Nejad, secretary of the Islamic Republic Party in Mashhad was martyred in 7/7/ 1360 AHS by *munafiqin*.

⁴ Mr. Sadiq Ihsan-Bakhsh, the Imam's representative and Friday prayer leader of Rasht was attacked and wounded by terrorists.

⁵ Mr. Muhammad Saduqi, Friday prayer leader of Yazd was martyred in 11/4/1361 by *munafiqin*.

⁶ Below the letter the following had been written: Copy: 1- President, 2- Majlis Speaker, 3- Prime Minister.

Message

Date: July 14, 1982 [Tir 23, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 22, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Inviting the Iraqi people to revolt against the Baathist regime of Iraq

Occasion: Ramadan operations

Addressee: The Iraqi nation and army

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The oppressed and shackled people of Iraq, the harassed and tortured people of Mesopotamia! In defending their country and repelling the attacks of the enemy of Islam, your *mujahid* (struggling) brothers were compelled to enter the Iraqi territory so that by the will of God Almighty rescue the tyrannized people of Iraq from the evil of the party that has inflicted numerous blows on this noble nation in the course of its illegitimate domination over the country. Many prominent *ulama* like the great *marja* (religious reference authority) Ayatullah Hakim, departed to the other world under the oppression and brutality of this infidel party after being confined to their house and experiencing great affliction. Another example is the innocent and learned martyr Ayatullah Sadr and his honorable sister who died under the tortures of the executioners of Aflaqite Saddam. Many dear and brave Iraqi youths live in prison and many of them have lost their lives as a result of the sufferings they sustained at the hands of this party. Now, it is almost two years that they started their attack against the Islamic Republic on charges of its being Islamic. They have dwarfed the Mongols and sacrificed thousands of Iraqi and Iranian youths for their carnal passions. You are more aware of the crimes committed by this party and Saddam, this super criminal of the age. Rise up and shake hands of brotherhood with your intimate brothers and eliminate this tyrannical government and establish your desired Islamic government by yourselves. Dear people of Iraq! Now that your brothers have come towards you and selflessly struggle to protect their country and save their dear brothers who are in bondage, rise up and, inspired by the great Islam, attack the enemies of Islam. Your dear brothers and the noble people of Iran will rush to the warfronts from behind the fronts and with the help of your dear ones and brothers-in-faith will remove this cancerous tumor from the heart of an Islamic country, and help the honorable people of Iraq determine their own destiny. O, devoted residents of BaSra!

Come to receive your believing brothers and sever the hands of infidel Aflaqi tyrants from your country. O, esteemed residents of the holy shrines! O, militant youths who have attacked these impure tyrants at any opportunity! Take the opportunity God has provided for you and rise up courageously and determine your own destiny. O, army men who have been entangled by the infidel party that gets the youths killed for its carnal desires, our brothers have come to your relief and will send to dustbin of history this tyrannical and disbelieving regime, selflessly and by trusting God. Rise up! O, chained dear ones rescue yourselves and your country with the help of your Iranian brothers. Don't let the fate of your country be determined in the US. O, you Iranian youths and brothers rush to the help of your militant brothers. This moment is the most sensitive and fateful moment. Either victory of Islam over Aflaqite disbelievers or God forbid, in case of negligence, defeat of Islam and eternal shame for the nation. You militant youths never knuckle under to abjection and misery. Your Islamic and national duty requires you to rush to warfronts boldly and struggle so as not to wear the garment of misery. Now that the morale of the Iraqi army has been totally shattered and that Islam today stands in need of your militant youths, hasten to fight blasphemy and rescue your Iraqi brothers. Help your selfless Islamic Republic brothers, as tomorrow is late. I implore God to grant victory to Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 15, 1982 [Tir 24, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 23, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of condolence on the martyr of Mr. Saduqi (Friday prayers leader of Yazd)

Addressee: Muammar al-Qadhdhafi (President of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Colonel Muammar al-Qadhdhafi, Leader of the Islamic country of Libya,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message on the sad disaster of the martyrdom of the honorable *faqih* (jurisprudent) and martyr of altar, Hadrat Ayatullah Saduqi with appreciation. These martyrdoms will in no way weaken the Islamic Republic, but will rather strengthen and fructify this clean tree. These blind-hearted *munafiqin* with their indiscriminating crimes are ever greater disgraced and discredited before the deprived and Muslim nations. Architects of these crimes- the world-devouring US and its European and Asian accomplices, should know that our heroic and revolutionary people have been ready for such sacrifices in order to bring the Islamic Revolution to fruition and will not leave the scene for the criminal *munafiqin* with such blind and aimless crimes. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 23, 1402 AH

Message

Date: July 16, 1982 [Tir 25, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Crimes of the Quds-occupying regime in Lebanon; laxity and lethargy of Islamic countries heads of state

Occasion: International Quds Day

Addressee: The Iranian nation and world Muslims

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

On the anniversary of the International Quds Day, we are going through the most sorrowful and painful days and leaving behind the most troubled and calamitous times. All our sorrow and grief is not for the defenseless and innocent martyrs of the oppressed Lebanon, nor for increasing attack of criminal Israel, with cluster and fire bombs, on the Arab and Muslims residents of Beirut which has resulted in martyrdom of thousands of the homeless, old and young, women and men and innocent children, nor for sinister designs of super criminal US, nor for destruction of the foundation of Islam in Iran and other countries, nor for material and spiritual aids of Egypt and Jordan and their likes to two unrestrained criminals: Begin and Saddam who have savage and criminal disposition and whose lives depend on aggression on the rights of nations and oppressed people of the world and who take oppressing people and suppressing innocent nations as a sources of pride, nor for merciless aggression of Aflaqi Saddam and the Baath Party of Iraq on Islamic Iran and massacre of thousands of children, old women and men and destruction of habitable and green Arab-populated cities and Persian-inhabited cities nor for the fact that this polytheist party cannot tolerate Islam and it aims to undermine Islam and its supporters, but for the fact that Muslims are afflicted with puppet governments enamored with the US and, blindly obeying the orders of the enemies of Islam and Muslims. To mount objection against the Islamic Republic and to supply military and material and spiritual aids to Saddam, who considers Islam as his enemy, they have worked out excuses and raising the issue of Persian and Arab contrary to the instructions of Islam and the Holy Quran. In their propaganda horns and print media that are at the service of superpowers, they use Israeli support for Iran, this whopping lie, as an excuse.

Today when Israel has attacked an Arab Muslim country and is killing Muslims what excuse do they have for their deathly silence? What excuse do they have before God Almighty and Islamic nations for helping Israel and its criminal master? What excuse do they have for pursuing the disgraceful proposal of Camp David and Fahd Plan? What excuse do they have for reconciliation with these inherently criminal and bloodthirsty professionals? Has the US differed from the former US that accused us of conformity with Israel? Or has Israel changed under the false pretexts of its giving arms to Iran they rushed to Saddam's help and tries their best to rescue the Baathist party?

O, God! Muslims of the region are suffering from such rulers, just as their *mawla* (spiritual leader) Ali Bin Abitalib was afflicted with specious hypocrites and he joined eternity on their hands in a day such as today and was relieved of predicaments.

O, God! Today Islam is afflicted with hypocrites who are more criminal than the people of Nahravan and are crushing it in the name of Islam and compromise with the enemies of Islam in the name of Islam and in fact for plundering the properties of innocent and deprived nations and chaining free nations.

O, God! These ignorant government officials have succumbed to Israel so as to rule the Muslim nations for a few more days.

O, God! These ignorant governments commanding all resources for victory over superpowers sanction the crimes of the US and Israel and work round the clock to strengthen the pillars of blasphemy. O, God! Rescue this oppressed Muslim people. But what should be done today? Are the marches and outcries against the enemies of Islam and the oppressed people sufficient? Is not it a means, not an end? Regional governments and agents of colonialists and tyrants will not tolerate these cries and rest assured that they will stifle these cries in the throat of the oppressed and deprived people. At present they raise voice against the cry of the innocent people who circumambulate round Kabah (Mecca, as their chief aim) once a year and moan and wail in an assembly that is constituted on political matters, and choke the uproar of Muslims for liberation of Quds by any possible means.

Where do the dear Islam, its honorable Prophet and its martyr of altar (Imam Ali) who achieved martyrdom on the night of *Qadr*¹ take the

¹ Holy Islamic night, which the Holy Quran mentioned as a great night, describing it better than one thousand months. The Holy Quran has said on this night angels ascend by permission of God. The Holy Quran was revealed on this night. Performing acts of worship on this night has enormous value.

complaint that hegemonic powers in Islamic lands force people to suffer pain without protest? They expect people to get crushed under the tortures of the US and evil Israel and other petty powers, but make no grumble! Pains are numerous, but what is the solution? Iranian nation, by following the Holy Quran and the great Islam, found the solution and overthrew the US puppet Pahlavi regime after cries and strikes with claws and teeth in the face of tanks and machine guns and shattered the criminal Saddam and his polytheist party in light of faith and uprising for God, humbled the ambitious Saddam who bragged of being commander of Qadisiyyah and nipped the plots in the bud with divine guidance. At present, Iran will not relent until reparations, which are meant to punish the aggressor, are paid in full and considers the decisions of the Security Council and useless organizations but empty words at the service of countries with veto right.

Despite all their hollering and baseless propaganda activities, they bow down before the Zionists and sit and issue resolutions for strengthening the base of their governments and their affiliates such as Saddam who is on the verge of a disgraceful death. They don't know that it takes a lot more to scare a government relying on God and the noble people of Iran. A nation which has tasted the sweet savor of martyrdom and follows Commander of the Faithful and his honorable offspring who considered martyrdom a great victory and who cried: "I was delivered by the Lord of Kaaba" in the altar of martyrdom and battlefield, is not scared of lackeys of superpowers. A nation which drove out the US from the Savior's country (may our souls be sacrificed for him) with contempt and pulled out its oil and treasures from their throat will not fear the paper tigers. This nation and government, as announced time and again, will get back all their rightful claims from Saddam and Aflaqite party and will take any measure to secure their legitimate rights.

The duty of nations on the eve of International Quds Day and anniversary of the martyrdom of the great man of human history (Imam Ali) is to demand their governments in their marches and rallies to rise up against the US and Israel with military power and oil weapon. If they do not listen and continue to confirm the criminal Israel that is threatening the entire region and even the holy shrines, and whose range of demands is just beginning to be revealed, they shall compel them to do so by strike and pressure and threat. When Islam and its holy places have been threatened and

encroached on, no individual Muslim can be indifferent. What the regional nations do at this juncture when Israel has launched massive intrusion into lands of Muslims, killing innocent and defenseless Muslims, is nothing but conformist rhetoric. More deplorable is that they seek refuge in the US—the main criminal—from Israel. In fact, for fear of snake they resort to dragon. Despite commanding all means to confront them, they are not ready to utter a harsh or threatening word. In such state of affairs all should be prepared for destruction and succumbing to any abjectness in the course of their life. As announced, Iran cannot take an effective measure except through Iraq and removal of the rule of Baath Party. After attaining its legitimate demands, Iran is ready to cooperate more than what it is doing today with other Muslims, particularly Arab nations and governments to fight Israel. As one of the great Muslim powers of the region, Iran will then cooperate with other regional powers in the battle against Israel with stronger forces. If, God forbid, the condition of Islamic and Arab countries and regional governments continue to be as it is, the militant Iran has excuses to produce before God. In such state of affairs when these governments not only conform to, succumb and sanction the main enemy and its affiliates but also render their material and spiritual support to it, what we can do is to implore Islamic nations minus their governments and if the nations respond, Iran will take more serious and effective measures. I advise the Palestinian leaders to abandon their coming and going and fight against Israel to the last by trusting God Almighty and relying on the Palestinian people and their own weapons. These coming and going causes militant nations to be disappointed of you. Rest assured that neither the East nor the West would be of any avail in you. Fight against Israel by faith in God and reliance on your arms, as did the people and armed forces of Iran who will fight to the end to restore their legitimate rights without relying on superpowers and thanks to faith in God Almighty and His omnipotence.

O, God! I take recourse to You from these laxity and indifference and ambitions and alienations dominating the world. O, God! I seek Your assistance for victory of Islam and Muslims of the world and oppressed people who are shackled by arrogant powers and for victory of Islamic Republic forces over beguiled Saddam Baathist forces. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 18, 1982 [Tir 27, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the auspicious feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Shaykh Za'id Bin Sultan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirate)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Shaykh Za'id Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious feast of *Fitr* with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the brotherly and Muslim people of your country on this great feast. What cause deep regret in these days and grieves every Muslim is the indifference and deadly silence of many rulers of the Islamic countries in the face of the brutal aggression of the usurper Israel on the Muslims of Lebanon and killing thousands of defenseless Muslims men, women and children and usurping their land. We are from God and to Him shall we return.

I beseech God Almighty to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 26, 1402 AH

Message

Date: July 19, 1982 [Tir 28, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the auspicious feast *Fitr*

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani, Emir of Qatar,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious feast of *Fitr* with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the brotherly and Muslim people of your country on this great feast. What causes deep regret in these days and grieves every Muslim is the indifference of many of Islamic governments in the face of aggression of criminal Israel on the Muslims of Lebanon and the crimes of Aflaqite Saddam who kills hundreds of Iranian women and men and defenseless children with fatal bombs every day, while no voice is raised nor any reaction shown to these crimes. We are sure that as long as the puppet Israeli government and the Baath Aflaqite party of Iraq as well as the criminal Saddam are in the region, Islamic governments will not experience security and stability, because both of them are nurtured and inspired by one source and serve as tools by the International Zionism for the realization of its plots. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 19, 1982 [Tir 28, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of congratulation on the occasion of the auspicious feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum (Prime Minister and Deputy Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum, Prime Minister and Deputy Head of State of the United Arab Emirates),

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious feast of *Fitr* with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the brotherly and Muslim people of your country on this great feast. It is hoped that at this sensitive and historical juncture when Islamic countries are directly or indirectly subjected to the attacks of the enemies of Islam, particularly the global Zionism, you would reject the agents responsible for discord and notorious puppets such as the criminal Saddam. I hope that through Islamic unity and solidarity, you will resist this dangerous attack, responding to the outcry of the homeless and aggrieved Muslims in every corner in the world, particularly the war-raged Muslims of Lebanon, and no longer watch these savage crimes by the enemies of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: July 20, 1982 [Tir 29, 1361 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Delegating authorities of martyr Saduqi

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Saduqi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You who are loved and trusted by the respected residents of Yazd are authorized to act as did your honorable martyred father, the dear Saduqi¹, and complete the unfinished ones of those affairs he referred to you in all stages.

It is hoped that the esteemed residents and government organizations will cooperate with you in removing the problems. If there are problems which are not removed after consulting Hujjat al-Islam Khatami—may his blessings last long—then you refer them to me. I beseech God Almighty to grant you success in serving Islam and the deprived people. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Ramadan 28, 1402 AH

¹ Mr. Muhammad Saduqi (Imam Khomeini's representative in Yazd Province and the Friday prayers leader of Yazd) who was martyred at the hands of the *munafiqin* splinter group and joined the company of the "martyrs of altar".

Speech

Date: July 25, 1982 [Mordad 3, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Opposition of the East and West to the Islamic Republic

Audience: Abbas Waiz Tabasi (Imam's representative and superintendent of the holy shrine of Imam Rida), Habibi (governor-general of Khorasan), staff of central office of the Holy Shrine and the Bread and Canned Food Factory of Quds Radawi, representatives of coordination center of Islamic associations of Mashhad, staff of the governor-general office, personnel of air force, members of the Islamic Republic Party of Mashhad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy shrine of Imam Rida, center of Iran

Today, we have very dear guests. These dear guests come from where the heart of the angels of God frequent. Basically, the center of Iran is the holy shrine of Imam Rida (a). We hope that God will help us be among the servants of the holy shrine. How happy you are who live in Khorasan Province- whether those who are directly serving the shrine or those who serve the people, Islam and the Islamic Republic in this province.

All forces and powers everywhere stand in need of the attention of Imam Rida (a). The governor, the air force personnel, Islamic associations and all are part of the staff of this holy shrine. You, brothers, who directly work in the holy shrine enjoy great happiness though you might not heed much. I hope that, God willing, the Islamic Republic will proceed victoriously as it has so far done, thanks to the holy shrine of Imam Rida (a). Hope the Islamic Republic will perpetuate, keeping its Islamic nature until the appearance of the Savior and this republic solves the problems under his guidance.

The Prophet's Mosque,¹ center of gravity and Islamic power

Today, we are faced with many problems, which you, gentlemen, are aware of. Iran's problems today are not covert; they are overt and the people

¹ This mosque is the Mosque of the Messenger of God, Mosque of Medina, in the middle of Medina and constructed by the Holy Prophet (s). It was reconstructed and expanded on many occasions in the course of history. The Holy Shrine of the Prophet (s) is also located there. The mosque also accommodates the Prophet's pulpit and altar where Muslims perform prayers.

are of the government and the government of the people. The government and its affiliates are the servants of the people and the people are the supporters of the government. As long as this coordination persists among all walks of life, this Islamic Republic will not suffer.

You know that today we are seen from a superficial natural viewpoint, alone. Almost the entire East and West are directly or indirectly opposed to us. If, among them, governments are found that are neutral or occasionally in favor of us, they are few in number. Big powers are opposed to Islam, not the Islam which is concerned merely with prayers and mosque, but the Islam that settled the needs of nations in its advent, the Islam that interfered in the political affairs of nations and in social affairs of nations directly. If you study the early days of Islam, you will see that Islam at the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him) established a government and administered military and disciplinary forces and interfered in politics. The Prophet's Mosque was the center of Islamic politics and center of gravity of Islam.

Unclean hands and sickly minds gradually deflected people from the principal issues underlined by Islam after the advent of Islam and the demise of the Messenger of God, engaged people with only trivial matters, made them indifferent and even urged them to raise opposition to general public concerns needed by Islamic countries. This was a diabolic design charted out during the era of the Umayyads and the Abbasides and, after whom any government coming to power confirmed this attitude. Recently, when Islamic governments, open their doors to both the East and West this idea that Islam is a religion concerned with personal relationship between man and God gained momentum. Islam came to be defined as a religion separate from politics. Muslims were encouraged not to interfere in politics, or clerics were banned from entering political activities. They were confined to mosques and only concerned themselves with performing prayers, supplications and then returning home. This is a scheme which initiated at the outset of Islam, reaching its peak today when the governments of the East and West, the big Eastern and Western powers, have stood against Islam.

Islamic Republic resolved to preserve its independence

Thank God, the Iranian people are unique. Today, you cannot find a country to chant the slogan of neither East nor West; they are either officially dependent on East or West overtly or covertly. As for the non-aligned organization, don't believe that they are non-aligned. If among them real non-aligned countries are found, they are few in number. Today we are facing Eastern and Western blocs and all powers that command power in the

region and the world. From the beginning, our nation knew its path, and with empty hands, without any weapons, except the weapon of faith and spirituality stood against the bullies and overthrew the sinister Pahlavi regime, which would obliterate Islam if it had remained in power for a few more years, curtailing the hands of all powers from its oil reserves. Unfortunately, while all Islamic governments should gather round this center and gravitate towards Islam, the Islam that has brought them independence and freedom, they pay no heed to it or do but are hampered, by carnal desires, from acting as they should. Today almost all propaganda operations in the mass media apparatus run by Eastern and Western blocs write or speak against the Islamic Republic. The reason is clear: The Islamic Republic plans to preserve its independence and curtail the hands of world-devourers and their affiliates from this country. The Islamic Republic wishes all Islamic countries and all the governments dominating Islamic countries to wake up from their deep slumber.

Entry into Iraqi territory is for the defense of border cities

Notice that how a republic that has been established to materialize Islam and its laws, and a nation which sacrifices everything for Islam—some sordid groups excluded—is subjected to attack by some governments such as the Iraqi government, the usurper Iraqi government, the aggressive Iraqi government, a government detested by the Iraqi people, a government that keeps its people silent at bayonet point. You see this corrupt regime launched an offensive against Iran under the pretext that Iranian people are magus and Persian- it is a crime to be Persian—and they do this in the name of Arabism and commander of Qadisiyyah.

We have never intended to attack any country, but when they launched the offensive, we had to defend, as defense is obligatory both from religious and rational points of view. We have taken up a defensive position. Today, we are in a defensive position. The mercenary army of Iraq was in Iran for about 20 months, occupying many sensitive places and committing so many crimes that history should record, but neither the countries claiming to be supporter of Islam nor the human rights societies or so and so organizations did not raise any voice. If it ever happened to them to say anything, they condemned Iran. Now that we have entered Iraq in defense of our country and oppressed people and to prevent and cripple them from hitting Abadan, Ahwaz and elsewhere with their long-range missiles still the print media and radios condemn us and instigate the regional countries by instilling the idea that Iran is a threat to the region.

All officials and I—of course, I am only a student of theology and not an official—have repeatedly admonished the regional governments that Iran does not want to fight them. Iran is not a sort of country to interfere in other countries brutally when gaining power. While we are the most powerful government in the region and, thanks to Islam, so strong that even the big powers cannot attack us, still we want to be brothers-in-faith with all the Islamic countries, particularly those in the region, on the Persian Gulf and around it. We want to shake hands with all of them. God Almighty has granted so many material and spiritual resources to these Islamic countries that if they understand, they are a power which other powers cannot cope with.

You, your country, Persian Gulf countries and others in the region enjoy material power; that is, oil, which if shut off to the West for ten days, all will surrender. Despite all the powers they command and we command, unfortunately, there is no power of faith at work. If instead of oil we had faith, we would not stand in need of anything. Our people had faith and God Almighty favored them and changed them for the better. If they had enough opportunity to implement the plans charted out for the people of Iran, they would corrupt all our youths. God had mercy upon us and transformed these youths who had been victims of plans of the former regime to waste their life in corruption centers. However, they are today preoccupied with war and activities useful for the country. Today the *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, personnel of gendarmerie, army and all our combatants are so overwhelmed with faith that they have stood against all aggressions and resist till their last breath. How much should we tell these regional countries that we are not threat to them! Come to join hands to confront the big powers and rescue our countries.

Do you think Germany, Britain and, on top of them, the US want your interests? Does the Soviet Union back your interests? They seek their own interests. They chain you to take advantage of you. The day they see they cannot take advantage of you, they will discard you and will no longer cooperate with you. Today when the Iranian nation has risen up and you see how much they have progressed and refused to let all powers interfere in their country, you had better come and join hands with them to rescue ourselves from the clutches of powers that want to destroy us and colonize us in its new form, while each country remains an independent country. For how long do you want to remain captive in the hands of American advisors? You saw that the people of Iran discarded the American advisors and that they are running everything themselves. If Iran is given the opportunity, it

will find such a power that no power can interfere in the country, shattering the hope of covetous powers to devour this country, God willing.

Iran, threat to US, mercy for region

Our entry into Iraq was not for occupying Iraq or any Iraqi cities such as Basra. Our homeland is not Basrah or Sham; our motherland is Islam. We follow Islamic laws and Islam does not let us exercise domination over a Muslim country. We will never want such a thing. We will never think of such a thing. What is your ulterior motive for constantly crying that Iran is a threat to us? Iran is a threat to the US, to the Soviet Union, not to you. Iran is mercy for you. Come and shake hands in brotherhood with Iran so as to understand the pleasure of brotherhood and life of independence is better than all the things you expect foreigners to give you. Why do you oppose Iran?

Thank God, some of the regional countries have come to their senses and retracted the course they had adopted. I hope that all regional countries and governments come to realize and be sure that a powerful Islamic country is better for them than the US and the Soviet Union that consider only their own interests, while Islam is concerned with the interests of all Islamic countries and Muslims and even the interests of all human beings. We never covert any country's land. God Almighty has not permitted us to interfere in any country unless in self-defense, as we are today defending our country and people against the corrupt Iraqi government. Of course, our nation should know that our war has not finished. And the plot they had concocted to engage us in Lebanon and inflict a blow on us was disclosed by the grace of God Almighty. We wish that first Iraq should be rid of these corrupt rulers and usurpers and then, God willing, the Quds.

All Islamic countries should know that Iran in no way covets their countries. Iran has everything to cater to its population. Iran is not an intractable country, nor does it want to exercise domination over other. Iran has risen up for God and will continue for God. We will not attack any country, though we will defend against any aggression.

Warning to supporters of Saddam

I should give warning to some of these countries that are still helping the enemy. I admonish you not to create trouble for your future. Today, if anyone of you helps Saddam, you have committed treason against Islam and you are responsible before Islam. If in the past you provided the excuse that you feared Iraq, this excuse is no longer plausible today. Iraq—that is, the

Iraqi government—cannot preserve itself let alone attempting to transgress upon you. This excuse is no longer valid today. If we see that some of these countries still supply financial and military help to Iraqi government, we consider them as culpable. If they don't withdraw, we regard them as responsible and apply Islamic laws against them. I advise them to draw back today; it is not yet late. Don't help this criminal and his master, America.

May God protect all Islamic countries from the evil of these mischief-makers, tyrants and world-devourers and awaken Islamic governments to fulfill their duties—Islamic and human duties. I hope they all sit together and curtail the hands of criminals from their countries. May God enlist us as servants of Islam! I hope that with your prayer we can find the honor of visiting that holy shrine.

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

Message

Date: July 26, 1982 [Mordad 4, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a message of congratulations for auspicious Feast *Fitr*

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Highness Mr. Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, President of the Maldives,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of auspicious Feast of *Fitr* with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate this great Islamic feast to you and the Muslim people of your country. It is hoped that Muslims of the world repel the evil presence of the enemies of Islam—such as Saddam and the criminal party ruling the Islamic country of Iraq—in the light of unity and solidarity and restore their lost glory under the superb teachings of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shawwal 5, 1402 AH

Letter

Date: July 27, 1982 [Mordad 5, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Authorities of the country's Public Prosecutor

Addresses: Supreme Judicial Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Supreme Judicial Council,

Since the situation of the country currently is sensitive, it is necessary that Mr. Sayyid Husayn Musawi, who has so far demonstrated his competency, be given authorities in accordance with this decree and henceforth let everyone should bear in mind the interests of the country.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 6, 1402 AH / Mordad 5,
1361 AHS

¹ Regarding the decree, refer to the explanation provided in the footnote (1) of the decree dated 9/5/1361 AHS by Imam Khomeini to Mr. Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi.

Decree

Date: July 31, 1982 [Mordad 9, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 10, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Scope of authorities of the public prosecutor

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi (public prosecutor)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Public Prosecutor of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

You are obliged to act within the framework of the authorities presented to you in 9/6/1360 by the Supreme Judicial Council. Meantime, send circulars to revolutionary public prosecutor's offices across the country notifying them that they should in no way interfere in matters outside the jurisdiction of revolutionary public prosecutor's offices and courts, acting precisely according to the legal circulars of the Supreme Judicial Council. You should immediately investigate and provide convincing answer to any matter referred to you by the supreme council. Meanwhile, you are responsible before the Supreme Judicial Council. The Supreme Judicial Council will implement the circulars dealing with revolutionary courts and public prosecutor's offices and all matters concerned with anti-revolutionary forces including prisons and complaints with prosecutor general offices and courts through you.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi, the then revolutionary public prosecutor, has the following to write on issuance of this decree and the decree dated 5/5/1361 AHS in a short span of time and elaborating on its reason in the following words: "These two holy handwritings of the Imam (peace be upon him) dated 5/5/1361 AHS and 9/5/1361 AHS deal with the dispute emerging between me and the Supreme Judicial Council of the time on division of judicial responsibilities. Verdict of the Supreme Judicial Council, as is observed, was issued at a sensitive juncture when *munafiqin* had triggered intimidation and after about two months when they sensed a feeling of security wanted to restrict my responsibilities and in fact responsibility of the revolutionary public prosecutor, but the move was faced with objection of the Imam who wrote the handwriting dated 5/5/1361. Then some of the members of the council met the Imam in an attempt to convince him to withdraw his writing, but the Imam of the *ummah* (people) wrote the handwriting dated 9/5/1361 AHS that is stronger and with greater authorities. God knows about how some treated him!"

Decree

Date: August 3, 1982 [Mordad 12, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

Occasion: Auspicious Feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Sayyid Abul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

In His Most Exalted Name

His Highness Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may his sublime presence endure,

Respectfully, enclosed please find a list of 543 convicts of Islamic revolutionary courts deserving amnesty or extenuation of punishment in accordance with the view of the religious judge and the relevant revolutionary public prosecutor's office for approval.

Sayyid Abdul-Kakrim Musawi
Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 12, 1361 AHS

¹ Reference to the authorities and duties of the leader, stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Message

Date: August 4, 1982 [Mordad 13, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegram of congratulation on the occasion of the auspicious Feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad (President of South Yemen)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ali Nasir Muhammad, Secretary-general of the Socialist Party and President of the people's Democratic Republic of Yemen,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious Feast of *Fitr* with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on the great Islamic feast. It is hoped that Muslims of the world, particularly some of the rulers, will give up indifference to so many crimes and brutalities of the usurper regime of Israel and the Iraqi Baath Party and subservience to the superpowers of East and West and the enemies of Islam, and curtail their criminal hands from Islamic countries and lands of Muslims through unity. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 14, 1402 AH

Decree

Date: August 5, 1982 [Mordad 14, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in *Hajj* affairs and superintendent of pilgrims to Mecca

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Khoeyniha

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Khoeyniha, may his blessings last long,

With the approach of *Hajj* days, this great politico-religious and social ritual that enjoys a special standing among other acts of worship, and God Almighty has called on Muslims to, while performing this great obligation become aware of the socio-political developments in Muslim territories, discuss the possible problems and try to remove them. Unfortunately, many Muslims on account of misunderstandings or machination of selfish practitioners have slid the political dimension of this noble ritual into oblivion. You are thereby appointed as my representative and superintendent of Iranian pilgrims to Mecca to attend to the affairs of the pilgrims from different aspects with your special political insight, to invite Muslims to unity of expression and path in your religious sermons and ceremonies in an attempt to revive this great divine tradition, and enlighten them on how the tyrants and world-devourers have afflicted the dear Lebanon, Iran and the oppressed Afghanistan. Acquaint the esteemed pilgrims from different countries with their great duties in confronting the international plunderers and aggressors. Of course, the respected *ulama* present there, where those who are making the pilgrimage at my request or others, will sanction you. The esteemed pilgrims are obliged to listen to your guidelines and obey the limits you will depict for them so that, God willing, this great obligation will be performed with its rich and varied contents.

Obviously, the superintendents who are in any way related to this obligation and the esteemed pilgrims are obliged to cooperate with you to coordinate their work, and benefit from your advice. It is hoped that the respected pilgrims of Islamic countries diligently observe the unity of expression, not neglect ideological fraternity God has ordered among Muslims and strictly avoid creating discord, as it is a satanic practice. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: August 7, 1982 [Mordad 16, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission, standing and role of Radio and Television

Subject: Muhammad Hashemi (managing director), deputies and directors of different departments of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Evil propaganda rising parallel with our progress

I should first thank you brothers who are serving in this very sensitive organization and hope you will continue with your service efficiently and fulfill your duties.

You know that television is a very sensitive and important center. If a film or a word is aired that is not suitable for Islamic Republic, it will be broadcast everywhere immediately. Today, everyone listens to the mass media apparatus and its materials are reflected abroad to some extent. It is very sensitive. Since the enemies of Islam imagine that they have lost their interests—in fact, they have—all are opposed to this organization and all our government and Islamic organizations. We should work hard to cope with the massive volume of malevolent propaganda launched against us every day. If one man of wisdom looks properly, he will realize the prejudiced nature of these propaganda efforts. We who are in this environment, know these are false, but elsewhere there might be individuals unaware of the matters and imagine that such events are really occurring in Iran. You know that the accusations leveled at the Islamic Republic such as killing the children and expecting women and sending the crippled and the disabled to open the path for frontline combatants and similar lies are now the order of the day. In the materials they bring to me—I do not watch TV much—I see that every day these accusations are on the increase. With each step we take forward, they mount their propaganda efforts. Among these propaganda operations they carry out, there are those which are occasionally in our favor. On the whole, we should note that we should serve Islam.

We should work for God. One who works for God suffers no defeat. Supposing one of the big powers attacks and destroys the entire Iran, we have not yet suffered defeat. History has it that our nation made great

sacrifices. Anyone attempting to distort the facts is doomed to failure. History records these sacrifices.

Take great care to Islamize Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization

We should pay great attention to this organization, as it is the greatest organization for our propaganda efforts. The organization's radio and television should be Islamic. Try to take your steps for Islam so that your work would be counted as an act of worship. As of the first day this republic achieved victory, I constantly reminded the people in charge of this organization of Islamization of the programs. However, some of them who later proved to be not upright¹ provided excuse, arguing that they were engaged in so doing, but that it is not possible and that they would correct things and so and so. However, now we see it is, thank God, possible. We hope that through the efforts of this gentleman, Mr. Rafsanjani,² brother of that Mr. Rafsanjani, the problems will be removed and these two brothers render their services to Islam and Iran, the former in propaganda and the latter in all other things.

The records of those who make films should be clear. Their mental status, living conditions and social intercourse should be clear. It should be clear if they have undergone any mental development or still remnants of the culture promoted by the ousted Shah linger in their hearts. The content of the films made should be studied carefully. There are many who do not notice the theme of the films. Generally speaking, one might see that movie is either tilted towards the left or right or encouraging corruption. Great care should be given to the content. We are all obliged to act in conformity with the objectives of the Islamic Republic, which are the true Islamic objectives. Don't fear that if you, let us suppose, make such and such film, we will be branded so and so. Today in this world we have been introduced as a reactionary nation. The Islamic Republic has been presented as a monster. Those not living here imagine that today a group have been sent in Tehran and are killing children and women. Such things are common. With such a revolution you should not expect that such problems should not exist. If you study other revolutions, you will find that they suffered similar problems.

¹ Reference to Sadiq Qutbzadeh, former superintendent of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting organization.

² Mr. Muhammad Hashemi, Head of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization.

Murder and plunder in the name of genuine Islam

This revolution has a special feature and that is its being Islamic. All fronts, excluding a few, are opposed to its Islamic nature. Even those persons or groups involved in the revolution in Iran fear the word “Islam”. If you mention the term Islam, they interpret it in quite a different way, calling it true Islam. They argue that Iran is far from the true Islam, and that this form of Islam must be implemented! While they want to do so and so with the true Islam, these murders and tumults are committed in the name of true Islam.

Fighting for fulfillment of duty

From the outset, I have said we have not been engaged in war to achieve victory; we have entered the arena for fulfillment of Islamic, moral and national duties. The Iranian people who have entered this arena—all are, thank God, involved—have understood what is wrong with these dissident groups and powers. We know that their pain will not be healed by such things and would lose their hope, God willing. We hope that we will emerge victorious in, God willing, all arenas of this republic and that our war will soon be over. Everybody knows that we are not warmongering and that we don't favor conquest of nations. We seek peace and security to prevail in the world. Since its advent Islam has sought such a purpose; the faith has particularly recommended fraternity among believers.

We should foster this spirit of brotherhood among all Muslims and stand against disbelievers. We should not stand against Muslims. Nevertheless, we have to. We have taken up a defensive position. So far, we have not take a step towards war; we are defending. Now that we have entered the Iraqi territory, we have done it for our defense, not for anything else. Let them come and evaluate the damages and identify the aggressor and we will quickly retreat. If they come and do what they should do, we will return soon. We neither want Basra nor other cities. Residents of Basra are our brothers-in-faith. What are we to do with Basra? We always avoid a drop of blood being shed in Basra and in other cities of Iraq. We know that they were not on good terms with Saddam from the beginning. Iraqi people do not detest this Baath party only recently; they disliked this party from the outset, because this party murdered the persons whom the people of Iraq loved. Take Mr. Hakim,¹ whom people loved as their *marja*. This party treated him brutally. He was under house arrest. When he had gone to Baghdad for

¹ The late Mr. Sayyid Muhsin Hakim, a prominent *marja* (religious reference authority) who died in 1389 AH in the holy city of Najaf.

treatment, the government agents intruded into his house and inspected him. They entered forcibly into the house of a *marja*. People are aware that they were on bad terms with Islam from the outset. They were on bad terms with Muslims from the beginning.

Saddam's Islam-loving and peace-loving slogans

Now that Saddam is on the verge of destruction he blares out only slogans in favor of Islam and feigns to be peace loving, claiming that he was defending in this war! He is just imitating us. If we say we are defending, we are right. He says: "From the beginning we wanted to defend Iraq." Right! Who had attacked you so that you had to defend? They say they achieved victory in the sense that they did not let us occupy all Iraqi cities! Well! Let him be victorious and step down with this position of victory. In the same way that they retreated victoriously; likewise, let them seek another job now that you are triumphant. Why not going to Paris sitting besides those others and set up an Iraqi government? Today we have all sorts of things ranging from legal Shah¹ and legal prime minister ² to legal president³ and legal so and so abroad. Well! He⁴ can go there and set things right legally. There is no barrier in doing so.

Always remember your deeds are in God's presence

By and large, they are all opposed to us. We should trust God and never forget Him in our works. You brothers who are working in such an important center should always remember that your deeds are in the presence of God. The tongues that speak and the hands that act are all in God's omnipresence. We should answer for our deeds in the hereafter. If we provided the answer for the other world, we would have no fear. However, if, God forbid, we could not provide answer for our deals in the hereafter, we should regret and repent.

I implore God Almighty to grant you health and happiness. I appreciate you for your efforts and hope that you will make greater endeavors for Islam. We who are from God should work for God. Our time and energy should be devoted for God. I hope you will be successful and supported, God willing.

¹ Rida Pahlavi son of Muhammad Rida declared himself Iran's legal king in exile!

² Shapur Bakhtiyar who considered himself as Iran's legal premier!

³ Reference to Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr who considers himself to be Iran's legal president after deposal and escaping and taking refuge in foreign countries, and Masud Rajawi ringleader of *munafiqin*, considers himself president of the democratic republic of Iran!

⁴ Saddam Husayn President of Iraq.

May God peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Decree

Date: August 8, 1982 [Mordad 17, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 18, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of superintendent of Islamic Revolution *komites* (committees)

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri (interior minister)

In His Most Exalted Name,

His Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, may God grant him longevity,

As you know, the Islamic Consultative Assembly on 14/3/1361 AHS discussed the military service of guards of the Islamic Revolutionary *Komite* and provided that the organization continue service under the aegis of the Interior Ministry which is responsible for drawing up the articles of association of the organization for submission to the Majlis for ratification. The Interior Ministry has taken action based on this ratification, but some gentlemen believe that law does not stipulate that the revolutionary *komite* should be directed under supervision of the Interior Ministry prior to ratification of the articles of association. Meanwhile, as you know, Ayatullah Mahdavi Kani has resigned as superintendent of the *komite*. Therefore, Islamic Revolutionary *Komites* are now without any responsible superintendent. This state of affairs will generate dire consequences. You are therefore requested to clear up the situation of the *komites* as you deem advisable and appoint an official to take charge of the organization.

Respectfully
Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri
Interior Minister]

In His Most Exalted Name

I thank Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Mahdawi who has been at the service of Islam with full force and regret his resignation. I hereby appoint Hujjat al-

¹ Inserted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 16, p. 236 below the date 12/5/1361 AHS and in accordance with the dated cited in handwritten manuscript the date 17/5/1361 is correct.

Islam Natiq Nuri as superintendent of Islamic Revolution *Komites* across the country. It is hoped that all *komite* members and the esteemed clerics working in *komites* render cooperation with and help him. I pray for his success in serving Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
17/5/1361 AHS

Speech

Date: August 8, 1982 [Mordad 17, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 18, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Preservation of Islamic dignity

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri (interior minister), Ali Kuchakzadeh (commander of gendarmerie), governors from across the country, officials and personnel of religio-political departments of gendarmerie

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The entire world is the realm of God Almighty

I thank you the governors and personnel of gendarmerie for coming here and I am happy to see you so confident. I appreciate the efforts of the gendarmerie personnel who are making sacrifices everywhere in the country for Islam, as well as the governors in places they are serving. I pray for all of them. Today, I am going to preach you and all the organizations and even the entire nation. We are all responsible. "Every one of you is like a shepherd every one of you is responsible."¹ All our deeds and all the ideas that cross our mind are present to God. The entire world is in the presence of God almighty. The palpitations of heart are in the presence of God. Any responsibility we shoulder in the country is a great responsibility we have before God Almighty. All the individuals in the battlefields and all those who sacrifice their life for Islam are in the presence of God Almighty. No one's reward will be spoiled. That which is for God is immortal. *"That which ye have wasteth away, and that which Allah hath remaineth. And verily We shall pay those who are steadfast a recompense in proportion to the best of what they used to do."*² Whatever from us will be destroyed and that which is for God and offered to Him will remain.

Prestige of the system depends on prestige of the officials

Those who are rendering a service in this country should preserve the prestige of the Islamic Republic, which is the prestige of Islam. Today's Islamic Republic's prestige hinges on the prestige of the incumbent officials. Any one in any position is responsible in proportion to the position one

¹ A *hadith* (narration) quoted from *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

² *Surah an-Nahl*, 16: 96.

holds. Beware lest you may do acts that, God forbid, do not conform to the Islamic Republic. All of you and the groups serving in this country should do things in accordance with Islam and the Islamic Republic. People in any capacity ranging from the post of a president to common people engaged in different organizations to the simple civil servant and even the receptionist and the doorkeeper are responsible. Good and bad conducts are in the presence of God. We should perform the duties devolved upon us in a way that gratifies God almighty. If we happen to shun our responsibilities or do a wrong that no one would find, the angles are there to register our deeds and we will be called to account.

Some seemingly Islamic works are sinful acts

Occasionally, some works which seem Islamic might be performed due to negligence or in contravention of Islam. For example, persons want to serve, *pasdars* want to serve, police want to serve and intend to serve, but occasionally they may commit sin unknowingly. To elaborate, let me cite an example of minor works. Take for instance the *komite* and *Basij*. They intend to serve, but occasionally do an act that does not match Islamic standards. They happened to shout *Allahu Akbar*, chant slogans or recite prayer at midnight, discommoding the neighbors. There are patients, disabled and hospitalized people; they will be uncomfortable. An act that you want to perform as act of worship turns to a big sin. If, let us suppose, at sunrise anyone or group wants to recite the prayer of unity, they can recite in their own house, in the place they are stationed. You want to recite for God. If you have loudspeaker, you should install it inside your place so that sound would not get out.

Occasionally, people come to complain of some of these groups for disturbing their peace and sleep. You want to perform an act of worship, mount a demonstration, carry out propaganda efforts, recite prayer and do this or that. Prayer is between you and God. If you want to organize a gathering to say prayer, you should not install big and strong loudspeakers, irritating the residents in your near or far locality. Causing inconvenience for a Muslim, for a believer, is a cardinal sin. Now that you have realized, you have no excuse. If you want to make publicity, do it among yourselves. Recite whatever prayer or chant whatever slogan you want in your own locations. However, you should care for the weaker people, those who have worked throughout the day and want to rest at night, the patients in hospitals and the war disabled who are from you and who want to take a rest. Your cries irritate them. This was a minor thing I notified you. This admonition

may be applied to more important activities. For instance, let us suppose the dear *pasdars* and others in charge of such activities want to appropriate a team house. They should investigate in advance to ensure that the house is actually a team house so that, God forbids, not to intrude a house on the assumption that it is a team house wherein a number of women and children live and might suffer casualties before it becomes clear what is what. You want to do an Islamic act, but it may lead to a big crime.

Inconsistency of ceremonies with the Islamic Republic

You should note that all the acts you do are in the presence of God and you are responsible. There is material responsibility as well as divine responsibility, which is more important than the former. All the employees engaged with each of the government organizations that want to serve the people ranging from the doorkeeper to the chief should note that all are servants of people. They receive their remuneration from the people for the service they should render to them and should treat them in a human and Islamic manner. If one needs to meet the head of an organization, one should not be treated roughly, as this is like what prevailed in the former regime which all of us detested. If today such problems persist, prestige of Islam will be damaged. If such things happened in former regime, people would not expect much from such a regime. Today, if you do a minor mistake, foreign propaganda machinery does not hesitate to magnify it. In warfronts, where you are rendering integrated service, when you capture the prisoners of war, you should notice that they are your captives and you should treat them in conformity with human and Islamic ethics, in which case when they return to their country, they will propagate for you. You should not act in way that they will, God forbids, spread evil propaganda against you after they returned to their country. These are issues, which should be noticed from all aspects.

Offices of governors-general are obliged to supervise all the individuals within their respective province. All these individuals should serve people. Governors-general are servants. Their responsibility is greater and their service should be greater. They should serve the people. Be careful lest one who needs to meet the governor-general may not be able to meet him. If he is not permitted to meet the governor, this treatment stems from arrogance. If the formalities rampant in former regime continue to prevail today, we cannot rely on the Islamic Republic. Discipline is required; otherwise, the situation would be chaotic. Nevertheless, excessive bureaucracy and pressing people is an anti-Islamic practice. All the governors-general are obliged to

watch their subordinates let them may commit an act which contradicts the Islamic standards.

Judges are the brink of hell

Judges who have command over the life and property of people should be more careful than all. They should note lest an innocent one may be imprisoned or, God forbid, executed instead of an oppressor. Such acts have consequences in this world; yet, if one can shun responsibility in this world, one cannot escape in the next world. "Judge is on the brink of hell."¹ Everything of people is in the hands of judges, whether revolutionary courts or offices of public prosecutor and justice administrations. The judges should note that they are servants and their responsibility is very sensitive and great. If, God forbid, a judge takes a false step and as a result the life, property or the dignity of a Muslim is at stake due to this faux pas intentionally, they should be tried in this world; if they escape trial in this world, they cannot escape the divine throne. All those who are engaged in serving the country should note that the prestige of Islam and its embodiment, the Islamic Republic, and the Iranians who established the Islamic regime here should be preserved. Preserve the prestige of Islamic Republic! Don't give excuse to the nitpickers, who attack us even without having any excuse. Don't give them excuse.

Defense of the Islamic Republic, duty of all

All military and law enforcement forces should know that we are still at war. Our war has not ended. War persists between Islam and non-Islam. We must defend that for which we have risen up- the Islamic Republic and for its survival. All people are obliged to defend the Islamic Republic. Today, war rages in our borders. They claim they have left Iran completely and occasionally confess out of ignorance that they are still stationed in our Islamic territory. They confess allusively. We are now busy defending Islam, prestige of Muslims and the principles of Muslims. As long as there is need for individuals, all individuals- those who can—are required to provide for the needs in borders in terms of human forces and material needs. It is not of course *wajib Ayni* (an absolute obligation), but *wajib kafa'i* (collective obligation). As long as the need is there, it is incumbent upon all to provide help. If a group went and performed the task and help was no longer needed,

¹ *Majma az-Zawaid*, vol. 4, p. 193.

others are relieved of this obligation. Today, there is still need. Our country still needs selfless combatants for Islam.

Now we should finish the job in the borders we are stationed and in the areas wherein we have entered the Iraqi territory in defense of Islam and the Islamic country. As long as they have not met our conditions, war will be in force. It is not acceptable to merely claim that they have withdrawn. We should be sure that they have retreated and left our country. We know that they are still in our country. They are stationed in many parts of our country and have set up their own bunkers. Almost every day they shell Abadan and some other cities. As long as the present situation persists and they have not met the terms, we are at war. The conditions are rational and all wise men of the world accept. We do not use force nor are we imposing our views. We insist on the conditions set from the beginning and as long as these conditions have not been fulfilled, we cannot make peace with the wicked rebels.

An admonition to Friday prayer leaders and other clergymen

I hope the respected clergymen, who are in direct contact with the combatants, guide the youths who might be inattentive to issues and do things unbecoming of the Islamic Republic. The clergy should notify them.

I would like to give a piece of advice to the Friday prayers leaders and the other clergymen who are in contact with people. They also should note that their responsibility towards the Islamic Republic is greater than others. If the Islamic Republic suffers from the acts of a cleric, he is called to account more seriously than others. The gentlemen should watch their behavior and words and not express things that are detrimental to the Islamic Republic. The issues that run counter to the Islamic Republic, should not be made public. We should treat Islamic issues and complaints in an Islamic manner. Judges should investigate such cases. The prominent *ulama* who are present everywhere, particularly the Friday prayer leaders who are in contact with many groups, should watch for their words and deeds, which should be Islamic. You should avoid making statements that might weaken a governor-general or a judiciary official in a city. At present, we need peace. Judges are responsible to investigate into affairs.

I hope that you all will be successful in serving the oppressed nations which are grappling under the pressure of tyrants, particularly the innocent people of Lebanon who are struggling under the domination of the Zionists. Unfortunately, there is no one to assist them. Governments are negligent and carnal passions do not let them attend to the agonies of these people and go

to their relief. I beseech God Almighty to grant health and happiness to all Muslims of the world. I wish God strengthen our military power to serve Islam and Muslims. I wish prosperity for you and the nation.

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

Telegram

Date: August 11, 1982 [Mordad 20, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 21, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Inquiring about health

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpaygani (a prominent *marja*)

His Highness Ayatullah Mr. Golpaygani, may his blessing last long,

Thank God, according to the report of the physicians attending your—case, your operation has been satisfactory and the good news about your health has been brought to my notice.

It is hoped that with special grace of God Almighty and attention of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for his) as well as the prayer of the noble nation you will soon gain health so that all continue to benefit from your existence.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shawwal 21, 1402 AH

¹ Inserted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 22, p. 312 below the date 21/5/1361AHS and in accordance with the dated cited in handwritten manuscript the date 20/5/1361 AHS is correct.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, August 16, 1982 [Mordad 25, 1361 AHS / Sawal 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Plot to create discord among Sunnis and Shiites

Subject: Friday prayers leaders of Bushehr Province¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Discord among Sunnis and Shiites, conspiracy of aliens

I thank you the gentlemen who have come here from faraway places. As I have said time and again, the opportunity to meet the *ulama* from different cities and discuss the problems is one of the blessings of this republic and I hope this procedure will continue. The subjects you highlighted have been our main concern throughout the course of history. Separation of politics from religion is not a new subject. This question was raised in time of the Umayyads and gained momentum in time of the Abbassides. In recent years too, when the foreign powers found their way into our country they also aggravated the situation. Unfortunately, some of the religious people and committed clerics have come to believe that if a *mulla* (clergyman) gets involved in political issues, he will suffer a blow. This mentality is one of the big plots of the colonialists and some *ulama* have come to believe it.

I hope that the Friday prayer leaders everywhere, whether in regions dominated by Sunni or Shiah people heed the point that today there are individuals who plan to cause turmoil and work to create division between the two sects. This is a disaster for Muslims and is sometimes murmured. Thank God, this attitude is losing ground and the saboteurs have failed in their plots.

Some days ago I received a letter reading that in some regions such as Sistan and Bakhtaran certain individuals have raised divisive issues in their

¹ Messer: Sayyid Muhammad Madani (Bushehr), Abbas Rahimi Najaf Abadi (Borazjan), Mustafa Salihi (Khark), Husayn Muntaziri (Bandar Dayyer), Abd al-Latif Shukri (Sunnī Friday prayers leader of Khark Island), Abdullah Mahmudi Isfahani (Gonaveh Port), Ali Sidaqat (Bushehr), Muhammad-Ali Talib (Minab).

sermons during a religious ceremony. Some of the Sunni brothers themselves have protested the remarks and said it was not the time to raise such issues.

You know that the Sunni gentlemen and Shia *ulama* have been attempting for quite some time to brush aside discord and be congenial with whom they share belief in a single Prophet and religion. However, there are individuals attempting to create division. You well know who benefits from discord.

Remind these people of the fact that such moves are not in favor of Muslims and that by raising such issue they do not wish well for us. Such divisive remarks serve imperialism and the enemy. You gentlemen should pay more attention to Friday prayers. It is another blessing of the Islamic Republic that caused this religious-political tradition to spread to the extent that all foreigners have sensed it. I hope it will continue.

You touched on the deprivation in that region. I am also aware of the situation. The former regime planned to keep people in deprivation. I hope this war will end and the government that is prepared to render service will attend to your problems. You know it is a colossal task, yet with the support of people things will be made easy. People have always been pioneer; they are solving the problems and ravages of war, which the government could not handle by itself.

Today we all should support each other. If a group oppose the other, this opposition will gradually grow and bring about defeat. I hope that we all can thwart the propaganda efforts in progress against us and that unity of expression is realized among all, with Sunni and Shiite brothers acting congenially and continuing with this attitude so that we can serve all. May God grant success to all!

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

Message

Date: August 19, 1982 [Mordad 28, 1361 AHS / Shawwal 29, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to a message of congratulations on the occasion of the auspicious feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Soharfo (President of Indonesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency, General Soharfo, President of Indonesia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of arrival of the auspicious feast of *Fitr* on Shawwal 27 with appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast and hope that Muslims of the world, under the exhilarating teachings of Islam, would soon get rid of this devastating distraction and discord and regain their lost glory as soon as possible. May God peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shawwal 29, 1402 AH

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, August 22, 1982 [Mordad 31, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 2, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of judgment; highlighting the duties of pilgrims and clerics accompanying the caravans; crimes of the US and Saddam in the region

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khoeyniha (Imam's representative and superintendent of Iranian pilgrims), clerics accompanying the *Hajj* caravans across the country, personnel of the public prosecutor and justice departments and revolutionary courts and military public prosecutor's office

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity for the clergy to respond to people's expectations

Today, I should talk for the clerics and those dealing with spirituality. It is difficult for one to express all words in the presence of clergymen. There are numerous questions dealing with the clergy, in general, and the clergymen accompanying the *Hajj* caravans, in particular. There are also questions dealing with judgment and the public prosecutors of the country not to mention other questions that we might not find the opportunity to take up in detail.

That which concerns the clergymen, the gentlemen know better that wherever the clergymen live—from the one at the top such as a *maraji* to the one busy serving Islam in a village—the people of Iran and even the oppressed peoples and nations of the world count on them. Your status today differs from that at the time of the corrupt Pahlavi regime and under the oppression of tyrants of the world. In those days, if there was silence or failure, people would accept. They accepted that the gentlemen did not have any power to act and to serve the people. Today, however, those problems have been fixed and, thank God, all the gentlemen everywhere can freely preach the people.

Today, if the gentlemen, God forbid, fail to perform their duties or commit a mistake in relation to the nation, this mistake or dereliction of duty is not accepted before God Almighty and the people. We can no longer say the intelligence organization is there and that we cannot do anything. You, gentlemen, are now free to preach Islam and prevent any deviation everywhere. You can preach to the people and the civil servants, consult

them regarding the problems and correct the aberrations. Most of you have experienced some of the former problems and some of you who are older have witnessed events from the beginning to the downfall of the corrupt regime. You have seen who governed these oppressed people. In appreciation of being rescued from the bizarre troubles the like of which have not befallen the nation in the course of history, we should serve the people. We should thank God Almighty for delivering us from those enormous problems. The real appreciation is to act in a way that God Almighty will be satisfied with us, the God who delivered us from that corrupt regime that was about to destroy everything.

The importance of judgment and the necessity for the admission of qualified persons

Judgment is an important matter. Judgment, justice and courts that are concerned with people are among the issues to which Islam has attached paramount significance. Judgment in Islam is among the occupations pronounced *wajib kafa'i* (a collective obligation). If a judgment is left unattended to or devious elements infiltrate the judiciary, it is incumbent upon all those who can perform it independently or by way of imitation to practice judgment and fulfill the needs. When we talk to the officials in charge of the judiciary, they complain of shortage of judges. They argue that if the cases of the prisoners behind bars have not yet been investigated, it is due to a shortage of judges. We should release the prisoners who might be free from sin or have committed minor sins. It is therefore incumbent upon individuals capable of practicing judgment to apply for the post and remove this defect. The respected teachers of the Qum Theological Seminary who are active, should declare that those interested in court trial should enroll to settle the problems of the prisoners whose case has been prolonged or is pending because of a shortage of judges. This is obligatory on all the need is met.

Sometimes one may act contrary to precautionary rules by handling things with caution. They refuse to practice judgment because it is difficult and may fall into confusion. However, practicing judgment is *wajib kafa'i*; and when a sufficient number of judges are available, it will not be essential for all to exercise judgment. Nevertheless, all are responsible to pursue affairs of judgment. If judgment is pending, it is well advised to attend to it. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary; caution cannot be a justifiable excuse. To elaborate, there might be individuals who must continue with their education, but when an obligation becomes incumbent upon them, they

cannot be engaged with this highly recommended valuable occupation; they must pursue the obligatory practice and perform it until there are enough judges to see to the affairs of offenders lest an innocent one's case be left unattended. The gentlemen should apply and undertake the practice. I assign this duty to the teachers of the theological seminary of Qum and the *ulama* of Mashhad, Isfahan and seminaries elsewhere across the country. They should think out a way to invite and encourage applicants in any way they deem advisable. They should warn against the mentality that they should perform a religious obligation and that it is not right to abandon a religious obligation and perform a recommended duty. This is an important subject that should be notified. The teachers and *ulama* in different cities should notify and diminish this deficiency so that the problem would be removed.

Necessity for judges to be decisive in executing Islamic laws

Another subject that judges should pay great regard to deals with the decisiveness that the gentlemen, the public prosecutors and those in charge of this important Islamic practice should display. This is a heavy responsibility and they are required to undertake it. Note that the life, property and principles of the nation are in your hands and in the hands of courts. They are responsible and should consider the general interests of Islam as much as they can. Be careful not to overlook one who has committed a sin or, God forbid, punish one who has done no wrong. A judge should be a resolute man, showing decisiveness in dealing with both sides. If one is sentenced to death according to a religious verdict, it is not permissible to show mercy to the guilty person. For instance, if one is sentenced to imprisonment term and *tazir* (discretionary punishment), the *tazir* should be enforced. If, God forbid, one has not committed a sin, one should be exonerated and released without delay. A judge should be decisive; he should not be so relenting and tender-hearted as to show affection to criminals, one example of whom you and I saw a few days ago. There are many examples of them whom we have not seen. They will be unmasked later. They might not be disclosed to the last. It might be clear only before God's throne. We observed one instance. One cannot conceive of how cruel a man who has been born with divine nature can be. No animal treats its own kind like this.

Right! Such problems exist. A judge should not show affection towards such criminals. I don't say punish such criminals in excess of what divine justice has prescribed. The judge is not allowed to give a smack on the cheek of the criminal. But he should not neglect executing a death sentence as prescribed by the law. On the other hand, if one is innocent, he should not be

given a harsh word. The offenders should not also be treated inhumanly. Those sentenced to death should be executed without any extra punishment. Be reminded that you are accountable.

Jailers and prison guards should also take care. Senior officials and those in charge of executing the verdict should both note that divine limits do not prescribe to slap or use obvious language against one who is sentenced to death. *Lex talionis* is applied to such an act. If you slap a criminal who is being taken to be executed, you have done an act contrary to the law and the convict is entitled to retaliate. Don't think that now that this man has been imprisoned, you should treat him badly. God willing, you will not and must not.

Similarly, esteemed judges should carefully act in accordance with the Islamic criteria. We, who claims that our republic is Islamic, Islamic laws should be implemented in this republic. Prisons, courts, the public prosecutor's office and justice departments are one of the important affairs. If, today, God forbid, anti-Islamic acts are performed in justice departments as in the case of the former regime, we should toll the knell of this republic. Repeated advice has been given that if relevant laws do not exist, they must send to all judges asking them to act according to *Shariah* and not care for former laws.

The need for the development of justice administration and enforcement of Islamic rules

Again, I announce to the judges and those engaged with justice administration across the country that all the laws at the time of the former regime running counter to *Shariah* should be abolished. I undertake the responsibility for doing so. Abolish all of them and act according to *Shariah*.

If the judicial council has not, God forbid, done it, now send a circular to public prosecutors, courts and justice administrations across the country, instructing them to annul all the laws contradicting *Shariah*. Notify them that they can act according to the laws conforming to the (Islamic) canon. However, the laws disagreeing with *Shariah* should be rescinded and no one has any right to act according to laws which do not conform to Islamic canons and if anyone does so, one is culpable in addition to the fact that one will be denigrated before the Exalted and Blessed God. Offering the excuse that one acts according to the law is not acceptable. Which law? The law opposed to Islam? The law opposed to *Shariah*? This law should not be acted upon. If you want to act according to the law at the time of the former

regime, one of the articles of the former constitutional amendment stipulated that no law contradicting the canonical law was valid. However, formerly, this article was pushed into oblivion and not acted upon. Anyhow, rules that they have adopted in the name of law and are contrary to *Shariah* can not be considered law even according to the constitution of the former regime.

If you were asked why you acted thus, you can say the former constitution had also provided this procedure. The present law also stipulates this procedure. One who acts according to laws contradicting *Shariah* is a law-breaker. Anyone who says the law that is against the canon should be applied as stipulated by the law should be ignored. You should resist and argue that this is against the canon. Those who have disregarded this procedure should be summoned and tried.

The former justice administration should be transformed into an Islamic one. The simple excuse that we should act according to the law, notwithstanding the fact that it has been passed in the former regime is not plausible. According to the constitutional amendment of the former regime, rules that contradicted *Shariah* were not considered law. The Guardian Council and the Judicial Council should send circulars saying that the former laws contradicting the canon should not be acted upon and that if anyone does so, one will be considered an offender and tried. There are scores of issues to discuss about courts and judgment, but time is running out and I should touch on a few other subjects.

The need for *Hajj* pilgrims in caravans to be undemanding

As regards the *Hajj* and the pilgrims in caravans, the purpose behind the *Hajj* is to meet people of different nationalities and attend to each other's problems. If you expect welfare not found in your own houses during the pilgrimage, this is not *Hajj*. The *Hajj*, God, the Exalted and Blessed, has declared obligatory is one that enjoins the pilgrims to be acquainted with other people and their living conditions and attend to the well-being of the poor. The time when we went for the *Hajj*, we became acquainted with the life of the people of Hijaz. Today, the pilgrims don't know anything about those times. At that time, we rode in a car from Mecca to Medina, wherever the car stopped in this long barren deserts, naked children, women clad in something that covered their body and men in disparate situation came out and importunately solicited money. One should see these poor people and then expect everything to be made prepared for them in caravans during the *Hajj*. We should pay attention to such issues. The clergymen should remind the pilgrims of such problems so that they stop becoming very demanding.

You are traveling by plane. In those days, people traveled on donkeys, taking up to 14 months for some people to go and come back. Now you go comfortably on a plane and reach your destination in two or three hours. In the past, there was no lodging where one could rest. The few ones available were so dirty that one could not stay in it. One had to make lodgings for oneself. Now, you have been provided with hotels. You are a *Haji'* (*Hajj* pilgrims) and a Muslim who wants to attend to the welfare of Muslims and oppressed peoples of the world. Don't be so overly expectant lest God Almighty, God forbid, may ordain things to be different; then troubles will mount.

The clergymen should remind the people of the fact that if there is a shortage, the gentlemen have taken trouble within their capacity and provided lodgings despite the difficulties there. They cannot do any better. If you experience some shortages, it is not because the gentlemen did not want to provide facilities; they could not. They have taken pains within their capacity. When they cannot, what can they do? Can they tell people not to do the *Hajj* because we cannot provide them with a big house, recreation, etc.? Or should they go and pay a little attention to the pains the poor are suffering.

The main duty of clergymen is teaching the rules of *Hajj*

The duty of the clergymen accompanying the caravans is to acquaint people with *Hajj* rituals. On many occasions, one observes that people take great pains to do the *Hajj*, but they do not know the rules and get into difficulty there. A few years later, they ask if their *Hajj* had been correct or not. They say that they performed this or that ritual and then ask if it was correct or not.

The gentlemen should set up classes, invite the prospective pilgrims and teach them the *Hajj* rituals, the obligatory practices and those forbidden to perform. If you cannot teach them the etiquette of *Hajj* completely at least teach them what is permitted and what is forbidden. The pilgrims are also obliged to attend the classes and learn the rules so as not to be in trouble late on. After returning from Mecca some may come and ask whether their circumambulation was right or not. When one learns the rules here, he/she will perform the *Hajj* correctly and without defect. It is the duty of the clergy to teach people the rules and people should also seek to learn the *Hajj* rituals. We should not simply fly to Mecca and let come what may. Mecca is different from other places. One may visit many holy places and if his pilgrimage is not complete, one will not face any problem. However, in

Mecca one will encounter problems; one's *Hajj* will not be accepted and he has to go another time. Therefore, for one's own sake and to avoid a second pilgrimage with all its difficulties, one should seek to learn the rituals and not to do any wrong or make a mistake causing oneself problems afterwards.

The need for order in the political affairs of *Hajj*

Another subject which the clergymen in the caravans should remind people of is the order they should observe in performing the political affairs of *Hajj*. It is not right that everyone does whatever one wishes. This will generate chaos. Every move should be done in order. If they want to congregate for a certain reason, one who is in charge of *Hajj* affairs should chart the program, which should be acted upon. If everyone in any group wants to act on his own and according to one's taste, one will create trouble for oneself but will also weaken the Islamic Republic. One should not act in a way as to tarnish the image of the Islamic Republic. The preachers almost in all parts of the world are conducting propaganda against the Islamic Republic. We should not do something or give them an excuse to magnify a minor problem.] Therefore, anyone in his caravan should be notified that programs should be organized in compliance with some order, and not be carried out in a chaotic manner. All should strictly observe this rule lest, God forbid, their *Hajj* may be tainted with sin. Whatever you do should be for Islam and an act of worship. Your march should be done in a way as to be an act of worship, not sin. The slogans should be ideological and for God, not sinful. It is not right to do whatever you like and use foul language against others. You should move in accordance with a proper program designed beforehand.

Inhuman nature of veto right

It is necessary for us to regard the world situation. In our age, many words have lost their original meaning, acquiring a different implication. When one looks at the meaning of "justice" one understands that it has undergone a change in the world today. The term "popular" has been distorted. Security organizations in the world are, in fact, "insecurity" organizations. The societies proclaiming to support human beings are, in fact, supporting tyrants, not human beings. No one asks why the big powers are doing such things in the world. At times, some may object against them and say something, but the point is that when the major international organizations are to be controlled by four, five big countries who can call them security and human rights organizations. These organizations have also

lost their pristine aims which were working for all humanity. Four or five countries command everything. No matter what other countries do, if one of these powers says no, nothing will happen. The veto right is something no one can accept. These supposedly relevant international organizations have, however, accepted this right. Not even immature people can accept that they seek to establish justice in the world, and yet the authority to decide the fate of nations should be vested in two or so countries. When these countries plunder a place, but one of these international organizations wants to stop it, they will veto it right away and reprove that organization. One country attacks Afghanistan; if asked why, they say nobody has any right to question it! The other intrudes into, for example, Beirut and the like; if one wants to raise an opposition to it, one will be told that one has no right to question why. Now Israel has stood against all Islamic countries and tells them they cannot lift a finger against it. Is it not regrettable? Are these people holding the rein of affairs not human to stop Israel, which has stood against them, and say enough with meddling! It invaded and captured Beirut, committed those crimes, disturbed the liberation organization and dispersed all. Those who were silent, who did not confront the crimes, who watched and even favored of such crimes should know that their turn will come. Israel will deal with them later on.

US at the top of all criminals

It is regrettable that Islam is suffering from such a deplorable situation and those who claim to be Islamic are embroiled in this situation. Islam deals so strictly with violators and aggressors while those who claim to be followers of Islam encourage the aggressor. The US that stands at the top of the criminals masterminded the crimes committed in Beirut. The US covert hand and the Zionists' overt hand perpetrated those crimes. The Zionists confessed that the US had designed the plan. If the US had not been behind the scheme, Israel would quickly stop everything on America's order. This is a blow Muslims have received from the US. Then the gentlemen claim to be Muslim, to be supporting Muslims; while they offer everything they have to the US and beg the US pardon as well. Is it not deplorable for people, for Islam and for all? Do these nations not know what they are doing? The Israel intruded into Beirut and perpetrated whatever crime they could to women, children and the poor people and disturbed the situation, while all were watching. A group even supported the Israelis. Some people raised protest against all those crimes but were ignored.

Do you think Israel is content with this? Israel plans to destroy all Muslims. The US also plans to destroy Islam. They all objected to the Islamic Republic because it bears the name “Islam” and wants to rule according to Islam. In their propaganda operations they are dubbing us as supporters of the US and Israel! We who have been crying out for the past 20 years or so that the problems of people have been caused by the US and Israel, are described as supporters of Israel. But those who are sitting idle while Israel is destroying their countries are not Israeli! They are all against Israel! If they are opposed to Israel, what have they done against it?

Value concepts void of substance

These are the disasters in our age when everything has become chaotic and confused. One who confesses to be Muslim views Islam in a different light. The one who talks about “true Islam” plans to present something different from what Islam prescribes. One who is an Islamologist understands Islam differently. The supporter of human rights cries out something in contrast to human rights. Basically, words have lost their original meanings. I told you earlier that these common terms such as justice, social justice, human rights organizations, security organizations and so on have been divested of their true nature. Which of them are what they were truly meant for? When Islam is mentioned the Islam we preach is not the true one! The one that preaches the true Islam is committing these crimes in spite of all Islamic regulations. The terrorists claim to be fighting an armed struggle! Is armed struggle what we watch on TV? Does armed struggle mean killing children and burning them? Is this armed struggle? The words have changed their meanings. As such, armed struggle consists of what they are doing and terrorism a different thing! Today everything is like this. I presented a general picture of the situation. You can pursue the matter. If you can find a term conforming to its original meaning and acted upon according to its original concept, let me know as well to use. But be sure that nowhere you can find these things they say. Their deeds contradict their words. They say something, but do something quite different. They preach something and do another thing. They preach “true” Islam—the Islam presented by us is not the true Islam—and then commit those crimes in the name of true Islam! Those who speak about human rights crush the weaker nations!

One who claims to have revolted for peace and wants to establish peace in the world wage all wars, like the one we and Iraqis embroiled in nowadays. The US created this war. Have they triggered this war in order to make peace in the world? Do people trigger wars to establish peace? To

support what I say that words have lost their original meanings, you can find an example in the speech made some days ago by Saddam in an interview in front of a number of commanders and officers. You should listen to this interview. Quotation does not do justice to what he means. Firstly, he has assembled them to give a badge of victory to his commanders for achieving victory in Iran and Iraq. The badge of victory has also lost its nature. So has victory. The little man¹ has been forced to retreat, given a smack in the mouth and driven out and says, "We achieved victory!" Victory has lost its meaning. In his speech, he praises Islam so much. I don't remember his exact words now but anyone who goes there must see this: You should it Saddam told non-commissioned officers and other [ranking] officers that: "In the course of history, you have proved to the future generations, not today, that you are interested in Islam and the people and you have treated the people well to whom you have displayed!" If words have not lost their meanings and potency anyone can find his place among a crowd and make such rhetoric!

When I heard how fluently Saddam talked to people and how bluntly he misrepresented facts, a story crossed my mind. Once, one asked a poet who the best Arab poet was. The man said: come within to show you. The man is said to have taken the questioner to his house. The questioner observed that an old man was sitting and sucking the teat of a goat very dirty. The man said, "The old man you see sucking the teat of the goat is my father." He sucks directly from the teat because if he milks the goat, some milk will remain in the bowl and is wasted. He is so stingy. The poet has been quoted as saying that the best poet among Arabs is the one who has taken pride in such a father for 30 years, being proud of this father among the Arabs. Now, I should say the best orator among the Arabs is Saddam who presents these defeats as victory and takes pride.

Saddam's inability to commit great crimes

Among the remarks he has made recently is that if Iran wants to do such and such things to our cities, he will do such and such to Kharg Island.² This implies that he could do what he wanted but he did not! All people and the world know Saddam will do whatever he can. If he does not commit a crime, it is because he cannot. If he could bombard Kharg Island and our Islamic centers, he would have done so. So far he has done whatever he has been able to. He cannot do any more. He sits at a corner and hit Abadan and

¹ Saddam Husayn and his army.

² An island in Persian Gulf and one of Iran's important oil terminals.

Dezful with long-range missiles. He hit wherever he can every day. He cannot. It is not true that if we do, he will reciprocate. Our army fired the flares¹ over Basra. They could also fire cannons and missiles. If they did not, the mentality of our army and *Sepah* differs from their military. The Saddamite army's mentality is based on blasphemy and indecency. However, our forces have undergone Islamic education and do not want to do such things. Saddam claims to be able to accomplish many things but he cannot. If he could, he would have done so far. If he could, he would destroy all our islands and cities. But he could not. He did whatever he could. He committed all sorts of treason, impudent acts and destruction of all kinds. He destroyed the houses of oppressed and poor people.

Unfortunately, all groups in the world are sitting in their homes and writing that Iran could not accomplish anything and that Saddam did such and such. They constantly write such lies. But reality cannot be changed by such fabrications. The truth of the matter is that if Islam had not tied our hands nothing would have remained of Basrah and Baghdad. But what can we do? Our hands are tied and theirs free. Their leash is in the hands of Satan and they do whatever it orders. However, we are proud of Islamic laws, which have bound our hands, enjoining us not to commit any transgression. We should act in conformity with Islam.

I hope that, God willing, all of us and all human beings be guided and that the situation now prevailing in the world will change for the better. May God awaken the Islamic governments and draw their attention to Islam. I hope God will grant victory to our nation, army and *Sepah* in the warfronts. It is hoped that God will grant us success in conforming to Islamic laws and acting according to Islam in all our affairs.

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

¹ A type of weapon that is fired into the air to produce a bright flame.

Decree

Date: August 24, 1982 [Shahrivar 2, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reinstatement of Imam Khomeini's representative in Kurdistan

Addressee: Sayyid Musa Musawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Musa Musawi, may his blessing last long,

As you had been appointed to attend to the religious and social problems of the respected oppressed residents of Kurdistan region and strive to remove their problems, you are advised to continue with your mission more decisively and diligently. I hope that, given your competence and efficiency, you will make sufficient effort to rectify the region's confused situation and the destructions brought about by ruinous and traitorous sects encouraged by the former sinister regime. It is hoped that government organizations and the respected residents of the region, may God Almighty assist them, render the necessary cooperation with you. I beseech God to grant you success in this path. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 2, 1361 AHS

Decree

Date: August 25, 1982 [Shahrivar 3, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in IRGC

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Fakir

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Fakir, May God assist you,

As Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Tahiri¹ is on an overseas mission, you are authorized to take charge of his responsibility in his absence in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and follow up the cultural and Islamic issues seriously.

It is hoped that, God willing, you will be successful in your responsibility. All members of the *Sepah* ranging from the commanders and staff are required to cooperate with you. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi.

Statements (Summary)

Date: August 26, 1982 [Shahrivar 4, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 6, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Main studies of the Cultural Revolution Board

Audience: Members of the Cultural Revolution Board

Imam's statements in a meeting with members of the Cultural Revolution Board:

... You should regard God to be omnipresent and watching your deeds. I granted official status to this Board ... Selection of teachers should be made based on strict criteria.

Those students who are not affiliated with the East or West should be admitted. Refuse admission of students who serve the East or West. ... If any deviation creeps in, we will be responsible in the future; we must preserve Islam.

The US and the Soviet Union are opposed to us. We have declared that we want to be independent; if we take one step backward, they will take one step forward. If we stand firm and insist that we want to proceed, they will act cautiously, will not advance and we will succeed. We should not fear anyone. The Americans and the Soviets are opposed to us. As long as we hold power, we should not let them emerge victorious.

Letter

Date: August 28, 1982 [Shahrivar 6, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to telegram on Islamization of the country's laws and regulations

Addressee: Abu'l-Hasan Shirazi (Friday prayer leader of Mashhad)

[... O, Imam, the true successor of the Savior! O, ever roaring spirit in the mould of Islam! Your exhilarating command regarding the annulment of the laws running counter to *Shariah* and the revival of the brilliant laws of Islam in the country's justice departments and judicial administrations was a decisive and blessed measure we expected every moment. This divine move delighted the people interested in the implementation of Islamic laws, and removed a great sorrow weighing heavily on my heart. On account of my contacts with litigations and demands for justice by the people of Khurasan, I have been afflicted with the tyrannical and non-divine laws in the administration of justice. Now, I am hopeful that I will employ all my energy to implement His Highness's demand, which is identical to that of God and His Immaculate Imams.

Abu'l-Hasan Shirazi, Friday prayers
leader of Mashhad]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ayatullah Shirazi, may his blessings last long,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram regarding the Islamization of the country's laws with appreciation. It is hoped that, God willing, those in charge of affairs will act ever more quickly and greatly succeed in getting rid of arrogance with the grace of God Almighty and special favors of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him). I hope you will remember me in your good prayers. I wish you health.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: August 29, 1982 [Shahrivar 7, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 9, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Popularity of officials in the Islamic system and need for them to serve people

Occasion: On the eve of the first anniversary of martyrdom of Messers Raja'i (President) and Bahonar (Prime Minister)—Government Week

Subject: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister) and members of the cabinet ministers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Simple lifestyle of officials in Islamic establishment

I would like to mention a point which is not be taken as a complaint to the government or other organizations. As all of you are aware of this fact.

One of the great favors of God Almighty to the Islamic Republic and the Islamic Revolution is that the incumbent officials, whether those serving in the Majlis or those in the government and in the army are not from the affluent class whose attention is all focused on gaining posts for themselves and doing works for themselves even if their activities would be a disservice to people.

If you study governments in the course of history, particularly in the past 50 years, you will notice that those at the helm of government affairs consisted of princes, feudal lords and the so-called noblemen. When noble people and, borrowing their words, counts and barons, take charge of affairs in a country, naturally they don't consider people. As a matter of course, they are humble before superior powers and tyrants and oppressors in dealing with the weaker people. If you notice the dealing our former governments had with people and foreign missions, you will see that they totally lost their character, if they had any at all. As far as I remember, one of the ambassadors- the British ambassador or another one- seized the then chancellor by the collar in the room and pressed him against the wall. The top Iranian official threw in the towel before him. However, they committed so much oppression against their own people and in their words, acted magnanimously towards their people of which all of you are aware.

If the officials of a country are comprised of the aristocrats and in our terms the grandees and the nobles, the well-off people who brag of their

limos, mansions and in those times barouches and so and so forth, this is a great disaster for a nation. The source of all the afflictions suffered by nations is that their incumbent officials are from among the aristocrats and the nobles, as put by them. The noble people and aristocrats consider all values to lie in the place they live, in the way they treat people, or in the number of gardens and villas they possess. All their attention is focused on such matters. One must hold private garden and park in Shemiran (a district north of Tehran), in Tehran and in, I don't know, where so that one can become, let us say, prime minister or minister of so and so. Their mental state in view of their social standing demanded them to be humble before a superior power. They consider power as the greatest value. In contrast, when confronting the weaker people, they act haughtily. This is the natural condition of a country governed by the grandees and the nobles and, as put by them, the affluent class. This condition is inevitable. When the government is in the hands of such people, their domineering attitude to people and fawning over foreign governments is inevitable. They are servile before these governments because they are more powerful. Wherever they fancied a superior power might be able to deal a blow, they threw the towel before them, acting in servile demeanor so as to preserve their hold, not caring what befalls the people. They did not mind whatever treatment the foreign powers meted out towards the people.

This was one of God's big favors that the incumbent officials in the Islamic Republic are not from among the grandees and the nobles and dukes and barons. When officials lead a normal life and do not consider values to lie in material life, when they regard humanity and Islamic morality as value, the government that is comprised of them and thinks of Islamic values and serving the human being, will naturally have the support of people. No foreign power can impress such a man and government. To dominate people, foreign powers always intimidate the upper classes, which give in because all they seek is to gain a foothold among people and treat them with haughtiness and oppress them. This is the natural position of such a government and a government administered by common people. The latter naturally is from the people and hence serves the people, because it does not count name and fame as value.

Positions have value only in serving people

You know that in the Islamic Republic positions have lost the meaning they bore in the former regime. The president, ministers or other officials do not fancy to hold high positions and be high-powered, *Hadrat Ashraf*¹ and so and so. They know that their values lie in serving the people, not governing them. In the Islamic Republic the nature of positions has changed and therefore it is not comparable to the situation in the former regime. The commissioners holding office in the Islamic Republic are not from among aristocratic families behaving with a cocky air and thus being unable to get along with people or living a life free from pomp and pageantry. Last night I was watching TV, which screened a program showing the house of the late Raja'i². The gentlemen sitting beside me said: "We have visited his house; it is a humble house; he led a simple life along with his family." When a president or a prime minister lives in such a simple house, he will not fear big powers. Why should he? One who wants to plunder and exercise dictatorial rule should fear. But Raja'i, may God bless his soul, and the like of him, Bahonar³ and like-minded ones whom we lost, were not humble before others so as to keep what they had or did not oppress ordinary people to a mass wealth.

This is a favor God Almighty granted this nation that people from among the masses rose up to establish the government. When from among ordinary people individuals form a government, they can understand the people's pain. I don't want to praise you; I want to admonish you that as long as this state of affairs persists, Islamic government is there. As long as this state of affairs prevails among the government, Majlis, army, military commanders and everywhere we observe today, you should not fear lest the Islamic Republic should suffer harm.

Vulnerability of the system in separation of officials from people

You should be afraid of yourselves. You should be afraid that the direction may change, that you may be distracted from what is important today, and that you may lose this caring attitude. Be afraid of the time when such things may happen, when you are no longer caring towards people, when your attitude changes. At that time you may think that you have

¹ *Hadrat Ashraf* was a title given to prime ministers in the era of Qajar dynasty.

² Reference to a film made from martyr Rajai's humble house. The film was screened a few days prior to his martyrdom when he served as president of Iran.

³ Martyr Muhammad-Jawad Bahonar.

achieved something how that you are a president, a prime minister or a minister. Then know that you will become vulnerable and at that time foreigners will come to you.

They know how to deteriorate a country. They know that they should achieve their goal through the government, through the Majlis and through the incumbent officials. They know that military expedition to conquest a country fails to bring them any fruit. They experienced it in Afghanistan in spite of the fact that the Afghan government and many of the parties sided with them.¹ They failed because the masses of people who are Muslim, attentive and opposed to foreign powers. They have experienced this and know what the situation is like. They know that a nation which puts up resistance to whatever befalls them cannot be manipulated by military expedition. Yesterday, a 10-year old child came here and while crying asked me to pray for him to achieve martyrdom. When a nation has such children, women, men and youths, aggressive powers know that this nation cannot be manipulated by coercion and bayonet. Naturally, they formulate a design. They collect their wits and wait in patience.

They work out a design for the next 30 or 50 years from now. They chart out a plan today to reap the fruit 30 years later. If, for instance, a deviation, God forbids, creeps into our universities, they will benefit from this deflection 30 years from now. If non-Islamic and devious persons interlope into our universities, they will gradually undermine them. They are not in a hurry. Even if they cannot do anything now, they take control of the country gradually by propaganda and word of mouth, thus securing the attention of the public through university graduates and command the fate of the nation at the hands of people themselves.

Incumbent officials to preserve popular support

You should strive in different ministries to appoint individuals with such a mental state as to get along with people. People should not feel that they would again get lost in the labyrinth of bureaucracy. If one wants to submit an application to the minister has to wait behind the door for some time and the secretary passes him to the other and this process is repeated until finally one gets minister's room where he has to wait some more time for a petty request, you should know that your are deteriorating. You will be strong when the grocer in your locality, the pious man in the mosque and the grandees and the nobles living in mansions are equal in your view. You

¹ Former Soviet Union.

should not, let us suppose, do something for the tycoons while doing nothing for the less powerful or poor people. You should prefer the latter to the former. We must appreciate the value of those who placed you in the office of ministry—though the position is not an important thing to you today—those who expelled the bigwigs that had led country to ruin. We should preserve them. For the sake of God, Islam, your own prestige and your country, you should preserve these barefooted people. Those who march and beat their chest and mourn anyone of you when he achieves martyrdom, as you see, you should value such people. If once they are disillusioned with the government and think that the government is serving itself and not the people, no one will even bother to pray for forgiveness of any of your dead.

Do something that after your death people become sad for you. Act in a way that if you are entitled to achieve martyrdom, people would pray for you. When God Almighty sees that people are crying and beating their chest as token of mourning, let us suppose, for Raja'i, God will have mercy for Raja'i. If, God forbid, one has done a wrong, He will show compassion. As the narration goes, if 40 believers bear witness to righteousness of a person, God will accept it, because he was a person whom 40 people recognized as being upright. When you are recognized as righteous, God will forgive you. If people take to streets and mourn for Mr. Raja'i, Mr. Bahonar, Mr. Beheshti¹ and our innocent Friday prayer leaders,² it is not because they had commanded power or treasured wealth but for the fact that they were with people, served people and loved people. The nation knew that they were serving it. Therefore, despite those massive propaganda operations launched by the corrupt elements against the late Beheshti in particular and the late Raja'i whom that wicked man³ bedeviled, people did not heed but they continued with their commiseration with Beheshti, Raja'i and others. People recompensed the plagues against that diseased. After his death, they mounted that magnificent funeral. All of you should have similar situation. I hope all will pay attention to this state of affairs and preserve it. If you want to preserve Islam, this state, Iran and yourself, you should preserve this state of affairs.

¹ Martyr Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti.

² Martyrs Qadi Tabatabai, Madani, Saduqi, Dastghayb and Ashrafi Isfahani.

³ Abul-Hasan Bani Sadr.

Government's decisive action against offenses

You should proceed towards improvement and change the current situation for the better. You should admonish each other to observe Islamic rules. There is a point in my insistence on Islamization of affairs. As you say certain individuals are destroying the woods, this is an un-Islamic practice to ruin the forests. This is un-Islamic to violate the state rules and regulations. The government should powerfully prevent one who violates the rules set by the government to preserve the establishment. Cutting the trees will deteriorate the woods and is an un-Islamic act and should be stopped. Violation of traffic rules is an un-Islamic act and must be stopped. If one does not pay attention to the red light, he has done an un-Islamic act and must be sued and taken to the court. I insist on Islamizing all affairs of the country because Islam has a complete program and code for all aspects of human life. Islam preaches order to be preserved, government to be preserved and all affairs pertinent to government to be preserved. If one violates the system, this is against Islam and must be prevented.

Man's value lies in heeding divine duties

I reiterate that you should watch lest you may be effected by position. Man's value does not lie in position, in being a prime minister, a president, Majlis Speaker, a parliamentarian, etc. These are no value. Man's value lies in what one should do for God Almighty and His servants, and in his attitude towards God and his servants. This attitude is valuable. As long as you preserve this value, you have preserved the Islamic and human value. If one is deflected from this path, he will lose his value before God and people, no matter how much he has progressed, what positions he has achieved, and how hard he has tried in acquisition of knowledge and piety. You should serve the country and the people. If you do so, after your death- God willing you will live long- people do as they did with regard to the late Raja'i, beating their chest for his loss. People should give practical witness that you are good so that God almighty accepts you in His court. Raja'i has been a man whom multitudes of people endorse as being good by beating their chests as token of mourning over his martyrdom. This is practical witness to one being accepted. God Almighty will then accept such a man in His threshold. Even if such a man has done a wrong, God Almighty will forgive him because of such endorsements by people.

I hope you will all follow the lifestyle of Prophets. Prophets stood firmly against arrogant powers and were humble before the weak, poor and oppressed people. When an Arab entered the mosque named after the

Messenger of God, he asked: “Who of you is the Prophet of God?” This happened at a time when the Prophet (s) was at the helm of government. He was then in Medina engaged with establishment of government. On the other hand, he was not humble before any power, because he trusted God and whoever believes that power rests with God Almighty and others are not of any inherent value, he can no longer be humble before powerful ones.

Moral uprightness of martyr Modarres

You have studied the history of late Mudarres. He was a scrawny Sayyid wearing a canvas cloak. One of the abuses of that poet against him was “the one who puts on a canvas cloak”. Such a man stood so firmly against that hector. Anyone who has experienced that time knows that the age of Rida Shah was different from that of Muhammad-Rida Shah. He was such a bully that our history had very few examples of him. In Majlis once Rida Shah had asked Mudarris: “What do you want from me?” Modarres replied: “I want you not to be!” This gentleman whose class I once attended had set up a class in Sepahsalar School, currently Shahid Mutahhari School. Once I attended his class. He seemed to be like an ordinary person, a simple *talabeh* (student of theology) who was teaching, but he was spiritually powerful. It was at a time when he was in the center of that political tensions in the Majlis. He would go to the Majlis after that class. When he attended the Majlis, he was a man whom everyone had a high regard for. I had seen the Majlis of that time. It appeared that the Majlis looked forward to Modarres entering. Despite being on bad terms with him, the Majlis sensed to be incomplete in the absence of Mudarres. When Mudarres entered, it seemed that some new event had happened. What was it for? It was because he was a man who heeded neither position nor wealth nor any other mundane things. Neither position nor wealth interested him. It has been related that once he was preparing his hubble-bubble for smoking. The ruler of that day—when I say ruler you may not know what it implies—entered the house of Mudarres, who told him “Your Eminence, while I am pouring water into the jar to prepare the hookah, please prepare the brazier”, thus belittling him so that he would not dare to make any request. Mudarres treated that governor in this way, asking him to prepare the brazier for him to smoke water pipe, asking a man whom everyone bowed down. He treated such dignitaries like this let they should allow themselves to make a request from him.

I was witness to an episode when somebody had written something. This story goes back to the time when Rida Khan was not yet a king but a brutish bully. Somebody came to Mudarres and said: I have written something for

department of justice. May I beg you to give it to somebody to take to His Eminence Rida Khan to attend to my problem! Mudarris replied: Rida Khan does not know how justice department is written. You want me to give the letter to him who does not know A from Z?" He did not say so behind his back; in his presence he said it. He was this sort of man.

Why so? Because he was righteous; he was not attached to carnal passions. "*Hast thou seen him who chooseth for his god his own lust?*"¹ He had not taken his carnal passions as his God. He did not act for name or fame but for God. One who acts for God, his living condition is what you are aware of. No worse condition is conceivable for him. Why should he then fawn over the king or so and so? He feared none. When Rida Shah invaded the Majlis, the bullies accompanying him cried viva Rida Khan! Mudarres stood up and shouted: "Down with Rida Khan! Viva me!" You don't understand what it meant to stand against Rida Khan. But Mudarres stood. It was because he was freed from carnal passions; he was righteous not dependent.

Man's righteousness lies in being free from dependencies

All dependencies emanate from the dependency one has on oneself. When one's soul is dependent, all dependencies outside of the soul are traceable to the soul. Hence, if something is imposed on the soul, one will accept. If one finds that something counters one's aspirations, one will be humble. If man is delivered from this dependency on the self, he will become free. Such a soul does not fear anyone; if all powers of the world come together to frighten him, he will not fear, because one believes that at most he will be killed. Nothing is worse than this, something that our people seek. They ask me to pray for them to be martyred. They ask me several times in a day to pray for them to achieve martyrdom. I tell them I pray for them to emerge victorious, God willing.

May God grant you all success! I hope you will be sanctioned. May God give peace and blessing to all the martyrs, who served the nation such as Martyr Raja'i, whose martyrdom anniversary is approaching, the late Bahonar and others whom we have lost! Of course, we suffered a lot, yet the system remained intact. It was because people supported them and the nation succeeded them, not the grandees and the nobles. In those days if a prime minister got killed, confusion would erupt. If a king died the entire country would be disrupted. Today if the president achieves martyrdom, another will

¹ *Surah al-Furqan*, 25: 43.

succeed. The entire Iran is full of Beheshti.¹ Well! People believe that Beheshtis was from them. This is not something we have imported from abroad. People cry that Beheshti is from them and one of them has departed, being substituted by another. When Raja'i died, another one succeeded him. If any one of us is killed, someone else will take his place. This is the situation of Iran. If we preserve this state, each of us has a substitute who will fill our empty place. If the situation changes and the condition prevailing in former time is restored, again with the death of a prime minister, for instance, the country will be chaotic. May God protect all of you and grant us success in acting according to Islamic laws and in Islamizing our ministries. If, God forbid, there are devious persons, you should advise them, and if it is not useful remove them, as we do not need such people in a ministry. He can go and do a different job. God willing, you will be successful and sanctioned.

¹ Reference to the following slogan chanted by people during the funeral procession for the martyr Beheshti and his colleagues: What is the US thinking? Iran is full of Beheshtis.

Decree

Date: August 29, 1982 [Shahrivar 7, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 9, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may his sublime presence endure,

Respectfully, enclosed please find the list of 94 convicts of the justice administration and one convict of the disciplinary judicial court deserving amnesty or extenuation of punishment for approval.

7/6/1361—Sayyid
Musawi Ardebili]

Abdul-Karim

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹ I wish you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Reference to duties and authorities of the leader mentioned in article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Permission

Date: August 30, 1982 [Shahrivar 8, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 10, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Paying for construction of Khanok Mosque, from religious funds

Addressee: Majid Ansari Kermani (Majlis deputy)

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

His Highness, Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, may God grant him longevity,

Greetings to the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) and to the honorable Imam and all combatants of Islam,

You are kindly notified that the village of Khanok, in Zarand, Kerman, with about 4000 residents who are all, thank God, *Hizbullahi* (follower of the party of God) and in line with the revolution and who have so far offered 23 martyrs and scores of wounded and prisoners of war, are deprived of a vast and reputable mosque and are hard pressed for gatherings. Construction of the mosque requires one and a half or two million tomans. Please allow us to spend three hundred thousand tomans from the religious funds for this purpose. Greetings be upon you!

With respect, Majid Ansari—
Representative of Zarand,
Kerman— 8/6/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

If there are no other sources to meet the need, you are authorized to spend the mentioned sum. I wish you success!

Ruhullah al-Musawi

Letter

Date: August 30, 1982 [Shahrivar 8, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 10, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing pleasure over health and recovery of Mr. Golpaygani

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpaygani (a prominent *marja*)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Golpaygani, may his blessings last long,

Your kind telegram giving the good news of your health was consoling. I thank God Almighty for granting you health so that the noble nation can enjoy the blessings of your existence. It is hoped that the Islamic Republic, the incumbent officials and I benefit from your pure prayers.

I implore God Almighty to grant you complete recovery. Peace and blessings of God be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, August 31, 1982 [Shahrivar 9, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 11, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Love of self, source of man's afflictions; expressing the problems and need for the preservation of the revolution's accomplishments

Occasion: Birth anniversary of the eighth Immaculate Imam, Rida (a)

Subject: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Majlis Speaker), Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi (Public Prosecutor of Revolutionary), Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Foreign Minister), Muhsin Rida'i (Commander in Chief of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps), Majlis deputies, ambassadors and charges d'affaires of the Islamic Republic, *ulama* from Paveh and Oramanat, members of the Iranian Students Union in India

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Love of self, source of human afflictions

Reciprocally, I congratulate the gentlemen on the auspicious feast and hope that God will bless the feats of the Muslims and the noble people of Iran and grant the oppressed victory over the arrogant powers and that will be a great blessed feast. I hope such a day will come.

The source of all afflictions suffered by man, from Adam to the present day and from the present day to the resurrection, all corruptions, wars, oppressions and infringements and aggressions revolve around the love of self, which has branches and different manifestations. If you notice, the manifestations emanating from the love of self has led man to destruction and will do so. Prophets were sent to correct this anomaly. Unfortunately, the Prophets had not been successful the way they wished. I don't think anyone will succeed. One branch and embodiment of this love of the self is the love of position, love of rank and love of power. From the beginning of the world to the present day whatever affliction brought upon people by tyrants for name and fame, position and power has emanated from the love of self. Now, we are embroiling in the situation prevailing in the world, and the suffering in the Muslim countries and the oppressions in oppressed countries have their roots in love of position and power. It is love of power that drives the US to commit these crimes that are unprecedented in the course of history. It is love of position and domination that motivates the Soviet Union to treat the oppressed people of the world the way you see. It is love of the self that the

rulers of Islamic countries are indifferent to the crimes committed by the powers and their affiliates. If it were not for the love of self, position and power among the rulers of Islamic countries, they would not sit and watch the oppressions committed against Iran, and worse than that against Lebanon. All of these rulers cower with fear lest this transitory power, which, I should say, has no value, may be taken away from them. For this reason, they kowtow to the US and worse than that, to Israel. All the comings and goings in most of these Islamic countries aim at the recognition of Israel and strengthening the Camp David Peace Accord.

If it were not for this fleeting love of position and domination, no human being would let Israel treat Muslims countries the way it has done. They would not tolerate Israel degrading them so boldly, nor would they connive at the disgrace afflicting Islamic countries. Nothing can remove this disgrace unless Muslim rulers undergo spiritual development and come to realize the enormity of the disgrace afflicting the Islamic countries. Despite the knowledge of the maltreatment they are sustaining, they help Saddam to undermine Islam, which is going to take shape in Iran. All their efforts are concentrated on the destruction of the Islamic Republic in Iran. Some of them explicitly express this desire and some others equivocally. Love of name and fame is a legacy of Satan, who was expelled from paradise due to this disposition and because of considering himself superior to Adam. Satan boasted himself of being made of fire and Adam of clay, but had not perceived man's brilliance and was sent down from paradise. Then he swore to mislead mankind and he is succeeding in his shenanigans in spite of all the Prophets.

The offensive Saddam launched against Iran, everybody knows, was aimed at making him the commander of Qadisiyyah! The attack Israel waged against Lebanon before the eyes of all Muslims and governments of the region, everybody knows, was for giving power and domination. The same thing applies to the US and all other powers. This lust may emerge in you and us as well. Satan does not go only to Saddam, the US and the Soviet Union. He is everywhere. Satan is manifested in man's carnal soul. If once you feel like bullying people and like people to bow down to them you, know that satanic delectation lingers in your soul. It is this Satanic gratification of pleasure in the powerful that makes them so overbearing. It is this sensual gratification which urges Islamic leaders show humility to the powerful, while commanding all resources to forestall these powers. However, this Satanic dereliction caused Satan to reject Adam. Satan did not listen to the command of God and did not understand that the order to prostrate before

Adam in fact meant bowing down before God. Unfortunately, the rulers of the so-called Islamic governments are afflicted with the disease of showing overweening arrogance. If they had taken a step towards diminishing this love of position or managed to eliminate it, they would not sit indifferently and suffer so much disgrace.

Strengthening Saddam

Sometimes it is the US that dominates people, at times, it is the Soviet Union and sometimes Israel. Israel is today becoming the commander of the Islamic lands. If this indifference, assistance and evasion of issues by Islamic leaders, which are all aimed at recognizing Israel come to fruition, Israel will become their commander. In the same way that Israel treated them with contempt and degraded them at the behest of the US, likewise, this treatment will expand and take root everywhere. Israel is not content with what it has; it proceeds step by step. With every step it takes forward, it calls it the last move. The next day, however, it takes a longer step. Today in Lebanon, tomorrow, God forbid, in Syria and the day after in Iraq and so on and so forth.

Unfortunately, these governments compromise with Israel rather than revolting against it. Instead of stopping it, they did not say a word to negate it. They are even attempting to recognize it. This is a shame for Islamic countries. It is incumbent upon the rulers and people of countries to stop Israel pushing them into abjection of any sort. It is deplorable that people have let the rulers do whatever they wish and bring contempt upon Islam and Muslims. Where can we take our complaints about these disasters? They embroiled us in war with Iraq, concocted a plot to pit us against Israel, to let Iraq to reinforce, so that both of them could later attack us. We uncovered this scheme and the gentlemen in charge of affairs noticed it and charted the right course to be pursued. If we had taken that course, today Iraq and, by the same token, Israel would deal with us in a different way.

Noticeable political victory for Iran

Iranian nation has so far acted prudently. The recent political victory of the people of Iran was remarkable. Saddam exerted all his energy to assemble the heads of non-aligned countries in Baghdad. However, the Islamic Republic, this Islamic power in this corner of the world, caused them to find out his evil intention and turn down Saddam's request. Then he said insolently: "In order to preserve Islamic unity, I waiver my request." He wished the foreign ministers to converge in Baghdad to plot a diabolic

design! To this end, he sent people everywhere begging the heads of non-aligned countries to gather in Baghdad, but all his attempts ended in the fact that he declared, "We relinquish our attempt for the sake of Muslim unity"! I believe that for the sake of Islamic unity he had better go to hell!

Saddam is one of those who lay the foundation of discord among Muslims. He is the source of discord. Iran's government has not at war with any government at any time. It only wants to defend against those who intend to harm the country. This foolish offensive against Iran caused many of the regional governments to rise in opposition to Iran; that is, to Islam. They will gradually come to realize that it is not advisable to oppose a nation which is sacrificing everything for the cause of Islam. They will finally find out. We should also care for the pranks played by man's carnal soul. We should take care of the tricks of Satan in our soul. Many a time a pious man reputed for his piety throughout his life loses all his piety, because Satan has invaded a corner of his heart. Many a time you gentlemen who are present at this assembly—I wish you success—might not have discarded the Satanic dereliction in your heart despite all your efforts for Islam.

Big powers' objections, proof of Iran's power

You should take care of yourselves and ask others to watch over you. Many a time the *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and their commanders, despite all the efforts they make to serve Islam, might find that the Satanic features are lurking in their unconscious mind. One should be constantly watchful of one's self. When one wants to say payer, one should ensure that Satan, the carnal soul, is away from one. When one wants to perform his duty as *pasdar*, he should guard against Satan who may lure him to do an act that may ruin him, thus presenting a deformed image of the Islamic Republic. Those who are involved in the Islamic Republic, be they ambassadors and charges d'affaires, who go abroad where there is greater expectation, or the *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and other military and law enforcement forces who serve inside the country or the honorable Majlis deputies and all in the judiciary and the executive, should exert care and guard themselves. They should know who has brought them to this power causing big powers of the world to reckon with them. The oppositions they mount and the conspiracies these big powers brew every day indicate you are powerful. If you were not powerful, they would not confront you. They challenge you since they see power in you. You should know that this power is not yours, others' or mine. It is the divine power, the power of Islam, power of faith. It is the power of faith that urges you to make sacrifices for Islam and that drives our dear ones in

battlefields to fight to the border of martyrdom. As long as you preserve this faith and commitment to Islam, you will never suffer harm.

We should note that today we are at war—both political and military war. We are now at war with all the big powers and their affiliates. In fact, they attack us and we defend. The time has not yet arrived to say that we are independent and the game is over. No! The battlefields stand in need of forces.

People should still go to the warfronts. This is a divine and religious obligation, albeit a collective one. It is incumbent upon all. The difference is that the need is fulfilled only when sufficient number of forces is available. It is incumbent upon every capable man to go to warfronts. If the military commanders in *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and the regular army announce that there is no longer need for forces, then this obligation will drop. We should note that we are at war and in a state of defense. If, God forbid, we act sluggishly, one like Israel will, God forbid, attack us and if we are indolent it may dominate us. We should prevent them as of today. We have so far defended and will continue with our defense. At the same time when Saddam claims they no longer hit Iranian cities, almost every day our cities, particularly Abadan, are bombarded. They hit by their long-range missiles from across the borders, destroy the cities and cause human casualties. We should defend the Muslims and the Islamic country as long as we should. We should advance. This depends on the effort of the brave and committed youths of the army of God to make up for the insufficiencies. They should go and finish the job soon, God willing. Then we can go after that bigger and crueller enemy. There is anyone more malicious than Saddam, that one is Begin and his like.

Guarding the boundaries of Islam, highest religious obligation

We are midway through gentlemen. Our revolution is mid way and we should help it out. All should think so. The respected Majlis deputies should also think of it. We are only midway through. If there is need in the deputies to go to warfronts and advise and encourage the combatants, then they should think if they should go for a recommended *Hajj* or fulfill a collective obligation on visit the warfronts to hearten the forces. It is for some days that I am repeatedly told that the country is getting paralyzed due to weird attention to the journey for *Hajj*. 140 Majlis deputies want to perform *Hajj* rituals. Of course, they have their excuse. They say Mr. Hashemi¹ has said

¹ Mr. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Majlis Speaker.

that the Majlis is in its holidays holiday. But do we have holiday today? Can we think of using holiday with the condition our country is embroiled in? Many of the members of the judicial council are also said to have applied. All right! Let the Guardian Council and other people also go! If it is obligatory for one to perform *Hajj* pilgrimage, no one can prevent one. One should go. If it is to be performed as a religious duty, with a higher degree of obligation such as guarding the borders of Islam, then all other religious duties are to be laid aside.

I have already dwelt on the subject of homicide. Let me say that again that murder of an innocent believer is the most cardinal sin next to ascribing a partner to God. However, Islam that has so much recommended about believers and warned against murder of believers has the following to say in its commandments regarding *Jihad* (holy war). If disbelievers use a group of believers as their shield, Islam has ordered to kill all, promising paradise for murdered believers and fire of hell for the disbelievers. It is because preservation of the boundaries of Islam is among the most important religious duties. It is, in fact, preservation of Islam.

All the gentlemen should be aware! All are scholars and aware of the issues. There are other issues I don't want to reveal to cause concern, but you should note whenever such a journey to the House of God, despite all the spiritual rewards it has, is advisable in the current situation of the country except for persons for whom performance of *Hajj* is a personal obligation. Do the gentlemen deem it advisable to close down the country? Do you recommend, God forbid, for the country to suffer harm in addition to the other concerns we have? Anyhow, note what has motivated you to go to the *Hajj* pilgrimage. Do you want to gain spiritual reward? Then compare if *Hajj* pilgrimage is superior or serving the Muslims? Which of them brings greater reward? Serving to safeguard borders of Islam or performing the *Hajj* ritual? Acquisition of knowledge is among collective obligations and very important. However, if once we find there is need for *ulama* to give up acquisition of knowledge and go to the battlefields to hearten the combatants and go to remote cities to guide people, they should put aside this important recommended duty and perform the latter duty, because the latter is now obligatory to perform. After peace was restored, the gentlemen can return and continue with their education. All the clerical authorities are now involved in government activities because they see others cannot direct the country as required by Islam despite the fact that administration is not their business. The clergy do not intend to take control of the government. Who cares for government? But are the clerics not supposed to preserve Islam?

Once we presumed that committed individuals would be found to preserve the Islamic government, but they could not. We experienced it and the attempt failed. If non-clergy individuals committed to Islam are found, the clergymen will go after their own business. They have more important jobs to do. Mr. Hashemi and Mr. Khamene'i will go. So will all others in charge of the affairs. But what should we do? Today, our situation, the situation of Iran and domestic and foreign complications are such that without them we cannot manage this country. There are people who attempt to push the country towards the US or communism. It is therefore necessary for us to preserve the Islamic government.

Islamic government unmatched in history

Well! What answer do we have for God? What will be our reply to these martyrs who have fought for Islam? What answer do those who are sabotaging have worked out to provide? Those who do not believe in such principles are relieved. They believe that one will not have to answer to anyone in the other world. "Neither came any good tidings nor sent down any revelation."¹ These people are at ease. However, those who think with Islamic mind-set and are Muslim do not compare the Islamic Republic in Iran with the former regime. They do not think that the government—though it has not so far been able to make Islam dominant completely in all aspects—does not want to implement Islam. It wants but has not been able to do so yet. Nevertheless, the extent Iran has implemented Islam has been unprecedented in history. You cannot find such any other government that is so interested in Islam. When one studies the history of early days of Islam, there are verses of the Quran indicating that people were neglectful in war. The Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali) experienced so much lethargy on the part of his people who put off battles from summer to winter and winter to summer.² However, you see the *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, the army, the military, *Basij* and this people toil in the torrid climate of Khuzestan, in very high temperatures, and in those barren deserts without making a complaint. They did not make any complaint. So far I have not heard a single case complaining regarding going to the battlefields. They come everyday with

¹ Reference to the poem recited by Yazid.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27 (Jihad). Beware! I called you (insistently) to fight these people night and day, secretly and openly and exhorted you to attack them before they attacked you, because by Allāh, no people have been attacked in the hearts of their houses but they suffered disgrace; but you put it off to others and forsook it till destruction befell you and your cities were occupied.

smiling faces demanding to let them go and achieve martyrdom. Such a development has taken place in the country, but a few gentlemen are sitting aside from everything and cause difficulty. For instance, in a village, one might have done something wrong, these gentlemen raise hue and cry about such petty events. They don't think that a country in the process of a revolution cannot prevent a man in a corner from doing wrong. Do you want us now to outpace the Prophet? In time of the Prophet such problems were rampant. The Commander of the Faithful sent governors who occasionally made difficulties and the Imam deposed them. Is it possible to get up in the morning and see all of a sudden everywhere has turned to paradise?

These gentlemen should see if the officials are proceeding towards Islam or going against it. Those who have done nothing for the Islamic Republic from the beginning should be fair. They have so far done nothing. They should not at least cause difficulty. The intellectuals act that way and reactionaries this way. Well! We know some of them who did not take a step for the revolution; they even opposed, advising us to stop and let the Shah rule saying: "It is not possible to remove him. He is better than others!" Right! You see now such a situation has emerged. In Iran so many centers of corruption have been destroyed. They don't such moves important. So many wine shops have been destroyed. No one can openly do such a thing. The numerous steps taken by the government and the Majlis should also be considered. One who has experienced the Majlis at that time knows about the then situation. Should you not thank God for making such a favor? Why not helping! If you can, come and make judgment. If you can, come and serve as governor-general of a province. Don't sit aside, nag and disappoint the people who will not be disappointed. Those who fled the country, who are distributing leaflets from abroad and who are at war with each other deal a blow to Islamic Republic. These sanctimonious people in the bazaar or at school or other places inflict a different blow.

In God's presence we should not do something that runs counter to the command of God. Now we have a republic, which we did not gain with our own efforts; God bestowed it. God is the one Who transforms hearts. Who can integrate the hearts of people throughout a country ranging from the children to the old people and mobilize them for Islam? When have you seen the Sunni brothers get together with the Shiiat Muslims and move forward for one purpose? I hope these corrupt elements let these two groups of brothers and great Islamic sects get united and stand against others. We should always consider God and know that one day every one of us will be in His presence. We are all responsible. We should bear this in mind. If so,

administration will be improved. Majlis will be rectified. They are all good people and will become better. *Sepah* will become good, army will become good, police will become good and Municipality and everything else will become good. I hope that all affairs of the government will proceed in favor of Islam with the commitment of this dear nation to Islam. May God grant you and us success in serving Islam and the oppressed people who have been impoverished in the course of the monarchical regime! The government should consider that remote villages and cities need greater attention. The government should attend to the needs of deprived people. May God grant success to you and make us your servants.

May God's peace be upon you!

Permission

Date: September 1, 1982 [Shahrivar 10, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 12, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Husayn Ahmadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.

And then, His reverence Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Ahmadi, may his blessings last long, who has devoted part of his life to acquisition of religious learning is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, collect religious dues, charges levied for injustices done to worshippers, alms and *zakat* (Islamic tax) and spend them on relevant cases and disburse half of the holy share of the Immaculate Imam (*a*) and *sadat's* (descendants of the Holy Prophet of Islam) as the case may be and sending the other half to me to be spent on theological seminaries.

And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as our pious predecessors have, to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brothers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dhu'l-Qadah

al-Haram

12,

1402

AH

Message

Date: September 3, 1982 [Shahrivar 12, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Response to message of congratulation on the occasion of the auspicious feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Shadhli Bin Jadid, President of Algeria,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message congratulating me on the occasion of the auspicious feast of *Fitr* on 13th of Dhu'l-Qa'dah al-Haram. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the brotherly people of Algeria on this great Islamic feast. I hope that Muslims will appreciate the sensitivity of the time and try to uncover and thwart the many conspiracies designed by the enemies of Islam, particularly the world-devouring US, to be carried out through some values of Islamic countries, for the destruction of Islam and Muslims, and to dissociate themselves from mercenaries and lackeys such as the criminal Saddam. May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhu'l-Qadah al-Haram 14, 1402

Decree

Date: September 1982 [Shahrivar 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of convicts of Khorasan Province

Occasion: Auspicious feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice)

His Highness, Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may his blessings last long,

Respectfully, enclosed a list of 465 of drugs-related convicts of Khorasan Province liable to amnesty or extenuation of punishment at the request of the public prosecutor and confirmation of the religious judge on the occasion of the auspicious feast *Fitr* for approval.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebibli

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Reference to the duties and authorities of the leader provided in Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Speech

Date/ Time: Morning, September 5, 1982 [Shahrivar 14, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Significance and necessity for purging and reconstructing ministries and organizations; American plots in the region

Audience: Families of martyrs of Islamic Revolutionary committee forces of Khuzistan-Abdullah Jasbi (Secretary-general of the Administrative and Employment Affairs Organization), human resources reconstruction boards of ministries, government organizations and affiliated companies

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity for purging boards

I hope the gentlemen present are successful in the service they are rendering. Purging and reconstructing the ministries and organizations have been a necessity. In the former regime, many individuals were engaged in these ministries and organizations. Many of them were not qualified for these positions and were predominantly anti-revolutionary. After the victory of the revolution, it became necessary to set up such a board and identify the corrupt persons harmful to the Islamic Republic and those who wanted to instill discontent among the people. They should be purged. However, I should remind you and those who are serving in this country of the necessity of this move. Negligence in this matter will lead to disaster, but the quality of the purge, the ones to be purged and the individuals appointed to carry out the purge should be considered carefully.

Precision in selecting the members of the reconstruction boards

First, let me talk about the individuals to be selected for the purging boards formed in the Islamic associations, which are everywhere and which are rendering services. The most important of all is that the records of those who are to be selected should be investigated. Investigate into what positions they held in the former regime and what they did after the fall of the regime. You know that in every place where an employee or a group wants to render services, corrupt, hypocritical devious and interlopers may infiltrate using different tricks. Many a time, the interlopers who want to act contrary to what Islam prescribes and to sow discontent among the people will present

themselves as supporters of Islam and more devoted to the Islamic Republic than morally healthy individuals.

At present, the moment one presents oneself as Muslim and committed to Islamic laws and a believer in the revolution, we should accept him, but should not give him admittance as members of the purging organization unless such individuals are worthy of the trust of the government, the judiciary and other relevant organizations, which should investigate the background of these persons and identify the ones competent for this purpose. Because some individuals on such boards may decide to preserve unqualified persons and remove the competent individuals and repercussions of this issue may prove to be perilous. They might even appoint individuals affiliated to diverse outside groups. Appointment of individuals for such positions should not be made without investigation. It is not right to recruit just anybody interested in joining the reconstruction efforts. This may lead to a disaster at times. Therefore, one of the things that the gentlemen should bear in mind and deal with carefully is to investigate the record of the persons in the former regime, their family, friends and behavior in post-revolution period. These should be investigated into and there is need for trustworthy individuals completely trusted by the government or, the Majlis, the judiciary or the defense council. These trustworthy people should be identified. What a disaster it will be if one among those who want to determine the boards is devious, or you realize that among these individuals designated many have been corrupt and anti-revolutionary. Therefore, it is a vitally important issue for the country. In the same way that reconstruction was a vital concern in the early days of the revolution and should be pursued today, the quality of reconstruction is of paramount significance. Persons who want to engage in this business should be competent. Don't assume that all the groups are completely *hizbullahi* (member of Party of God). A group may infiltrate your ranks in the name of *Hizbullah*, foil all your efforts in the name of *Hizbullah*, and you may realize their destructive intention after two years. Therefore, one of the important issues is to identify the individuals who want to make up these boards. You should in no way be negligent of this matter.

Avoiding extremism in purging

As regards the quality of the measures to be taken, you should avoid going to either extreme. It is not correct to avoid anyone who worked with the former regime, branding them all as corrupt. Among them there were persons who underwent great suffering, but were forced to carry out some

activities. Of course, if they have committed any crime, then it is a different story. But mere engagement of these individuals with a ministry or government department or let us suppose the corrupt Rastakhiz (Resurrection) Party should not be taken as a criterion for purging.

At that time, you were present and aware and most of you noted that working for them was through coercion. That impious man¹ had announced that anyone who refused to join the party had to leave Iran. Well! In such an environment, many individuals who were opposed to the regime found no choice but to join the party. Some individuals might have entered the government departments and ministries to alleviate oppression. Don't think that anyone engaged in a government organization was an oppressor. Some individuals might have entered to mitigate the oppression done at the time of the former regime in departments and ministries. These are points which you should bear in mind. If, God forbid, you purge an innocent person who wanted to serve Islam and Iran even during the former regime on the mere accusation that he/she was engaged with a ministry, this is not right and you should be cautious.

Meanwhile, if you see individuals engaged in that regime have committed acts of corruption, sabotage or oppression and transgression and are still working, the pre-cautionary measure to be taken is that they should be cleansed even though they might present themselves as forces of God. If they have committed acts of corruption, oppression and transgression against people, such men are not corrigible so soon. If such individuals mend their relation with God, still our duty is not to install them positions directly in contact with people.

We should be careful not to go to either extreme. We should neither retain one who, for instance, who claims to be righteous, *Hizbullah* and so and so forth, nor purge anyone who used to work with the former regime in a ministry or a government department. A measure that conforms to *Shariah* and deserving of a Muslim is that you should rightfully identify individuals. If they are seriously engaged in sabotage or are sowing discontent or similar acts, you should introduce and purge them. If there are persons who are true servants of faith and the people but worked in the former regime and have not committed any crime or corrupt practices, we should not brush them aside. This country needs to be administered by the servants of the people. Those who are specialized in any field should be retained in these offices. If you consider it likely that at the time of the former regime one, let us

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

suppose, worked in a notary public's office which the Shah had frequented, merely working in such an office is not a basis for purging him. For example, if a person was not with them but approve of their actions, did not accompany Shah anywhere but agreed with their actions and performed their orders and oppressions, he should not be permitted to work in public offices.

Preventing inconvenience of people referring to public offices

You who inspect the ministries and offices should note how the civil servants treat the people. One of the important issues is that we should not act like the former regime. If a helpless person refers to an office and wants to meet the head of the department, we should not find faults with that person or make him go through bureaucratic red tapes and then finally tell him to come later, or the next day and so on and so forth. If there are individuals who treat people this way, know that they want to cause discontent. For instance, one who has come to follow up some petty business is perpetually told to refer from one office to another, like the same bureaucratic practices of the previous regime. If such practices performed in former regime are seen in today's offices, you should admonish them, and remind them that such acts are not Islamic. If they persist, brush them aside as well.

Purging boards shoulder important and heavy responsibility

Anyhow, your task is very important, Islamic service, and at the same time a big responsibility. You should not neglect its responsibilities. Be careful not to do the contrary of what you had in mind. You might wish to perform an act of worship but end up committing a sin and causing a disaster.

All of you and those who are engaged in particular tasks in the Islamic Republic should note that we want to serve Islam. We want to act the way Islam wants. Islam brushes aside traitorous persons who are not corrigible. If individuals have done a wrong and then repented and when you investigate their background, you find that they were forced or threatened or anything of this nature, you should not dismiss and deprive him of his rights. This is a very important and valuable work, but carries great responsibility. All gentlemen should note this.

Those who are in Islamic associations should also bear in mind that at the same time that Islamic associations are rendering valuable services, they also carry a heavy responsibility. Many a time, among the Islamic associations, individuals are found who act contrary to Islam to undermine Islamic associations and encourage corruption. Islamic associations should also identify their forces and see if the man who has come to serve in the

name of Islamic association is committed to Islam or not. How have his status and that of his family been? These are important matters we are concerned with. You see that among these leftists, these deviants and these *munafiqin*, there are individuals who infiltrate with pre-meditated schemes and, God forbid, might trigger anarchy. These are concerns the gentlemen should regard.

Foreign radios' commands based on *munafiqin*'s claims

As you see, today we are afflicted with the war and the propaganda ploys brewed against us from abroad. You see how much propaganda there is! I don't think any one of the mass media apparatuses wants to treat the Islamic Republic fairly. I am not saying that they should side with the Islamic Republic, but they, at least, should be fair and impartial in their programs. For instance, you see one of these media announced two or three nights ago Iraq had killed many people and Iranians too, killed many. Regarding the Iraqis' crimes they have no document, but regarding the Iranian crimes, they have. What documents? What the *munafiqin* have published abroad this radio station use as document! They are well aware that the *munafiqin* and all these designation groups abroad are united in opposing Islam. They said that they heard from these people, so it must be reliable.

Well! We are embroiled in such problems that claims of our enemies who have been expelled from Iran for committing so many crimes are taken as document. The *munafiqin* have claimed that every day, 100 people are executed in Evin Prison. Every day 100 people are executed! We have such problems. When we have such problems, we should pay attention to them. We should be vigilant lest we may give them an excuse to accuse us. God forbid, if we commit a minor mistake, they will take this as an excuse and, in their words, they will find a so-called document.

At present all mass media are against Iran, against Islam. Basically, they consider Islam to be harmful. Unfortunately, we are suffering from governments in Islamic countries. They are also exacerbating the situation.

The disgraceful plan to recognize Israel

You notice how impudently Israel attacks the children, women and men and old people of Lebanon, killing so many of them and making others homeless in front of the so-called Islamic governments. Israel is still busy causing harm against Lebanese people. How deplorable it is that Israel committed such crimes in front of these governments. Unfortunately, they are struggling to help the American plots be implemented. The US is

concocting conspiracies against people and Islam. These governments plan to translate the American-oriented schemes into action, plots such as Camp David Peace Accord and subsequent plots of the same nature. All these governments are unanimous that Muslims should recognize Israel, which as an independent state has committed so many crimes. How painful these moves are to a human being! I tell them that if these governments on the Persian Gulf and around it and elsewhere approve of this American plan and any future plan along the same line meant to recognize Israel, our nation, army, *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, Islam and God Almighty will not forgive them. Fear the day when this nation, its army and *Sepah-e Pasdaran* feel that it is their religious obligation to punish these persons who have passed the Camp David Peace Accord or similar plots for the independence and recognition of Israel.

The problems gripping Lebanon and also Iran, and the attack on Lebanon and Iran were carried out according to the US plan. Since the US found that it had lost these places, it brewed the plan to create difficulty for Iran. The US did whatever it could but failed. It then brought about the predicaments of war and designed the plan in a way that the war continued and that which was right not find reality so that the US could take advantage of the situation. The same was true with Lebanon. They had a plan to implement there and forced Israel to commit those crimes so that the plans, which were in favor of the US and would bring all countries under the domination of the US, could be implemented. How much longer do these Islamic nations and so-called Islamic governments want to endure the abjectness and condone these miseries? How long should they remain unaware that an honorable life is better than an ignoble life in gardens? They should come to their senses and note such concerns. If they vote in favor of Camp David and similar plans for the recognition of Israel, any one of them who confirms it, might be treated differently once we are religiously obliged.

The Iranians love Iraq

We don't want to wage a war with anyone. You see that we did not initiate the war against Iraq. The People of Iraq are like our own people. We love Iraq. In Iraq lies the heart of Shiism. Iraq is the place where the Commander of the Faithful, Imam Husayn and some other Imams have been buried. The Iraqi people are Muslim. We love Iraq in the same way that we love Iran because of it being Islamic. We love Iraq because it is an Islamic country and the Immaculate Imams rest in peace in Iraq. We never planned

to inflict any harm on Iraq. So far, whatever reports I have received indicate that the people of Iraq have not experienced any transgression.

But what can we do with such a corrupt man¹ who is destroying both Iraq and Iran? What should we do with such a man who said from the beginning that, "We should fight a regime that is Zoroastrian and, I don't know, Magi", despite the fact that the cry of *Allahu Akbar* reverberates all over the entire country. It was the Iranians who had constructed almost all the Islamic buildings in Iraq. How can man attack Iranians because of being Zoroastrian, and I don't know, Persian and Magi? What is wrong with being Persian? Then he understood that the Islam in Iran gave him a slap in the neck. So far he has been given such a blow. If he does not give in, he will receive more beatings. We don't want a non-Islamic thing. We want a rightful thing. We say that an aggressor has come and committed all those crimes, killed so many people, destroyed so many residential units, making so many people homeless, making so many Iraqi people homeless and causing many Iraqis to flee the country and take refuge in Iran. Why do these governments not sit together to see what we want. We say that he is responsible for the crimes he has committed and for being an initiator. We have not done anything except defense. These crimes should be compensated for. If we overlook the crimes of the criminal, we are also criminal. Condoning a crime is a crime. This is our word. We say that they should leave our country and not transgress our land.

Need for Muslims to unify against the US

You know that Abadan is under missile attacks every day. Every day they hit Abadan with long-range missiles. Who are they bombarding? The poor people! The innocent people who have nothing to do with the war; they are a number of grocers, bakers, innocent women and children and so on. We want the Iraqis to retreat to a point where they cannot hit the city with long-range missiles. Let the wise men sit together and do something. We are not opposed to them. But if they don't do anything, we have to do it ourselves. We have to do it by force. If they acted according to our demand, we have no other demands. They will go after their business and we go after ours. If they don't and create turmoil for Iran and pound Iran every day, our duty is to stop them. Our duty is to proceed until we can stop them. This is a rational thing. They are still in our territory attacking us and we are defending. Can we leave them to do whatever they wish? We have to defend ourselves. In

¹ Saddam Husayn.

the same way that they were driven out of Khoramshahr and other Iranian cities, they will likewise be forced to retreat so that what we want will be accomplished. If there are persons or governments that want to handle the work without the use of force, we are also ready to comply. We always seek peace, but not the peace that the criminal is left unpunished. Such a peace is not peace. We make peace when we can powerfully defend our country and Islam.

I hope all Muslims waken up and note that they should stand against the US and its mercenaries, such as Saddam and Israel that damage Islam to secure the US and its interests. It is my hope that Muslims will be awakened. If the US and its lackeys are given the opportunity, they will destroy Muslims. The US goals are not confined to one or two countries. The US wants to bring all places under its domination. Today is the day when, we who believe—the Muslims should unite their ranks and punch the US in the mouth. They should know that they can do it; they are capable of doing it. They have both the nation and resources to achieve this. The jugular vein of the US and the West depends on the region's oil.

Feel the presence of God in all affairs

I hope we are servants of Islam and Muslims. You, gentlemen, should feel the presence of God in your tasks, while maintaining your commitment to Islam. When you want to, let us suppose, brand one as being un-Islamic, you should remember God. If, God forbid, you act in contrast to Islamic tenets deliberately, beware that the Omnipresent God will not forgive you. Beware of the fact that you should do all the work for Islam, for God and for serving God. I hope that God will grant you success and that you are successful in serving Islam and Muslims. I hope all Iranians who are on pilgrimage to Mecca would return to the country in sound health. I hope that Saudi Arabia and the government will treat these dear ones who are against the opponents of Islam, against the US and against the lackey of the US—that corrupt man in Iraq—in an Islamic manner, without causing concern for the Iranian government and nation; otherwise, the consequences might be grave.

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

Message

Date: September 8, 1982 [Shahrivar 17, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 19, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need for the commemorating of Days of God

Occasion: Anniversary of 17th of Shahrivar

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
And remind them of the days of Allah¹

Remembering the Days of God which God Almighty has ordered (to observe) is constructive for man. The events which have taken place on the Days of God are educational and awakening for history and human beings in the course of history. The great events of history cited in the Holy Quran are blessed examples for transforming societies, human individuals of our age which is the age of revolution. They are particularly illuminating in revolutionary Iran, which experienced many great events, that can be remembered as Days of God. We should remember them, as they are lessons of the revolution for the heroic nation and brave *mujahids* (strugglers).

Shahrivar 17 is one of the Days of God and we must keep its memory alive and hand it over to future generations. The sacrifices of the brave people of Iran in the cause of Islam and the brutality of the butchers of the monarchical regime on this day and similar days are valuable lessons of sacrifice. These sacrifices have introduced the oppressed and courageous nation and the criminal Pahlavi regime in the course of history so that future generations will know that the Islamic Republic found reality thanks to sacrifices of the nation. By doing so, they will preserve this great divine gift with courage and sacrifices of their dear ones.

Shahrivar 17, 1357 and similar days are many in pre- and post-revolution period. The struggling people of Iran victoriously, honorably and proudly rose up to suppress oppressors. This revolt radiated the divine manifestation and endless power of faith in the unseen across the world. And the shining sun of Islam was introduced to the world, particularly to the oppressed and innocent people, teaching them the blessed lesson of selflessness in the cause of God. Let the blind-hearted in and outside of the country do and say

¹ Surah Ibrahim 14: 5.

whatever they wish. Let them commit any crime that dwarfs that of the *munafiqin*'s and their more criminal colleagues. Let them delight in the blasts in public places. Such moves are the workings of vanquished criminals and any simple person can commit such crimes in the name of armed struggle for the liberation of the people and stage street fights for the downfall of Islam and Islamic Republic. Such acts only delight these people and brutes like them, not to mention the mass media apparatus at the command of super criminals, which use them as propaganda objects against Islam and the Islamic Republic.

The noble people of Iran should admit that the miserable *munafiqin*¹ and their cohorts outstrip the criminals of history and outshine the ignoble ones of the world in their villainy and rascality. I don't think you can find any group so criminal and ignoble, as this *munafiqin* splinter group. These rascals claim to be followers of true Islam and the Holy Quran and condemn the verses dealing with *hudud* (penance or punishment ordained by Islamic canons) in the most brazen and blasphemous language. They chant the slogan of support for the people and treat them the way you see, killing in cold blood the workers and the weaker strata of people in the street. They plant bombs and call it street fight and claim to be powerful while creeping into hideouts like thieves and foxes. They claim to be politicians, but they stigmatize and isolate themselves from the people by their puerile acts. They claim to be knowledgeable and present a comprehensive world-view but are so ignorant about very obvious issues, that they rend apart their own warp and woof. They claim to be serving the people and the country but are actually rendering service to the inveterate enemies of the country. They brag of independence and liberality but are so dependent on satanic powers. I heard in Jamaran the thundering blast detonated by these criminals in Park-e Shahr (City Park) last night. This enormous explosion went off at a place where the poor class of people, petty businessmen, workers and deprived

¹ “*Mujahidin-e Khalq*” terrorist group popularly known among Muslim people of Iran as *munafiqin* (literally hypocrites) was established in 1344 AHS to fight the regime of the Shah (Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi). This organization deflected from the correct path due to its leaders' lack of acquaintance with the sound principles and teachings of Islam. This deviation caused the leaders of the organization to stand against the revolution and revolutionary forces shortly after the victory of Islamic Revolution, which led to martyrdom a number of innocent officials and people. Explosion of tens of bombs in different parts of the country is among the terrorist measures of this organization. This group that spared no effort to overthrow the Islamic Republic was suppressed and crushed by the revolutionary forces and a number of its leaders fled the country. These days, they are passing the last days of their shamefaced life.

people live. Reports indicate that tens of people have been martyred and wounded, among them expecting women and suckling babies. Beware that if these splinter groups can, they will constantly plant bombs in Tehran, particularly in southern areas where people made sacrifices for the realization of Islamic goals. This is their armed struggle and street fighting against *Sepah-e Pasdaran*. To achieve worldly name and fame, they have fallen into the trap of Satan. The honorable nation should know that they always calculate every crime they commit. If they deem it advisable to deny, they will; if they deem it advisable to undertake responsibility, they will and present it to the mass media as a victory and feat accomplished by their militants or as a street fight. We are looking forward to the alien radios to broadcast this silly act as the defeat of the Islamic Republic and instability of the government for the simple-minded people. I implore God Almighty to protect us against the carnal soul and inner Satan. Greetings to the martyrs and wounded ones of 17 Shahrivar and similar events! Greetings to the families of the martyrs of 15 Khordad up to the 17 Shahrivar 1357 and 15 and 17 Shahrivar 1361 AHS!

Greetings to the noble and struggling people of Iran who endure any difficulty with their lofty diligence and who openly make sacrifices in the war fronts and behind the fronts for the sacred goals of Islam. Greetings and the blessings of God Almighty and His angels and grand Prophets and immaculate Imams upon the Savior (May God hasten his reappearance)! May God's peace, mercy and blessings upon righteous servants of God.¹

Ruhullah la-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini read out the message at the ceremony in commemoration of Shahrivar 17 at Imam Khomeini Mosque in Tehran.

Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini was born in Isfand 24, 1324 in the Holy city of Mashhad. After completing high school at the time of exile of his honorable Father Imam Khomeini ® to Najaf, he began to study Islamic sciences. He received schooling under the guidance of teachers such as his honorable father, Imam Khomeini ®, Ayatullah Sultani, Ayatullah Murtada Hairi and Ayatullah Musawi Shobeyri Zanjani and attained lofty scholarly station. After the martyrdom of his honorable brother, Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, Ahmad Khomeini undertook the main responsibility for Imam's relation with friends of the revolution, retaining this role up to the victory of the Islamic Revolution and afterwards. He was a friend and confidant of Imam in fateful moments of the revolution. In so doing, he forbore accepting any government responsibility. This paradigm of patience and resistance who was undoubtedly one of the unknown and innocent *ulama* of the Shiite world passed away on Isfand 28, 1374 AHS and the laid to rest next to his beloved after an acute disease. Prior to his demise, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini was in charge of the Holy Shrine of Imam Khomeini and directed the Institute for the Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini ®, publishing the works and ideas of the great leader of Islamic Revolution.

Speech

Place: Morning, September 8, 1982 [Shahrivar 17, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 19, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for unity of Muslims; countless crimes of Saddam

Audience: Ahmad Jannati (member of the Guardian Council of the Constitution), Muslim leaders of Bangladesh: Muhammad Hafizi Hudur, Faruq Imam ad-Din Taha, Fadl al-Haqq, Aziz al-Haqq and Habib

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for the unity of world Muslims, against infidels and polytheists

I thank you for taking the trouble of coming here. I hope that during the time you are in Tehran you can ask your companions to go to the streets and talk to people to find out the situation in Iran and to see if people are satisfied or not. They will see that people wholeheartedly help the government, that Iran is stable, and the Islamic government is firm and people free. If you attend Friday prayer¹ ceremonies and inspect other congregations, you will see that in the war, people support the government and have no other goal but Islam.

Let me turn to the root of the problems facing Muslims. We acknowledge that the Shiite and Sunni brothers have not been able to create the unity required to confront the infidels and polytheists due to their own fault or some other elements. These hands do not let such unity find reality, because around Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and other places disputes are mounting, causing the debility of Muslims and strength of the hegemonic powers. We expect His Excellency² to strive in his country and in the neighboring countries to remove the conflicts and expect Muslims to unify their ranks in the face of infidels and polytheists, who want Islam not to be dominant so that they can strip us of our virtues. At a time when all Muslims are afflicted with infidels, polytheists and *munafiqin*, it is not apt for us to wage war against each other.

¹ The Friday prayer is one of the important politico-religious and social rituals of Islam performed on Fridays Muslims. The Friday prayer is among the traditions of the Holy Prophet and Immaculate Imams. In the course of the history of Islam, no act of worship has served as important a factor contributing to unity and awareness of people as the Friday prayer.

² Mr. Diya al-Rahman, President of Bangladesh.

Saddam is opposed to Islam

And regarding the conflict between Iran and Iraq—you may not be aware of the situation—I should say that from the time I was in exile in Najaf, Saddam was known among the people as the opponent of Islam and a blood-sucking butcher. At that time, he was not the head of the government. However, when he became president, he attacked Iran upon the instigation of the US and under the pretext that Iran and Iranians are Persian and Magi with all the ground, sea and air forces. When our people came to know about the offensive, they stopped the aggressors. Now that the third year of war is approaching, Saddam has attacked and we have always defended. In accordance with Islam, the Quran and reason, we cannot fail to defend. Every day they drop bombs or shells on Iranian cities and the defenseless people. As long as they continue with these actions, we have to defend ourselves.

During this span of time, Saddam repeatedly called for peace. His peace meant Khuzestan should be given to him. We also want peace provided that the aggressor is punished. Our nation is standing and present in the scene to restore their legitimate rights, because Iraqis intruded into our country and occupied some of our cities and ruined them. What we are saying is that the aggressor should pay reparations and that qualified persons should come and identify the aggressor and punish him. We have never transgressed upon the Iraqi people, while our forces can hit Baghdad¹ or Basra, but they don't. You can investigate. You see that every day they hit Abadan and some other cities and kill our innocent and defenseless people and announce they have killed military men. We regard the Iraqi people as our brothers and their land as sacred. Iraq is a place where the Immaculate Imams, particularly the Commander of the Faithful (a) and Imam Husayn (a) are buried. Two-thirds of the people of Iraq are Shiite. The Sunni brothers are also favoring us, while Saddam is totally opposed to Islam and follows that Aflaqite man.² We are ready to make peace, but it is not possible to overlook punishment of the aggressor and payment of reparations by the aggressor. Islam cannot let us leave the aggressor unpunished. They are propagating through foreign radios that Iraq intends to occupy Persian Gulf countries. However, as we have announced time and again *Shariah* not permit us to do such things. However, God, reason and *Shariah* permit Muslims to defend their lives,

¹ Capital of Iraq in central Iraq, on the Tigris River.

² Michel Aflaq, ideologue of the Baath Party.

property and principles. We are an oppressed nation and want you to investigate issues dealing with us.

You noticed that in Lebanon, the puppet government of, Israel, stands against one billion Muslims and attacked and committed such crimes against them. That is unprecedented in history. Still we see Islamic governments endeavor to recognize Israel. We say Israel should be erased from the face of the world and that Bayt al-Muqaddas, the first *qiblah* of Muslims, belongs to Muslims. May God grant you all success!

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

Statement

Date: September 8, 1982 [Shahrivar 17, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 19, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Jihad, servant of deprived and impoverished people

Audience: Abdullah Nuri (the Imam's representative in the Construction *Jihad*) and members of the central council of the Construction *Jihad*¹ and clerics from different provinces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I understand from your ² words that you have found the secret of success. [the Construction] *Jihad* has been the servant of the deprived and impoverished people. If a society or nation wishes to be successful, they should work for God, be with people and should not expect others to do things for them. Without the people, it will not be possible to work and achieve success. The secret of success, as you have realized it, lies in the fact that our people cannot be made to pay attention to something except through the clerics. In the course of history, whatever has been accomplished was through the clergy and people. Whenever these two have been pushed aside from the scene, corruption has been widespread. In the past 50 years, we witnessed what put us in trap of the West was the fact that the clergy and people had been suppressed. God willing, the government and the Majlis will consider what is in the interest of the society and help rescue these poor people who have been deprived throughout history. Problems should be discussed; otherwise, Constitution *Jihad* may not be able to carry out its duties. What I have heard about Jihad is that this organization has accomplished amazing feats, particularly in rendering valuable services in warfronts. Continue with your unsparing efforts. May God grant you success.

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

¹ Prior to the Islamic Revolution a small number of Iranian people enjoyed welfare and comfort but most of them, particularly the village dwellers, were suffering. For this reason, Imam Khomeini ® invited people to participate in the construction movement in 1358 AHS. In this way, a revolutionary organization called Construction *Jihad* initiated its activities and different groups of people moved to villages and deprived areas and began serving the people for God's gratification.

² Mr. Abdullah Nuri, the Imam's representative in the Construction *Jihad*.

Response to a Query

Date: September 13, 1982 [Shahrivar 22, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 24, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Consulting the Guardian Council regarding punishment laws

Inquirer: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili

His Highness, Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may his sublime existence endure,

Regarding *tazir* (punishment), can suitable punishments be taken into consideration in the law to prevent inconsistency and difference of procedure to a great extent?

22/6/1361 AHS

Abdul-Karim Musawi]

In His Most Exalted Name

Since both sides of the proposition are problematic and those in charge of judicial affairs predominantly lack the qualifications of religious standards,¹ you are advised to consult the respectable Guardian Council on the question to work out a solution with the least deficiency. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ One in charge of religious courts should be fully qualified *mujtahid* (religious jurist capable of making independent judgment from religious sources).

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, September 18, 1982 [Shahrivar 27, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 29, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Seizing the opportunity and paving the ground for self-sufficiency

Occasion: Martyrdom of Imam Muhammad-Taqi (a)

Subject: Murtada Nabawi (Minister of post, telegraph and telephone), board of directors and managers of the Telecommunications Company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Encouraging innovators and paving the ground for self-sufficiency

Reciprocally, I condole you on the martyrdom of Hadrat Imam Muhammad-Taqi (a).

In your remarks you¹ noted that the activities formerly done by foreigners are now done by the gentlemen engaged in the telecommunications company. We should truly regret how much we suffered during the reign of these two criminals.² If they had permitted the people and scientists to handle the affairs and encourage the people, the country would not have been in such a state. We should now take this opportune time and work for Islam and the Islamic country and improve our living standards.

Today, people are aware of the situation of the government and you need people to support you. The government cannot do anything without the people's support. Each and every ministry should bear in mind that it should keep people content for God's gratification. If you review the 50-year-long history of the monarchical regime,³ then you will know what your duty is towards the people and what it means to be without the nation. All of us should work to serve the masses of people who have been deprived in the course of history. The government should give priority to people and encourage the brains who are engaged in academic work. The government

¹ Mr. Murtada Nabawi, Minister of post, telegraph and telephone.

² Rida Khan and his son Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

³ Iran's Pahlavi monarchical dynasty. Rida Khan Pahlavi established the dynasty according to the plan of the British government in 1304 AHS. After the deposal of Rida Shah by the allied forces, his son, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, ascended the throne as the second and last king of the Pahlavi dynasty. Following an all-out and nationwide uprising of the people of Iran under the leadership of Ayatullah Khomeini ®, the Pahlavi dynasty was toppled in 1357 AHS.

should take the opportunity and encourage people to carry out the works. We will then gradually reach a station that we no longer need foreigners. These individuals certainly need your encouragement. You should think of working for God so that the outcome of your work will be immortal. Know that whatever work you do and the people make Islamic and cultural use of it, you will reap its benefits even if you are no longer around. You should examine those whom you select for work in telecommunications; they should be committed to Islam, not in word, but in action. Today everyone claims to be pious and committed to Islam. Beware that although all are struggling to pinpoint the *munafiqin* and leftist terrorists, there might be infiltrators who want to disturb the situation and create unrest for the nation and the government or sell the country's secrets to foreigners and eavesdrop in the telecommunications company.

I hope God will sanction you to serve this deprived people and preserve this government, this Majlis and people for you and us.

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

Speech

Date: September 19, 1982 [Shahrivar 28, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Two main pillars of education

Audience: Muhammad-Taqi MiSbah Yazdi, Muhsin Qaraati (Imam's representative in the literacy campaign), Ali-Akbar Parvaresh (education minister), Muhammad-Ali Najafi (minister of Culture and Higher Education), members of the office for coordination of theological seminaries and universities and the educationists

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today, we are facing personalities from among respected *ulama*, university professors and teachers of theological seminaries. Generally speaking, in all the levels of education, professors are busy teaching, ranging from university, to lower levels or the literacy campaign, through which I hope they will succeed in eradicating illiteracy in the country; two great pillars are training and education. Whether at the university or other places in which some sort of training is involved, teaching and education constitute the two important pillars. Islam has greatly recommended these two pillars, laying stress on education. Education is more important and wherever the *ulama* in theological seminaries and professors in universities are engaged in teaching, they are concerned with these two pillars: scientific and moral training or purification of the soul. If we suppose that teaching and educating permeated a nation and all underwent training as much until their needs are fulfilled, purified their selves and edified their ethics, such a nation will be a model nation. Let me now highlight the two aspects and their corollaries.

Features of teaching and education in the Quran and *hadith*

The gentlemen know, it is also good to be reminded. The issue of teaching and the question of scientific training and education is a subject that has been cited in the Holy Quran and in *ahadith* (narrations) of the saints of God, ranging from the Messenger to other Immaculate Imams. They have attached significance to the station of the *ulama* in the wider sense and encouraging learning and seeking knowledge even if one has to go to China.¹ "Going to China" is a famous saying, which means for the acquisition of

¹ Acquire knowledge even if you have to travel to China.

knowledge you should travel to the extremes of the world. Even if these countries are remote from you and do not have information about Islam, you should avail yourselves of their knowledge. Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave.¹ From birth to the end. This stresses the fact that education and learning is not exclusive to a given age and no one can do without it. Knowledge is an infinite truth and even if man seeks knowledge to the end of his life, he still will not attain the ultimate goal of knowledge. Therefore, one should seek knowledge to the end of life. We need to learn from one another. We all stand in need of a scientific training and education. Never can man do without knowledge. One who acquires knowledge should not stop at any level. If one considers that a certain level of knowledge is enough he has not appreciated the nature of knowledge. Knowledge is a concept and a truth that has no limit in any field. Therefore, we should acquire knowledge throughout our lives. We should study and train others scientifically. We should enhance the level of knowledge of people. Iran is a country that has not been successful in this aspect. Now that you have taken charge of literacy campaign, you should invite all to join. Those who cannot read and write should participate in the classes so that they can understand the issues independently. Education should be taken seriously from kindergarten to university and higher. You should not simply obtain a degree and be content with a paper and a document. One should seek knowledge itself. Even university teachers stand in need of learning and education. So are the teachers in theological seminaries. One should not be content with a certain level of knowledge but should seek knowledge to the end of life. Teachers know that they benefit from teaching and learn many things from their students. A class is a free venue and anyone has the right to raise questions and reject the teachers' opinion. Teachers know that in this give-and-take and exchange of opinions one can learn a lot and improve himself. The issue of knowledge is obvious and all know that knowledge is a noble pursuit that everyone desires to acquire. Seeking knowledge is ingrained in man's primordial nature. If you acquire all material and spiritual knowledge but hear that in a given place there is more knowledge, then you are bound to seek that knowledge. The desire for acquiring knowledge is unceasing. The significance of knowledge is an issue that everybody knows and is evident to all.

¹ Acquire knowledge from childhood to the time of death.

Result of education without spiritual training

However, we should make a distinction between education and training. We have to find more about moral, spiritual training and self-edification. For example, if in our universities and seminaries sciences are taught, but spiritual and moral training has been forgotten, what will this scientific teaching minus spiritual education bring for the country? What will it bring for Islam? What will it bring for the nation? If knowledge were acquired minus spiritual training, this knowledge would many a times serve as a source of corruption. A scientist or scholar who has not undergone self-edification and a university professor not experiencing purification of the self will bring corruption for the country. Such learned people can give rise to corruption in a country. You know that our nation, you and we, have suffered in the course of history. In recent years, the harms had aggravated and the country's dependence had reached its peak. This state of affairs has been the result of domination of knowledge and science minus moral, religious and spiritual education. If the two pillars of knowledge and spiritual training had prevailed in universities from the outset, the products of the universities would have been correct, progressive and constructive, and our country would be in the present state.

All our troubles have all been caused by moral crookedness and absence of self-edification. All the calamities which befell countries and the oppressed people in the world are due to the absence of spiritual training. So much time is spent working on a particular idea, I don't know, on the manufacture of missiles, tanks and the like to kill people, all of which are the result of the fact that moral training has been brushed aside. Neither those who claim to be Christian are trained in the teachings of Christ (peace be upon him), nor Jews act according to what Prophet Moses (peace be upon him) ordered nor Muslims have been trained in spiritual Islamic teachings. There are abundant claims, claims of being peace-loving and struggling to establish peace in the world. Superpowers make such claims more than all else. They claim that they want to bring peace to the world. Prophets also had such claims. But which of them is telling the truth? Which of them is sincere? Prophets invited people to peace; these superpowers also claim to be aiming for peace. Radio Israel had a program presenting Zionists and these criminals as people working for God, for the truth, for peace and for the oppressed people and other things! This is their claim and their action shows the opposite! Regarding an incident which has occurred just recently, America, too, claims to be peace-loving. If they go to the Church, they will perform the Church rituals and repeat the teachings of the church, but when it

comes to action, you see what they do. It is not because they are not Christian. I am amazed at why the followers of Christ with all the purification of the self and invitation to spirituality have become worse than the Jews. It cannot, of course, be said that anyone is worse than the Jews. I mean the Israeli Jews. What has happened that the followers of Christ, the heads of countries, are eradicating the entire humanity? It is because they have knowledge, the discipline of politics, industries, everything, but they don't have that which they must possess, they don't have that which is useful for humanity. That missing thing is self-edification and spirituality. Christians care not for the spirituality of the Christ; Jews have forgotten the spirituality of Moses, the interlocutor with God; and Muslims have pushed into oblivion the spirituality of Islam. The educative aspect of knowledge is significant but if spiritual education is absent, so these teachings will be harmful for man. All the damages and destructions befalling countries have emanated from scholars. The academicians are the source of these problems. Those who manufacture missiles, jet fighters and other things are the source of all these devastations. Whatever befalls man comes from knowledge-knowledge minus edification.

Scholar with edification but without knowledge

If we suppose that human beings were morally educated but ignorant, would the world be in peace and quiet? If man did not seek knowledge and simply pursued self-edification, man would lag behind because of failing to acquire knowledge. This state of affairs would be a great defect. Man needs knowledge. If one were to choose between acquiring knowledge and undergoing spiritual training, which would man be predisposed to seek? We have no doubt that if man experienced self-edification with all its prerequisites, so that he would not harm others, would be kind to people, and would consider others to be fellow creatures and people would be in peace and harmony even without knowledge. If knowledge was there but without self-purification and if the Prophets were excluded from humanity and man would be left alone to grow on his own, the entire humanity would perish and live in chaos, and there will not be a single happy face among human beings. If you see that a good number of people are good, it is because of the spiritual teachings of Prophets. It is true that not all people accepted the spiritual teachings of Prophets, yet these teachings have shed so much light on the world that the weaker masses of people are all good. Corruption is less frequently found among them. But, for example, you who have initiated the literacy campaign and those who want to teach fail to undergo a spiritual

education, your good efforts will fall through. Self-edification should accompany learning and knowledge. If you who are in charge of teaching children simply seek to enhance their knowledge without training them in spiritual and moral edification, you will not be successful in your efforts and you have not rendered a positive service to your country.

More important than this is universities. If university professors only attempt to teach lessons without regarding spiritual education, those who graduate will spread corruption. The universities in the former regime did not teach properly. If they had done so, we would not lag behind so much in sciences. The same thing is true about theological seminaries. If the seminaries have nothing to do with self-edification, morality and spiritual training and are simply concerned with intellectual teachings and learning, the scholars trained in such seminaries will ruin the world. Therefore, the two pillars of teaching and education are to be inseparable. If the two accompany each other in the society, school or university, then we can benefit from such a university, seminary, other higher or lower centers of learning and everywhere and at all levels.

Education and spiritual training: two wings needed to fly

Therefore, what is important is to nourish the spirit of children from childhood so that they can attain their goals. Wherever they go they should undergo spiritual as well as scientific training. If knowledge enters a corrupt heart and mind, its harm will be greater than that of ignorance. Ignorance is a big defect but it does bring about destruction. However, if knowledge is acquired without any moral insight and spiritual purification, this will perish human beings. The extent to which the Prophets urged people towards edification of the self, they did not encourage people towards seeking knowledge. Self-edification is more useful than knowledge alone. Of course, knowledge is something that all have underscored to acquire, but the two should accompany each other. They can be likened to the two wings enabling one to fly. If a nation wants to fly towards happiness, the two wings are required. If either of them is absent, there will be no flight. I hope university professors and theological *ulama* preserve their relationship. One of the treasons committed against this country was the separation of university from the theological seminary. Professors avoided the *mullahs* (clergymen) on the assumption that they were empty-headed and knew nothing. Our seminaries were also scared of universities on the assumption that they were irreligious. If mutual understanding is developed, I guess these cases will disappear. When the *ulama* find their way into university and university professors

find their way into seminaries, then they will understand what crime has been committed against this country. When university professors visit Qum and sit together with the *ulama* at the seminary and exchange views, then they will understand that we did not cry out in vain that Islam was a rich culture. Then those things would not be written on the walls of universities. From the beginning, plans were underway to train our children to be hostile to Islam. At university, one could not cite anything concerning Islam and the *akhunds* (clerics). Such was the case in seminaries. Any one of them who visited the university or seminary felt like a stranger. They assumed to have entered a bad environment. This was because plans had been worked out to keep these two fronts that could protect the country and save the country, hostile to each other. They wanted these two centers to suppress each other so that they could reap the benefits, as they actually did. What was the reason for so much insistence on enmity of the two strata? The reason was that the enemies of Islam feared that if these two got close and understood Islam, they would understand how much affliction we had suffered, particularly in the last 50 years. We were hostile to our brothers. Each tried to weaken the other. Note that this unity between the university and seminary should be established and strengthened so that you can protect your country. If the universities and seminaries strive to be acquainted with each other and develop understanding, our country will not have any defect. All the sufferings are because one corrupt university graduate, examples of whom you know, will ruin a country and if such a graduate is upright, he/she will correct the country. The corruption of a scholar corrupts the world. A scholar corrupts the world. The mass of people cannot corrupt the society.

Fez Conference and its resolution

Today we are suffering from the scholars of the two superpowers. They are corrupt. We are suffering from these Islamic countries. Do you know what happened in Fez?¹ Do you know what Israel did afterwards? Many things have been said about Fez. I will not repeat them any longer. I shall touch on the seventh paragraph. Some of them claim that Israel has not been recognized. Has it not been recognized? Or, it has been recognized plus one other favor. When Islamic countries sit together and call on the UN Security Council to guarantee the security of the region, is Israel not a country in the region? If it is, did the Fez Conference make an exception? Israel has not

¹ Fez is a city in Morocco. In the Fez Conference, with the participation of heads of Arab and Muslim countries, the Israeli entity was implicitly recognized and its security guaranteed.

been excluded. It is a regional country. Well, when you said that the security of Israel should be ensured just as that of Hijaz, Lebanon and elsewhere and the UN Security Council should prevent any transgression, this means if one wants to harm Israel or do something against it, the Security Council should prevent it as agreed upon by the gentlemen coming together in Fez. This means insuring Israel in addition to its recognition. Recognition here means acknowledging that it is a country with its own government and so forth. This is recognition. But in addition to recognition, the Fez Conference insured Israel. Now what did Israel do afterwards? Knesset called the plan devoid of value. It is not even worth to be read. Subsequently, Israel committed those crimes in the past two days and some more are forthcoming. One of crimes was so heinous that some gentlemen have said that even the US has described it as butchering. You see, when the US describes one place has been butchered then one understands what has happened there. The chief of butchers (the US) says Israel is butchering. What have the innocent people of Lebanon, Beirut and the like done? The gentlemen insured the country that does not give a fig about them. I want to say something. If Israel has said one right word throughout its existence, that word is that "this agreement is not worth looking at." You see! The gentlemen sat together and insured Israel. Not that Israel does understand that it has been insured and recognized. Either it is one more lie told by Israel and there is some political horse-trading or it is right. This statement that the resolution is not worth to look at is correct. Why? Because those who signed it are worthless. If they were worth anything, could Israel make such a remark? If such an insult is hurled at anyone, they will become enemies to the end. These gentlemen supported one who has insulted them and degraded them. Afterwards, Israel set fire on Beirut and South Lebanon. In Hijaz, one is not authorized to cry out "Death to Israel"! Some groups who went to take their complaint to the Prophet of Islam, to the Exalted and Blessed God in His House, were banned from staging such protests and were told not to make any protest.¹ O, Lebanese people! Get cudgeled and martyred but don't utter a word (of complaint.) This is what it means to insure Israel! Israel holds no value for you. God, the Exalted and Blessed, holds no value for this agreement and does consider it even worth mentioning. Prophets, even their Prophet- they don't have a Prophet; the Israelis say a rhetoric just as some of us who are Muslims- attach no value for this resolution. Do those who say Israel has been simply

¹ Reference to Saudi regime's refusal to allow the performance of the ritual called "Recant the polytheists" held during *Hajj*.

recognized know that the recognition included its security or not? If they don't, I don't know what to say. If they do, how do they accept such a contemptible act? Such crushing contempt, which no government can accept! How is it that these governments with all those accoutrements and claims allow and accept to be belittled by such a small government whose own citizens do not approve of. Now that Israel has degraded them, the police in Hijaz in support for the US and Israel detains our young and old and women and children and send them back. What have they done? Are they not Muslim? What have they said? They have said "Death to the US! Death to the Soviet Union! Death to Israel!" They have simply cried out "Down with them". So you mean they are not at all Muslim. Have they not come to perform an act of worship? What have they done to deserve such a "compassionate" treatment! They are crying out for Islam. What have they done that you say they have not come for this? They have come and cried out "Down with Israel". What is Israel then? Is Israel our friend? Is the government that says your words are not worth listening to, your friend? Or is Israel your master? Even the US has not so far hurled such an insult at you. The US with all its power has not made such an insult by saying that it is not worth listening to a resolution adopted by a group of governments which make such claims. The US has not so far made such an insult that you accepted from Israel. You should await the disgrace in this world and the hereafter.

Nations love Iran

O, God! What should we do with these oppressed nations who are under the pressure of these governments? What answer should we give to these nations? O, God! What should we do with these governments who undergo so much contempt and don't utter a word in the name of Islam? What should be done? Nations should awaken and defend themselves. They should not wait for their governments to do something for them. If we had sat and waited for Aryamehr to do something for us, we would have been in a worse situation than today. Our nation did not sit idle and watch the "gate of the great civilization" to be brought for them. Our people took him by the tail and threw him out, and took the rein of affairs. Now that we are sitting here is different from how things were one year ago or two years ago. Thank God, today everything that belongs to nation and the Muslims of the country is thriving. Above all, note this one word! If this country had not made Islamic and national progress, why are all countries opposed to it? There a few exceptions, which are not opposed to us. What has happened here prompting

all to be on bad terms with us? The leftists, the rightists, *munafiqs*, royalists, the US, the Soviet Union and all are on bad terms with it. What has happened here that prompts all to be on bad terms with it? Many other countries have experienced revolutions. But not all were on bad terms with them. One group supported and the other opposed. What has happened in Iran, causing all to be opposed to it? This indicates that something that all cannot digest has happened. Iran is pursuing a scheme, which they cannot accept or their ears cannot hear. That program is Islam, the Islam which says all should be rejected and that you should be yourselves; the Islam, which says if one develops friendship with the right or the left, one has announced war with God. They fear this mentality. They fear that this attitude may spread and each other places, so go on with your efforts so that it can reach everywhere, and, thank God, it has. Pursue this agenda so that the world understands what you have done. Thwart the numerous propaganda operations of foreign powers. Today propaganda is against you everywhere in the world. Only a few nations side with you. Anyone who hears and understand what you say supports you. Those who have grasped your call but find it inconsistent with their monarchy and presidency and interests, are also opposed to you. Every one of the weaker nations hearing your call sides with you. Those coming back from foreign countries say that nations love Iran; they want Iran; they have pinned their hope on Iran. The people of Iran should keep up resistance. The universities, theological seminaries, the military and the nation should persevere. Resistance causes this revolution to continue and permeate everywhere. The phrase "Carry on just as you have been ordered to..." has been cited in two places in the Quran: one in *Surah ash-Shawra*¹ and one in *Surah Hud*.² However, the Holy Prophet has been quoted as saying, "*Surah Hud* has aged me."³ Why is this verse cited in *Surah Hud* ? It is because *Surah Hud* continues as follows: "*So tread thou the straight path as thou art commanded, and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee, and transgress not. Lo!*"⁴ God has enjoined resistance and wants nations to be straight. Those who tend towards the Prophet and accept that he is the Prophet of Islam and believed in him, should also be upright. Following this, the holy Prophet said that the chapter aged him. He did not fear that he would not be resistant. He was resistant. He knew he had been, but was afraid that people might not be steadfast. If you see that disappointment creeps among the masses of people regarding the revolution, know that perseverance is absent or is diminishing. Do something to enhance the resistance of the people in the revolution they have accomplished. This revolution is a divine movement. God has said: So stand firm and straight as you are commanded ... In the same way that the Holy Prophet rose up from nothing and emerged victorious with his light pervading everywhere; likewise, you started from nothing after that corrupt regime. Everywhere there was ruination and you started building. Now, don't be fair-weather friends. We should implement the divine command: Therefore stand firm (in the straight Path) as thou art commanded ... Our nation has been steadfast in the revolution and been so far victorious. You are reckoned with in the world. In all corners of the world, the governments of the world are afraid that their nations may become like you. So far you

¹ *Surah ash-Shawra*, 42: 15.

² *Surah Hud*, 11: 112.

³ *Surah Hud*, 11: 112.

⁴ *Surah Hud*, 11: 112: "Therefore, stand firm (in the straight Path) as thou art commanded, - thou and those who with thee turn (unto God); and transgress not (from the Path): for He seeth well all that ye do." The same theme was revealed in *Surah ash-Shawra*, verse 15 as follows: "Now, then for that (reason), call (them to the Faith), and stand steadfast as thou art commanded, nor follow their vain desires; but say: I believe in the Book, which God has sent down; and I am commanded to judge justly between you. God is our Lord and you Lord: For us our deeds, and for you for your deeds. There is no contention between us and you. God will bring us together, and to Him is (our) final goal."

have been triumphant. Persevere up to the final victory. Build up yourselves and your young adults and children. If they are brought and built up in accordance with Islam, they will be straight. No crookedness will creep in them. They will not be deflected on the way or in the middle of the way. The university professors should know that if they build up the universities, they have insured their country for good. Teachers of high schools and primary schools preparing the children for universities know that if they educate these children and nourish them as believers and hand them over to the university as believers and the university delivers them to the nation as believers they have protected their country against all harms. Those who want to disrupt this process are at the service of one of the powers and treason the nation. If you see one attempting to separate you from the Faydiyyah (seminary) and the Faydiyyah from the university know that a foreign hand is at work, struggling to pit the two against each other like in the past, to reap their own benefits, as they did and witnessed. Whatever trouble we have today is inherited from the former regime. This (Islamic) regime has not brought you difficulty. War is, of course, difficult, but we did not initiate the war. Thank God, the nation will be victorious. God Almighty is with you and you should be with Him. I pray to God to grant health to this nation, government, Majlis,

president, ministers and all to serve this nation. I pray that God will protect you, students, and teachers and scholars who teach them and the educators who educate them and the teachers of seminaries who nourish others. May God grant health and happiness to our nation and guarantee their worldly progress and bliss in the hereafter!

May God's peace and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: September 20, 1982 [Shahrivar 29, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 2, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing the predicament of Muslims and the disaster of the expansion of conformist policies of heads of Arab states with the Zionist regime

Occasion: Auspicious feast of Sacrifice [*Id al-Qurban*]

Addressees: Muslims of the world and pilgrims to Mecca

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
We take our complaint to God*

On the eve of the auspicious feast of Sacrifice, I should congratulate the Muslims of the world, particularly the pilgrims to the House of God, travelers towards the great altar of the father of Prophets—Ibrahim,¹ the friend of God (peace be upon him). Unfortunately, this year afflictions have befallen Muslims, who we should condole rather than congratulate. Muslims should mourn not only for the aggression of the great Satan, the criminal US against the sanctuary of Muslims but for the indifference of the so-called Islamic governments. We should not be aggrieved simply by the attack of the terrorist and criminal Israeli leaders against the dear Islamic land of Lebanon, we should not be sad about the crimes perpetrated by Aflaqite Saddam, this slavish mercenary of the US and Israel, against Arab and non-Arab Muslims in the south and West of Iran; and we should not mourn over the jubilation of the rulers of Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Morocco, etc., for the victory of the enemies of Islam and humanity over the oppressed people of Lebanon and Beirut, with thousands of innocent young and old and children and women weltering in their blood. Although all these are disasters and must be mourned for, the greater disaster eclipsing all others is that a handful of ignoble Zionist terrorists attack Muslims in the most ruthless manner, but Muslims are sitting idle. Muslims command enormous spiritual and material resources by which they can easily drive back the US, let alone Israel, from

¹ The altar is located at a place called Mana in the vicinity of the city of Mecca. Once Hadrat Ibrahim dreamt that he was beheading his son Ismail. In the morning, Gabriel ordered him to behead Ismail. The Father and the son got prepared to perform God's order. Ibrahim had his son to lie down on his side and put the cleaver against his throat. At this time, Gabriel sent down a ram and brought Ibrahim a message from God to immolate the sheep in place of his son. In this way, Hadrat Ibrahim emerged proud in the divine trial.

the region. We are aggrieved not only by the homelessness of a number of innocent Muslims who have been driven out from their land, but we are mourning over a greater disaster. The greater disaster is that these crimes are being committed by Israel in broad daylight and before the eyes of the Islamic governments. The greater disaster is that the governments claiming to be Islamic are striving to acquire gratuity from the US and Israel in exchange for implementing the Camp David Peace Accord or other similar plans and recognize Israel openly as their master despite its committing these enormous crimes. The disaster befalling Muslims is that some of the so-called Islamic governments prevent the innocent people from even complaining about the brutalities of the oppressors.

The great dilemma is that the US has committed whatever oppression against the Muslims of the world, particularly, the Muslims of the region, for the past half a century and plundered their resources. The Islamic governments for fear of the US not only keep mum about the oppression done against their innocent people but they have even outpaced the US and Israel in voicing opposition against the plundered people of Iran, who launched the Islamic Revolution to make their outcry heard by the oppressed peoples of the world. To endear themselves to the oppressors, they help the aggressor by supplying it with all types of propaganda and weapons. Instead of shaking the hands of brotherhood and unity with the people and government of their brothers-in-faith, they shake the hands of servility and slavery to the US and Israel, rising to plot against the Iranian nation. We are now disappointed with the so-called Islamic governments and have no hope in them being guided. The only hope is that the Exalted God may favor and bring about a transformation in them to study the issues properly and to save themselves and their countries from the paws of world-devouring wolves. Let me now give some guidelines to the pilgrims to the House of God:

1- It is necessary that the pilgrims learn from the *ulama* the rules of *Hajj*—ranging from obligatory rules and acts that are forbidden—during *Hajj* to avoid any violation, which may waste their efforts, cause their *Hajj* not to be accepted, and create difficulties for them.

2- The Iranian pilgrims are required to note that they are departing for *Hajj* from a revolutionary, Islamic country committed to Islamic laws. The eyes of both friends and foes are fixed on them. Friends closely watch them to see if the respected pilgrims have retained their commitment to Islam or not; if they preserve the prestige of the glorious Islamic Revolution in their deeds and words and in dealing with other Muslims of the world; if they show patience amidst troubles and shortages, which are an integral part of

such a holy sojourn; if they always God Almighty to be present in all affairs and proudly return to their country; if they act in a way that their country and revolution will be proud among Muslims; if they export the Islamic Revolution to other Islamic countries and among Muslims; or if they will, God forbid, in contradiction to Islamic ethics and conduct do some acts, through trifling, overtly or covertly which may degrade Islam and the Islamic Republic, an act that is an unpardonable cardinal sin. The enemies do not hesitate to magnify the trivial misdeeds you perform, attempting to take your wrong deeds, however insignificant, as an excuse to damage the image of the revolution and the Islamic Republic, presenting Iranian Muslims as unprincipled people, Islam as a school remote from lofty human values and the noble Iranian nation as decadent. You should know that the esteemed pilgrims shoulder a heavy responsibility before God and the struggling honorable people of Iran, who are committed to Islam and its heavenly teachings. Don't take this year as you have done the previous years. We all know that the claws of superpowers and their affiliates have been thrust upon the body of Islamic countries and oppressed people of the world, with the blood of young tyrannized Muslims dripping from them.

The superpowers of the world are now scared of the Islamic Revolution's policy to be independent from the East and West and the arch-Satan has summoned the petty demons to employ all sorts of plots to extinguish the light of God.

3- The pilgrims of any nationality or sect are required to submit to the commands of the Holy Quran. They should shake the hands of brotherhood to confront the catastrophic satanic wave from the West and East and their slavish affiliates to eliminate Islam. Pay heed to the divine holy verses enjoining Muslims to clutch the rope of God and forbidding discord and difference. Take the greatest spiritual and political advantage from this politico-religious ritual of Islam in that holy place, which has been set up to secure the interests of monotheists and Muslims of the world. Pay attention to the mystery of the Ibrahim-Ismail altar that for the sake of the Blessed and Exalted God, and the sacred Islam one has to resist to the point of sacrificing his dearest fruit of life. Muslims should drive out the Satan and other big, medium or small evils from the sanctuary of the Kabah, curtailing the hands of evils from it and the sanctuary of Islamic countries. Muslims should respond to the call of God. The pilgrims of the Islamic Revolution of Iran should convey the call of the selfless and brave people of Iran to the Muslims of the world in that general assembly of Muslims. Iranian pilgrims should invite the Muslims of the world to convey the message of the Iranian people

to the oppressed people of the world, and let the outcry of this revolutionary nation reach the world. The pilgrims should make the Muslims of the world know that the Iranian nation wants Muslims at large to rise up not for personal and regional interests but for Islam. Today, the plots of world-devouring criminals have afflicted Muslims. If Muslims fail to set up an iron dam against them with their Islamic unity, this devastating deluge of blasphemy and infidelity will inundate all.

4- Muslims should know that after the Islamic Revolution, which gave rise to the tendency towards the wonderful power of Islam, the US has concocted plots to create division between Sunni and Shia Muslims, to attack Iran, as the center of gravity of Islamic Revolution, to storm Lebanon and commit those heinous crimes in an attempt to efface Islam and debilitate its divine power. You should know that the plots of the US implemented by the sinister Israel would not end in Beirut and Lebanon. They have targeted Islam everywhere in Islamic countries, particularly in the Persian Gulf region and Hijaz, the nucleus of divine revelation. The first and foremost aims are to make the rulers of the region to blindly obey the commands of the US and, more painfully, that of Israel and yield to the disgrace of servitude. In such an atmosphere and enormous disaster, Muslim nations should not be indifferent or spare any effort to preserve Islam and the Islamic countries. How painful and calamitous is it to see the usurper Israel intruding into the lives of the innocent Lebanese people and the dear sisters and brothers of Beirut so impudently before the eyes of Muslims and the so-called Islamic governments. Rather than rising to stop the intruders and defend the oppressed Muslims as their divine and human obligation, the governments of Islamic countries show such leniency. These governments are actively engaged in executing the sinister purposes of the US and Israel and targeting Islamic Iran and Islam rather than the tyrannical Israel.

If they could provide excuses for their silence and assistance to the sinister goals of these criminals and their masters, can they distort history? Can they deceive liberal nations? Can they convince the vindictive God with their implausible excuses? Will be the cardinal sin of treating the great Islam as a play thing, forgiven? Can they provide an answer when they are called to account for the innocent blood of women, men and children of Beirut?

5- In this sacred journey the caravans should coordinate views on political and Islamic currents and avoid disorder and acts in contravention of Islamic ethics. The respected pilgrims should follow the guidelines and proposals of the superintendent of *Hajj*, Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Khoeyniha. If each group or caravan wants to act independently and without

coordination, this lack of harmony might lead to disaster and can distort the Islamic image of the Islamic Republic and Revolution, in which case we have committed a cardinal sin, and have made ourselves accountable to people and the great God.

I hope that the dear pilgrims, may God assist them, take care of themselves and their friends lest this great divine act of worship be tainted by sin and wrong act. In divine places and sacred precincts in the blessed House of God, the performance of the rituals in the sacred presence of the Great God releases the heart of dear pilgrims from all bonds except God. Empty your heart of everything other than the Friend, adorning the ritual of *Hajj* and spiritual journey with rays of the divine manifestations. Return to your country with a light heart relieved of the bonds of nature and egoism and filled with the knowledge of the beloved. Bring with yourself eternal spiritual souvenir for friends rather than perishable material gifts. Join your martyrdom-loving friends here with a handful of human and Islamic values for which the grand Prophets from Abraham, the friend of God to Muhammad, the beloved one of God were delegated. These values and incentives release man from the bondage of the carnal soul and dependence on the West and East and help us sit under the blessed tree of neither East nor West. If the Muslims of the world come to realize the incentive of the Prophets, culminating in the Prophet of Islam, Satan and his hordes would never be able to enslave them. The teachings of Prophets have been summarized in the last revealed scripture, the Holy Quran, the book of guidance and instruction to elevate man to the real status of human beings. This holy book was revealed to the brilliant heart of the Seal of Prophets (peace be upon him) from the source of light, "*Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth,*"¹ to liberate the hearts of human beings from the veils of darkness and light, filling the world with light. If people join the light, they will never submit to Satan and evils, nor will they accept the brand of disgrace and abjectness on the forehead for a few days of illusionary seat of power, never grappling with each other to approach the great Satan for translating the enslaving Camp David Peace Accord into action. O, drops detached from the ocean of the Quran and Islam, come to your senses and join the divine ocean. Seek assistance from this Absolute Light so that the covetous eye of world-devourers would be disappointed in you and so that their perverse and aggressive hands would be curtailed, and you would lead a life replete with honor and human values. You will then be emancipated from

¹ *Surah an-Nur*, 24: 35.

this deplorable life governed by a handful of Israeli peddlers suppressing the innocent Muslims before your eyes. O, God! Grant vigilance to the slumbering ones and bring the rulers of Islamic countries to their senses to rule Muslims based on Islamic criteria, and shatter the ominous and arrogant idols.

6- The respectable clergymen and committed writers and speakers are required to introduce the real picture of Islam and the Islamic Revolution in Iran to the world. At opportune times compensate for poisonous propaganda released by mass media apparatuses affiliated with the US and Israel, which indulge in rumor mongering and spreading false against Islam and Islamic Republic of Iran. Highlight the Islamic accomplishments achieved thanks to the unceasing struggle of the committed people of Iran despite all the difficulties and sabotages created by the enemies of Islam inside and outside of the country and prepare nations. Unravel the slanders leveled by propaganda machineries against the Iranian nations and thwart the plots of the US and its affiliates. Enlighten the people on the attack of Aflaqite Saddam's army ordered by the US and supported by its affiliated countries. Make Muslims aware of the afflictions brought by American-oriented rulers on Islam and Muslims. Particularly remind them of the worst disaster: official identification of Israel that has savagely attacked Lebanon and killed and wounded tens of thousands of innocent people. Perhaps God Almighty will prevent this catastrophic disaster in history and withhold Muslims from being denigrated before the world and future generations. May God deliver the dear Islam and Muslims from this great shame and Muslims rid themselves of this misery that makes every committed Muslim tremble.

7- I warn the regional governments who come together for ploys and insurgency against Islam and teachings of the Quran against Islam and Islamic nations. If they do so, the government and people of Iran, as the biggest power in the region, will not forgive them and they will be responsible for any consequence that might come about. God and the people will not accept any excuse from turn, who hold the lifeline of the world's economy and industries. It is hoped that the dear Islam achieves its goals with the support of Islamic nations in the world, particularly, in the region and that the Muslims of the world emerge victorious over arrogant powers. May God's peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 22, 1982 [Shahrivar 31, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The crimes of Saddam and the US in Iran, condemning the efforts to recognize Israel in Fez Conference

Occasion: Second anniversary of the imposed war (Week of Sacred Defense)

Addressees: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Two years have passed since the attack of the world-devouring US through its mercenary the Aflaqite Saddam, against the Islamic Iran and, in fact, against Islam. Thank God Almighty, each day that passes the power of Islam and the Islamic Republic and the military forces as well as the resistance of the committed nation increase. Proportionately, the world-devourers and their affiliates are disgraced even further, and the saboteurs, *munafiqin* and deviants are exposed. By God's special grace and attention of the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him), for the Iranian nation, this year remarkably differ from the previous years.

In the previous years, the deceived army of Saddam continued with their crimes in our country. The Takriti Saddam and his masters hoped to continue their acts of sabotage and crimes in our country. They cherished the dream of the Qadisiyyah Command, wallowing in the thought of the separation of oil-rich regions in their empty minds. However, in this blessed year, we see that their castles in the air crumbled and the brave and believing armed forces of Iran drove them out from its territory in the most shameful manner. Now, they have taken refuge like thieves in the heights of Iran and crept into niches without being able to confront the Iranian forces. They, however, hit the residential areas of Arab-populated cities with long-range missiles from Iraq, martyring the resistant residents of border cities. The high ambitions of the Commander of Qadisiyyah have turned to begging this and that government and to a telling handful of lies. He is delighted with these fabrications and saves his face in poverty. He imagines that he is deceiving his army and avenges his disgraceful defeat against the innocent Iraqi people and his army

commanders. More ridiculous is that he declares Khark Island¹ a military zone. His defeated supporters lend credence to these lies in the hope that the trick would cause oil tankers not to cross the island and thus force Iran to accept peace. This satanic trick was also foiled. The Iranian combatants are courageously defending the Iranian land and ports, with the government thwarting their plot by declaring that it would insure the oil tankers. Today, the power of Iran's armed forces—the army, *Sepah-e Pasdaran*, *Basij* and tribal and popular forces—is such that they can hit Iraqi cities easily. However, their adherence dear Islam prevents them from attacking residential quarters. If, God forbid, our commanders and personnel of the armed forces were like Saddam and his subordinates who do not care a fig about Islam and its brilliant laws and if the armed forces of Iran were bereft of human values, today the cities of Iraq were subjected to missile attacks as Khuzestan and other cities of Iran have been hit by the Iraqi missiles.

Last year, the conspirators and actors of mass media apparatus affiliated with the US and Zionism impudently accused Iran of importing weapons from Israel and of being a supporter of the criminal Israel. In the Fez Conference, it was revealed that the supporter of Israel is the criminal Saddam and most of the regional governments. They are supporting a criminal who has made a fool of them after those crimes have been committed and services rendered by the puppet governments in the region. Israel has humiliated them so brazenly that anyone except them feels embarrassed. One is ashamed not because of the heads of these governments but for their affinity to Islam and because the affairs of Muslims are unfortunately handled by them. The outcome of those services is the crimes and massacre of innocent people in Beirut, enraging the people of the world, as reported by news agencies. Even the world criminals such as Reagan and Husni Mubarak have apparently condemned the crimes. The volume of the crimes has been such that even news agencies and newspapers siding with Israel have condemned them, describing them as the biggest crime after the World War II. The crimes are so heinous that the most notorious criminals of the world such as Israel, the Phalangists and their other accomplices blame the other for committing them. The biggest disaster suffered by Muslims is that the heads of regional governments have kept silent. More disgraceful is the unconditional support of some regional rulers for Israel. One cannot cite the crimes of Israel and its grandfather, the US, in Hijaz.

¹ The Island is located 37 kilometers from Gonaveh Port, south of Bushehr. It is one of the biggest ports for loading oil in the Persian Gulf.

Thank God, we are benefiting from the unseen assistance of Islam and the Islamic Republic. God caused their chicanery to back fire against them who introduced Iran as supporter of Israel, disgracing them before nations. The Aflaqite to Saddam, who was looking for an excuse to relieve himself of the brave defenders of Iran by confronting Israel, adamantly expressed his support for Israel at the Fez Conference by recognizing Israel and guaranteeing its security. "And they (the disbelievers) schemed, and Allah schemed (against them): and Allah is the best of schemers."¹

Now that the commemoration of the Week of the Imposed War² has arrived and thank the Exalted God, the brave Iranian armed forces are proudly traversing the last phase of victory for Islam and the great nation, it is necessary that the noble nation, particularly the government, orators, writers, poets and artists appreciate these selfless combatants in their turn, and depict the different stages of the victory of these heroic men with their words and deeds. They should highlight the results of the sacrifices in gatherings held during the Week of the Imposed War and strengthen the morale of the great combatants. During this week, the brave and committed people are required to demonstrate their presence in the war and smack the prattlers in the mouth. Today, the superpowers accuse the ever-present people of Iran in the scene, who are indeed defending Islam of turning their back on the Islamic Republic and being tired of the war. They have not known the people of Iran and have to fabricate such lies. By leveling different accusations against the armed forces and people of Iran, they plan to perpetrate their crimes in Iran once again. However, the brave and resistant people of Iran have stood against them and will never let them repeat their crimes. They want to raise objection against the Islamic Republic, but these objections only make our dear people more resolute, and prepare them to fight a longer battle in defense of Iran, and the dear Islam, their independence and honor.

The noble nation across the country, ranging from the clergy, university, bazaar merchants and the young students as well as the selfless combatants and other layers of the society should demonstrate their support for the Islamic Republic, the armed forces and the selfless martyrs in the cause of Islam and Iran in the Week of the Imposed War in appreciation of the victory

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran*, 3: 54.

² To commemorate the eight years of the sacred defense by the people of Iran against the military attacks of the Iraqi Baath army on Shahrivar 31, 1359 AHS, a week has been designated as the Week of Sacred Defense beginning from the date cited earlier.

of Islam. Keep alive the memory of the martyrs to whom the Islamic Republic and the victories are indebted. Appreciate the war disabled and war refugees, who are perseverant in the arduous path of establishing the rule of God, consoling the families of martyrs.

Words and pens are inadequate to describe the feats of the young and the old who sacrificed their pure blood so that Islam and the country would live independent from the bloodthirsty enemies. Pen and words are far from being able to console the brave fathers and mothers who have raised such children for Islam. They will enjoy the endless favors and blessings of God beside the honorable Imams living happily in the world and the after life. May God grant them His peace and blessings!

Endless greetings to the pure spirit of martyrs in the cause of God and salutations to the war refugees and disabled ones for defending Islam and Islamic Iran, and greetings to the families of martyrs and the disabled and the greetings of God and the Prophets and the Immaculate Imams to the Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for his arrival).¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini.

¹ The text of the message of Imam Khomeini was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini at a glorious march of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the *Basij* and combatants along with a large number of the people of Tehran, who had gathered in Azadi Square and the surrounding streets.

Message

Date: September 22, 1982 [Shahrivar 31, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating the sacrifices of combatants and the noble nation

Occasion: Anniversary of the outbreak of Iraqi imposed war against Iran (Week of the Sacred Defense)

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Thank God Almighty, two years have elapsed since the sacred defense and the vigorous nation emerged victorious in all domestic and foreign fronts, thanks to the sacrifices of the dear and valuable martyrs and selfless disabled people of the war. The exuberant people innocently and proudly emerged victorious in the sacred throne of God and are hopeful of gaining the final victory and witnessing the realization of the divine promise in the near future. We are all indebted to the valorous combatants' mothers and fathers who have indeed raised divine soldiers. The Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him) will appreciate their efforts.

Greetings to and blessings upon the pure souls of the martyrs! May God grant health and dignity to the disabled soldiers of the war and great patience to families of these committed and courageous women and men! Salutations to the great people of Iran!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: September 22, 1982 [Shahrivar 31, 1361 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Significance of self-sufficiency

Subject: Hashimi (minister of industries) and his deputies

We are at a stage wherein we have been reborn. I say if we are hungry, walk on foot and are isolated but move towards self-sufficiency, it is better than being dependent and affluent. What counts is to believe in Islamic values and intentions and economic independence.