



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

SAHIFEH-YE IMAM

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

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Transliteration Symbols

ا	<i>i</i>
آ	<i>u</i>

Persian Letters

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

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ	a, a, (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا	<i>a</i>

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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Warning to the so-called governments of Islam and supporters of Saddam
Follow the path of the Prophet (PBUH) and the Immaculate Imams (a)
in the fight against injustice*

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Revelation of the teachings and the truths for more understanding
Mission of the Prophets: Manifestation of spirituality and liberation of human beings from captivity
Strengthening the Islamic government in order to establish justice
Ambition is the result of lack of purification of the souls
Strive to strengthen spirituality and repress carnality
Islam the well-wisher of all nations
Carnality is the source of oppositions and disruptions
Existence of deviations and efforts to eliminate them

Message

Date: September 23, 1982 [Mehr 1, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Right upbringing is the source of cultural, political, economic and military independence

Occasion: Inaugurating New Academic Year

Addressee: Educational background oriented persons including Chancellors of the universities, teachers, teachers training centers and university students

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today, with the endorsement of the Almighty God and the special attention and favors of the Savior—may our souls be sacrificed for him—the educational centers, from the primary to the secondary schools and the crucial academic centers of the Islamic Republic are reopening and starting their activities. I consider it appropriate to remind about subjects that I have repeatedly spoken about previously.

I regard it as my responsibility to Islam and the esteemed nation to reiterate and stress upon this crucial subject. I hope that all authorities involved in educational affairs, all government administrators of the Islamic Republic, all devoted intellectuals, orators and writers and finally each person of the Iranian nation who is responsible in the presence of the Omnipotent God, should not be negligent and careless in these matters of utmost importance. They should take steps for the further enrichment and improvement of the foundations of educational system.

1. Efforts must be undertaken to select appropriate educational staff from the primary to the advance level among the persons who are pious, devoted, having faith in the fundamentals of the Islamic Republic and do not have any inclination towards deviant ideologies of the East and the West. The dear students should also scrutinize the efficiency and character of the teachers with an impartially examining and report the matter immediately to the relevant authorities if they find trends of deviation among any of them, The secondary and primary school teachers should also beware of doing their colleagues actions in order to prevent deviance theories, which can be imposed upon our sons of the Islamic Republic by some ones during the process of teaching and sharing information. In case of not bringing desired results, the matter may choose to discuss beforehand with relevant

authorities. Today, Iran can no longer tolerate the ideological barriers of the East and the West invoked by some disloyal persons. We must strive to accomplish our mission of cultural independence, which provides a base for the independent sovereign state. Our scholars should be committed firmly to the spirit that only the Iranian culture emerged from the Islamic roots can survive our country and nation.

Dear teachers are well aware of the sequences brought by colonial culture adopted during the period of Father and his Son who succeeded his father as King. Surely, relying on Iranian and Islamic cultural heritage and resources will bring for us ultimate victory and triumph will be yours. Train up the children in a way, during the classrooms experiences, as they become useful and more suited to interest of society. They should consider Eastern and Western superpowers responsible for the destruction and misery they experienced.

2. Primary and secondary schools teachers and university lecturers, must be determined to pay close attention to their students and be ensure that they are not going to be deceived by deviant Russian and hypocrites American groupings. My dear children, taking care and observing each others in best possible way that if some of your enemies pretending as friends yet aim at deceiving you or attracting your friends and classmates towards their groups, examining such case, report them to the relevant authorities and this must be done in a covert manner. My dear children, as you are well aware that the destiny of the Islamic Republic depends upon your generation in coming future. You must become fully determined for taking care and observing yourselves and your friends so that you can take steps forward towards the right path including the ideological features and other aspects of life. The inclination towards any type of deviant doctrines and even slightly ideological dependence on the East or the West will not only bring destruction for yourself but also, in case of negligence, it can have negative effect on others in the long term. We shall all be answerable in the presence of the Exalted God and accountable to the next coming generations. You must take care about the influence of the hypocrites, destructive elements and deviant persons, in the secondary schools and other educational centers. This influence should not result in the obliteration of Islam. Responsibility refers to all the relevant educational authorities and especially the duty of secondary schools teachers, university lecturers and students belonging to *Hizbullah* are more crucial in this regard.

We are all aware that after the involvement of general public; the destiny of country, nation and political system relies on the educated class and the

fundamental objective followed by the neo-colonialists is to take control over the academic centers of such class. In the recent decades, the damages and grieves suffered by our country has been caused by the disloyal persons of this class. Dependence of eastern-oriented on the East and the westernized on the West—recognized as enlightened—have arisen from the universities yet their frame of mind has been set in the primary and secondary schools. They have brought countless mischief to our culture, religion and country. They have done their best in order to have totally dependence on the Eastern and Western powers and recently, by having reliance on America, they have strived hard to give advantages to such powers. These educated persons, carrying the eastern and western thoughts, can be considered just like those thieves who aimed at stealing valuable goods with the help of torchlight to earn the willingness of their masters and satisfy their desires. Although we are not accountable for what occurred for our nation in the earlier period yet presently, the President, the Government, the Islamic Consultative Assembly and all the concerned educational authorities are responsible in presence of God Almighty and accountable towards the masses of the oppressed nation. We must be aware of our great religious and national responsibilities—our responsibility for oppressed class—accountability in the presence of Creator and towards the creatures throughout the course of future history.

Carelessness and negligence must be avoided especially, in case of education and training, since it is disloyalty to Islam and the Islamic Republic and unfaithfulness to the process of the cultural independence of the nation and country. Presently, the students must gain knowledge of the Islamic Revolution's history, recognize the importance of harmony among themselves and the role of unity between university students and the religious schools. In case of existing mutual understanding between students and religious schools, the Western and Eastern-oriented groups of the hypocrites, leftists and other destructive elements would not set their greedy eyes upon Islamic State. If even they set their greedy eyes in circumstances of your advantage then they would have to face with a decisive defeat.

Additionally, it is worth knowing that it was not without motive that the previous regime used the services of the associated poets, writers, orators' rumormongers and journalists to sow the seeds of discord between these two groups—university and the religious institutions. Unfortunately, they were successful in this regard as these two classes became the sworn enemies of each other and interaction between the two groups in their respective environs was made illegal and each of the group detested the other. Rida Khan and his Son fanned the flames of this discord in order to make this

country dependent on the superpowers in all respects. They made their public unknown with their real identity, national and enriched Islamic culture so they become dependent on foreigners and found themselves devoid of values. This tragedy caused to take the country and the great religion of Islam towards the back. Presently, it requires active participation of the nation and the government to compensate the unpleasant occurrences, which took place for our country and nation. It is hoped that we can become totally independent with the help of mutual coordination, guidance of the intellectuals and the devoted religious scholars; and by eliminating despair among ourselves and rediscovering the sense of the self and the great culture of our own.

3. Devoted parents should monitor the movements of their children and control their whereabouts closely in order to prevent their children by trapping in the American hypocrites and the Russian deviants networks; they should monitor their studies because the role of the parents in safeguarding their children at the primary and secondary level school is extremely important.

Parents must pay attention to this reality that their children can be influenced easily with a single deceptive slogan at such age group and consequently, none could be able to prevent them by adopting the path for which they were deceived at crucial stage of their life. Parents should consider themselves more effective than every one else in rescuing their children from the whirlpool of ignorance and immorality. For this reason, they should keep in touch sympathetically and devotedly with the teachers of their children, assist them in this mission, and seek their assistance. I hope that our young generation ensure the cultural, political, economical and military independence in future and liberate us from the nuisance of the superpowers and they can become the real founders of the fair Third World.

It is hoped that with the endorsement of the Exalted God and belief in the power of faith and the favors of the Savior—may our souls be sacrificed for him—the unseen path is made manifest and bring spiritual and material prosperity for all. May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: September 25, 1982 [Mehr 3, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Praise and gratitude for the people of Yazd

Audience: Muhammad-Ali Saduqi (representative in the Islamic Consultative Assembly), officials of the organizations and offices of Yazd

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The province of Yazd has always been managed with intelligence and devotion. Its people always continue to be as supporters of Islam and Yazd has been effective throughout the course of the Revolution. I hope that Yazd can be an example for the rest of the provinces of the country as its people are already devoted to religion, they become even more dedicated. From right now, all of us must strive to defuse the plans and crimes of the superpowers and their regional supporters who have been plainly defeated. The departure of Muhammad Saduqi¹, who was devoted, intelligent, possessed an active personality and exceptional in all respect, was a great loss for us and we have a shortage of such persons; may God bless him. However, after Mr. Saduqi, Mr. Khatami² is performing all the works with the help of the son of Saduqi³. I hope that you become grateful acquainted with such blessing. The problems are resolved with the help of all the organizations. What will remain for everlasting is offering service for Islam and carrying out commandments of God and while the rest of matters are fatal? May God bless you with success!

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

¹ Martyr Muhammad Saduqi who was martyred while performing the Friday prayers by one of the hypocrites.

² Mr. Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami who was replaced as the Imam's representative and the Friday Prayer Leader of Yazd after the Martyrdom of Mr. Saduqi.

³ Mr. Muhammad-Ali Saduqi, son of Martyr Saduqi who became the Friday prayer leader of Yazd after passing away of Mr. Khatami.

Decree

Date: September 26, 1982 [Mehr 4, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Friday Prayer leader of Khorramabad

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji—may his graces last,

Considering that the respected residents of Khorramabad have since long been deprived of holding the cohesive and unifying Friday prayers, I am herewith appointing your eminence to the position of Friday Prayer Leader of Khorramabad. God willing, in the course of the performance of this divine obligation, you make the honorable people of that city more acquainted with their important and sensitive duties in relation to Islam and the Revolution.

I implore the Exalted God for your success in performance of this great duty. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dated Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8,
1402 AH

Message

Date: September 26, 1982 [Mehr 4, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraph felicitating the auspicious *Id al-Qurban*

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Shaykh Zaid bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan—Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

I received with thanks the telegraph of Your Excellency on the auspicious occasion of *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and Muslim—brother nation of your state on great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has concurred with a certain time when every day the Muslims are witness to fresh sorrows and horrific crimes, committed against them, by the enemies of Islam. The most horrendous of crimes being committed are the brutal massacre and genocide of the defenseless Muslims of Lebanon; the dishonoring of the girls and women; the horrific killings of children and even of ailing Muslim refugees. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of State of Muslim countries, instead of countering these savage actions and preventing these merciless killings, are rewarding the perpetrators of these crimes—usurper Israel—and are officially recognizing it. They, instead of eliminating the relations, are expanding their ties with brutal America that is the major mastermind of criminal and savages type of plans and actions. They have not only resigned themselves to a deadly silence but also they are even afraid of hearing the slogan “Down with Israel and America” and strictly ban it. “*Verily, to God do we belong and unto Him is our return.*”¹ “*And the unjust oppressors shall soon come to know that to which place their return to is.*”²

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1402 AH

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:156.

² *Surah ash-Shuara* 26:227.

Message

Date: September 26, 1982 [Mehr 4, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegram felicitating the auspicious Feast of *al-Qurban*

Addressee: Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum (Deputy Head of State of the United Arab Emirates and the Emir of Dubai)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum, the Deputy Head of State of the United Arab Emirates and the Emir of Dubai,

I received with thanks the telegraph of your Excellency on the auspicious occasion of *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate your Excellency and the Muslim nation of your state on the great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has concurred with a certain time while the Muslims of the World are facing various grieves. The plots designed by the opponents are being implemented and as consequences bring sorrows, the most horrendous crimes being committed are; genocide of the defenseless Muslims of Lebanon; the degrading and dishonoring of the girls and women. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of Islamic States, instead of countering the savage actions and preventing the merciless killings, are granting officially recognition to—usurper Israel—the organizers of these crimes. They, instead of restricting or eliminating the relations, are expanding their ties with brutal America, which is the major mastermind of criminal and savages type of plans and actions. They have not only resigned themselves to a deadly silence but also they are even afraid of hearing of the slogan of “Down with Israel and America” and strictly ban it. “*Verily, to God do we belong and unto Him is our return.*”¹ “*And the unjust oppressors shall soon come to know that to which place their return to is.*”²

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1402 AH

¹ *Surah Al-Baqarah* 2:156.

² *Surah ash-Shuara* 26:227.

Message

Date: September 26, 1982 [Mehr 4, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegram felicitating the auspicious Feast of *al-Qurban*

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al-e Thani (the Emir of Qatar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Khalifah bin Hamad Al-e Thani—Head of State of Qatar,

I received with thanks the telegraph of your Excellency on the auspicious occasion of *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate your Excellency and the Muslim nation of your state on this great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has concurred with a time while the enemies of Islam are organizing plots and adopting strategies, which are followed by committing new type of crimes against the Muslims. The most horrendous of crimes being committed are the brutal massacre and genocide of the defenseless Muslims of Lebanon; the dishonoring of the girls and women; the horrific killings of children and even of ailing Muslim refugees. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of State of Islamic countries, instead of countering the savage actions and preventing the merciless killings, are granting officially recognition to—usurper Israel—the organizers of such crimes. They instead of eliminating the relations are expanding their ties with brutal America, which is the major mastermind of criminal and savages type of plans and actions. They have not only resigned themselves to a deadly silence but also afraid of hearing the slogan “Down with Israel and America” and strictly ban it. “*Verily, to God do we belong and unto Him is our return.*”¹ “*And the unjust oppressors shall soon come to know that to which place their return to is.*”²

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1402 AH

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:156.

² *Surah ash-Shuara* 26:227.

Message

Date: September 26, 1982 [Mehr 4, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegram felicitating the auspicious *Id al-Qurban*

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad (Secretary General of the Socialist Party of South Yemen)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Ali Nasir Muhammad—Secretary General of the Socialist Party of South Yemen and the Head of the Consultative Assembly and Prime Minister,

I received with thanks the telegraph of your Excellency on the auspicious occasion of *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate your Excellency and the Muslim nation of your state on this great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has concurred with a time while the declared enemies of Islam are making the circle narrow around the Muslims for the destruction of Islam. They commit dreadful crimes subsequent to their plans. The most horrendous of crimes being committed are the brutal massacre and genocide of the defenseless Muslims of Lebanon; degradation and dishonoring of the girls and women; the horrific killings of children and even of ailing Muslim. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of State of Islamic countries, instead of countering the savage actions and preventing the merciless slaughters, are granting official recognition to -usurper Israel- the organizers of such crimes. They instead of eliminating the relations are expanding their ties with brutal America, which is the major mastermind of criminal and savages type of plans and actions. They have not only resigned themselves to a deadly silence but also afraid of hearing the slogan “Down with Israel and America” and strictly ban it. “*Verily, to God do we belong and unto Him is our return.*”¹ “*And the unjust oppressors shall soon come to know that to which place their return to is.*”²

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1402 AH

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:156.

² *Surah ash-Shuara* 26:227.

Message

Date: September 26, 1982 [Mehr 4, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegram felicitating the auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I received with thanks the telegraph of your Excellency on the auspicious *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate your Excellency and the Muslim nation of your state on this great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has concurred with certain time while the Muslims are suffering various type of grieves throughout the World. The plots designed by opponents of Islam to overthrow the Muslims and witnessing new offenses. The most horrendous of crimes being committed are the brutal massacre and genocide of the defenseless Muslims of Lebanon; the dishonoring of the girls and women; the horrific killings of children, aged and even the sick persons. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of Muslim countries, instead of countering the savage actions and preventing the merciless slaughters, are granting officially recognition to—usurper Israel—the organizers of such crimes. They, instead of eliminating the relations, are expanding their ties with brutal America, which is the major mastermind of criminal and savages type of plans and actions. They have not only resigned themselves to a deadly silence but also afraid of hearing the slogan “Down with Israel and America” and strictly ban it. *Verily, to God do we belong and unto Him is our return. “And the unjust oppressors shall soon come to know that to which place their return to is.”*¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1402 AH

¹ *Surah ash-Shuara* 26:227.

Statements

Date/Time: Morning, September 29, 1982 [Mehr 7, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1402 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of the role of news broadcasting agency in providing information

Audience: Kamal Kharrazi (Head of the News Agency Organization), Chief Editors, deputies, staff and journalists of the Islamic Republic News Agency

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The quality plays vital and crucial role in the case of news agencies and the people show their interest in the certain media which, is based on truth and reflect reality and accuracy. All events and news regarding with war must be given coverage and especially attitude of superpowers toward Iranian nation should be exposed for our people. At present, the whole world including broadcasting agencies, press, radio and television channels are closely following up the matters concerning with Iran. All of them are cautious, alert for finding something, and exaggerate it. They want to have a deal of knockout blows with the Islamic republic and wish to mislead the people by arranging bogus interviews with harmful persons and presenting irrelevant opinions about the authorities. They have focused their discussions over Revolution and Islam since it is obvious that if Islam is being let to grow, consequently, it will prevail over the traitors and cheaters. Speaking about the export of the Revolution means the Islam must spread everywhere but we never intend for military invasion. We intend to have military occupational. I hope that News Agency of the Islamic Republic will grow because of its possessing values and characteristics. We all must consider God as observer over our deeds and actions. We should do preach within the range of our liability and make tricks of rivals ineffective. May God bless us with success for serving the people who have always been suffering from grieves and injustice. May God heal your wounded persons and pour showers of blessing upon the martyrs.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the meeting's date has been mentioned as 4/7/1361 AHS, while in newspapers dated 8/7/1361 AHS, the date has been reported as 7/7/1361 AHS.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, September 30, 1982 [Mehr 8, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need to safeguard unity and discipline in the armed forces

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri (Minister of Interior), Head of the Islamic Revolution *Komitehs* of the Center and the Heads of the *Komitehs* of the Tehran districts

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Weakness of faith is the source of differences

One of the important matters demanding attention is the subject of repetition and reminding in moral and ethic discipline. This can have positive effects both for the person himself and others. I keep reminding about some of the subjects due to this reason. You are aware that the faith was determining factor for the victory of the movement and revolution. As it has been stated in the glorious Quran that the pious believers are the brothers of one another and there is no distinction between them.¹ It is the fallout from selfishness that carnal human soul wishes to claim, that he has accomplished whatever is done. The differences, being observed, have been erupted from the weakness of faith. It makes no difference to them, who intend to work for the sake of God, whether the work has been done by themselves, their brothers or through some other persons. I hope that we all become able to take the certain step in the Islamic Republic, which is the loftiest of all steps that is to be in love with serving class. Feeling affection for them is symbol of enriched faith. As you are aware at the moment our country demands our armed forces be united. If God forbid, in absence of mutual understanding between the *Komitehs*, (responsible force for the maintenance of law) and Revolutionary Guards troops, consequently, you will never accomplish the ultimate destination which is Islam. This is not desired if we think only about the interests of belonging setups, For example; *Komiteh's* staff members think that only their own performance must be enhanced whilst the revolutionary Guards Corps also carry the same mentality. You should endeavor to perform the tasks with brotherhood and adhere to this Quranic principle that Muslims are the brothers and friends of each other, having

¹ Reference to verse 10 of the *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:10.

feelings of love and well-wishers of one another. You must throw away the carnal and inner low desires that seek to make separation of the Guards Corps from the *Komitehs*. This is the key to success of the society.

Necessity to safeguard discipline and observance of chain of command and positions

The second key that even though Iran has no upper and lower classes and those titles and aristocrats have no validity and we ourselves have been left, yet there must be discipline and order. You must observe order and the chain of commands and ranks for the sake of God. If each person decides to establish his own opinion and act individually then common spiritualities and successes will also be eliminated. As you know, whilst the honorable Prophet used to sit in the Mosque, entering person was never able to distinguish the Prophet among them yet every one was obliged to obey him. Although we are all brothers with one another but fraternity shall also be destroyed in absence of discipline. For example, we shall certainly be defeated if we do not obey the commander during the war, but there is no defeat if all obey the orders and everybody acts upon the commands. *“And give advice and caution the ummah; for advice and counsel is beneficial for the believers.”*¹ Thus, we should strengthen our spirit with faith in the Exalted God and be the brothers of one another. We must know that those who have differences with one another are also unsuccessful. You must never wish to become successful by force but you desire to behave decently and get something done for the people, consequently, you are esteemed from both aspects; in the sight of God and as well the masses of public; and look upon the people as a part of you. You should behave well and attract the people with your good moral behavior even if the guns and the weapons are also in your possession because the decisive factor is sincere unassuming nature. If you become able, to attract the heart of the people that is something durable and everlasting in the sight of God. My prayers are with you; I hope, God willing, you carry out your religious, Islamic and state duties.

May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Surah Dhariyat 51:55.

Message

Date: October 2, 1982 [Mehr 10, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: specifying the crimes of the *munafiqin* terrorist outfit

Occasion: Planting a bomb in the Nasirkhosrow street of Tehran and the resultant killing and injuring of hundreds of passers-by persons

Addressee: Nation of Iran

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

The huge criminal bomb blast with deafening sound took place yesterday night in the southern part off the city of Tehran among an innocent and deprived class of society. You will watch and hear about its massive extent damages through mass media. Hundreds of innocent and oppressed persons were martyred and injured. The newly-born babies became sacrificial victim in the laps of their mothers. It brought mourns and dishonor to gracious humanity and exposed further the ugliest face of hypocritical and deviant Americans. They are taking revenge of their shameful defeat from the innocent residents of the downtown area, who are devoted to Islam and they blame them for their defeat. The deprived and oppressed classes, residing in downtown districts and committed to human and Islamic values, have always taken stand throughout the course of history with determination against the superpowers, their supporters and affiliates. These people have smashed the superpowers by clenched fists and consistent presence in the arena of Islam has brought despair to their greedy followers. Currently, our soldiers, army, the *Basij*, and the rest of the armed forces belong to same class. Our cherished nation witnesses that beaten enemies of Islam and the nations being defeated by the brave and sacred warriors of Iran, kill a group of innocent people with intention to take revenge of their frustrations. They wrongly assume that they can thereby weaken and bring down the morale of the courageous fighters. They measure the nation of Islam on the scale of their low-level Western standards and they have not yet acknowledged the power of Islam and faith. They are unable to grasp the realities and are ignorant of the Divine motivations. “*They are of the deaf, dumb and blind who perceive not.*”¹ They aims at mistaken incentive of diverting the minds

¹ Part of verse 171 of the *Surah al-Baqarah*.

of the Iranians and other worldwide innocent nations, from the shameful defeat of America in the war imposed by Saddam and the deportation of the Shah from Iran toward such great catastrophe. They want to give an excuse to the foreign mass media to cover up the shameful defeat of America and its puppet, Saddam, or perhaps to lessen the magnitude of the victory of the forces of Islam. They are unaware that the Iranian revolutionary nation regards the defense of Islam and the amputation of the region from hired hand of the great Satan as its topmost priority. Although every human being, whose Divine nature has not been altered, aggrieved and affected by this great offense and the damages caused injuries of our brothers, martyrdom of a group of innocent children and adults yet the glorious victory achieved by fighters of Islam can never be forgotten. The awakened Iranian nation is aware of the criminal offenses and satanic tricks being played by the terrorists and they are well acquainted with doer of these crimes. They refuse and condemn it just like the denial and condemnation of brutal crimes organized by Israel in Beirut. I congratulate Islam and the *Walliyullah al-Azam*—may our souls be sacrificed for him—and the noble nation of Iran for this great victory achieved by the braves of Islamic armed forces yet I express my condolences to all especially to the family members, the mothers and fathers of the innocent victims of this painful catastrophe. His Excellency the Prime Minister¹ is responsible for establishing a committee, which will attend the families of the martyrs and discover the scale of damages. It will also help the affecters of catastrophe and compensate damages. Salutations to the innocent martyrs and the affecters and may God bless his mercies upon the martyrs. I pray to the Exalted God to grant patience to the family members of the victims and bless with health and heal the injured and the affected persons.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Mir Husayn Musawi.

Message

Date: October 3, 1982 [Mehr 11, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of felicitation on the occasion of the auspicious Feast of *al-Qurban*

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1402 AH

Your Excellency Shadhli Bin Jadid—President of the Democratic Republic of Algeria,

I received with thanks the telegraph of Your Excellency on the auspicious occasion of *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate your Excellency and brother Muslim nation of your country on this great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has concurred with a certain time whilst the Muslims are witness to fresh sorrows and horrific crimes perpetrated from all sides by brutal enemies of Islam such as the usurper Israel. Many of the heads of Muslim countries, instead of countering these criminals, are granting recognition to them. They are planning to consolidate and expand their ties with America the world-devouring the main perpetrator of all these crimes is the avowed enemy of Islam and the Muslims. I pray to the Almighty God for the extermination of the enemies of Islam and the victory of the Muslims. “*And there is no victory except from the side of God.*”¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Part of verse 10 of the *Surah al-Anfal*.

Message

Date: October 3, 1982 [Mehr 11, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of felicitation on the occasion of the auspicious Feast of *al-Qurban*

Addressee: Suharto (?) (President of Indonesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah al-Harram 15, 1402 AH

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

I received with thanks the telegraph of Your Excellency on the auspicious occasion of *Id ad-Duha*. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and the Muslim nation of your state on this great Islamic feast. Unfortunately, the arrival of this *Id ad-Duha* has taken place whilst, every day the Muslims are witness to fresh sorrows and horrific crimes being committed by the enemies of Islam. The most horrendous of crimes being committed are the brutal massacre and genocide of the defenseless Muslims of Lebanon; the dishonoring of the girls and women; the horrific killings of children and even of ailing and hospitalized Muslim refugees. These are examples of the some of their sufferings and sorrows. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of Muslim countries, instead of countering these savage actions and preventing these merciless killings, are granting formal recognition to the perpetrators of these crimes—usurper Israel. They instead of restricting are consolidating and expanding their ties day by day with world-devouring America, which is the master mind of these offenses and the world wide criminal. This is the heartrending position of the Muslims and many of their leaders. “*Verily, to God do we belong and unto Him is our return.*”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: October 3, 1982 [Mehr 11, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs and appointment of the representative in Pakistan

Addressee: Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to God, the God of the Universe; and salutations and peace is upon Muhammad and His Immaculate Household; and the damnation of God be upon all their enemies.

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi—may His graces last—who has spent a large part of his blessed life in the sacred Qum Seminary in learning and teaching the religious sciences. Now, in order to attend and deal to the religious law affairs of the respected citizens of Pakistan, he is departing to that region, I herewith appoint him as my representative so that by the will of the Almighty God, while taking over the responsibilities pertaining to the religious jurisprudent, he should also take action for solving the problems of the sacred seminaries and take over the supervision of the respected seminary students and clerics.

If there is a need to establish a new seminary in any of the places, he should establish it; and make sufficient efforts for reviving the religious sciences and training of the clerics. For securing the necessary budget, he is permitted to receive the religious allocated financial resources such as the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), the share of the *sadat*, the *zakat* and religious compensations and the rest of the taxes for the expansion of matters pertaining to the region.

It is hoped that the honored religious scholars of the region, the preachers, and the rest of the respected social classes and the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Pakistan cooperate with His Eminence in advancing the affairs, benefit from his guidance, and never avoid consulting with him in the affairs.

I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to avoid carnal desires and to be cautious. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers, by the will of God Almighty.

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and all the pious believers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dated Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1402 AH

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, October 3, 1982 [Mehr 11, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Unrecognized essence of the Islamic Republic for the world—false claims of Saddam about his peaceful intentions

Audience: Officials, students of the Defense College, commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the various frontline battle units; women and aid workers of the Martyrs section of the army

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unrecognized composition and essence of the Islamic Republic for the world

I am thankful for the presence of these dearly loved personalities with luminous and spiritual appearances who have come here and always remember to pray for all the classes—especially the soldiers of Islam can never be forgotten. You must pay attention to the fact that the Islamic Republic is made up of such power that is unrecognizable for the world. Basically this composition is unprecedented in the world; a combination of the army and the religious authorities; a combination of a priest and a soldier; a combination of such type of a president, certain sort of a parliament speaker and that specific kind of a prime minister. Such combination is exceptional and unrecognized. Thus, the plots, being hatched in the world against this Revolution are nullified because they have no acquaintance with such type of combination and have no knowledge of precedence of this manner of flowing together. The existing combination among the government and administrators, the coordination among authorities and the people is an exceptional coordination. The learned personalities throughout the world knew vindictive army, ruthless government, and an oppressed people who must always face oppression. At present, neither your leaders, nor government, commanders, army, Guards Corps, “*Basij*” the volunteers mobilization forces, police and other defense and security forces don’t match with the authorities of the era of that type of vindictive regime and doesn’t go with composition system of the other countries all over the world. This new creation has taken birth in this era and epoch so that the experts and scholars, who were familiar with those affairs, are not able to identify with this new conception. They can neither understand the idea of such creation nor

recognize the motives behind its actions because they are not able to understand the faith in their hearts. They were acquainted with a different type of creatures beyond this creation, which has been born in this era.

At present, you can notice that your views about your commanders, do not match with the views of those persons existed previously. Similarly, your commanders don't carry the same views of former. The commanders, in the former era, regarded their subordinates like slaves, treated them like servants, and were not ready to take a seat beside of them in private gathering or listen to the grievances of dear public in order to understand them. Now your commanders are of your own kind; they belong to your encirclement while you also are the apple of their eyes and are in their embrace.

The fact that all the plots are being nullified and all allocated budgets and resources being spent against us throughout the world are being thrown to the wind of destruction and getting in vain. It is due to our unknown essence and creation. This creation is a new creation. The world has recently given birth to such a creation and it will take long to recognize it. Whenever they identify it then all shall take notice of it. Your rivals are opposing an unidentified creature and phenomenon and they do not know whom you are. The transformation that has taken place among all individuals of this nation including the army, the Guards Corps and all the defense and security forces is a divine transformation to which the eyes and ears of the world is blind and deaf. They cannot grasp what you want; they cannot understand the meaning of an Islamic army. This Islam is different from the certain Islam, which is adopted by many of these governments and varies from the Islam that you have understood. This army is dissimilar to existing armies of the current world and is completely distinctive. The commanders of the army, everywhere that you observe regard the military personnel like their slaves and the military personnel is forced to regard them as superiors. Today, the army of Iran is not of this kind. Neither their personnel are of that kind and nor their commanders are those type of commanders and nor do the commanders view their so-called subordinates as being lower ranking and higher ranking; and nor the personnel view them as being of a ranking to whom they should not communicate at all.

Condition of the armed forces in the former era and the present

There existed a kind of army, which was so oppressive and harsh throughout the history of kingdom, including the previous regime and the former Governments. If there existed a gendarmerie force, it was just employed within the homeland to oppress the people. If there was a police

force, it was engaged to violate the rights of the innocent. You all remember that a few years ago, while the regime of Muhammad-Rida took the control over this country by force, what was your status—not only personally—but those working as a part of military mission; how they used to behave with their subordinates and how they were behaved by their superiors. The generals, lieutenant generals and their colleagues used to act snobbishly and behave like masters whenever they came across with innocents and subordinates to make their superiors delighted. While facing a foreigner who was of a much lower ranking than they in they were army, they would behave humbly. This was because of having no ideology and knowing nothing as regards with Islam and they were very ignorant about Islam.

Today, you are present here and are favored by the Exalted and Blessed God to study in the defense colleges of such a regime. You should know that recently your condition is different from earlier. You are the army of God and the military of the Imam of the Age—may God's peace be upon him—and you must know that your circumstance is different from earlier. Along with, studying at the defense colleges and military academies, you go to the frontline and gain practical experience. The knowledge of practical sciences and disciplines itself is not important but its practical aspects are more significant. Although the commanders or the officers in the previous army had undergone military training, yet they had no practical experience. They brought up subjugated army under the oppression of foreigners and foreign advisers from youth until its higher echelons. They passed all stages through influence and oppression; it is evident that situation and status of the persons working in the army trained under foreigners influence will also be similar to the suppressed and subjugated people. The army they were trained to adapt themselves within the existed circumstances and accept orders from foreigners but today you have resisted against all powers of the world. Recently you move towards frontline of the war with a zeal and zest in order to gain practical training concurring with your studies in your college. You not only have the opportunity to read and write but also get a chance to put it into practice. One of the blessings and outcome of imposed war, being pursued by our troops, young generation and students of defense colleges, is to gain practical experience, since having command over only theoretical aspects is not adequate yet basic requirement towards practical steps. You are today learning to practice in the fronts.

Today, you are the apple of our eyes and we take a pride of your existence. You must become a powerful and an independent army for Islam. The army is considered as one of the pillars of state and, the existence of

Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps is great support for our country. The soldier and certain army cannot be proving themselves useful if mentality of degradation has developed among them. The mentality of dishonoring and degradation was developed among armed forces during the period of former regimes. The foreign advisors, who were foreigners, had developed a culture and mentality of humiliation and degradation among the armed forces; consequently, they used to misbehave even with our commanders. At present, the nation believes in your esteem and none could be found aims at your insulting. Recently, neither commanders intend to insult their personnel, nor subordinates acknowledge it. Our opponents are unable to understand the nature of such setup, consequently, their plots never lead to success, and their efforts could not be proved fruitful. Although they believe that, they were able to understand other places yet admit to remain unsuccessful in dealing matters regarding with Iran.

Since your, setup consists of the persons totally focused on spirituality as its troops recite supplications and the midnight prayers at the frontlines. They concentrate all its energies fighting with an army whose characteristics were examined through those who had chance to witness their settlement. These are essentially of two kinds. You will not be able to find today such a combination anywhere in the world such an army, Guards Corps, *Basij* and the rest of the forces that you possess here even if you explore throughout the world, because it has originated from Divine sources which consists of the person from religious authorities, military, gendarmerie, police, Guards Corps,, the *Basij* and the nation. Although all of them have a single, entities yet form a unique Divine combination. This compound creation is has led toward a special Divine combination which is unrecognizable and they cannot grasp over your intentions and desires.

False claims of Saddam for seeking peace

The persons similar to Saddam or Husayn¹ or Hasan² cannot be acquainted with the kind of peace, which is being sought by us. They regard peace like the peace in bygone eras whereby the governments would pretend peace among themselves yet at the same time they would be thinking deep down of moving toward war and would be looking for an opportunity to be involved in the war and raid and attack all and sundry. Those who can recall the Second World War still bear in mind that after one side gained victory over the other, subsequently, they planned to attack over their own alliances.

¹ Late King Husayn of Jordan.

² Late King Hasan of Morocco.

Although Soviet Union and England were allies, yet at the same time Churchill¹ believed to plan a war against the Soviet Union. The parliament opposed it and prevented it from launching such war because of fear to be faced with defeat. They have such perception and peace of Saddam is of this type. This kind of peace has not originated from Islam and they do not seek for truly peace. From the day of aggression against us, and the day we took stand as defense, there were certain authorities seeking for peace. Of course, they were not seeking certain kind of peace intended by Saddam yet aimed at proposing humanitarian and Divine kind of peace. They wanted that when they would make peace with a country, subsequently, they would also become brothers with government and country in the same way as they would become brothers with the inhabitants of that country. However, with whom should we become brothers, whether with a person who claims that he is peaceful despite of committing aggression and so many crimes! In a recent interview, his latest statements are very spectacular, which I came to know about it today. One of the expressions reflected his perception from religion, Islam and the Islamic world that one should not commit aggression against other countries! You examine that what power is required and what kind of heart one must have inside to have the guts to utter such a thing in the presence of the persons, who all know that he is telling a lie! Now suppose if his army was also unaware, then it was something.

However, his own army also knows who they are and who they were. They claim that they are not like others, seeking peace and learnt from Islam for not committing aggression. Today, they are been saying such type of things at the time when they have been thrown out, after the victory that you have gained recently. The gentlemen have brought plans and gave briefing and we had already heard about it. According to their statements, it was the greatest spiritual victory and considering that now, they hold sway over Iraq and keeping under control some of the cities of Iraq. This victory was greater than other victories. Yet a few days ago, Saddam again claimed that we had attacked but his forces had repulsed the attack and battered our forces! If we were battered then how was it that without being defeated you had gone to the Security Council, sent emissaries to the Arab governments, and requested the Security Council not to allow any aggression to be involved! If you had repulsed then there was no need for consulting to the Security Council to intervene. How was it that you got nervous and assigned emissaries here and there to all the countries of the world to find a solution for your survival! You are victorious and do not require doing such type of

¹ Winston Churchill who was Prime Minister of Britain during the Second World War.

things. The difference between an Islamic government and an Islamic army with a non-Islamic government and a non-Islamic army is that even if, God forbid, they do not seek the assistance of others even in case of facing defeat. They consider it against their dignity and never tolerate to seek help from others. They are Muslims and seek help before the court of God. One who consults to the Court of God will overcome everyone.

Military Officers Academy is the focal point of our youth

I hope that you, the beloved, who are in the Military Officers Academy and considered as the future of Iran and Islam, with devotion to the Exalted and Almighty God and consolidation of your faith, and pursuant to intellectual independence is the practical independence, which complete your studies. You are the apple of all our eyes, I hope, God willing, you bring to this nation greater victories as a gift in the future.

One of the issues that I must mention for this beloved nation and the youth is to focus on this Military defense colleges and military officers academies to take admission in this subject that is important for Iran today. I hope that with the devotion of the nation itself for these centers and taking admissions and so forth; we will form a powerful army. Praise be to God; the army is powerful at the present time yet even it may become more powerful even than recent so we never face humiliation before any power.

Welcoming an honorable Islamic peace

May God protect all of you! We repeat the subject that we are people, who are defending for the sake of Islam; we have been attacked and we shall defend against the aggression. This was so clear and right even at the commencement and initial stage. However, at the same time, that we were peaceful from the beginning and peace is one of the matters that we acknowledge for the sake of Islam. We seek for an Islamic peace whereby we become brothers after making peace. However, a such kind of peace where they do not pay heed to who has committed the aggression here, and do not take into consideration the losses and damages that have been inflicted and must be compensated. This is not real peace and we should call it as "Saddam's peace"! This is not real peace; a peace that aims at the plunder of a country and brings destruction. Even now, they have set the crude oil in Naft-Shahr on fire with such intention that there should be little crude left in it after we have thrown them out. We are being faced with such beings and creatures. How can we sit down unconditionally and talk about peace? We shall not accept even if the Security Council proposes in such way. We or

any other sensible shall not be able to accept even if the entire world put forward their proposals in such manner. All the delegations arrived here from the beginning and shall perhaps come later will examine that we have only one thing to declare is that we accept peace and welcome an Islamic and honorable peace; a peace that recognizes what the aggressor has committed; a peace that must compensate for the losses inflicted upon this country. We do not accept a peace whereby on the one hand they talk of peace' while on the other hand it rains artillery shells on innocent and helpless civilian people. Saddam's claim to peace is exactly and precisely similar to claims of peace made by America, Israel, or comparable with the claims of mass popularity of "*munafiqin*" and deviants. On the one hand, they claim that they are working for the public masses; while on the other hand, they commit crimes against such helpless masses. Until now, they have not done a single good deed or taken action but assassinated those, who in their opinion occupy positions, authorities and the wealthy persons. Reality is that whomever they have assassinated were among the local grocer, vendor, or coal retailer; and whenever they want to flex their muscles too much, consequently, commit such actions and then deny it.

Israel also claims that it never interferes and get involved in such affairs and the horrible crimes that took place in Lebanon. They claimed that they were a humanitarian people, valued human lives and had never committed such crimes! These people are also similar to them. They also are individuals who love the nation! They are individuals who are supporters of the masses yet what do they set on fire! Where do the explosions take place? In the downtown areas and sites where laborers and similar classes prepare to return home to their wives and children or hostels, where lower classes of the society are leading their lives—specifying the difference in terms of wealth and not from other aspects—frequent live there. This is how they oppress them. Really, the world today is suffering from a chronic disease whose treatment cannot be found in such things. The world is ailing including the heads of all states, except very few, cannot name one, two, or three of them; the heads of all the states have poisoned the people and have poisoned the minds of their own people and have crippled their own nations. They have humiliated their nations so much, put so much economic pressure on them, these helpless people have toiled so hard, and the fruits of their hard work have been plundered by others. Consequently, they have been rendered invalid and their minds have been destroyed. It requires someone to come and revive their thinking. I hope that God willing, the Savior Imam arrives

sooner and that this genuine physician of humanity reforms them with his messianic breath.

May God cause all of us to succeed in becoming the servants of this nation, servants of Islam and servants of the weak and oppressed of the world.

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

Message

Date: October 4, 1982 [Mehr 12, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of felicitation on the occasion of the auspicious Feast of *al-Qurban*

Addressee: Ahmad Sekotoureh (?) (President of Guinea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 16, 1402 AH

His Excellency Ahmad Sekotoureh, President of the peoples and revolutionary republic of Guinea,

Received with your congratulatory message on the auspicious Feast of *al-Qurban* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and the brotherly and Muslim state of Guinea for this auspicious feast. I pray to the Almighty God to liberate the Muslims from these disputes and discord that is the cause of their incompetence and egotism or rather ostentation of several of their leaders.

The result of this ostentation and egotism is the tragedy of Lebanon and the massacre of thousands of Muslims and dishonoring of hundreds of women and girls at the hands of the Zionist killers and the bloodthirsty American plunderers and their Israeli mercenaries. Yet another consequence is the aggression of Iraq against the Muslim state of Iran and the destruction of hundreds of cities and villages and the displacement of millions of human beings at the hands of the cruel and infidel *Baathists* of Iraq in Iran which Your Excellency has himself witnessed.

And that which is most unfortunate is that after a lapse of two years from this barbaric aggression, now that our combatants have pushed back the enemy and demand the punishment of the aggressor and compensation of war reparations, the cry of peace of these ostentatious stooges is being heard from all directions. They are planning to acquit the aggressor and lay to waste the blood of thousands of Muslims who lost their lives for the defense of Islam and the Islamic homeland. We have repeatedly announced that we wish to end the war and seek peace on condition that the aggressor is punished and war reparations are paid and so many innocent human beings that were rendered homeless are returned to their cities and homes.

“We take our grievances to the court of God; and our shelter during hardships and sufferings is Him alone.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date/Time: Morning, October 9, 1982 [Mehr 17, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 21, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity for development and economic progress

Audience: Muhammad-Taqi Banki (Minister without portfolio and head of the Plan and Budget Organization) and deputies

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

One of our important problems is the economy. We must try to become powerful and self-sufficient from the aspect of the economy. Agriculture, for which during the former regime plans were made to destroy it, in order to make us dependent, should be given more attention. Of course, we must also move towards industry, but if we divert from agriculture, it will result in the destruction of what we already have great potentials for it. The objective, followed by the previous regime, from the propaganda of "Great Civilization" lead to destruction of agriculture, consequently, country possessing water, and land resources, made its water waste and the land was rendered barren and unused. The people must make the effort not to waste the water, make use of the land, and become active in the sector of agriculture and small industries. The focus of the government on large industries should not result in the destruction of small industries and the government must make use of all its energies for agriculture. The reason that religious authorities supervise the Economic and Planning Council refers to paying attention to the religious affairs. Their supervision can lead towards the plans that you present for approval to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, subsequently, it will not be rejected by the Guardian Council, hence task is facilitated and your plans are not kept pending. I pray for all of you who assist the Revolution and Islam. I am optimistic for your success.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, October 13, 1982 [Mehr 21, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Safeguarding Islamic and humanitarian dignity

Audience: Members of the delegation of Islamic Republic of Iran in the Inter-Parliamentary conference in Rome including: Sayyid Mahmud Duayi, Sayyid Muhammad Khamenei, Abbas Duzdüzani, Subhan Ilahi, Murtada Alviri, Musawi Lari, Muntajabniya, Ahmad Aaari, Ruhani, Aqa Muhammadi, Abul-Fadl Salawati, Abbas Zairi, Ataullah Muhajirani, Sabah Zanganeh, Siddiqah Rajai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Resistance of the Iranian nation against America

I am surprised at the degeneration of some of the contemporary leaders of the governments of our era; and I am surprised at the thinking and mentality of the governments of the region, subsequently, they are so abject and have surrendered totally. In addition to abjectness against America, they are also servile in the face of Israel. The thing, for which the unstable world is fearful, is Islam. They are afraid of an Islamic rule yet we must stand firmly and equip ourselves to face difficulties in the future. We cannot afford to lose our Islamic-humanitarian dignity. Praise be to God that our people are all aware and prepared. You are examining the great works being done by army, Guards Corps “*Basij*”, and the rest are doing on the frontlines. Whenever they intend to move to the frontlines of war, it just remains similar as they are going towards the bridal chamber. Even at the dawn of Islam, such scenes were seldom witnessed. Some individuals cannot comprehend so much of self-sacrifice and overlook only the accomplishments. In any case, we must be prepared to concentrate on the existing situation while the imposed war has been launched against us and all the superpowers are hostile towards us. In such situation, while our government is facing difficulties, we should not expect that every desired thing should be available in our homes. We are all aware that these hostilities are not new because during the time of the honorable Prophet—may God’s peace be upon him and his progeny—what unruly remarks and slander were leveled at him; yet he did not stop the preaching religion of Islam. Although at present, if there are shortages and deficiencies in the country yet we regret it and the government and the authorities are striving with all their strength to eliminate the shortages and

important achievements have been accomplished. I hope that the situation will be getting improved with the help of God.

It seems likely that our security and welfare would be set right and our cemeteries would not have been filled with the bodies of our beloved martyrs. If we had surrendered to America and the superpowers yet surly our independence, freedom and dignity would have been destroyed. Can we become the servants and slaves of America and the faithless governments in order to have some things available at cheaper prices and we would not have to face the losses of martyrs and injured. Never, the nation never bears this disgrace and it will not bow down. Iran will face up to America and by the grace of God, it will emerge victorious. God has repeatedly emphasized that we should not have relations with them,¹ and then for the sake of cheaper prices of goods, should we sell ourselves to them! You should not expect them to praise us; if they had praised you and me who are of the clergy, we would have fallen. The nations support you while the organizations established by the superpowers want to pillage the nations. It is for this reason that they are opposed to you. May God bless you with success!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

¹ Reference to verse 28 of the *Surah Al-e Imran*, verses 139 and 144 of the *Surah an-Nisa* and verse 51 of the *surah al-Maidah*.

Message

Date: October 14, 1982 [Mehr 22, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of felicitation on the occasion of the New Lunar Year

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan (Head of government of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Shaykh Zaid bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan, Head of Government of the United Arab Emirates,

Thank you for the telegraph message of Your Excellency felicitating the occasion of the New Lunar *Hijri* Year. Unfortunately, the arrival of this new lunar year concurs with the many sorrows afflicting the Muslims throughout the world; one of them is the tragedy of Lebanon, the massacre and genocide of thousands of Muslims, the dishonoring of hundreds of Muslim women and girls and the burying alive of infants. More sorrowful is the indifference of the leaders of many of the Muslim countries and their disregard for this sorrowful tragedy. It is very unfortunate that instead of confronting the major enemy of Islam and cutting off ties with the global imperialist America, which is the main mastermind and perpetrator of all these crimes. With their material and military assistances to the bloodthirsty Saddam and the faithless *Baath* party of Iraq, they bring about the intensification of the imposed war of Saddam against Islamic Iran and as a result prevent the punishment and bringing the aggressor to justice of and compensation of war reparations and damages.

I pray to the Almighty God to rescue all the indifferent and self-defeated leaders of Islam from this negligence and self-defeat and to bless them with victory over the enemies of Islam. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1402 AH

Speech

Date: October 14, 1982 [Mehr 22, 1361 AHS/ Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Safeguarding Islamic and humanitarian dignity

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Friday Prayer Leader of Tehran) and the Friday Prayer leaders from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Attempts of the enemies to ridicule the tenets of Islam

One of the blessings of this Revolution and movement is that we meet the gentle personalities and figures closely. Previously, such get together with participation of the top officials and religious scholars never occurred.

At the dawn of Islam, the Friday prayers and the mosques occupied a certain status yet it was gradually washed out. Among the Muslims, a certain group never established Friday prayers while other group who would also maintained Friday prayers, their prayers was almost devoid of contents and real message. Issues were confined to a few words of admonitions and ended with some pieces of advice. At the dawn of Islam, the mosque and the Friday prayer was a tool in the hands of those who wanted to be involved actively in the affairs of the country. If you take notice of the sermons delivered at that time in Friday prayers, you would come to know how the Friday prayers were then performed and what kind of issues were discussed. It was not held in such manner at dawn of Islam but on contrary, the important issues used to originate from the mosque, and decisions were outlined there. Unfortunately, treacherous hands from the beginning gradually destroyed the Friday prayer as it became devoid of any real contents.

Even the seminaries were held reflecting a single dimension. They would keep on working hard and studying and so forth. They became addicted of teaching Islamic sciences and were mostly confined to subjects related to jurisprudence, consequently, a few of subjects became the focus of all the minds, and it turned into a matter of routine. At present, if you are examining that on the subject of giving judgment, we all including our nation as well others who are facing with big problems of regarding with law refers to former times because it was not at all taught to the religious personalities. Absence of debate on judgment would lead to be very little discussion regarding this subject. Now we have great religious scholars who have no knowledge of judgment. Their knowledge in other areas is also excellent and

they are familiar with the fundamentals very well. They know jurisprudence and regarding topics they know very well yet they need to refer and concentrate on the subject of judgment, and seminaries are facing deficiencies in this subject.

The involvement of religious personalities in political and state affairs was regarded as deficiency. Some individuals still make objection that what such clerics have to do with what is happening in Iran. They should say their prayers, go home, and recite supplications. This was an imposed plot against all of us aimed at spreading such belief that the cleric had no need to know regarding occurrences and the affairs of Muslims. The affairs of the Muslims at the dawn of Islam were dealt through theologians of Islam and the honorable Prophet was also the greatest theologian of Islam; likewise were the loftiest personality of Islam, Hadrat Ali, may God's peace be upon him. In that era and later, things changed so that a cleric, a theologian, a jurisprudent could not have their views in politics and could not intervene on an issue. They would say that it was none of our business and we should sit where we were! Why should we be concerned with such type of things.

Recently, there was a story narrating that one of the gentlemen (God willing, may his soul rest in peace), who was almost a theologian and an upright person, had come to this belief and it was not easy for him to change his belief regarding an incident that occurred in Qum in the course of this Revolution. In those times there was debate about what the government should do—now I do not recall exactly the concerning issue; that person had given his remarks that it did not relate to us! The affairs of the Muslims and of Islam were none of our concern! Now also, suppose that Hijaz (Saudi Arabia), which was the center of Islam and was the center of mobilization of all the Islamic forces, has the same attitude and they say that it is none of our business to be concerned about what is happening! That it is none of our business what Israel is doing! This “none of our business” had become a slogan among all and resulted in what you are witnessing that the lands of the Muslims have become a victim to the plots and designs of America to come from the other side of the globe and have a control over all the affairs of the Muslims. Today, America has become the guardian of the affairs of the Muslims; it must interfere in all their affairs and it must govern the Islamic state; it must send troops and so forth. This was because we had deviated from the essence of Islam. Now whatever slogans we chant in Iran—Praise be to God—it is great that we are making progress but in other places, these cries do not reach anywhere.

Mr. Musawi Khoeyniha¹ who had paid visit over there, was commenting that after some pressurizing it was decided that the Friday prayers' leaders should gather on one particular day and talk about Palestine and so forth. Firstly, we would like to ask them, who regard these things to be forbidden by religion and banned everything and all things that are not rites of pilgrimage or heresy must be eliminated. That punishments faced by our pilgrims, put into prisons and those insults borne by them were in order to not be taken the name of Israel in the course of the pilgrimage. Are these all of the rituals of the *Hajj* pilgrimage! This is against the traditions of the Messenger of God. If it was so then why did you specify a day for it without substance. Only to utter a few words that "may God do such and such for the Muslims; that God remove evil..." and that was the end.

Revival of the essential substance of the Friday prayer

I hope that these Friday prayers in Iran revive their true substance that they contained at the dawn of Islam. Definitely, it shall spread to other places. When the Muslims see that they were negligent of this correct belief, gradually, they shall do this job even if their governments oppose it. The main thing is that contemporarily, the responsibilities are too much, we should fulfill our responsibilities and our own tasks in such a manner that we may not be considered as guilty in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God. We must clarify the situation in the Friday prayers, in the mosques, at the meetings of the Friday prayer and congregation leaders everywhere and all things is to be circulated on behalf of this platform of Friday and congregation prayer leaders to all over the world. Just as it happened at the dawn of Islam when the Friday Prayer leader and the mosque as two tools were in the hands of the Muslims and they would arm themselves in the mosque whenever they wanted to move toward the war or they would plan it in the mosque on every occasion they wanted to accomplish an important task. They would announce that the people should attend the Friday or congregation prayer so that they would go to recite their prayers as well as discussing political issues and implement them. They would send armies and did all these tasks there. I hope that this tradition returns and the thinking arises from error or perhaps deliberate certain thinking, which argues, "The cleric has no business to get involved in politics" and that "the cleric has no right to intervene in the affairs of Muslims" has been changed.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khoeyniha, Representative of Imam Khomeini and supervisor of the Iranian *hajj* pilgrims.

Well the Prophet has recommended that we must strive for the affairs of the Muslims; striving for the affairs of Muslims is not only that we say how many *rakah*' the mandatory daily prayers are and what are the implications for having doubts between so on and so forth. Is this striving for the affairs of Muslims? It is not attending to the affairs of Muslims to mention the religious tenets. The affairs of Muslims include the political and social affairs and the problems. One who does not attend to this is according to the narration not a Muslim "...then he is not a Muslim".¹ I hope that at last we do not depart from this world and this narrative does not apply to us to be told that we were not Muslims because we did not attend to the affairs of Muslims. We must strive to have total control and supervise over the affairs of Muslims.

However, I do not say interference; this interference and indiscipline is not correct. They must be enlightened; they must be told. If the gentlemen see that such and such provincial governor or individual is heedless, they should refer to other centers until get a hearing. You can direct all affairs with supervision and explanation and the gentlemen are answerable. This means that I, a cleric who is seated in this corner cannot accomplish anything. You are responsible; you who are present there at the centers and congregations are responsible to attend to the affairs of the Muslims and to observe the centers that want to attend to the affairs of Muslims, their problems and to involve them in all matters. I hope that God willing, you are successful in this matter and that our mosques return to the status of the mosques during the initial advent. It should not be such that when a congregational or Friday prayer leader wants to discuss a subject pertaining to the affairs of Muslims in the mosque, he is ridiculed and taunted that "Why he has done such a thing!" it should not be dealt in this manner any more. That person should be taunted who does not get involved in the affairs of Muslims, moves aside and nonchalant and isolated. You see that neither the isolation nor moving aside, being reclusive, and unconcerned had no place at all in the Islam. This attitude existed among non-Muslim clans but it has infiltrated into the ranks of Muslims and has reached to the stage where he is spoken of being a very good person who is unconcerned and has nothing to do with what has happened to certain issue!" being neutral was by itself praiseworthy!

¹ "A person who begins the day without attending to the affairs of Muslims is not of the Muslims." *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 164, narratives 4 and 5.

One of the gentlemen, the late Haj Aqa Husayn¹—may God bless him—would narrate that apparently he was in Mashhad and was walking with a man when he reached a place where he was asked what this or that thing in front of them was! He had replied to him that he did not know what this that he was asking about was! To which he replied that he should listen. He listened and heard that the shopkeeper was telling his friend that what a nice person as he could not distinguish by mentioning between for example, an eggplant and yogurt! In those days, this was regarded as a good trait if a person brought the money and paid him was considered as polite person so that the person who is able to distinguish between everything to pretend that he also is unable to differentiate! This is one issue, which was one big great affliction that was spreading and praise to God who has rescued this nation from such disaster. We must be thankful to the Exalted and Blessed God until eternity for having brought about such a transformation in our attitude.

Grace of God in the spiritual transformation

In those days our youth would be attracted towards centers of corruption but now from among the university students to the traders are joining the war fronts and they are serving Islam and bring victory and honor to Islam. This is not something that mankind can bring about because the hearts of the people are in the hands of the Blessed and Almighty God who sustains the children from the time they begin to talk until reach old age and accomplish the stage of uniformities. It is unprecedented and this is a card other than that of former times which has been transformed in almost all aspects. In those times, whatever available was for their corruption and all things were at the disposal of vice. Those persons who were not of the type to engage in vices had nothing to do with these things; the clerics would only sermonize and the normal cleric was who would recite a supplication and attend a mosque regularly. God willed to transform all of them into something different and guide the thoughts in a different manner and this has been accomplished by the grace of God. Today, we are all responsible and you men are all answerable... for which we shall be questioned about tomorrow. We must prepare ourselves right now because we are responsible to attend to everywhere and to act upon the tenets and fundamentals of Islam and then present them to the people.

These widespread propaganda that has been launched now and which the foreign radio and television networks are telecasting—the foreign mass

¹ Sayyid Husayn Tabatabai Qummi was a renowned theologian and source of emulation who passed away in the year 1365 AH.

media which are all against us and are spreading huge lies that they discuss in detail and circulate these matters with details to all parts of the world. Well there is also a group in Iran that has the same facilities available. The gentlemen must by means of publicizing and enlightenment make the people understand through explaining what you have accomplished and it would be right if we complain about these achievements that have now been attained during this short period in comparison with the former era. Who destroyed the 2500-years old monarchy with all that ostentation and pride? This nation shattered it and caused a return to an Islamic republic. God willing, it shall move ahead in keeping with Islam. Is this feat not worth a small amount of decrease in our oil wealth? Is it not worth a shortage of such and such item? Is it not worth that such and such food item is in short supply or expensive? Is this not worth that we should not tolerate this and utter such expressions that nothing has taken place and everything is expensive and it has brought suffering through and through?

Problems and shortages are essentials of every revolution

I know there are problems but is there any place existing where there is no problem? The inflation is far more in some places than here where there is no war. Those who have gone through revolutions are faced with problems; no revolution has occurred anywhere in which transformations have taken place within three years or rather one year and everything has fallen into place. It requires great sacrifices when you have done an enormous task. However, by the grace of God, the sacrifices made here are not as big. There is no scarcity in Iran now. On the basis of the trends in the world, after a revolution one of the main crises is widespread of scarcities and illnesses. Now these two things that are the requisites of a revolution, scarcity is a requisite of a revolution, praise be to God, it does not exist in Iran. There is price increase; yes, there is a price rise but we cannot now claim that nothing has been accomplished because of price rise in Iran. Has Iran undertaken a revolution for its belly that now their stomachs are not very full? Praise be to God, they shall be satiated. Now that our bellies are not in that fashion satiated or those vices, for example, are not available, we should now say that nothing has taken place? They had not revolted for their bellies; they did it for the sake of God.

We note in the history of the advent of Islam that those that endeavored for the sake of God had to face different difficulties; the Prophet himself was faced with what kind of problems, Hadrat Ali was confronted with what type of problems. The Quran complains so much about a people who were

not ready to go to battle; who were not ready to help. The Prophet himself was faced with so many obstacles in this regard; how often Hadrat Ali would speak on this subject and would even at times curse those who were not ready to do anything. By the grace of God, here without the need to curse, the people are ready and are willing in the best possible way. This is something that God has done; a blessing that God has bestowed on us. The whole nation is ready in every way. We must nullify the negative propaganda; this means that it is the responsibility of these strata of the population of the clerics to go to the mosques and talk about the accomplishments. The people should see and the problems, which are the requisites of a revolution, should be told to the people so that the people are not instigated and create uncertainty and doubt.

Safeguarding Islam and its values depends upon self-sacrifice

For this reason, we have lost many worthy individuals and have met with severe losses. However, are these losses not worth it? Well, at the dawn of Islam, we lost His Holiness, the Doyen of the Martyrs, which was the biggest of all losses. The Doyen of the Martyrs knew what he was doing; he knew what journey he was undertaking and how it would turn out. Well, from the sermons he delivered while journeying and from the statements that he made, it is evident that this was the issue... not that because they wanted to go there they would wait to see what would happen there. The circumstance was such that it had to occur; the sacrifice had to be made so that things would be set aright. Whatever we have today is the result of that sacrifice which was for the sake of Islam and has endured until now. We must safeguard this base and teach self-sacrifice to the people so that they must sacrifice. The issue is not only that we weep for the Doyen of the Martyrs—of course that too is great—but also we must take into account his self-sacrifices. We must state the true worth of all that he has accomplished and the oppressive regime that he brought down. He naturally negated their designs to draw people to faithlessness and the problems that Yazid wanted to create.

Now you, too, should do likewise. The problems that reached their climax during the reign of Muhammad-Rida and at the time of Rida Shah and the circumstances that was created, by the grace of God, were abolished by the people; the nation has nullified and has destroyed them. Now I think you will not see a single shop in the whole of Iran that openly sells a forbidden item. In those times, in every street the people who were residing in Tehran would go and see how much of these corrupting influences were available. Further up, between Tehran and Shemiran, one could see what was

happening; those centers of vices and about the things that they talk! What things were happening at the beaches! Well, all these are over; a blessing that God bestowed upon us. These matters must be communicated to them that it doesn't not worth that now, for example; we do not have such and such a thing which we also did not have previously and later we had some of it but it is not available now. It is not worth that we now complain about these things that why this and that is not available.

Mentioning the problems and blessings of the Revolution by the Friday Prayer leaders

It is evident that in a country where there was no judiciary, no religious judiciary as some of the former judges was communists and has stepped aside. Well, now when we do not have judges for this type of backwardness that we owned and we did not have a judge of such type that the sacred book has stated to offer, should we now allow things to remain as they are so that the communists come back and render justice. Alternatively, a devoted cleric, a priest to some extent even if he does not have the lofty conditions of justice yet devoted and righteous should go with the permission of the religious magistrate and do the job. Now should we do this or leave it? Should we say no and let the former judges and judiciary officials remain? After all the mind of a person tells him always the same thing that corruption must be forestalled and later on it reaches to the stage where God willing, a good judiciary is established and begins its activities.

In any case, we are now suffering from a lot of criticism both from outside and inside—outside with armaments and inside with both armaments and others. It is more difficult to answer unarmed rather than the armed. It is obvious that one must answer weapon with weapon, but these lesser ones that are injected ear to ear whereby this one tells that one and so forth, these make the task more difficult to handle. The gentlemen must attend to these issues in their sermons, in the mosques, on the pulpit and speak of the accomplishments of the Revolution to the people. Speak about, for example; on every Friday, they should inform them of a part of the accomplishments and inform the people of what all has occurred within the course of the fifty years that they were ruling and pillaging the country. Look at the villages; there was nothing substantial. Yes, except some place where His Highness wanted to pass through. This was how it was at that time. For example, he wanted to pass from such and such a place accompanied with some foreign dignitary; they would bring these hapless villagers to Tehran, dress them up and make them stand by the side of the road from where he was to pass.

Then, they would say that Iran has, by the grace of God, attained the status where all its peasants have such and such things. When you would move up a little further, you would see that that wretched soul was dying of hunger. He neither had a physician, nor pharmacy nor hospital, nor bread—he had nothing. Well, now we are witnessing that there was nothing and they are busy with building up. Well, they want to build from scratch; how can they build from scratch quickly? It has started from zero; it has started from the point of “willingness”; it has started from the many daily increasing immoralities. The destruction must be reconstructed. This place had everything; they took them away and departed. All our banks are bankrupt because of the withdrawals they made. Not bankrupt but their job has been retarded.

In any case, we must all awaken the people. Pay attention to them. By the grace of God, the people are talented. They sacrifice their youth and are proud of it. Well, it is also right that they must be honored because they are not sacrificing them for a human being but they are sacrificing them for the sake of God. They are from God; we all are from God and we must sacrifice ourselves for the sake of God. By the grace of God, the Friday prayers’ leaders sometimes go to the frontlines and Mr. Ashrafi¹ despite his age goes there and talks to the people. Others also move toward there. I hope that you sustain the morale of the people so that they carry forward this Revolution to its destination and God willing, our Islam spread to all places. Of course, this has to be done gradually. This could not have happened at all and what has happened is a miracle. If, for example; we wanted these liquor shops, these centers of vice, and the likes of them to be obliterated, it could not have happened by ordinary means and would have taken years; but God willed that all the people should suddenly take notice and the issue was over. Now, we also hope that with the efforts of the gentlemen and the sermons that the gentlemen deliver, and the directions that they give, make the people awaken and become enlightened so that these problems do not appear significant to them—and in fact it is not so significant. The problems are not as many as afflicts face a revolutionary country. This also is because the people would not be very much getting involved in revolutions that occurred in those places and there was no divine will involved. Here, there was both divine will and involvement of the people. For this reason, the problems are less and if the government were supposed to do all the tasks, we would have retreated by now and would not be able to do anything. However, by the grace of God,

¹ Mr. Atallah Ashrafi Isfahani was the representative of the Imam and the Friday Prayer leader of Kermanshah.

it is very good now; there is welfare; everything is located in its place and of course, the welfare shall also improve. If this America had stayed a little longer here, it would have become like one of those countries where one cannot utter a single Islamic expression, where they are opposed to Islam. If you take notice of the speeches of some of their leaders, it becomes evident that they have nothing to do with Iran; Iran is not very important; they are opposed with its Islam. Likewise, some of our intellectuals and enlightened thinkers also are opposed only with its Islam. If you say "republic" everybody accepts; a republic is good except with the monarchists; if you say "Democratic Republic"; this is also accepted by everyone. So, what does "Islamic Republic" mean? The Islamic Republic is something new; it is heresy; it is something strange; something imported recently.

Therefore, we must be patient with these statements; enlighten the people so that they are not afraid of these words. By the grace of God, they are not afraid. They have witnessed all that has happened; it is not higher than for a human being to sacrifice his life; well, let it be sacrificed like all the Muslims that sacrificed their lives; we, too, should be among them.

May God endorse all of you; bless you with success and favor us with supplication and assist you with enlightening the people and help the people with being on the sight and the safeguarding of Islam by the will of God.

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

Message

Date: October 15, 1982 [Mehr 23, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: In praise of the personality of Martyr at the Altar Ashrafi Isfahani¹ and condemnation of the action of the *munafiqin*

Occasion: Martyrdom of the Martyr of the Altar Mr. Ashrafi Isfahani

Addressee: People of Iran

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

How glorified are those who spend a lifetime in the service of Islam and Muslims; and who at the end of their lifespan attain the immense glory, which those enamored with union with God aspire. How fortunate and glorified are those who during their lifetime endeavor for the purification of the soul and the greater strive, *Jihad*, and who end their lives in the path of Divine objective by joining with the martyrs of the path of the Truth. How fortunate and triumphant are those that in the vicissitudes of their lives have not fallen into the satanic traps and given in to carnal temptations. They have thrown aside the final curtain separating them from their Beloved with the blood of their visage; and have been admitted into the meeting place of the combatants in the Path of God. How fortunate and successful are those that have shown their backs to the material world and its trappings and have passed a lifetime in piety and self-denial. They have attained the ultimate degrees of bliss at the altar of worship and establishing the Friday prayers by being assassinated by one of the brutal and deviant *munafiqin* and thereby joining the loftiest degree of martyrdom at the altar of prayer by the hands of the cruelest of the cruel criminals.

The beloved Martyr of the Altar of this Friday of ours was an eminent personality whom I regarded highly. I was acquainted with this blessed and devout soul since approximately sixty years. I know the late honorable martyr Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Ata'ullah Ashrafi during this long

¹ Aqa Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, the representative of the Imam and the Friday Prayer leader of Kermanshah who was an outstanding theologian and one of the students of Imam Khomeini. He was an influential personality and was liked and trusted by the people of the province of Kermanshah. At 12:15 noon on Friday, October 14, 1982, while listening to the speech of one of the pre-Friday prayer sermon speakers, he was martyred by a terrorist belonging to the *munafiqin* Organization.

period as being a pious, peaceful and assured person who was devoid of carnal cravings and one who was abstemious and obedient of the commandments of the Master and a knowledgeable theologian and a doer of good deeds. At the same time, he was a sacred fighter and a powerful and devout character. At the frontline of the defense of the truth, he was among those individuals who were a source of encouragement for the young holy warriors and an outstanding example of “*Men who spoke the truth about the covenant that they had made with God.*”¹ His departure has left a void for Islam and plunged the society of the clergy into mourning. God place him in the same status as the martyrs of Karbala and shower His curse and damnation on the killers of such men. Eternal shame be upon them for taking away from our nation a peaceful personality who would not caused an inconvenience even for an ant. They have thereby introduced themselves at the Court of the Glorious God and to the self-sacrificing nation more hated and more criminal than before. This honorable soul, like the rest of our beloved martyrs has united with the mercy of the Truth and our sacred fighter nation and our combative armed forces shall carry forward the Revolution with steely determination. Those who make false claims of being the supporters of the masses and act in this manner with the creatures of God which everyone is aware of, what justification do they have for such a great crime? By martyring a servant theologian and an honorable eighty-year-old man, what power do they attain and which side are they supporting? Those who shed crocodile tears at the dastardly act of these criminals and who complain about the commandment of God about them, what objective do they pursue? Is taking revenge on the Islamic Republic, martyrdom of a pious theologian and burning of a group of children, women, men and toiling masses? Is the way to come to power and govern in committing such heinous crimes?

O, God! With what incidents and with what faces are our sacred fighter nation is being confronted—an era in which the Muslim governments are of that sort; the mass media of that sort and the superpowers of this sort. It is an era in which wrong is presented to the people as being right and crimes are committed in the name of peace. It is a time in which the enemies of Islam and the Muslims are doing with the nations what Changiz Khan did not do; and the majority of the Muslim governments support the criminals in the crimes they perpetrate against their own nations. It is a time in which one cannot complain in the Inviolable House of God against the enemies of Islam and the perpetrators of crimes against the Muslims. It is a time in which the

¹ *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:23.

cry of “Death to Israel and America” is regarded as being contrary to Islam. It is a time when for the establishment of an Islamic rule and putting into practice the tenets of Islam in a country, the claimants of Islam take up arms and engage in propaganda against it and fight Islam in the name of Islam.

O God, the sacred fighting nation of Iran is innocent in this era of ignorance and darkness; and except by seeking refuge in Thy Court and trust in Thy Favors, they have no shelter and they beseech Thee at Thy Blessed Court. They continue on the path of the truth and are not afraid of this savagery; and they will not surrender the honor that is due to Thee and to Thy Prophet and the pious believers for the brief and passing life of this world.

O God, I seek your mercy for the much-loved martyrs and especially the Martyr who became victim this week; and healthiness, happiness and patience for the nation—especially those left behind by the martyrs and the respected residents of Bakhtaran. I pray for the speedy recovery of the injured and revenge from the enemies of Islam. Salutations to the purified soul of the martyrs; salutations to the families of the martyrs. Peace to the injured and salutations and peace of God and those closest to His Court be upon His Holiness, the Savior Twelfth Imam—may our souls be sacrificed for Him— and may God’s peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, October 17, 1982 [Mehr 25, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1402 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Significance and influence of the movement of the Doyen of the Martyrs (a)

Occasion: On the eve of the month of Muharram

Audience: Muslim Malakuti (representative of the Imam and the Friday Prayer Leader of Tabriz) speakers, theologians, clergymen and eulogists of Qum, Tehran, Eastern and Western Azarbayjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Blessings and lessons from the movement of Imam Husayn (a)

I thank the theologians of Azarbayjan, the men of learning of that region, the theologians of Tehran and the theologian brothers of the Sunni sect and pray to the Almighty God for the health and prosperity of all. On the eve of the lunar month of Muharram, a sorrow has been dealt to all of us, which is the martyrdom of this eighty-year-old man.¹ This man spent his noble life in the path of Islam and service to the people and spiritual purification of the society. Our nation has sacrificed from a six-month-old infant to an eighty-year-old man in the path of God—and this is emulation of the great man of history, His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs (s).

His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs (s) taught all of us what we must do in the face of oppression, in the face of injustice; in the face of tyrannical rulers. Despite, he knew ahead of time that the path he was treading was a path on which he must sacrifice all his companions, his family and sacrifice much-loved individuals for the sake of Islam and he knew of its aftermath. If this movement was not present—the movement of Husayn (a)—Yazid and his followers would have been shown the abrogated image of Islam abrogated in a different light to the people. From the beginning, they had no faith in Islam, were envious, and despised the saints of Islam. In addition to defeating them with this sacrifice, after a while the Doyen of the Martyrs made the people to realize what a tragedy and what a sorrow had befallen them. Moreover, this same sorrow resulted in the decline of the Umayyad

¹ Martyr Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, the representative of the Imam and the Friday Prayer leader of Kermanshah who was martyred at the altar of worship by one of the *munafiqin* terrorists.

dynasty. In addition, he taught in the course of history that this was the true path. Do not be afraid of the numerical superiority; numbers are not important; it is the quality—the quality of the sacred struggle—it is that which does the job. It is possible that the individuals are many in numbers but in terms of quality, they are flawed or hollow. It is also possible that the individuals may be few in numbers but potent and honorable in terms of quality.

Invincibility of the Revolution under the shelter of Divine favors

History will not forget this movement of Iran and this Revolution; and it will not forget the self-sacrifices that are present in all the strata of the Islamic nation in Iran. The unity that is present among all the strata of the nation and among all the classes, between the brothers belonging to the Sunni sect and the Shiite sect has been materialized. This Islamic fraternity shall not be forgotten and this Revolution by the Will of the Blessed and Almighty God shall not be defeated. Even if all the great superpowers of the world and those that are in the East and West blocs are hostile towards this Revolution; even if all the mass media of the world spread lies and write against this movement; that which is the reality shall make known itself and will be revealed. On the day when they martyred His Holiness, the Doyen of the Martyrs, unjustly, some introduced him as being a Khariji, one who had revolted against the contemporary rightful regime; but the light of God shines and will shine and fill the universe with light.

Lessons from the doctrine of Ashura

What is our duty on the eve of the month of Muharram al-Haram? What are the duties of the eminent theologians and the revered clergy? What are the duties of the rest of the strata of the nation in this month of Muharram? The Doyen of the Martyrs, his companions and household have taught the duties: sacrifice in the battlefield and propagation outside the battlefield. To the same extent that the sacrifice of His Holiness is valued in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God; and has helped to move forward the movement of Husayn (s), the sermons of His Holiness Sajjad and Her Holiness Zaynab also have been effective to the same extent or almost to the same extent.

They taught us that opposite the tyrant, opposite a tyrannical rule, the women must not be afraid, the men must not fear. Her Holiness Zaynab confronted Yazid; Her Holiness Zaynab (s) stood up and humiliated him in a manner that the Umayyad had not been humiliated before in that fashion. The

speeches that they delivered on the way, in Kufah and Damascus and the sermon that His Holiness Sajjad (a) delivered and made it evident that the issue was not one of confrontation of wrong with right; meaning that they had been misrepresented. They wanted to introduce the Doyen of the Martyrs as a person that was resisting the rulers of the time—the Caliph of the Prophet of God. His Holiness Sajjad revealed the truth at a gathering and so did Her Holiness Zaynab.

Today, our country is also in this manner. Amnesty International, which should be renamed “International Fraud Organization”, “International Lie Organization” in a statement that issued has leveled the same defamatory charges that were leveled at the advent of Islam against the Prophet of God, his progeny and his followers—they have blamed this country far worse charges than what they intensified at him. The same lies that the followers of Yazid would spread; today this same so-called Amnesty International circulates such lies. A person is ashamed to utter that he is living in one such country and on one such planet whose mass media are these; and these are its Amnesty International and other organizations. A person feels abashed to say that he is living in an era in which all values has been sacrificed in favor of the powerful; have been sacrificed for material interests and has no regard for any value except the material interests. Today we are afflicted in this manner.

They kill that aged, devout and righteous old man and those immoral individuals and hypocrite *munafiqin* claim that they have killed him because he was directly involved in the tortures and killings! How disgraceful of them! What kind of upbringing have they had! On the one hand, all that slander against the Islamic Republic; on the other hand, such heinous crimes against individuals who pass the nights in the worship of God and engage in holy struggle of *Jihad* during the daytime. His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs has clarified our duty; in the field of battle do not be scared of numerical superiority and do not be afraid of martyrdom.

To the extent that the objective and ideology of a human being is lofty, to the same extent he must tolerate hardship. We again cannot understand the magnitude of this victory. The world shall understand later that this victory of the Iranian nation is of what magnitude; correspondingly, the hardships must also be of a greater level. We must not expect that all the powers whose hands have been cut off from watching their interests here and God willing, from the region, not to deal us any blow. We must not expect that throughout all these victories, we shall remain unscathed in this way. We should be keeping on the same way now that we were previously. It is the duty of the clergy, whether those of them who go to the pulpit or those who are Friday

and congregational prayer' leaders—and whoever is involved with the people and speaks to them—which he should make the people understand correctly the circumstances of uprising of His Holiness, the Doyen of the Martyrs. For what purpose he rose up, what it was, with what number he revolted, and with what tragedies that uprising reached its conclusion—that it shall never be ended.

Great role of mourning and grieving ceremonies in creating unity of expression

All the speakers must pay attention to this and we should all be focused on this objective that if the uprising of His Holiness, the Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) was not existed, today, we, too could not have been victorious. All this unity of expression, which was the source of our victory, was because of these mourning and grieving ceremonies and these propagation gatherings grounded for the promotion of Islam. The Doyen of the oppressed made available the means for our nation that without being an inconvenience for the nation, the people congregate. Islam has made the mosques to be trenches and they became a means for the nation so that from these very mosques, from these very congregations, from these very gatherings, from these very Fridays and social gatherings, all the affairs that would move Islam forward and carrying out of the uprising were facilitated. From his actions, the Doyen of the Martyrs has especially taught us that what should be the position on the battlefield and what should be the position outside the battlefield; and how must those who are armed combatants should engage in combat; and how those, who are providing backing for the frontlines, engage in preaching and publicizing. The way and mode of the struggle in the sense that how one should engage in combat as a smaller group versus a large gathering; The mode and the way may be adopted for the uprising with a limited number against an oppressive regime that has a hold everywhere. His Holiness, the Doyen of the Martyrs, his honorable household and his noble offspring taught us and nation these matters and what must be done after the occurrence of such tragedy. Should a person surrender? Should one compromise while engaged in holy struggle? Alternatively, stand should be taken in similar way of Zaynab (*s*) as subsequent to the great tragedy of such kind that “tragedies appear insignificant before it” resisted and confronted the faithless and spoke against the hypocrisy. She spoke on the issue wherever it was possible for her and so did His Holiness Ali ibn Husayn (*a*) despite his indisposition that he did preach in a preeminent way.

Safeguarding Islam: The great duty

Today, we are confronted with a great deal of propaganda in the world that is being waged against us; confronted with the print media; confronted with the radio broadcasting; confronted with speeches; confronted with organizations. We are confronted with them and we have harmed their interests and have cut off their hands from our country; and we must strive for the perpetuation of this movement. This is a blessing and we must safeguard this blessing, which God has bestowed upon us. Islam was on the verge of destruction during the inauspicious reign of the Pahlavi regime. We caused a return of Islam and removed the one who was its enemy and today we must safeguard this blessing. It is the duty of all of us that in gratitude for this blessing, which the Blessed and Almighty God has bestowed, to engage in a sacred struggle in order to safeguard this blessing. Praise be to God that the soldiers of Islam, from the army, the Guards Corps, the *Basij* and the tribes who are assisting them in fulfilling their duties splendidly and pushing back the enemy day by day and hour by hour on the frontlines. Furthermore, we who are at the back of frontlines must act similar to the masses that are backing frontlines from behind. The eminent theologians, speakers, revered sermonizers must also engage in holy struggle *Jihad* which is to do preaching. Their *Jihad* is to educate on the magnitude of this victory, and to justify the action for which you have done a revolution and the ideology for which you have arisen. It is to make the nations and the nation to understand the extent of this victory and what must be done to safeguard it. In the same way, that victory was achieved with the presence of all the strata on sight and with the participation of all in the battle and behind the frontline of battlefield. The safeguarding of this great Divine blessing also necessitates that our youth be prepared to move out and defend Islam whenever they are called upon to do so.

Islam is an issue for which the Prophets, the honorable Prophet, the progeny of the honorable Prophet and the devoted followers of the honorable Prophet have striven with their lives and have endured hardships for it. Islam is something that has come from God and must be safeguarded. You must know that Islam will not be able to raise its head for centuries if God forbid, the victory that has been achieved by you subsequent to the Revolution, is defeated because of your negligence, weakness of our propagation and lack of involvement of the people. The duty is great and we must all accept this great responsibility. The final consequence is martyrdom, union with God and presence in the company of His Holiness; the Doyen of the Martyrs and his resembling which is the ultimate aspiration of individuals who have

affection for God. We are witnessing on the frontlines as they narrate to us about the frontlines of battle and what much-loved youth have an atmosphere on the fronts in the nights; how much they pray, supplicate, establish prayers and with what spirited morale they move towards the frontlines at daytime. This is something that has been bestowed by the Blessed and Almighty God. Safeguard this blessing.

Martyrdom insures victory of Islam

You all the clergymen that are in the country have a duty to safeguard this blessing of God, this Divine gift and be grateful for it, and show their gratitude by propagating it. What the Doyen of the Martyrs carried out, the ideology that he had, the path that he traversed, and the victory that he attained for Islam after martyrdom, should be made clear for the people. They should all be made to understand that sacred struggle in the path of Islam is what he had done. He knew that he could not confront such a tyrant who possessed everything in the material sense with a small group numbering less than a hundred persons but he knew that it was the martyrdom that made Islam victorious and revived it. It is these very martyrdoms of these aged men of the altar of worship; right from Madani¹—may his soul rest in peace—to this recent martyr of ours; it is the martyrdoms that ensures victory. Such martyrdoms bring disgrace to our enemy in the world, even if the whole world supports them. This same Amnesty International, which has spread so many lies, also has proper documentary evidence. Its documentary evidence is what the *munafiqin* say; the document is what the writings of the *munafiqin* mention. Those who are the enemies of Islam; the enemies of the nation; the enemies of the Muslims; those who have become insane because they have not attained their objectives—and such kind of dictatorship was even worse than the dictatorship of Muhammad-Rida over this country.

Gentlemen, you must propagate! It is the month of Muharram. Keep this Muharram alive. Whatever that we have is from this Muharram and these gatherings. Our propagation gatherings are also from Muharram; from the slaying of the Doyen of the Martyrs and his martyrdom. We must approach to the depth of this martyrdom and pay attention to its impact in the world and emphasize that his influence pervades even today. If these eulogizing meetings, sermonizing, mourning, and grieving gatherings were not present, our country would not have triumphed. All revolted under the banner of

¹ Martyr Sayyid Asadullah Madani, the representative of the Imam and the Friday Prayer leader of Tabriz who was martyred at the altar of worship by one of the *munafiqin*.

Imam Husayn—may God's peace be upon him. Now also you are witnessing that all of them are enthused at the frontline for the love of Imam Hussayn whenever they show them at the frontlines. Honorable propagators, the eminent theologians and the respected sermonizers must determine the issues of the day including the political, social issues and the duty of the people at such a time when we are faced with so many enemies in the gatherings that are organized during the months of Muharram and Safar and the rest of the times. They must make the people to understand that we are in the middle of the way and we must, God willing, traverse the path until the end of the way. If we move ahead with the order that has existed so far, we shall ultimately attain total victory. Our country and its people have by the grace of God, been ready with this order. However, we must not become lethargic.

We are not under the protection of any power except the Blessed and Almighty God

The country of ours that revolted, right from the beginning of the uprising, has announced to the world that it wants an Islamic republic and total independence with a policy of "neither East nor West". Right from the beginning it announced that we are neither under the protection of America nor the protection of the Soviet Union and nor the protection of any other power; we are alone and under the favors of the Blessed and Almighty God and the banner of monotheism which is the same banner of Imam Husayn (a). When you announced this to the world, it is obvious that the world will rise up against you following this announcement. From the beginning, you must pay attention to the fact that we, too, like the Doyen of the Martyrs who revolted against so many soldiers and weapons that they had until he was martyred; likewise, we too are prepared for martyrdom. Now also you are seeing that at the same time that they have assassinated a number of the prominent Friday prayer leaders and those who are present now, all of them announce with zeal that they are occupying this position and are ready until attainment of martyrdom. All must be like this.

Spreading of the tide of the Revolution of Iran in the world

If your movement and your uprising were like other uprisings that were undertaken for some worldly material purposes; if you had revolted for having worldly goods aplenty; if you had revolted for cheaper prices; if you had revolted for material comforts; if you had revolted for organizing lavish parties; if you had revolted for these things, then those who want to complain have a right to complain. However, the masses of the people have no

complaints; those that have are the ones who were remnants of those lavish parties. However, the masses that revolted did so for the sake of God. From the beginning, too, they had no aspiration or wishes except that they revolted for the sake of Islam and an Islamic republic. This nation is indefatigable. This nation is not the one to say that now we have not attained those things, so let us get back to our job. This nation is seeing that they have attained. Now the reverberations of your movement and your revolution have spread throughout the world. This tide of your victory has encompassed the whole world. An Iran that was inconsequential in the world gatherings except that it was a member from among the servant members of America, today those who are fair all over the world testify that this Islamic Republic is victorious and it shall continue to be victorious.

Not despairing of the blessing of God

Dear brethren, do not despair. *“Do not despair of the blessing of God,”*¹ of the things that God has favored you with; and do not despair of those Divine favors—and you are not despairing. You are victorious and honorable in the world. You are a nation that is combative. If you were an impotent nation, you would have gone into isolation and given up, then neither America would oppose you nor the Soviet Union and nor the rest of the powers. Just as in the previous regime, they had put the people to sleep like sheep; and they had attacked this sheep and cut it into pieces. Yes, things were plentiful for a certain group; but what about the deprived? Go and count the number of deprived people in those times. Our nation is not just a single group who should be at the disposal of the superpowers and stand to get benefit from it. The majority of our nation are these deprived that are all over the country and for whom nothing at all was done in those days. Today, although this was not your objective yet in this short time much more has been done for them than was done while they were in power. These are of the secondary things. What you wanted was Islam. What you wanted was an Islamic republic. What you wanted was, “neither East nor West”—and this has been achieved. Safeguard this. Now there are individuals who are of the opinion that we must again change over to the other side. However, our nation will not accept it any more. Our nation revolted right from the beginning for an Islamic republic that did not smell of the odor of the East or the West. Now that it has sacrificed so many youths, given so much of blood and sacrificed so many beloved, it is improper to say that thank you very much for killing all of us, come and help yourselves! We shall resist until the

¹ Surah Yusuf 12:87.

very end and last breath; and our nation shall resist and by the grace of God, it is moving ahead with strength.

You have shown your strength to the world. Do not be negligent of this power. All these enemies exist because of this power, which is opposite to the whole world, and they are confounded as to what must be done with this power. You have shown a power to the world the like of which no small numbers have so far been able to establish this power against the large populations. You must safeguard it. You have revived Islam; you must perpetuate its existence. Its perpetuation is the responsibility of all, from the person who is the number one of the clergy who is the source of emulation to the young student who is studying at the seminary. The sermonizers have a duty to enlighten the people with their sermons and speeches and to protect them. The theologians and the Friday prayer and congregational leaders must protect the people in the trenches that they occupy. The people themselves also by the grace of God are prepared and we must be thankful to them; and in all fairness, we are indebted to the honorable masses that sacrifice all of their properties and demand nothing. From the aged women who donate their life's savings for Islam to those individuals who donate their collections for Islam. I cannot describe this nation and I cannot praise them enough. We leave it to the Blessed and Almighty God to grant His exclusive favors to them. May God protect all of you; and sustain you in these solid trenches; and God willing we safeguard the ceremonies, the mourning ceremonies and the processions in an ideal and suitable manner.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, October 18, 1982 [Mehr 26, 1361 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 30, 1402 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Independence and self-sufficiency under the shelter of faith in God and trust in the self

Audience: Members of the Office of Advisors of the Imam and specialists of the Air Force

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The fact that you with your own initiative and trust in God have performed important tasks and have put into operation complex equipment which is worthy of praise and gratitude. Confidence in the self after having trust in God is the source of virtuous deeds. If the countries allow us to live in peace, the people will reform all the affairs. The important point is that you discover yourself because in the former regime, we had lost our identity and they¹ did, as they desired. They infused among us the thinking that we did not have the ability to perform the tasks and they suppressed our scientists. This was our situation. Our people would say that for whom they should work because we were dependent on them for everything. More regrettable was that our youth would act according to the instructions of the foreign advisors and their interests and the foreigners pocketed benefits. Any person who wanted to be independent in such an environment would surely be suppressed and would become despondent and depressed by the problems. Now that by the grace of God, their evil has been eliminated as you are seeing that our beloved youth and people have the ability to do the job and remove the obstacles. I hope that we attain self-sufficiency in the near future. I pray for all of you.

May God's peace be upon you.

¹ America and the Western countries.

Letter

Date: October 20, 1982 [Mehr 28, 1361 AHS / Muharram 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraph of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Ashrafi Isfahani

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin Marashi Najafi (One of the eminent Emulation Authorities)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Qum—His Eminence Ayatullah Najafi—may His blessings last,

Thank you for the respectful telegraph of condolence for the bitter martyrdom of the Martyr at the Altar, late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Ashrafi¹—may his soul rest in peace. By the grace of the Almighty God, each of the great martyrdoms that are an enormous loss for the glorious nation of Islam, contrary to the illusions of the hypocrite terrorists, results in the disgrace of the criminal *munafiqin* and cohesion in the ranks of the honorable nation. “And perpetually this religion (of Islam) shall be endorsed at the hands of an immoral individual.” The Blessed and Almighty God has favored the nation of Iran with Islam so that which causes weakness and lethargy according to the enemies of Islam, actually results in strength, unity, and cohesion.

I implore the Almighty God to grant victory to Islam and mercy and compassion for the martyrs—especially the recent martyr—and health and patience for the survivors of the martyrs; and health and recovery for the injured. I pray for the health and long life of your noble existence under the shelter of the Almighty God and the blessings of His Holiness, the Savior—may souls be sacrificed for him. May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, the representative of the Imam and the Friday Prayer Leader of Kermanshah who was martyred by the *munafiqin* group and earned the title of “Fourth Martyr of the Altar” in the bloody and splendid history of the Islamic Revolution.

Permission

Date: October 20, 1982 [Mehr 28, 1361 AHS / Muharram 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreement with holding the elections to the Assembly of Experts and mid-term elections to the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri (Minister of Interior)

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

His Sacred Eminence the Honorable Leader and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may His sublime presence endure,

Respectfully, this is to inform that in regard with implementation of article twelve of the Charter of Elections of the Assembly of Experts, subject matter of the fifth, one-hundred and seventh and one-hundred and eighth principles of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Ministry of Interior is mandated that after receipt of the directive of the leadership regarding holding elections to the Assembly of Experts, to communicate within a maximum of ten days the procedure and date of registration of the candidates by using the mass communications apparatus to the martyr-rearing *ummah* of Iran.

In case of agreement of Your Eminence, it is requested to confirm your blessed order with regard to the start of the elections.]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is agreed. God willing, it is auspicious.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: October 20, 1982 [Mehr 28, 1361 AHS / Muharram 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraph message felicitating the new lunar *Hijri* year

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad (President of South Yemen)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Ali Nasir Muhammad, Secretary General of the Socialist Party and the President of Yemen,

Thank you for the congratulatory telegraph message of Your Excellency on the new lunar *Hijri* year. Unfortunately, the New Year comes at a time when the Muslims of the world are afflicted with various types of sorrows. Everyday, fresh plots are hatched by the superpowers and especially the criminal America launches plans against them and are being implemented. The stance of many of the leaders of the Muslim countries vis-à-vis these conspiracies are clear to all. Instead of unity and strengthening one another to confront the enemies, they are at each other's throat. They have signed military contracts and treaties of cooperation against the Islamic Republic and the Muslim [people of] Iran. I pray to the Almighty God to eliminate these disorders and anxieties. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 2, 1403 AH

Message

Date: October 20, 1982 [Mehr 28, 1361 AHS / Muharram 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegram felicitating the arrival of the New Lunar *Hijri* Year

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

Thank you for the congratulatory message on the New *Hijri* Year. Unfortunately, the arrival of New Year concurs with a time when the Muslims of the world are confronted with the military and propaganda blitz of the enemies of Islam from all direction, headed by the global imperialist America. More unfortunate is that many of the heads of the Muslim countries either because of weakness or because of becoming lackeys, instead of cutting off ties with the criminal enemies are expanding and consolidating their relations with them daily. Everyday, they are signing new armaments, military and economic agreements with them and thereby paving the way for their entry into Muslim countries and committing of fresh crimes. Thus, it is not clear what fate lies ahead for the Muslims. *We are from God and unto Him is our return.* May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Muharram al-Haram 2, 1403 AH

Letter

Date: October 20, 1982 [Mehr 28, 1361 AHS / Muharram 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraph of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Shirazi—may His blessings last—Holy Mashhad,

Thank you for the telegraph message of condolence on the heartrending martyrdom of the Martyr of the Altar Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Aqa Ataullah Ashrafi—blessed be upon his soul.

I pray to the Almighty God for the blessing and forgiveness of that honorable martyr and patience and fortitude for the family of the martyr and longevity and continuation of His favors to Your Eminence. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 2, 1403 AH

The Will¹

Date: October 25, 1982 [Aban 3, 1361 AHS / Muharram 7, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The will on personal affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini and relatives

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to God, for his bounties, and may God's peace be upon his Prophets especially on the last and best of them, Muhammad and his pure progeny and the remains of God—twelfth Imam—may our soul be sacrificed for his sake and in his cause. I believed in all which revealed on Prophet (may God's peace be upon him).

Then on the 7th of Muharram al-Haram, 1403 AH coinciding with the 3rd of Aban 1361 AHS while I am writing these few lines as my will in personal affairs:

After exhorting my heirs and close relatives to observance of piety, patience and steadfastness in all affairs; and affectionate consultation among yourselves in an appropriate and suitably deserving manner regarding the creatures of Almighty God; and disregard for the attractions of the world and focus on the Exalted God, I appoint my son Ahmad Khomeini—may the Exalted God assist him—as my heir in my personal affairs. I clarify what needs to be reminded in a few sentences as follows:

1. I personally do not have any money in any bank, institution, or company or other than these. What cash is existed in the banks or some institution and others are religious taxes, and none of my heirs is entitled to inherit any of them. Their settlement after my demise lies with His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Husayn-Ali Muntaziri—May His blessings last—and they must be expended under his supervision for religious consumptions. If God forbid, some incidence occurs for him, the matters of the religious taxes shall lie with the leader or leaders that the Assembly of Experts appoints.²

¹ The final will of Imam Khomeini was read after his demise in June 1989 by the Eminent Leader, His Holiness Ayatullah Khamenei in the gathering of the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The complete text of that will be included in this historical compilation.

² According to the subsequent will of Imam Khomeini, affairs pertaining to the religious taxes were delegated to the Management Council of the Theological School.

2. All the household furniture that I possess in Qum and Tehran belong to the respected mother of my children. Some of them belong to her personally while that which belongs to me, I have gifted to her and are under her jurisdiction.

In this regard, there are two large carpets that are of the portion of the “*sadat*” and I have temporarily been given the permission to utilize them. After my demise, they must be given for utilization by the *sadat*. Some of the furniture is on loan about which Ahmad is aware and he must give it back to its owner. The books that I have in Qum and Tehran which are negligible in number are at the disposal of Ahmad. If he needs them, he can keep them and if his nephew Husayn¹ needs them, he should give it to him or else keep it in a public library as an endowment. I have a modest amount of cash that is not of religious payments and is separate from the religious amount and I have written that whatever amount is there belongs to me and after me, it belongs to the heirs.² It is possible that I own some modest landed property in Khomein, which His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Pasandideh is aware of it. That also after me belongs to the heirs.³

3. The famous house that I own in Qum is my personal property that is to be inherited by my heirs after me. My will is that its interests as long as the mother of my children⁴ is alive lies with her and I hope that my children and she allow me to make this will for all of us are highly indebted to this respectable lady. May God Almighty recompense and grant her in lieu.

4. As a precaution, compensate five years of daily mandatory prayers and fasting. Until now, no person owes me money nor do I owe money to anybody. Give one-sixth of my house in Qum to the mother of my children in lieu of her marriage portion.

5. I ask Ahmad—may the Almighty God grant him success—to strive in the service of the Islamic Republic. If after my death, the authorities offer him a job to serve Islam and the Muslims, which he can accomplish with merit and not for worldly status and gains, he should not refuse to serve. He should not turn his back on it because in the present situation it is the duty of all to be at the service of the Islamic Republic.

¹ Sayyid Husayn Khomeini, son of Aqa Sayyid Musaafa Khomeini.

² Meaning that the division of the remaining amount must be done on the basis of jurisprudential tenets on the subject of inheritance.

³ Later, Imam Khomeini by a decree donated a modest property he had inherited in Khomein to the poor.

⁴ Lady Khadijah Thaqafi, wife of Imam Khomeini who shared in all his hardships of the period of alienation, uprising, imprisonment, exile, house arrest and tribulations of the Imam. She remained a faithful and sympathetic companion until the last days of the life of the Imam.

6. I ask all my children and especially Ahmad to behave in a polite manner with their mother and not refuse to serve her to the extent that they can. “*Paradise lies beneath the feet of the mother.*”¹ I ask Ahmad to conduct himself in an Islamic manner with relatives and acquaintances and not be neglectful in serving them. He should show more affection towards Huseyn, his mother and sister²; and in case of need and as far as possible their needs. I hope that my son Husayn does not neglect pursuing learning and self-purification and not allow the Divine talents to go waste. I ask my child Maryam—may the Almighty God grant her success—not to be neglectful of maintaining Islamic behavior and showing kindness to relatives. I hope to benefit from the amnesty and forgiveness of all the relatives, acquaintances and others. May God’s peace be upon His righteous servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The Noble Messenger (s).

² Lady Masumah Hairi, wife of the Martyr Sayyid Musaafa Khomeini and his children Aqa Sayyid Husayn Khomeini and Maryam Khomeini.

Reply to a Query

Date: October 31, 1982 [Aban 9, 1361 AHS / Muharram 13, 1403 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ownership of foreign exchange obtained from sale of oil

Questioner: Muhsin Nurbakhsh (head of the Central Bank of Iran)

[Sacred presence of the Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, His Holiness Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure,

Following the directive of Your Eminence regarding the cancellation of the laws that are contrary to Islam and the studies undertaken for this purpose by the Central Bank to replace them with the new laws that are not in conflict with the sacred tenets of Islam; because of uncertainty concerning the ownership of the government of the foreign exchange obtained from the sale of crude. Thus, I request the eminent presence of the Source of Emulation to provide the answer to the following question:

Question: Does the foreign exchange derived from the sale of oil that has been produced by the government and is sold with the expenditures and investment of the government belong to the government and is it in its ownership or not?

Muhsin Nurbakhsh]

In His Most Exalted Name

It belongs to the government and is in the ownership of the Islamic government. It must be used for the administration of the country and for the benefit of the nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
9/8/1361 AHS

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 17, p. 74, the date 17/8/1361 AHS has been mentioned while with reference to the written manuscript, the date of the letter of the Head of the Central Bank is 2/8/1361 AHS and the date of the reply given by Imam Khomeini is 9/8/1361 AHS.

Letter

Date: October 31, 1982 [Aban 9, 1361 AHS / Muharram 13, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreement with the request of the Tehran Municipality concerning attending to the files and matters related to the Municipality by the religious magistrate of the courts of the Revolution

Addressee: Muhammad-Kazim Siyfiyan (Deputy Mayor of Tehran)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Revered Holiness Imam Khomeini—may His sublime presence endure,

With greetings of peace and health, the Tehran Municipality has decided that with the help and strength of the Almighty God, to take immediate action in relation to preventing directives that are contrary to religious law, which unfortunately continues in some instances so far and implementation of the enlightening laws of Islam. However, with regard to the preoccupations of the Council of Guardians and the Higher Judiciary Council, the Municipality at present, will not be able to solve the problems of the people in that manner quickly. Therefore, until final resolution by the Council of Guardians or the Higher Judiciary Council and to prevent delay in the tasks, you are kindly requested to permit Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muhammadi Gilani, the religious magistrate of the Courts of the Islamic Revolution, to give his opinions regarding the problems being faced by the Municipality that directly concern the people on a continual basis, and to issue of the religious verdict which implementation is mandatory for the municipality.

Muhammad-Kazim Siyfiyan
Deputy Mayor of Tehran
Tehran Municipality]

In His Most Exalted Name

As you have mentioned, until final resolution by the Council of Guardians and the Higher Judiciary Council, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muhammadi Gilani, is permitted to solve your religious matters. God willing, may you be successful.

Message

Date: October 31, 1982 [Aban 9, 1361 AHS / Muharram 13, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of the New Lunar *Hijri* Year

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

Thank you for the congratulatory message on the New *Hijri* Year. Unfortunately, the New Year comes at a time when the Muslims of the world are afflicted with various sorrows and confronted with various conspiracies by the enemies of Islam and especially the world-devouring America. The tragedy of Lebanon is one of them. More unfortunate is that many of the rulers of the Muslim countries instead of taking effective measures for eliminating these tragedies and confrontation with these conspiracies are literally providing encouragement to them for committing these crimes. In the process, they are paving the way for the entry of America into the Muslim countries and pillaging of the material and spiritual resources of the Muslim nations and are signing new contracts with them daily. *"We are from God and unto Him is our return."* May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 13, 1403 AH

Letter

Date: October 31, 1982 [Aban 9, 1361 AHS / Muharram 13, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Receipt of religious Funds with the signature of Muhammad-Sadiq Tehrani

Addressee: Jafar Saburi Qummi

[Mr. Jafar Saburi in a letter dated 9/8/1361 AHS (October 30, 1982) requested Imam Khomeini that because the receipt of the religious funds were previously signed by Mr. Murtada Pasandideh and since some time they are being signed by Mr. Muhammad Sadiq Tehrani, thus His Holiness the Imam should announce his opinion in this regard. Imam Khomeini stated in the margins of the letter as follows:]

Whatever amount you pay to Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Muhammad-Sadiq Tehrani is acceptable. I pray to the Exalted God for your continued success.

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

Permission

Date: November 2, 1982 [Aban 11, 1361 AHS / Muharram 15, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Taqawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam and Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ahmad Taqawi—may his graces last—is permitted on my behalf to take charge of financial and religious law affairs and accept religious payments such as *zakat*, compensations and the blessed shares of the Imams. He is to spend of the portion of the *sadat* on the spot; and to spend half of the portion of the blessed share of the Imams (*a*) for his own expenses and propagation of the sacred edicts and spreading the pure religion of Islam and to send the other half to me for expenditure of the sacred theological schools.

I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to avoid carnal desires and to be cautious. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers; may God peace, mercy and blessings be upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 15, 1403 AH

Letter

Date: November 3, 1982 [Aban 12, 1361 AHS / Muharram 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Increase of authority for utilization of the blessed share of the Imam (a)

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Ayatullahi (Friday Prayer Leader of Jahrom)

[4/801F – 12/8/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Revered Eminence, the Honorable Leader of the Islamic Revolution, His Holiness Imam Khomeini—may His presence endure—May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Considering the many undertakings and visits to His Holiness Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Husayn Ayatullahi, the respected and revered Friday prayer leader of Jahrom, some of the respected clergymen of Jahrom have proposed that you give permission for His Eminence to use half or more instead of a quarter of the blessed portion of Imam—may God's peace be upon them. During my visit that I was honored to your blessed presence some time ago, the circumstances were presented to you in a letter and stated to you verbally. Your Revered Holiness consented verbally. Kindly announce your opinion in this regard. May God safeguard and immunize you from all afflictions and tragedies, your beloved existence for Islam and advancement of the Islamic Revolution. With greetings of peace:

Ali Muhammad Besharati—Representative of the people of Jahrom in the Islamic Consultative Assembly—12/8/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Husayn Ayatullahi is permitted to consume the equivalent to half of the Blessed portion of the Imam—may God's peace be upon them. God willing, may you be successful.

Statements

Date/Time: Before noon, November 3, 1982 [Aban 12, 1361 AHS / Muharram 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Communicating greetings of peace to the combatants

Audience: Muhsin Ridai (Commander of the Guards Corps) and Ali Shamkhani (Deputy Commander of the Guards Corps)

[Messrs. Muhsin Ridai and Ali Shamkhani presented to Imam Khomeini the report of the latest developments on the battlefronts and the operations undertaken by the combatants and he sent the below message for the combatants of Islam.

Subsequent to this visit, the commander of the Revolution Guards Corps after this visit, in a dialogue with the reporters announced: "as it is possible that I may reach them late, I communicate the message of the Imam right from here to the combatants and I hope that they continue forcefully with their battle."

[Message of the Imam:]

Extend my greetings of peace to the soldiers of Islam, tell them to be strong, to be strong-hearted, and bring the aggressors to their knees, and should act powerfully, for God is with you.

Speech

Date: Morning, November 4, 1982 [Aban 13, 1361 AHS / Muharram 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Superpowers are the root of the problems of the world

Audience: Members of the Islamic Councils of the rural areas of the country, immigrant persons of the imposed war

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Preventing the infiltration of the deviants to the councils

Today, two beloved strata are present here and we shall God willing not forget to pray for the well-being of both of them. One strata, is a group from the Islamic councils of the rural areas, which we must thank the Construction *Jihad* who in the course of the victory of this Revolution and its realization, are engaged in serving. Many advantages have been gained from their presence both at the frontlines and at back of the frontlines and are being gained. The second are respected councils that are present throughout the country, they are also serving the rural areas and the deprived and the class that in the course of long years faced hardships, and nothing was accomplished for them. It is necessary to remind the councils that—even though they are aware of it—they should take care that influential individuals from the deviants do not infiltrate posing as Islamic individuals or pseudo-religious individuals. These are the devils in the same manner that Satan enters in various forms and deceives human beings. The past record of the men in the councils must be fully identified and investigated; the jobs they have held after the Revolution and within the course of the Revolution—and what is important is what sort of persons were they before the Revolution. This is in order to know whether they are individuals that are popular; that believe in the Revolution; that are devoted to Islam and have come forward with the intention of serving these oppressed masses that have always been deprived. This is an important aspect of the task, which, I have recommended to every group that has come here. I know that you yourselves are aware of it but it is necessary to remind once again. Yet another is the way they conduct with the people and with oppressed masses. It could be that their service is valuable but sometimes their approach with certain individuals is an approach that even negates the service they do. What is important is that these who have come to serve and are servants, should truly feel that these masses are the oppressed creatures of God; that they are creatures that before

the Revolution faced so much deprivation and have done so much service to the Revolution. After the Revolution, also until matters had not settled down, again they were part of the deprived masses and that you wish to serve them and be their servants. Let it not be that when you are serving them you behave arrogantly that obliterates your service. You must observe Islamic behavior and Islamic ethics correctly; in the same manner that it has been the style of our Imams and the saints of God and the Prophets of God who regarded themselves to be the servants of the people. They would interact positively and behave humanely; they behaved with a Divine behavior and would accomplish what they were delegated to accomplish with this same good behavior. You, too, are the creatures of that same God and the nation of that same Prophet and the Shiite followers of that same Commander of the Faithful and your style must be the same.

I would like to say a few words to these strata that were displaced from their families and their cities because of this war; it is that we are aware of the problems and difficulties that you are facing; and the government is also aware and the councils and the "*Basij*" are also aware of them. They shall serve you to the extent that they can and God willing when the war is over soon their services to you shall enhance. I thank both of these strata and I thank them for having come here to meet with me from close.

The superpowers the looming threats to the world

The problem that threatens the world today is the problem of these two superpowers that have kept the whole world under their wings and are exploiting them. They are busy with plans to make certain weapons, which are dangerous for the future of humanity. Although each one is afraid of the other and this superpower from that superpower but it is possible that at one time a lunatic like Hitler or Saddam may head one of these two superpowers; and because of the mania that he has for power leads the world to destruction. If, God forbid, there is a war between these two superpowers today, they will destroy the world. They are the problems of the world today. The other problems are the regional problems, these problems must be resolved by the nations and the intellectuals all over the world, and the deprived masses of the world should go after resolving this problem. If they sit idle and expect their governments to solve their problems, they shall not do it. The governments do not have such power and capability and the carnal desires that they themselves have, prevents them from opposing these two superpowers.

Today, the masses of the people, the writers, and the orators must think about the future of the world and to enlighten the people about this danger that threatens the whole humankind. They must enlighten all the masses of the world that this great danger is looming ahead and if the superpowers are allowed to remain in a situation, which they are busy making big atomic weapons and conventional weapons, it is possible that they will bring destruction to the world and the nations will have to bear the major losses. Every person, wherever he is, the writers, intellectuals and the theologians are present among all the strata of the world and the scientists must enlighten the people of this danger so that perhaps the people themselves and the masses of people confront these two powers and prevent the making of these weapons. There are rumors of this making the rounds and have been making the rounds; it is since long that there is discussion of the elimination of these nuclear weapons; of wanting to arrive at a consensus to prevent the construction of these nuclear weapons or these enormous missiles that have been produced recently; both of these are nonsense. America is also of the opinion that it should take advantage of the Soviet Union credulity and to make the weapons that it keeps in the West or wherever it has a hold and access, make it ready for the day when with a single press of the button the world can be destroyed.

Today, the people of the world must pay attention to this great problem of the world; and every stratum, a writer, the press, all over the world should pursue this subject and awaken the people to revolt rightly against what they are carrying out. However, there are certain strata that are holding demonstrations against these weapons, but the entire people must revolt in order to be able to do something. Was it not for the power of America, even Saddam would not have been able to do this foolish act. If it were not for the power of America, Israel would also not be able to commit these atrocities. If it were not for the power of America, these governments around the Persian Gulf and their likes would not do the things they have recently been doing. If the world wants to be free from these two powers, they must act in the manner that Iran has acted whereby all the strata revolted and all the strata created a movement and caused a revolution. They did not seek refuge to any of these two powers and acted independently and even America made an all-out efforts from previous times until now in order to suppress them, it was not able to do so. Until all the Islamic and non-Islamic countries that are in the world and all their masses of people who are weak and helpless under the subjugation of their own rulers; until they do not revolt and until they do not take notice of this great danger that is threatening the world, nothing will

change. Moreover, if God forbid, something happens all of a sudden, then there neither be any nation in place nor any human being—except a few. The world must think about it.

The disgraceful defeats of Saddam in the battlefield

The scholars must think; they must awaken the people. The pen alone is of no use; to talk alone is not enough; to trust the governments is of no use; the people themselves and the writers and orators themselves must awaken the people. The pen is useful that enlightens the masses of the people. If the condition of the world remains as it is now, it is likely that the likes of Israel and Saddam will remain; and if this one is shattered and that one is destroyed, then they will create others like them. See, what a disgusting thing Saddam has done that he is trapped today and does not know what to do. The example of Saddam is like the example of a person that claims to be a champion in the field of wrestling but whenever he would go outside, somebody would come and beat him up or knock him down; he would then return home and beat up his mother. On whichever frontline that Saddam has been slapped and in whichever frontline that he has been defeated, following that he has vent his frustration at a group of these wretched Iraqis that are suffering under his tyranny and are struggling to free themselves. He either banishes them or imprisons them or with his, long-range weapons strike the Arabs' inhabitant cities or at other cities in Iran. This is the same matter. Whenever he is defeated, such similar issue happens. Now also that he has been handed a signal defeat, you should expect that again —God forbid—if he can, he will commit a horrible crime in the border cities and his friends and the *munafiqin* inside the country. This is perhaps in order to divert the attention from that defeat. At the same time, the forces of Iran advanced so much in the “Muharram operations” and forced them out of the country—of course, they are still occupying some territory—and took some two thousands prisoners out of which about Eight-hundred prisoners of war have been evacuated to behind the fronts. They wreaked havoc on them, took a large cache of their weapons and ammunitions as spoils of war, and destroyed a large number of their weapons. Simultaneous with these matters and these advances, in his speeches, Saddam claims that Iran attacked them, but we have defeated them; our army has defeated them. The foreign propaganda machinery and their trumpets have decided that whenever he is defeated, they keep silent or cover it up for some time. When they finally decide to want to speak, they say Iran claims this and Saddam says this. When they talk about Iran, they mention something lesser than the fact. For

example, that we have taken a hundred prisoners so far; and when they want to mention, they exaggerate them. After a time that they act in this manner, then gradually they see that they cannot put a lid on it and keep quiet for long; then little by little, they move towards mentioning the issue to some extent. On the issue of Khorramshahr, you noticed that the matter of Khorramshahr was denied for a long time that it had been retaken from them. Both Saddam would say that it was not so; that they had killed so many of our forces and so forth and also their propaganda loudspeakers would toe his line and utter these things. Gradually, when our forces took so many prisoners of war and showed them, subsequently, he states that he had ordered his powerful army that they should retreat now since they had made their conquest; that their conquest was over.

More surprising is that he mentions these matters in the presence of his own military personnel's and commanders. Underneath their breath—if they have any left—they laugh at him because they know the facts. At the same time, he sees that those who are standing before him know that he is talking nonsense, yet he has the guts to utter it. Now also it is the same; now also this commander of “Qadisiyyah” claims that his “Qadisiyyah” army has done such and his “Qadisiyyah” soldiers have done so forth! Recently, he has been saying that in this very operation, he has killed four-thousand of the Iranian troops and so many they have killed so far and so many men they have lost and so many they are holding as prisoners of war. This is the same thing, which is that he does not know what he has to do; and for this, he must curse America that duped him in such a manner. In addition, if God grants Muslims the favor so that the Muslims pay due attention to the problems of the region and expel Israel from the region and from the world—they must curse America. These countries around us that have assisted to the extent that they could, are now of late saying that if Iran wants to enter Iraq, they shall enforce an economic and political blockade against Iran! You have done whatever you could until now. What they say is that so far Hijaz¹ has contributed thirty billion dollars to the Iraqi army and they have also opened the way to Iraq in order to send the weapons from that side for them and also forces.

That wretched one that is sitting on the other side of the world and who cannot hold onto his own hat; that Numayri² is saying that they will help Israel. That petty man who is having internal problems does not know what

¹ Saudi Arabia.

² Jafar Numayri, President of the Republic of Sudan had announced his readiness to give military aid to Iraq.

to do and says that he will offer help. All of them are puppets in the hands of America. America tells them to say so and they comply.

The need to confront the igniting of fire by America

The world must destroy America; otherwise, as long as they are existing, these tragedies will be present in the world, If not here, then somewhere else. Right now, in many places all over the world, America has started fires and the wars that are now in progress in many parts of the world, it is behind all of them. They are threatening the world; and they will never halt the production of these weapons that they claim to halt and to limit; they are lying and they never speak the truth. Therefore, we must cry out against them as much as we can.

Today, which is the anniversary of the “Espionage Den”, I congratulate our nation and this step, which the friends of Islam, the combatants of Islam have taken. It was a very good action and effective so that this “Den” is uprooted from here. If this den would be in place here, may be it would have destroyed Iran. Now also in abroad, they are offering the maps to Iraq; they are taking the maps from here with the means that they have at their disposal and giving them to Iraq. Let them do whatever they want. Until now, almost all although not all but many of the countries of the Gulf and around the Gulf have given all-round assistance to Iraq and have not been able to do anything. Now recently, they are saying that if Iran wants to advance into Iraq, they shall no longer tolerate it and they will bring political as well as in some instances military and economic pressure on us. You have done whatever you could do until now; you cannot do anything else. Unnecessarily, do not bring disgrace to yourselves and you should know that if Saddam—God forbid—advances, he shall set all of you on fire. This is the psychic condition of Saddam. This destructive element and this manslaughter and crime are present in the psychic state of mind of Saddam. If—God forbid—he gains control, he will destroy Saudi Arabia; he will destroy Syria; he will destroy these countries of the Gulf and Kuwait—he will demolish all of them. This is how this man is; he is made from such material. On the same pattern that Israel is made of that sort of nature, it is criminal and most happy by committing crimes. He is also the same. They are the brothers of each other.

May God eliminate the evil of the Great Satan and the big and small devils; and may he awaken the Muslims and the Islamic states from the negligence from which they suffer and make them alert. The great nation of Iran is a model for all the countries and the nations. May God safeguard them

from all afflictions and calamities; may God grant these refugee people patience; may grant strength to the government and the nation, God willing, to construct their places better than before and enable them to serve these deprived people.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Permission

Date: November 6, 1982 [Aban 15, 1361 AHS / Muharram 19, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Taqi Abdus

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muharram al-Haram 19, 1403 AH

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

His Eminence Thiqqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Abdus, who spent a part of his honorable life in studying the religious sciences and propagating the sacred tenets is on my behalf authorized to take charge of financial and religious law affairs and taking religious funds. He is further authorized to utilize the portion of the "*sadat*" locally and to pay the needy *sadat* as well as to utilize half of the portion of the Imam—may God's peace be upon them—for propagation of the sacred tenets and specified cases. He is to send the other half portion to me for establishing and maintaining of the sacred seminaries.

I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to avoid carnal desires and to be cautious. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 1982 [Aban 1361 AHS / Muharram 1403]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Right of print and publishing of book (Compilation)

Addressee: General public

[In His Most Exalted Name

Holy presence of Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—May his presence endure,

With greetings of peace and health, a sacred decree “*fatwa*” has been quoted from Your Eminence that royalty of publishing is not fixed in your opinion. Some of the publishers, based on the previously mentioned decree, have printed books without payment of royalty and without undergoing expenditures of typesetting, and publish them at a lower price. This has resulted in losses for the original publisher and discouragement of the publishers. Therefore, please state:

Firstly, whether the above-mentioned quote is correct or not?

Secondly, in case the decree is quoted correctly, considering that in the laws of the Islamic Republic the royalty of printing and publication is still protected, is the action of some of the publishers that were stated legal? Does the sacred office of the religious jurispudent have a role to play in this instance?]

In His Most Exalted Name

The right of printing and publication in the sense that a person has printed and published a book, so that no other person has the right by laying hands on the original manuscript, to reprint and to republish, it is not lawful. However, if it is expedient for the Islamic government and it has drafted certain regulations in this regard, it is necessary to observe it.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The law of protection of rights of publishers, printers and compilers was ratified later by the Islamic Consultative Assembly and reached the stage of implementation. According to the religious decree “*fatwa*” of Imam Khomeini also, its observance is mandatory.

Letter

Date: November 7, 1982 [Aban 16, 1361 AHS / Muharram 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amendment and reforming the laws of elections of the Assembly of Experts

Addressee: Religious jurists of the Council of Guardians namely: Lutfullah Safi, Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani, Abul-Qasim Khazali, Ahmad Jannati, Ghulam-Rida Ridwani, Yusuf Sanii

[Blessed Presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran—may his sublime presence endure,

With greetings and best wishes, this is to inform that the law for elections to the Assembly of Experts has been reviewed once again. With regard to the total population of the country in respect of article one that pertains to the number of experts, it has been reformed and amended in the following manner:

Article one—The number of experts for each province is one person except in case of provinces that have a population of more than five-hundred thousand, so that for every five-hundred thousand inhabitants, one representative is added.

Note: In provinces that after consideration of every five-hundred thousand, the balance of their total population does not reach five-hundred thousand and does not exceed two-hundred fifty thousand, for them also one representative will be added.

We request you that after studies, in case of the affirmative opinion of your holiness, to endorse the circumstances and attest below.

Jurists of the Guardian Council: Luafullah Safi, Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani, Abul-Qasim Khazali, Ahmad Jannati, Ghulam-Rida Ridwani, Yusuf Sanii]

In His Most Exalted Name

The circumstances are endorsed. May the Almighty grant you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
16/8/1361 AHS

Decree

Date: November 9, 1982 [Aban 18, 1361 AHS / Muharram 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Pardoning of prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of the Supreme Court)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Great Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may his sublime presence endure,

Respectfully, attached is the list of names of thirty one persons found guilty, by the court that in the opinion of the Amnesty and Pardon Commission, and one of the condemned by the Court of Guild Affairs and one person from the Islamic Revolution Court of Qum that at the request of the court magistrate and confirmation of the religious magistrate, have either been pardoned or their sentence was remitted, is hereby being presented to your blessed presence.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 18, 1361 AHS

¹ In accordance with the duties and authorities of the Leadership manifested in Article 110 of the Constitution.

Message

Date: November 14, 1982 [Aban 23, 1361 AHS / Muharram 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Testimony of Imam Khomeini regarding his son for removal of injustice and unfair criticism

Addressee: People of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

23/8/1361 AHS

Praise to be God for his bounties and peace be upon his Prophets and diviners especially, the last of Prophets and the companion of God and particularly the concealed and endure (Twelfth Imam) of them, may our souls be sacrificed for his sake.

I have never had and never have the inclination to speak about my closer and dear ones or to defend them. But in addition that I am guilty and responsible; and hope for His pardon and forgiveness at His Exalted Court; and all my capital and assets is confession of guilt and forgiveness for it; and I also confess to the Muslims and the beloved nation of being guilty and at fault and I hope for their forgiveness and seek their pardon. In relation to certain groups and individuals, I am guilty of unforgivable sins and I strongly believe that after I am no more, in order to take revenge from me, they will slander some of my near and dear ones that I consider to be unfair; and to burn them in the fire that I must be burnt, and probably on the pretext of coming to my defense, they take my revenge against them. Now during my lifetime, there are talks and rumors that add strength to the above-mentioned possibility. Thus, I consider it my religious duty, in order to remove injustice and unfair criticism; I express my views to the beloved nation so that I am not faulted in this respect. One of them against whom the possibility of taking revenge against me exists more than anybody else is my son Ahmad Khomeini. I bear witness at the Court of the Truth that from the beginning of the Revolution until now and before the Revolution and from the time he has entered the arena of politics, I have never seen any behavior or statement that was against the course of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. He has supported the Revolution at all the stages and during the stage of the splendid victory of the Revolution, he has been my assistant and helper and does not do anything that is against my opinion. In the relevant affairs, whether in the circulars or

counsels, he does not interfere or give opinions without referring to me. Even in the wordings of the circulars, he does not interfere without referring to me and if he gives an opinion on an issue, it is a recommendation and his recommendations are sincere and are not against the direction of the Revolution and interests. If I do not accept his recommendations, he does not oppose me; and if also I take his words to be right, I accept them and I hope that I accept the right recommendations from every person.

But with regard to the financial matters, which some opponents of the Revolution ascribe to him, I must mention that he does not interfere in my financial affairs; and the confiscation and safekeeping of the public property at the disposal of some gentlemen enjoy my trust and if he wants some amounts for the persons, he proposes and I pay the amount directly or through a third person to them. I hereby declare that Ahmad does not have any money or share in any local and foreign bank or institution. He does not have any agricultural or other land in any place inside or outside the country and so forth; and if he takes possession of one of these instances inside or outside the country after my demise, the contemporary government with the permission of the contemporary jurispudent should confiscate them and take legal action against him. I hope that the government authorities of the Islamic Republic always consider the merits and shun nepotism. One of the matters that need to be reminded is that one of the false accusations that are leveled against him is that he has stolen the Abbasid Museum and has taken its contents to Paris and for a period the opponents utilized their time on this subject only to be proved contrary. On the other hand, that he has purchased land in the north of the country and so forth which my opponents would level in order to seek revenge from me.

With regard to the political issues, for a time he was accused of being a supporter of the *munafiqin* and that I was witness to his opposition in the course of the Revolution that was more serious and categorical than others. In addition, of late when the subject of the Evin prison came to the fore, and complaints were filed against Mr. Lajevardi and there was opposition to him, I did not see any body except Ahmad to be stauncher in his support of Mr. Lajevardi and to come to his defense. He regarded his being in charge of the Evin prison as being necessary and his removal as almost a disaster. On the other hand, take the question of his support for Bani Sadr; as long as I would support Bani Sadr because of certain expediencies, he, too, would sometimes support him. However, when I drew the curtain and removed him from office, he did not support him even once and would oppose him strongly. Alternatively, taking the question of "Third Line" that was the topic of

meetings of the opponents and they would level unjust criticisms while I would enjoin him to remain silent. He was never outside the line of the Revolution and Islam and if finally because of vendetta against me after my demise, certain groups rise up in opposition to him, I have paid my debt to him as a Muslim and as a father. The Blessed and Almighty God bears witness to this and I hope that Ahmad places his trust in the Blessed and Almighty God and is not afraid of anyone beside Him and be in the service of the Creator and the creatures. He should not show weakness or hesitation because of the slanders and oppositions while serving, place his hope in the Almighty God. He should not take any steps for obtaining a position of power and because I regard him to be a useful person for the Revolution; I hope that at the side of the adherents of the Revolution and the devoted of the path of Islam and with the aim of serving Islam, he strives even more. He should strive with his revolutionary and faithful brothers in the path of the Revolution and Islam, not spare any efforts at service, and not demand any reward from any creature. He should continue to serve sincerely and for the consent of God in the path of the Islamic country and the Divine objectives. He should serve the poor and the weak that the Exalted Truth has enjoined, more than others, and to call upon others to serve them. Whatever difficulty arises in the path of serving the objective, which is the beloved Islam, and whatever disruption occurs in the process, he should not stop his efforts for the sake of God. He should accept to serve for whatever task he is called upon and which he considers to be useful and to earn the consent of God through service to the people.

However, with regard to the clergy that sometime slander Ahmad; I regard him to be a staunch supporter of the clergy. The basis of the clergy is not something that a Muslim be opposed to it. But unconditional support in the sense that any person with any deed and moral behavior and ideology should be endorsed by him; and that whoever wears the garb of the clergy, even if he behaves contrary to Islamic and humane principles should deserve to be necessarily overlooked is not expected from him nor from any other devoted and Muslim clergyman that believes in the Islamic values—and it must not be expected. I have repeatedly mentioned that an unrefined pseudo-clergy toeing a non-Islam line is more dangerous for Islam and the Islamic Republic than a former agent of the “SAVAK”. In any case, Ahmad follows the line of Islam and the line of the devoted clergy in this regard; and it is hoped that God Almighty willing, he will remain firm in this straight path, which is the straight path of God. I pray to the Almighty God for the perpetuation of the Islamic Republic and the honor and glory of the Muslims

of the world—and especially the noble nation of Iran. I pray for the devotion and steadfastness of the administrators of the affairs and power and glory for the combative soldiers and for the presence of the great nation of Iran in the arena. May God be upon His righteous servants.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini,
may God pardon him,
Sunday, Aban 23, 1361 AHS /
Muharram al-Haram 27, 1403 AH

¹ When the documents and works of Imam Khomeini were to be incorporated into the works of the Imam, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, wrote beneath the writings of Imam Khomeini as under:

“Mr. Hamid Ansari, I have repeatedly told the Imam that to come to my defense was not in the lexicon of His Holiness and we saw that it was not except the letter in which mention was made to this effect. I think this vindication is also not compatible with the culture of His Holiness. Because he had been witness to my innocence, he had no option but to write in defense of the innocent. Thus do not document this letter and let them say what they have to; God is more aware of the deeds of human beings.

Ahmad Khomeini
3/12/73 AHS

After the demise of the reminiscence of the Imam, his son Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, in accordance with the will of the father and legal regulations has taken over the custodianship of the Institute for the Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini. We requested him to give us permission to publish this valuable document, which reveals many of the tribulations suffered by the Imam, his son, his appointees and companions and is a fitting reply to the doubts and suspicions that the spiteful would cast on him, and to include it in the collection of the works of the Imam. (Hamid Ansari)

Message

Date: November 16, 1982 [Aban 25, 1361 AHS / Muharram 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Congratulations for the victory of the combatants in the mopping up operations of the Kurdistan and West Azarbaijan provinces of the anti-revolutionary elements

Occasion: Presentation of the report of the commanders of the Ground Forces of the Army and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Addressee: Combatants of Islam in the Hamzah Sayyid ash-Shuhada command headquarters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Extend my congratulations to all the combatants of Islam and especially those who are fighting the enemy in the area of operation of the Hamzah Sayyid ash-Shuhada—may God's peace be upon him—command headquarters. Islam and the pious Muslims look forward to such victories from you—and you shall not be erased from the memory of any of us. You are the beloved sons of the nation. The victory that you earned was an honor for the nation. I hope that this victory will endure until the last stage. I beseech God for the health and happiness of all the combatants and shall not forget you in my supplications.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 16, 1982 [Aban 25, 1361 AHS / Muharram 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: In praise of the martyrs and their families

Addressee: People of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To all the Muslim and courageous people of Isfahan¹—may their successes last,

“Salutations to you for which you were patient; and how good is its consequence in that world.”²

Mercy of God be upon the martyrs, and the benediction and remission of the Truth be upon their holy purified souls that have attained the proximity to Him and have with honor and enthusiasm hurried towards their exclusive place in the presence of their God. Salutations and peace be upon you the parents, spouses, children, and survivors of the martyrs who have given the best of their beloved in the cause of the best objective, which is the beloved Islam, magnanimously. In the matter of the defense of the religion of God, you have shown such patience and forbearance that you have revived the memory of the heroism and steadfastness of the companions of the Doyen of the Martyrs His Holiness, Imam Husayn—may God’s peace be upon him—for the people of the world. I express my congratulations and condolences to the heroic and martyr-breeding people of the force-fertile province of Isfahan and to the entire great nation of Iran that have proven their fidelity to Islam and the Almighty God in the best possible manner. I am confident that these sacrifices and acts of heroism shall in the near future enrich the blessed tree of Islam more than ever before and shall destroy and condemn to extermination the sworn enemies of Islam. I beseech the Almighty God to grant blessing and mercy to the beloved martyrs; and cure the maimed and injured; and to grant patience and reward to their respected families. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The province of Isfahan is a forerunner in the number of forces sent to the Imposed War fronts and defending the Revolution and has sacrificed the largest number of martyrs.

² *Surah ar-Rad* 13:24.

Decree

Date: November 17, 1982 [Aban 26, 1361 AHS / Safar 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief of the Supreme Court)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Sacred presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, I beseech the beneficent God for the good health, happiness, and success of that great and honorable religious authority. On the basis of the approved bill, dated 20/8/61 AHS of the Supreme Court of Justice with reference to the sub-article 6 of the article one-hundred ten of the Constitution, I request you to approve the grant of amnesty of individuals who have been condemned because of addiction to narcotics, possession or carrying narcotics for personal consumptions or are condemned on all three above-mentioned counts and are being prosecuted in the courts of law. This includes both the accused and the condemned on condition that they give an undertaking to give up addiction and not to repeat the offense.

With regard to the special consideration of that compassionate leader in relation to the condition of the prisoners, this is to inform that the inclusive of the amnesty order will be freed if they are under arrest.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili
Chief of the Supreme Court of the
country
24/8/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 26, 1361 AHS

¹ With reference to the duties and authorizations of the leadership mentioned in article 110 of the Constitution.

Decree

Date: November 18, 1982 [Aban 27, 1361 AHS / Safar 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Friday Prayer leader of Kermanshah

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Muwahhidi Kermani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Muwahhidi Kermani—may his graces last,

Following the heartrending martyrdom of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani—may God's peace be upon him—I am appointing your eminence to the position of the Friday Prayer leader of Bakhtaran. God willing, while performing this great religious duty, it is hoped that you will familiarize the people with their other duties, which they have in regard with the beloved Islam and the bloody Revolution of the noble people of Iran. It is also hoped that the respected residents in general, and their holinesses, the honorable theologians in particular and the revolutionary bodies utilize this opportunity and cooperate fully with Your Eminence in the even more splendid performance of the unity-enhancing Friday prayer. I beseech the Exalted God for the success of all.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, November 18, 1982 [Aban 27, 1361 AHS / Safar 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Unity and uniformity of the Monotheistic Schools—importance of the Assembly of Experts

Audience: Some representatives of the religious minorities

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for unity of the Monotheistic Schools against the oppressors

I am pleased that the Islamic Republic has made available certain opportunities for us and for our nation; and these opportunities are the meetings with the various strata and doctrines and religions. We have all come together under the banner of monotheism. Iran belongs to all and monotheism is the religion of all; and the genesis and resurrection is the ideology of all; and we have these commonalities and are a united nation. It is necessary that with regard to the problems of Iran, all be present in the arena and all of us be united so that others who want to do encroach against all of us whether in the name of Islam or pretend in the name of other religions, think it fair to violate against the Muslims of the world or the oppressed nations of the world. We cooperate with one another to find a way to thwart oppression among all the strata of human beings in the world. The great Prophets—may God's peace be upon them—from Adam until the last Prophet who arrived on the scene and the great universal Prophets that lived among the people, all of them came with the purpose of hoisting the flag of monotheism and justice among the nations. The Prophets, all the Prophets throughout history were not only admonishers rather in order to rectify the morals of the people; they were delegated with words, actions, and activities. The Blessed and Almighty God has appointed the Prophets in order to make them complete human beings, in order to develop humane ethics among them, that they possess humane qualities and actions—and all of them did their job in any situation and according to their assignments.

One point, which I have also mentioned previously, is that we do not know why these Prophets who worked so tirelessly to purify the nations, to reform the nations, for the spiritual aspect of human beings, the rulers that have come to rule throughout history—whether the Islamic rulers or rulers of other religions, in most cases have acted against the teachings of their Prophets. Today, you are witnessing that the countries of the world are made

miserable with leaders who claim to be Christians; who claim to be Jewish; who claim to be Muslims. The suffering of the nations of the world today at the hands of many of these leaders is an affliction that we must consider as being the affliction of the Prophets. In the same way that the Prophets at the dawn of universe until the end suffered at the hands of traitors that behaved with them in such a way that they blackened the face of history. Today, their nations also are suffering at the hands of leaders that darken the face of history and—God forbid—bring disgrace to the Prophets in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God. You see if the Prophet of Islam is brought in the presence of God and the Blessed and Almighty God reveals to him to see what these individuals, these governments that make claims to Islam, are doing with their people; to see how these rulers are acting against the interests of their own nations, he will have no reply to give except to say that he has propagated the religion but they have not listened to him. If they bring each of the Prophets in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God and reveal to them to see what these rulers that are of your religion are doing in the world today; see what America is doing with the people in the name of Christianity—that Christianity whose whole existence was based on spirituality—they will have no reply to give. Jesus Christ, who was very spiritual and who came with the objective of making the people spiritual, now those who claim to be Christians do not face a better fate than the polytheists do. Those who do not basically accept genesis nor the Day of Resurrection with those that claim to be Christians; with those that claim to be Jewish—these leaders are no different from them or perhaps those are ahead of them in giving importance to worldly affairs and trampling the rights of the innocent people under their feet. Today, you are seeing that the Zionists of the world who claim to be Jewish and whom the Jewish do not accept, see what they are doing with the people and nevertheless claim to be followers of His Holiness Moses! Worse than them are the big Christian governments and what they do with the people! With the spirituality, that His Holiness Jesus Christ had; see what they are doing to their people and with their own nations—even against their own oppressed people. What the others are doing that has darkened the face of Christianity—of course, they have darkened their own face. Likewise, are the other strata and those who make claims to Islam. Today, the blow that has been dealt by Saddam to our nation, and the oppressed Christian and non-Christian nations from the Zionists in Lebanon and the likes of Lebanon, who has suffered these miseries from others? All of them are claimants, but in practice, you see what they are. We the nations, we who are all under the banner of monotheism,

until we do not become united and gather under the true nationality that belongs to all of us, and until not present in the arena, we will not be able to resist this torrent of faithlessness, which is overtaking the whole world. You are seeing that since four years or about four years, Iran—praise be to God—has resisted and its combatants since approximately three years and more than two years are engaged in a war; you are seeing that they are resisting despite all the difficulties and the nation is backing them—this is the cause of our victory.

Respect of the Islamic government for the Divine universal religions

You must know this fact that the Islamic government if it acts upon its Islamic duties, it respects all the strata, all the religions that are officially recognized in—for all of them. In the same way that it respects the rest of the strata of the Muslim nation, it also respects them and this not for any other reason except that Islam is akin to it.

Perhaps you may have noted in history about the army of Muawiyah came and what it did to some people and removed the anklet from the foot of the women that belonged to the divine religions. When His Holiness the Commander of the Faithful, who was the head of the government of that time, came to know of this incident—as is quoted—he stated that he had heard that the anklet had been removed from the foot of a person that was under the supervision of Islam. He then said that if a person dies for this reason, he is not to be reproached.¹ This is how it supports.

The nation of Iran must all be in the arena collectively. All of them must make a united effort for safeguarding Iran and in order to, God willing, free the rest of the countries also from the bondages that they have. You should compare yourselves among the former regime and the regimes that are now present in the world and existing regime that has been established in Iran today. Compare these two and you will see that the condition of the whole nation, despite every kind of problem our government and nation are facing; despite the economic pressures of the superpowers that our nation and government is facing; despite the fact that our government and nation are facing military aggression; yet the works that have been done for the poor in these few years—in these past two or three years, more or less—despite all these problems, was not done throughout the years of the reign of the Father and the Son. You should know for sure that the Islamic government serves all the strata of the nation and is not restricted to one or two strata. Islam mandates us to this effect; we are mandated that until the gentlemen remain

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27.

committed to their undertaking to the Islamic government and the Islamic Republic, we shall remain committed to our undertaking to serve them. I hope that the nation always pays total attention that these Muslims and these non-Muslim strata associated with Islam and those who have been recognized by Islam and the Constitution, which our victory lays in that the minor differences that exist between you, be resolved and that there should be no differences involved. In matters pertaining to the government, matters pertaining to the parliament, in matters pertaining to the law, all must cooperate and the whole nation be united.

The Assembly of Experts working towards strengthening the organization of the leadership

Today, the issue of the Assembly of Experts is put forward for the selection of the leadership. This is an issue, which the nation of Iran must not take lightly. At present, a bunch of fugitives are making the rounds and saying that there must not be any Assembly of Experts because it weakens the leadership. The Assembly of Experts strengthens the leadership. They should not be deceived by these words. All must enter the arena; this is a religious duty. The protection of Islam is a religious duty for all of us. Safeguarding of the monotheistic state is a religious duty for all strata of the nation. If all are not united and not present in the arena and not cast their ballot for the legislators and not cast their ballot for the Assembly of Experts so that the legislators that must be elected do not receive the required number of votes, they have acted against their religious duty. All must be present in the arena and all must be informed. I say to the strata of the clergy that stepping aside will result in a situation similar to the former times when the religious scholars stepped aside and resulted in our nation to be distanced from their elders so that the governments acted as they wished. They left the government alone so that it acted as oppressively as it wished. If you leave the arena, and the theologians and men of learning leave the arena, this will result in a recurrence of the same old problems. Today, it is a religious duty; the Assembly of Experts is a religious duty for all so that the person who wants to become an expert should file his nomination and the nation vote for them. In any case, if all of us are not present in the arena and all of us do not think of saving this country from the evil of the corruption and immorality; if we do not think so, then God forbid—although it may not be very effective for the present, but it shall be effective for the future of the nation—then again God forbid, our nation will be subjugated by those same individuals that had neither mercy for our young nor for our old. I hope that the Blessed

and Almighty God grants us all the favor to serve this country; to serve this nation and that we all are united and safeguard our movement against those who are against this nation; that act against the interests of the nation. I hope that God willing we do not suffer from those governments who regard themselves to be distinct from the people and who had organized monarchies for themselves. God willing, we do not suffer at their hands.

May God's peace be upon you and His righteous servants!

Letter

Date: November 1982 [1361 AHS / 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Thanking a young adolescent for donating a sum of money for meeting the needs of the war fronts

Addressee: An eleven-year old youth

In His Most Exalted Name

Dear son, I have received the amount that you sent to assist for the war fronts. I am very pleased at your morale. However, I request you to spend this money yourself. God willing, I shall contribute on your behalf to the war fronts.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, November 24, 1982 [Azar 3, 1361 AHS / Safar 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Friday prayers and the influence of the Friday prayer leaders on the society

Audience: Friday prayer leaders of Khorasan province¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Convening the Friday prayer is of the great blessings of Islam

As I have repeatedly mentioned, one of the blessings of this Revolution and our victory is that we meet the religious scholars and especially brothers from the Sunni sect whom I would not have the opportunity to meet before and I hope that this continues and the unity of expression is always in place.

Conducting the Friday prayers is one of the great blessings of Islam that unfortunately before the victory of the Revolution was given a very low profile among the Shiite theologians; while the sermons of the Sunni sect that would establish it was limited to specific subjects. However, today it is from the blessing of the Friday prayer that the nation leaves their homes, congregates at the Friday prayer centers, come to an understanding with one another, and listens to political and religious issues. This is extremely valuable and just as you see, praise be to God, it is growing day by day and the congregation is getting larger and there is never any vacillation witnessed in it.

These foreign mass media propagate that the people are not showing too much interest in the Friday prayers. Where in the world can you find a place like the province of Isfahan? Just a few days ago, only in the city of Isfahan they held the funeral rites of three-hundred and seventy martyrs. Despite, these same martyr families and the bereaved families continue to serve Islam. Today, our people have come to know that unless there is no self-sacrifice,

¹ Messrs: Abul-Hasan Shirazi (Friday Prayer leader of Mashhad); Mihmannawaz (Friday Prayer leader of Bojnurd), Husayni (Friday Prayer leader of Shirvan), Murrawwij (Friday Prayer leader of Quchan), Mihrabi (Friday Prayer leader of Dargaz), Masumi (Friday Prayer leader of Turbat-e Haydariyyah), Abdusi (Friday Prayer leader of Sabzevar), Gharawiyan (Friday Prayer leader of Neyshabur), Muhammadiyan (Friday Prayer leader of Kashmar), Faqih (Friday Prayer leader of Zarkuh), Asadi (Friday Prayer leader of Beshraviyyah), Furqani (Friday Prayer leader of Sunni sect of Khalilabad Khaf), Ahrari (Friday Prayer leader of Sunni sect of "Darmiyan" of Birjand), Alizadeh (Friday Prayer leader of Ferdows), Madani (Friday Prayer leader of Bajestan), Tawhidi (Friday prayer leader of Esfarayen).

Islam cannot move forward and they are familiar that we all must sacrifice for the cause of Islam.

The behavioral traits of the universal Prophets especially the honorable Prophet of Islam and his companions throughout the course of history was to be sacrificed in the path of Islam and our people have also absorbed his trait and follow them. The rumors that make the rounds sometimes that there are many problems and for example, there is too much inflation and the people have become unconcerned are unfounded. You see that these sorts of problems exist in countries that have undertaken revolutions since long years. You will not find a country that four years after the victory of its revolution, has become normal in every way and more and more people come into the arena and support the revolution and the government extensively. This is nothing except that this Revolution is Islamic and connects to Islam. If this Revolution like the rest of the revolutions was associated with a particular group or party or that a band of people would come to power by means of a coup d'etat, it was impossible that the nation would move behind them in such an undivided manner and support them. This is a blessing that Islam has favored us with—and we must be grateful for this blessing of God. It is of the favors of Islam that all the brothers from the Sunni and Shiite sect are together and have no differences with one another. Praise be to God, they identified the persons from both sides who would create rift and have set them aside; today, they are serving besides one another and I hope that this trend shall perpetuate.

Position and mission of the Friday prayer leaders

Friday leaders must pay attention to the fact that they are regarded as one of the most influential strata of the society; and they must take note that the people are all ears to them and at congregations, they try to take note of what the Friday Prayer leader is saying. For this reason, they should make the effort to ensure that their sermons are consequential. In the sermons, they should enjoin both piety and observance of such matters as well as call upon the people to unite and be present in the arena.

That you see the foreigners making false propaganda against Iran and their mass media is being used hysterically against us because this uprising is for Islam, we want to spread the Islamic culture to all places, and they are afraid lest Islam extends in their country so that there is no space left for them. One of the issues, which the foreigners harp on, is this same subject of the elections. Any election, that takes place in Iran, they say that this time the people will not turn out; that the people have lost their enthusiasm and are

fed up. You saw that in the past elections, right from the referendum for an Islamic republic to the Assembly of Experts for the Constitution, the Majlis and the presidential elections, the people participated more than previous elections. Now also a group are sitting abroad and speculating that this time the people are tired and do not have the enthusiasm of past and such sort of statements. Most of them are frustrated and they speak because of inner frustrations. They would not have said such things if their internal frustrations had been resolved. These same *munafiqin* and the others, whom the people banished them from Iran, are sitting abroad and claiming that people are on their side.

You, the Friday prayer leaders have a duty to prevent from the mischief that they are engaging in and mentioning that the people are turning against and are not going to participate in the elections. You should call upon the people to participate in the elections and the people prove that they have not turned against and with their participation in the elections, prove that they have not turned away from Islam. Islam is not something from which a person can turn away. Everyday, we are witnessing that the mothers of the martyrs even those that have given several martyrs cry out that if they had more sons would have given them for the cause of God and regret that they do not have more sons to sacrifice in the path of God. The foreigners circulate that small children are being forcefully taken to the war fronts where as it is not so. The people want to prevent these fourteen and fifteen years old from going to the war-fronts but they run away from their parents and go to the front lines. Obviously, an individual who is not mature is not asked by anybody to go to the war front and nor anybody has the right to ask such a thing. Praise be to God, they themselves willingly move towards the fronts and fill up the war fronts.

I hope that you gentlemen stay at the side of each other with sincerity and call upon the people to be firm in their resolve; you must all be in the arena and invite the people to be present in the arena. It is not such that a virtuous person is one who sits in a corner with rosary beads in hand and utters invocations in mosques. If a virtuous person was of this type then His Holiness the Prophet—may God's peace be upon him and his progeny – and the Commander of the faithful Hadrat Ali would also have done such a thing. We have not seen anywhere in history that somebody has said that the honorable Prophet of Islam and the Commander of the Faithful adopted isolation and sit in a mosque and utter invocations; rather on the contrary they were present in all places and were much involved. Therefore, a group that sits down and says that one must withdraw is not right. The clergy must

be an active member of the society and must guide and enlighten the people.
I also beseech God to grant you the favor to serve Islam and the Muslims.
May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you!

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, November 24, 1982 [Azar 3, 1361 AHS / Safar 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyeh Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Spiritual value of the epic-creating combatants of Islam

Audience: Families of the martyrs, commander of the Hamzah Sayyid ash-Shuhada Garrison and the soldiers of Islam, the army, the Guards Corps, gendarmerie forces and Muslim Kurd brothers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In praise of the glorious sacrifices of the combatants

I was not supposed to speak today and now also I shall speak a few words and pray for you. I consider words and statements to be not sufficient to praise you the beloved youth and all the organizations that are serving in Iran; right from the army, the Guards Corps, the *Komiteh*, the *Basij* and all of them, the words are insufficient to sing the praise of these radiant faces that are ready for martyrdom. You have safeguarded the honor of Islam and the honor of the Prophet of God in the Blessed Presence of the Blessed Truth. You brothers have done His Holiness the Imam of the Time—may God's peace be upon him—proud in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God. The epic victories that you have won in Kurdistan and your friends in other places such as “Muslim Front” and “Muharram” and the rest of the warfronts are indescribable. You deserve the eulogy of the Imam of the Time—May God's peace be upon him—and the exclusive favors of the Blessed and Almighty God—and God willing, He will grant His favors. You who are willing to sacrifice your lives for the path of Islam, have been the frontrunners, in the fields of battle between truth and falsity, and have suppressed these enemies of Islam, the enemies of the nation and others. You have done the whole nation proud and we are proud of you. I beseech the Almighty God to grant you happiness in this world and the afterlife and grant you health and to bless the soul of your martyrs. I hope that the Blessed and Almighty God grants you victory and bestow the reward of martyrs upon you. May God protect all our combatants on all the frontlines from misfortunes and record their victories, which is the victory of Islam; which is the victory of the glorious Quran, in the Divine Preserved Tablet.

Opposition of Islam with racism

I would like to mention a few words to the inhabitants of Kurdistan, which is that these grouplets should not deceive you—the inhabitants of Kurdistan—and the others who are residing in that region. These have raised a song against the glorious Quran and against Islam, which is the song of racism. It is the plan to divide the Kurds, Lor, Fars so that each of them should have its own independence. This is that wall, which Islam has arrived to eradicate these walls; that Islam has come to destroy them. All of you and all of us and all the Muslims should come together and breathe together under the banner of “There is no God except God” and under monotheism and carry Islam forward. I hope that you succeed in implementing Islam and the realities of Islam in all the Muslim countries and throughout the world. Praise be to God, you are model for all the countries that exist and know for sure that the eyes of all the countries—meaning the Muslims of the countries and the oppressed of the countries—are focused on you and our prayers is with you. O God, we swear to Thee in the name of Thy Prophets to protect these beloved of ours and to grant victory to these friends of God and the friends of the Imam of the Time.

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

Statements

Date: Morning, November 25, 1982 [Azar 4, 1361 AHS / Safar 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Keeping alive the spirit of faith and Islamism

Audience: Kuchakzadeh (Commander of Gendarmerie), Karbaschi (representative of the Imam in the Gendarmerie)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The point that I would like to remind is that firstly, never be intimidated by the huge quantity of work for however much the volume of work it is insignificant in relation to the willpower of human beings. If a person wants, he can accomplish all the great tasks however large in their numbers.

Secondly, strive to keep the spirit of faith and Islamism alive in the personnel. If the spirit of Islam is present in individuals, in the manner that it is present all along the war fronts today, all the problems shall be solved. All wanted to keep the gendarmerie away from Islamic behavior and faith and to bring them up badly. God willing, try to revive Islamic training among the individuals. Today, the people will help in every possible way; and for this reason, the problems will be resolved.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, November 27, 1982 [Azar 6, 1361 AHS / Safar 11, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of the role of Islamic associations, successes of the popular serving government

Audience: Student members of the Office of Consolidation of Unity of the Islamic associations of the universities throughout the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Guarding against the infiltration of the deviant elements in the Islamic Associations

I thank you dear students who are the future of the Islamic country for having come here and for meeting with you on this cold day. You know that whatever good and bad befalls a nation, dependence or independence, being subjugated and chained and suppression or freedom are contingent upon the university training. The role that a university plays in a country is an important matter and is a great role so that if it plays this great role in a proper way, the country shall attain its lofty objectives. These two factions of university and Faydiyyah theological school, that praise be to God, have today consolidated their unity and together have become one member of the society, can cause a country to attain true independence and freedom. However, if, God forbid, these two strata deviate, then know for sure that the country and the commandments of Islam shall be drawn towards deviation. For this reason, the task that you the dear students have—which is focusing on Islamic issues of the university—is a very crucial and valuable task and on the other hand, it is also very responsive.

The matter, which I have stressed to the various strata with whom, I have met and which I advise and emphasize to you the beloved youth is that the Islamic associations must take care that these deviant elements do not penetrate in these associations. Rest assured that these deviant elements and hypocrites and those whose hands have been shortened from this country want to penetrate in all parts of the country and especially in the universities that are the academic centers and centers for all round human perfection. It is possible that individuals that are very pious outwardly, become more pious even than you in your presence and cry out “oh Islam!” but God forbid, may be of the deviant elements. In the same way that Satan comes in different guises and misleads human beings by means of every trick, these, too, are

human devils that take various forms, and guises and God forbid, infiltrate among you. If God forbid, if such an infiltration occurs, then know there is deviation involved and even though it may not be in the short term but in the long term, there will be deviation. Therefore, you must make your utmost efforts and judgment in selection of individuals to these associations and pay attention that the individuals are persons whose past record before the Revolution and within the course of the Revolution is well known and they are admitted to these associations after their credentials have been thoroughly established. The activities of these associations are very valuable but they have such responsibilities, which is also immense. Also the responsibility of paying attention to all aspects of the university and supervision of all aspects of the university in order to ascertain that no deviation occurs; a deviant professor—God forbid—does not enter and the university administration—God forbid—are not of the deviant elements; are also of the crucial tasks that must be looked into carefully. However, attention in the sense that for every minor issue you must not put aside the people because you belong to “*Hizbullah*” (party of God) dismiss individuals that are pious even if they had made a mistake in the past or committed a wrong that was obligatory. Whatever you do must be appealing and persons that are at present doing a good job and are useful should remain in the universities and continue to educate and to train with the supervision that all the students have in the affairs.

In any case, the task is an important one; and the important task demands an important responsibility. I hope that you the dear brothers and the beloved of the nation succeed in this Islamic-humanitarian task; and our universities, God willing, reopen and continue with their job and facilitate the affairs that are necessary for this nation.

Assembly of Experts is the backbone of the country

However, you and we have many tasks ahead of us, which the devils have once again want to prevent from being implemented. One is the same Assembly of Experts that today is the center of attention of all. The Assembly of Experts is an assembly that you and the nation must know is the backbone of the country. It is for safeguarding the security of the country and safeguarding the independence of the country and protecting the freedom of the country. If there is any negligence in this task, it will be a negligence that cannot be rectified later. As is announced and the day on which it is announced that the people should go and cast their vote for those whom the elders have nominated, then those who wish to cast their votes should go and

cast their vote. They are free to elect whichever person they want; but they must participate. They should —God forbid—fulfill the aims and aspirations that the colonialists pursue in Iran. To avoid participation in this matter is the aspiration of those who wish to mislead these countries and this Islamic state of ours and to plunder whatever resources they possess. For this reason, I advise the whole nation; I advise the women and men that whoever have reached the legal age limit should participate in this election, in these assembly elections and to cast their votes for the nominated individuals for whomever they wish but they must participate. This is one of the important tasks, which we have on hand and today they are trying to ensure that this does not happen. They attempt to disrupt it; they find faults and all these disruptions are because they are afraid of this assembly; they are afraid lest it becomes a reality; they are apprehensive of its ability to do its job at the right moment. For this reason, they do not want this to take place because today, after their hands have been cut off from the pillaging and they have been defeated on the war-front and are facing defeat, and have been defeated both inside and outside the country. Now once again, they are after weakening the assembly and the government; they are after sowing discord among the people in order to make the task more difficult for the government or for the Assembly.

You should know that these disruptions and the individuals that circulate rumors; these are not in the interests of the nation; it is not for your good; it is not for the good of Islam. Today, the parliament and the government are bodies, which we must protect them. We must try to protect this government and protect this legislature. It is this concerned government that has rendered and is rendering remarkable services but because the destruction is so extensive and there are so many problems. There is the war; there are the economic sanctions; there is the opposition of almost all the countries of the world except a few; there is the problem of their assisting our enemies and not helping us; there is disruption at work for the nation of Iran. Thus, under such circumstances, they want to sow discord inside the country in order to exploit those differences.

Successes of the service-oriented government

You should know that if this unity, which exists between the Muslims and especially it has been realized among the nation of Iran is destroyed, we shall return—God forbid—to the same corrupt regimes that destroyed all the resources of this country and prevented the intellectual mind of these our youth from working. Now that three or four years have elapsed from the

establishment of the Islamic Republic, we are seeing that everywhere, with the efforts of the government and the efforts of the youth, the tasks are being performed. The factories are operating by the efforts of the youth themselves. Even though we are engaged in a war since three years, yet the government has performed in that manner, has served in that manner, and has not let our country to borrow money from abroad. Whereas Saddam whom all the wealthy and powerful countries are supporting and cooperating and are giving him grants freely and so forth, yet he has wasted billions of his own foreign currency and has borrowed billions. On the other hand, our government, praise be to God, with the efforts that it makes and God willing, with the unanimity of view that exists among the cabinet; and with the unity that exists between the nation and the government, has managed to increase the foreign currency reserves significantly while it has not borrowed from anywhere so far. We should be thankful to such a government.

If at all there is some shortcoming, for example, know for sure that it is not because of bad intention that they are not working and if they make a mistake, they must be reminded in a sensible manner. When you remind them in a logical way, they should take steps to rectify them. I declare to the entire nation that today opposition to the government, opposition to the legislative assembly, opposition to the Islamic Republic, opposition with the existing bodies in the Islamic Republic is opposition to Islam and shall end in the destruction of this country and this nation. All must be supportive and all must pay attention to the fact that under such circumstances, these problems shall God willing, be solved gradually. The nation must be thankful for this. If as soon as some issue appears unsavory to someone, he should not immediately launch an attack, cause disruption and weaken the government. Similarly, with regard to the legislative assembly, for the legislative assembly is at the head of all the affairs. The nation must endorse it and should never weaken it. I hope that the nation pays total attention and I hope that you succeed in this consolidation of unity that you have in mind and the nation succeeds in consolidation of unity among all the individuals in the country, among all the individuals that are busy doing service so that they all keep busy with their job and work with assurance. The cause for indifference and lethargy should not be facilitated; the nation must be a cause of assurance for the legislative assembly and the government so that they are able to perform their duties. May God guide all of you and the entire nation on the straight path and enable us all to be in the service of Islam and the Muslims and the country.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: December 2, 1982 [Azar 11, 1361 AHS / Safar 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in Gorgan

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi (Friday prayer leader of Gorgan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi, respected Friday prayer leader of Gorgan—may his graces last,

Your eminence is being, herewith appointed to the position of my representative in the Gorgan region. God willing, please take action for elimination of the religious needs and the political and religious problems of that province. In matters, which require the permission of the religious jurispudent, Your Eminence is permitted to take charge and act on my behalf.

I beseech the Exalted God for the perpetuation of your successes. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 16, 1403 AH

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 2, 1982 [Azar 11, 1361 AHS / Safar 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Spiritual transformation of the nation, need for planning in the affairs of the country, resistance of the nation in the face of difficulties

Audience: Husayn Nuri (Friday prayer leader of Hamedan), Friday prayer leaders and clerics of Hamedan province, clerics of Isfahan, members of executive bodies, residents of Khark Island, members of the provincial planning councils and ministries, Minister without portfolio and head and employees of the Plan and Budget Organization, Employees of the Center for Documents of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Divine transformation of the nation is the source of the independence of the country

Firstly, I must thank the respected theologians of Hamedan province and the theologians of Isfahan; and the brothers that have come from Khark and the brothers that have come from all over the country in connection with planning for having given me the opportunity to meet with you from close. I hope that all the gentlemen are successful wherever they are and are blessed with the endorsement of the Blessed and Almighty God.

I would like to make a statement to all the gentlemen that is mutual among all the gentlemen and the whole nation and all the theologians throughout the country and all the combatants and other strata wherever they are, may be blessed with success and favors of Blessed God. My discussion includes those who are engaged in government or legislative or national service as well as those are engaged in *Jihad* on the warfronts and behind the frontlines; and finally all the sisters and brothers of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As the gentleman stated, the Blessed and Almighty God has favored and blessed us. We cannot thank Him sufficiently for this blessing. One was a blessing of negation. Praise be to God, our nation with Divine favor, and with the blessing of Islam and the blessing of the honorable nation succeeded in setting itself free from the claws of oppression of a corrupt regime. We have been getting rid of a regime that was on the verge of corrupting the whole of Iran and all the youth of Iran; and from the oppression of the superpowers whose claws and teeth had been dug into this count and from

sufferings with the blessing of Islam and the blessings of the honorable nation of Iran, we have been liberated.

One positive aspect is that a transformation occurred in Iran whose likes you cannot find in history; a transformation that transformed all the strata from the circumstances they were in; from the sufferings that they had—the ethical sufferings or the material sufferings or the spiritual sufferings. They were transformed into human beings that would strive all together for the cause of God, for Islam, for independence and freedom. A person cannot imagine that what a motivation all over the country; right from the two and three year-old child to the ailing old man lying in the hospital—all of them reverted from a natural state to a Divine state. Now whichever part of the country you go, you shall see that the common public, the masses are focused on Islam. Whatever problem occurs for the government; for the bodies of the government, for the army, for the Guards Corps, for the *Komitehs* and for the rest of the combatants, the people are ready to support and back them and they take action. If this transformation, which the Blessed and Almighty God favored this country of ours; if this Divine transformation had not occurred and this manifestation of faith was absent, no one would have believed that those wolves that had control over this country and were maintaining their hold over all the resources of the country by hook or by crook, would be thrown out. One could not imagine that all the superpowers and those who follow them whether in the region or outside the region, had joined hands and from the aspect of propaganda, armaments and military power were all opposed to this innocent nation that had revolted for the cause of God. Nevertheless, the Blessed and Almighty God blessed this country with strength to nullify all their plots and God willing, shall nullify. This is something for which we cannot thank Him fairly enough. But to the extent that is possible for us in thanksgiving and in gratitude for this blessing, firstly, we should observe piety and fear of God and regard the Blessed and Almighty God to be present and overseeing all our affairs both covertly and overtly. We should be aware that the Blessed and Almighty God is watching us both when in the state of war and the state of peace, in poverty and in abundance.

The whole universe is the God's presence. Whatever takes place is in the presence of God. Whatever danger we feel in our heart occurs in the presence of God. We must be devoted to the Blessed and Almighty God in thanksgiving for this blessing, these infinite blessings, which He has favored us with; and in gratitude for this blessing that he has bestowed to us of late, we must observe piety. We should beseech the Blessed and Almighty God

not to withdraw His blessings, support us, and not leave us to our own discretion.

Stating the duties of the Friday and congregational prayer leaders and the theologians of the homeland

A word for the theologians of Islam and especially, the theologians of Iran and the clergymen that have arrived from Hamedan and Isfahan provinces and finally to all the theologians and Friday and congregational prayer leaders of all over the country who are either Friday prayer leaders or propagators which is that call upon the people to piety. Invitation to piety is the foremost mandatory act. Say it in the Arabic or Farsi version, and call upon the people to observe piety. In the second sermon, also it is a mandatory precaution to invite the people to be pious. The reason that why in this sermon, it is mandatory to call upon the people to observe piety is because in the ranking of the Exalted God, piety ranks higher than the rest of the favors. We and you the clergymen and the congregational prayer leaders and the theologians who are the Friday prayer leaders, wherever they are, they should invite the people to observe piety and to worship of the blessed and Almighty God. This summon to piety and invitation to worship of God that shall God willing be effective for all souls, will result in perpetuation of the favors of the Blessed God to us and in His safeguarding this blessing for us.

Yet another thing that pertains to the theologians and to the rest of the nation is that the theologians of the land, the Friday and congregational-prayer leaders and the propagators should call upon the people to be present in the arena. Until now, whatever blessing has accrued to this Islamic Republic and whatever victories have been achieved by this oppressed nation that has been oppressed throughout history is because of the presence of the nation and all the strata in the arena; and because they regard the Islamic Republic to be their own and of course, it belongs to them. Islam is not the monopoly of some people and not of others. Islam is the Islam of all and the Islamic Republic serves all and belongs to all.

I say this to both the theologians and the propagators that they should always remind the people and tell them that it was their presence in the arena, their backing for the Islamic Republic, parliament, government, judiciary, army, Guards Corps and; this was the key to the victory that they have earned. In gratitude for this triumph, you should call upon the people to be present in the arena and the people should not sit back and watch whenever there is a problem for the government or the legislative assembly or the

army; they should be present in the arena and take action. Your actions have kept alive this republic and God willing, your actions shall also keep it alive and cause it to flourish.

Of the things that again is the duty of all of us and the duty of the clergymen for which they should invite the people in keeping with their presence in the arena, is that the Council of Experts elections that we have ahead of us. It should not be such that the clergymen and the others should move aside and be indifferent. They should call upon the people to participate, they themselves should cast their ballot; they should call upon the people to cast their votes. However, the nation and you and every person is always free to vote for whoever he pleases even if the clergymen or for example, the theologians of the Tehran or Qum theological schools have not endorsed them. You are not obliged to vote for whomever they endorse. Of course, they have investigated the matter, they are specialists in this matter, and they have investigated the issues and have come to this conclusion on that basis. However, this does not mean that a person should force someone and insist that he should vote for such and such candidate. You are free and you must consider the consent of God, and be devoted to God and go to the polling booths after they announce it and cast your ballot. This is a vote for Islam. In the same way that you went and voted for the Islamic Republic and almost hundred percent voted for it, here, too, it is hoped that God willing, its similar will happen in this case.

A word also for some of the groups, which have come here, but with regard to those who have arrived here from Khark Island, I must thank them very much. As their respected Friday Prayer Leader mentioned to me before I came here that young and old men and women went to pour soil over the sites that the terrorists wanted to destroy so that they were unable to destroy it. This is of the same transformations, which have occurred in our nation that I mentioned. You should not be under the impression if they destroy the whole of Khark Island during the era of the “*Taghut*” regime, you would find a single person question it; maybe the people would have also rejoiced that this Shah and these royal actions should be got rid of it. Today, the Blessed and Almighty God has cast His protection because of Islam on all and His compassionate shield over the whole nation. It is because of Him that old and young are in the arena. They rush to the place where there is likelihood of terrorism and yet they go and perform these actions. I am very grateful to them and implore God to protect them. May the Blessed and Almighty God grant us the blessing of not taking away His favors from us and grants us the favor to continue serving.

Importance of planning in the affairs of the country

I would also like to express a few words to these groups that are engaged in planning. The question of planning is of utmost importance for the country. If a country wants to be governed without planning, it cannot be done; there must be planning. The plans must be undertaken with utmost attention to detail by the specialist and the individuals who are specialized in political subjects, social and Islamic issues. They must research thoroughly and undertake the planning jointly together. However, one point I must mention is that if planning is undertaken without the supervision of the clergy; i.e. the specialists who are of the clergy, this will result in the planning that is taken to the parliament for ratification to be rejected by the parliament. If they accept then you will take it to the special commissions and they reject it. If it passes this stage then the Council of Guardians will reject it. This will cause delay. The task that you wish to undertake, you should invite the clergymen who are specialists in this subject to supervise so that God forbid, nothing is done against Islam because if something is planned, which is against Islam then your efforts have been wasted. This is because finally when it reaches the Guardian Council; it will be rejected by them. At that stage, all your efforts are wasted and you must start all over again. This should be handled right from the beginning by a person who is a specialist in Islamic affairs, who has good judgment and is aware of the problems facing the country and the troubles we have today in the country. Generally, he should be aware of the overall issues and he should be prepared to help you out and supervise so that the matters are in conformity with Islamic values. When it conforms, then it will be easy; when it goes to the legislative assembly, it will be accepted and when it goes to the Guardian Council, there, too it will approve. This will result in acceleration of the tasks, whereas if it is otherwise, the tasks will be delayed. So that while we need the planning and our country is in need of planning, it would take months for the tasks to move from one hand to the other and from this channel to that channel and finally without any result. But if the specialists in the main planning, specialists in Islamic affairs join hands and prepare the plans so that it is in keeping with Islamic values, then the task will be done quickly and in a more appropriate manner. I hope that God willing, you take this seriously so that it is accomplished. The main thing is that as I mentioned earlier, you observe piety. Piety is necessary for every person and it is even more necessary for persons who are the administrators of the affairs of the country.

Those who are not occupying administrative positions, piety is something that is effective for the person himself and perhaps also for those group of people who are in contact with him while impiety also infects and has an effect on the person himself and those individuals that deal with him. However, the administrative authorities because of the position they hold, if God forbid, are not pious, you will find that if those that are at the head of affairs are not pious, this will infect the whole country and God forbid, bring ruin to the whole country. Thus, for them, the need to be pious is far greater than for private individuals. For them, too, it is good; it is good for their friends and also good for the country—for the whole country. If we act with sincerity, piety, and goodwill in all places, there shall be no disputes. All these disputes that you see in the same way that the disputes occur in big governments, is because they do not have piety; they do not have political piety; they do not have social piety; they do not possess personal and moral piety. This causes this one to want to dupe that one and that one to want to dupe this one. This results in quarrels. However, if there is, piety involved, and if every person acts within his own limits, there would not be so many fights and quarrels.

True service under the shade of piety and goodwill

Now, in our country, praise be to God, the people are moving towards piety and towards Islam and towards the commandments of the Quran and Islam and are moving on that path and direction. For us, for ourselves, this question is important that the administrators of the affairs of the country, whether the government, or the Judiciary or the Legislature, those, which are responsible for serving this nation; and those that are on the war fronts and are engaged in combat or preparing the logistics for war; all the people and especially these, if they want this country to make progress; they must get rid of these differences. We all know that if God forbid, these differences crop up, they will bring ruin to the nation. If differences crop up among the leaders of a nation, it shall spread and then suddenly we shall see that they have been divided into groups and each one of them plays a different tune. If you wish to serve Islam; if you wish to serve the glorious Quran; if you wish to be vindicated in the presence of God; if you wish to be exonerated when tomorrow you pass out from here to that door then it must be such that the tasks you perform are done with sincerity, integrity, piety, and goodwill. It is very good to question for example; in the legislative assembly; there must be exchange of views on an issue, there must be questions asked but the questions of the type that are theological. When two clergymen sit down

together and talk, sometimes it reaches a crescendo, this one shouts at that one and that one shouts at this one but all of them are trying to seek the truth. Then after the arguments and debates are over, they are two friends who go and sit together and have a cup of tea. The students of religious schools sit freely at the classes of their theologians; they speak out freely; it is not that the right to speech is not given to this one or to that one. All are given equal rights. If a child also consults; if a young clergy also refers and questions, he is given a hearing; he is given an answer. This is constructive criticism. Both want to find the truth. It is the same with you and our nation must be in this manner. If they want to have Islamic training; they must pay attention; they must listen to what Islam has commanded; we, too, must follow that. If they air their own opinions and God forbid, their own grievances, then they shall ruin themselves as well as ruin others. This goes for planning; this goes for the ministries; this goes for the legislative assembly; this goes for its military and armed forces; this goes for the rest of its people; this goes for its judiciary and especially the judiciary, which is more important than other departments because the judiciary is involved with all aspects of the lives of the people. They must with trust in the Blessed and Almighty God and goodwill and devotion to Islamic matters—which they have—follow such policy and likewise, it goes for the rest of the brethren that are in this country.

Honor and strength under the shade of independence

If such is our policy then be sure that no harm shall come to us. We shall be vulnerable only on the day when we rot from within; the inside of individuals rot and this decay spread, destroy, and putrefy a group. Then that group infects another group and so on. It is the coup occurs and you will be exterminated; it is then that the big countries will set their greedy eyes on you and will destroy you with your own hands. Usually, in places where these big governments and these corrupt powers have gained control over the people, it has been the people themselves through whom they have gained control. It is seldom that a government comes out and on its own efforts accomplishes anything. Always they sit and hatch conspiracies, and create divisions among the nation themselves. If they can then they make something out of the nation itself, and destroy the nation, destroy the countries. We are a country, which has faith in God we want to be independent; we want to have this poor things that we have to belong to ourselves; we do not want to have all the big things and be a captive. Of course, if we even now submit to any of the superpowers, they will give to us whatever we desire. If even now

your government, your nation submits to America, they will give you an abundance of everything. However, what thing? The same thing that they give to their animals; they will give you that same thing that they give to their horses; that same thing that they give to their servants. But if we take a stand and say; no' we are neither of the East nor of the West; that we neither want this one nor that one and we have no quarrel with anybody; that whoever is on peaceful terms with us and is ready to let us live with our own independence, we shall also have relations with them; and whoever does not accept this idea then we do not want to have relations with them.

Finally, the foundations of a country are [strengthened] by the unity of its people. If the independence of a country is to be safeguarded, the people must feel that they want to have independence. For a country to be free; its people must feel that they want to be get free; they must despise to be under the leadership or under subjugation of other countries for the sake of their stomach. The nation must feel this that they do not want to have foreign dolls so that they give them us to and we submit to their dictates. We do not want to have these foreign sustenance and glitters brought to us. We want to be independent; we want to make them ourselves. If the nation feels in this way, then it will never be able to lose this freedom and independence; they will never set their greedy eyes on it. All the greed is for sowing discord; creating hostilities between this one and that one; this judge with that judge; this magistrate with that magistrate; this provincial governor with that provincial governor; the people against them; the Friday prayer leaders against the people; the people against the Friday prayer leaders and such things. If these issues crop up, then fear that God forbid, the blessings of God being taken away from us so that we revert to that same shameful situation of those days; a situation in which they would take away our youth to destroy them totally; take them away in order to disrobe them of all human dignity. But if God willing, you remain alert; you pay attention to matters as you have been doing; pay attention to Divine issues as you have been doing; be aware of who your enemies are as you have been and be aware of who your friends are then nobody will overcome you and there will be no need to engage in war or disputes.

Resistance of the nation vis-à-vis the troubles and hardships

What you see is taking place in a part of our country where there is a war going on since two years and all those losses that have been inflicted on us and themselves is because they found a madman—a person who could not grasp what he was doing. Now also the way it is quoted in the newspapers—I

do not know if it is true or false—they say that because he has been defeated and must flee, he is planning to destroy their own resources and don't think this to be impossible from this man. However, intellectuals, enlightened individuals, suppose that such as these same governments of the superpowers that are aware of issues, they themselves will never come on to the field. They always exploit these animals, involve them in wars, and destroy them. We must resist and you should not think that there is a war going on and we are facing the hardships of war. Sir, each of you is aware of the world—war, the Second World War. I remember even the First World War but this Second World War, which probably most of you remember, although we were not involved in the war in any way, yet because of this same war, there was scarcity in Iran. You could not find a loaf of bread in Iran; what passed, as bread was black something like the color of my robe; something coarse and thick that they would give the people. You would not find a single traditional bread baker in Tehran. In Qum where we lived, all the shops were closed and nothing could be found. Today, thank God, everything is plentiful. You say; there is inflation, then take a look at the rest of the places. Is there any place where there is no inflation? I agree that prices must be checked. I agree that it requires efforts. It is a government that is working hard and serving. Now, bunches of immoral elements are complaining because they have not succeeded in coming to power and the administration has fallen into the hands of upright individuals. Well, they shall be accounted separately. Our nation takes into account and sees that the performance of this government is in line with the Islamic teachings; it sees that it is in line with it. However, if there is any discrepancy, the legislature removes it. If there is any discrepancy in the legislature also, the Council of Guardians shall not show any leniency.

Therefore, if the hardships of war occur, any part of the world, they even devour the people. In Iran, despite the hardships, the foreign currency reserves have increased; the foreign currency that was in short supply at the beginning of the war is now in a better position. The foreign reserves that had decreased during the war at one stage have now risen up. What else could this be other than the fact that our government is an intelligent government and is working hard to serve. The rest of the administrative apparatus is also doing great service. However, when two persons go to a magistrate, one of them always comes out unhappy and this just verdict also causes discontent. But this must not be taken into account. We must take note of the fact that the problems are because we are in a state of war and revolution. Wherever a revolution occurs, in some places more than a million people have been

killed. Here, a revolution has taken place. Of course, the Revolution also has inflicted losses, but here they have been few losses. Now also thank God, everywhere there is peace and security. There is also a war going on at the frontiers between a mad man and an intelligent person. When he, too, is driven away, God willing, it will come to an end. Every person who hears these complaints must give back the reply and ask them that in which country is there no inflation? Well, of course, this is how a state is, can you find any place in which there is so much bounty as is present now in Iran! Of course, certain things that are non-essential such as cigarettes for example, are in short supply. Now also the supply of cigarettes has increased, for example; there is now shortage of luxury items. What have you to do with luxury items? Luxury items are those same things that the former regime would import and enslave you with and eliminate your foreign currency. However, those things that are the essential items are bread and for example, meat and such things. Now, those are expensive and I agree that they are expensive, but we must not complain simply because something is expensive although it is sufficiently available; it is not that it is unavailable. I myself witnessed with my own eyes in those days that a group of people attacked a dead horse and took away its meat. I saw it myself. Today, meat is available but it is expensive. I agree but they are making efforts to set it right. I promise you that your country, God willing, will become a good and proper country on the condition that you remain devoted to Islam and be aware that the blessed and Almighty God has granted us this blessing and we must safeguard it and not be ungrateful. I fear, God forbid, that if God sees this ingratitude from us, despite having bestowed so many blessings upon us, if He sees that we are thankless, God forbid, He lessens His favors, and we become destroyed. Be thankful for the blessings of God. Be devoted to God. God willing, all of you shall be successful and all of you shall progress and your country shall become an exemplary country; and may all of you be healthy and prosperous.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 4, 1982 [Azar 13, 1361 AHS / Safar 18, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Striving in agricultural affairs and development of Iran

Audience: Abdullah Nuri (representative in the Construction *Jihad*), members of the Central Council of Construction *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Efforts for the development of the country

From the issues that you and others have reported of the many of the treacheries that have been committed against this country and its people, one can infer that what efforts were made to prevent our progress in all fields and our brains were thwarted from working and making scientific progress while they destroyed our agriculture. You can see how much of our arable land is lying barren and how much of the waters of our rivers such as the Karun are wasted. In the name of progress and industrialization, they put forward the question of “land reforms”. Their similitude is that of a crow that wanted to learn to walk like the quail and in the process forget its own style of walking. God willed to rescue the country from their hands and the matters and decisions fell upon the people themselves.

What you mentioned that there was coordination in the affairs is a very good and right thing. Because, unless the affairs are not socially performed, in that sense and all the individuals do not have the same method and objective, the tasks shall not progress. We are seeing that at the same time that this country that has fallen into our hands had not made any progress, yet its human beings have been transformed into zealous and active human beings, which itself is proof that we can handle all our tasks ourselves. Although America does not want and will not allow us to do our job, but our nation and we shall with the help of God, intend to work in such a way that they cannot thwart us. For this reason, it is necessary that individuals become familiar with the sciences—of course, a science that is at the service of the people. In any case, today we have many responsibilities and we must develop our country with our own hands. If we do not do such then we have not been thankful to God. The question of agriculture is the topmost priority of our country. Praise is due to God; in terms of natural resources, our country has everything. It has good land, water and its people are intelligent

and are interested in agriculture, and the government must encourage, strengthen them, and place the required facilities at their disposal.

Strengthening the spirit of faith in the people

I thank the gentlemen very much for their toil and troubles. The main thing is that God grants reward for these efforts and for their service to the people; and especially their services to the rural folks shall not be wasted. You should attempt to strengthen the spirit of faith in them by means of the individuals with whom you are in contact and by using the services of the clergy and sermonizing. If the faith of the people is strengthened, all the tasks are performed with ease. For example, this same Construction *Jihad* has done so much for the war. This is because of the sincerity of the youth who regard the country as their own and work for the sake of God. When they have such a motivation, the tasks make good progress; it should not be such that if there is any shortcoming or problem in your job, you become apathetic. Continue with your own task. I pray for all of you and hope that God grants you the blessing to serve these poor people, which is the biggest form of worship in His Presence.

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

Endorsement

Date: December 6, 1982 [Azar 15, 1361 AHS / Safar 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Endorsement of the trustworthiness and services of Hasan Sanii, Sayyid Hashem Rasuli Mahallati and Muhammad Husayn Rahimiyan

Addressees: Nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is due to God the Creator of the Universe and salutations upon Muhammad and his pure progeny.

The motivation for writing these few lines is to pay the fraternal debt in relation to a person who was and also is now among the most experienced and faithful of my friends. Because I give the possibility that after my demise those who are unkind in their opinion of me will misbehave with some of my friends and be the target of their un-Islamic and inhuman slanders, I regarded it as duty to bear witness. The person who is most likely of all of my friends to be targeted is my dear brother and son Aqa Shaykh Hasan Sanii—may God protect him—who had greater involvement than others in the financial affairs and religious disbursements and maybe God forbid, he will be the target of slanders on these counts.

Thus, I hereby bear witness to God that from the time I became acquainted with him and he took charge of the financial affairs, whether prior to 15th of Khordad or after my exile abroad, or after my return from exile; or when he was solely in charge or when after the increase in workload and some expedencies, in cooperation with Haj Sayyid Hashem Rasuli and Mr. Rahimiyan—may God protect them—they took control; they have acted and act with total integrity, honesty and sincerity. They have not misused a single Dinar or violated the religious disbursements precepts and have assisted me with total courage, exactitude and good faith and without regard to any material expectations. Now also, they are giving their time in assisting me, I attest that all the respected sirs are honest, trustworthy and in the service of Islam.

May the Exalted God protect them and all those that are in the service of Islam from the evil of the ill-wishers and deviant elements; and grant them the favor to obey the Blessed and Almighty God and to serve His creatures. May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Monday, Azar 15, 1361 AHS / Safar
20, 1403 AH, Fortieth Day of the
Doyen of the Martyrs—peace and
mercy of God be upon him and
upon his progeny and his
companions

Message

Date: December 7, 1982 [Azar 16, 1361 AHS / Safar 21, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Elections of the Assembly of Experts

Addressees: Nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Although I have repeatedly reminded of the importance of the Assembly of Experts for determining the leader or the leadership council; and the eminent theologians—may their blessings last—have spoken sufficiently on the issue and emphasized its importance, yet I thought it necessary to mention an important point to the noble people. It is about the special significance of this assembly. It is obvious that if the government in all respects and its bodies are not granted legality by the sacred religion and the Blessed and Almighty God, most of the tasks related to the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature will be devoid of constitutionality, and the hands of the bodies that must be open because of their constitutionality, would be tied. If the tasks are performed without Divine constitutionality, the government would in all respects be an evil “*Taghuti*” government and unconstitutional. Thus, the appointment of the experts and the religious jurists is among the great Divine obligations, there shall be no excuse accepted from any person against Islam and in the presence of the Omnipotent God, and I have performed my duty on this subject. As I have pointed out previously, people are free to cast their vote for individuals that fulfill the criteria and there is no compulsion on anybody. With regard to this Divine commandment, which the misled and the deviant have opposed and oppose more forcefully than any thing else, which goes to show its importance, I hope that the honorable nation of Iran through the polling booths united and with a singleness of purpose and cast their ballots on election day. I hope that the eminent theologians—may God multiply their kind—both participate and also enlighten the people. It is necessary for me to remind on some matters that are sometimes heard that for the electioneering of certain candidates, God forbid, some others are weakened or insulted. Today, this kind of rivalries especially from such candidates is a tragedy for Islam and the Islamic Republic. If for example, a person has a quarrel with another, it is improper to express and show it in the midst of the people. The honor of a pious believer in Islam enjoys the loftiest and most supreme position and to

disgrace a pious believer, that too a pious theologian, is among the biggest of sins and results in gross injustice. It is hoped that God willing, nothing of this sort occurs; and it should not be repeated if at all it occurs out of ignorance. I beseech the Exalted God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims; and the perpetuation of the honor for the great nation of Iran.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: December 11, 1982 [Azar 20, 1361 AHS / Safar 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: In praise of the status of the martyrs

Addressees: Families of the martyrs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

What can a fallible human being like me say about the honorable martyrs about whom the Exalted God has stated: *"They are being granted their sustenance in the presence of their Creator."*¹ Can one describe their return to the presence of God and the banquet of Divine status with the pen or with statements? Is not this that same rank of *"...and be included in the rank of My devoted worshippers; and enter My paradise."*² Which the noble narratives ascribe it to the Doyen of the Martyrs and the Leader of the Oppressed? Is not this that same paradise that the pious believers shall enter or is a Divine likeness of it? Is this returning and being provided sustenance in the presence of the Creator implies the same worldly connotation or is it a Divine code and loftier and beyond the comprehension of humankind?

O, God! What a great happiness this is that you grant to your exclusive servants of which we are deprived! Now, I would like to express my felicitations instead of my condolences to the parents that have reared these exclusive servants of God and their wives and those they have left behind. *"...O I wish I had been with them; in this case I would have attained a great sustenance."*³ May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Part of verse 169 of the *Surah Al-e Imran*; *"Those that are killed in the path of God do not regard as dead; rather they are alive and are being granted their sustenance in the presence of their Creator."*

² *Surah al-Fajr* 89:20-30.

³ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:73.

Statements¹

Date: December 12, 1982 [Azar 21, 1361 AHS / Safar 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: In praise of the combatants of Islam

Addressee: Ahmad Azari Qummi

In His Most Exalted Name

Extend my greetings of peace to them.² I pray for you. In relation to the self-sacrifices and services that you are doing, we feel ashamed and we are not able to do anything. With your self-sacrifices and services, you have made us feel ashamed. You have given us the ultimatum. With your actions, you have brought honor and glory to the honorable Prophet (s). You have brought honor to the Imam of the Time—may God expedite his advent. You enjoy a ranking in the presence of the Exalted God that we feel envious of you. You are the cause of the honor of Islam and Muslims and the people of Iran in the world. With your glory and spirituality, you have written the pages of history in gold and made it proud. The angels of God shall not forget you. The blessed souls of your martyrs are present and are witnessing you on the night of the attacks at the frontlines. You are the companions of God, of the Prophet of Islam—may God's peace be upon him and his progeny—of Imam Husayn (s); of Imam Hasan (s); of Faaimah Zahra (s); of Zaynab Kubra (s) and the Imam of the Time—may God expedite his advent. God shall disgrace and humiliate your enemies.

¹ These statements were made in reply to the written message of the combatants of Islam.

² Combatants of the war-front.

Letter

Date: December 15, 1982 [Azar 24, 1361 AHS / Safar 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the affectionate letter of the school students

Addressees: School students of the Faaimiyyah Girls School of Tehran

[In the name of God, the compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings of peace to our beloved and honorable Imam Khomeini, the spirit of God,

Dear Imam, we are the school students of the fifth grade of the Faaimiyyah *Jihad* School. Because in our textbook on religion, we came across the letter of Imam Muhammad Taqi (s) to the governor of Sistan province and the advice that the Imam gave to him, we too decided to write a letter to you and advise you. However, O Imam, we cannot give you advice because you are honorable and free of all sins. You are that idol-smashing Imam who since forty years has not failed to recite the midnight prayers. O, the Great who rescued us from the depth of ugliness and immoralities and faithlessness and took us to the shore of safety. In these months of mourning of Muharram and Safar, we mourn, we do not smile too much and beat our chests and recite elegies because you have emphasized them.

O Imam, if we could be able to see your pure and radiant face from near, it would be very good. Again, we are thankful for being deserving of writing you this letter. O dear Khomeini and our soul, you are the father of all of us children; o the honorable father, we love you as much as all the grains of sand on earth; all the water in the oceans and the clouds in the sky. O Imam how we wish that the school authorities would make available the means for us to come and see you from close. We all hope that at least once in our lifetime, we are able to see you, O the one whom only God can describe. O our beloved Imam, we request you not to become unhappy for having praised you. By God, the pen moves on its own accord and we cannot stop it.

O Imam, know that we unlike the people of Kufah, shall not leave you alone. O Imam, right from this childhood, we say our mandatory prayers and tie the scarf around our head. In order to fight the criminal America and the dirty Soviet Union and for the envy of our enemies, as far as possible we do not tear even the pages from our notebooks. O our beloved Imam, allow us to write the last words—although our hearts do not desire to end the letter. O

dear Imam, you are like a pen that has always attempted and attempts to write the name of God on the pages of the heart.

O Imam, we the small children make three requests from the depth of our hearts and we hope to be deserving of them. First is that o our honorable Father, o the Sage of Jamaran, o the Soul of God, write back to us with your own beautiful handwriting and advise us and our teachers in it. Second, send to us your photograph signed with your own signature and finally, O dear Imam, all of us be sacrificed for a single moment of your life. O, our beloved leader whom the Muslims and we are yet to realize your worth. O, our beloved Khomeini, with eager eyes we look forward to your reply. You, o the lowly Saddam, o the treacherous Reagan and o, the shameless Begin, know that blood shall triumph over the sword. This is the saying of the Spirit of God, the Imam. O God, o God, sustain the life of Khomeini until the Revolution of the Mahdi. Shorten our lives and add our years to his life. Eliminate the hypocrites from the arena of the world. The stars have gone; you take care of the sun. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.]

In His Most Exalted Name

My beloved children! I read your affectionate letter. I wish that you my dear ones would advise me for I am in need of it. I hope that you study your books with joy and happiness and at the same time, perform your Islamic duties, which develop human beings. You should behave well, obey, serve your parents, and ensure that they are satisfied with you. You should give lots of respect to your teachers. Try to be useful for Islam and the Islamic Republic. I beseech the Exalted God to grant you—the light of my eyes—health and happiness and progress in both knowledge and deed. Greetings of peace be upon all of you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 29, 1403 AH

Message

Date: December 15, 1982 [Azar 24, 1361 AHS / Safar 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: “The Eight Articated Directive” concerning the rights of the people; the law, the Judiciary and need to Islamize the relations and the laws

Addressees: The Judiciary and Executive bodies

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Following the reminder for the need to Islamize all the government organizations especially the Judiciary organizations and the need to put into effect the Commandments of God in the system of the Islamic Republic instead of the “*Taghuti*” laws of the former despotic regime, it is necessary to remind all the relevant authorities about certain points. It is hoped that the Exalted God willing, with expediting their action, these reminders are taken into consideration.

1. Providing the religious laws, their ratification and their announcement should be undertaken with the necessary meticulousness and speed. The laws pertaining to judicial matters and that are applicable to the general public and are of greater importance should be at the head of all the approved laws so that the work of the Judiciary is not delayed or halted and the rights of the people are not ignored. Their communication and implementation should also be the topmost priority.

2. Attending to the competency of the judgment and the lower and higher courts should be done speedily and meticulously so that in the course of the affairs, they are legalized and made Divine and the rights of the people are not violated. Investigation of the competency of the rest of the staff and administrators of the affairs should take place with total impartiality and without any negligence and silly faultfinding that is sometimes seen from certain radical elements. This is in order that at the same time as the corrupt and immoral elements are being dismissed, the useful and effective individuals are not removed by leveling imaginary charges. The criteria is the present circumstance of the individual and overlooking of some of the mistakes that they made during the former regime except that it becomes obvious from correct evidences that they are currently also engaging in sabotage and corruption.

3. The Judiciary officials who fulfill the necessary Islamic conditions, whether at the prosecutors office or the courts of the Revolution must deliver

the verdicts of Islam with independence and decisiveness and without consideration of positions of power and continue with their crucial job country-wide without procrastination and hesitation. The delegated authorities for communication and implementation and other relevant matters must adhere to their verdicts so that the nation feels comfortable with the Judiciary and the correctness of the verdict and communication and implementation and summon; they should feel that under the protection of the impartial Islamic verdicts, their lives and properties and honor is secure. Execution of Islamic justice is not exclusive reserve of the Judiciary and its affiliated organizations. Rather, it is also important for the rest of the organizations and bodies of the Islamic Republic system right from the legislative assembly, the government and its bodies, the armed forces and security-forces, the Guards Corps, the *Komitehs*, the *Basij* and other positions of authority to practice it. No person has the right to behave in an un-Islamic way with the people.

4. No one has the right to prosecute any person or summon him without the order of the judge that must be based on the religious norms however less the period of his arrest. Arrest or summon by coercion is a crime and contravention of the religious law.

5. No one has the right to take ownership of possession of the property of any person whether movable or immovable or to usurp the right of any person, or confiscate and take custody except with the order of the religious magistrate that, too, after meticulous investigation and proof of verdict from the religious viewpoint.

6. No one has the right to enter the house or shop or workplace of a person without the permission of their owners or arrest any person or in the name of discovery of crime or committing of sin. No one has the right to pursue and follow somebody or insult an individual and commit inhuman and un-Islamic acts or eavesdrop over the telephone, or make a recording on a cassette recorder on the pretext of locating a center of vice or in order to prove a crime and sin—however major the sin be. No one has the right to place listening devices or unearth the secrets of the people or work undercover to discover the sins of others or to disclose the secrets of others even if it is to a single person. All of these are crimes and are sins and some of them because they spread immorality and sins are among the cardinal sins. Those who commit any of the previously mentioned transgressions are criminals and merit religious compensations while some of them are liable for the religious verdict.

7. What has been mentioned and declared to be forbidden are other than the instances that are in connection with the plots and groups that are opposed to Islam and the Islamic Republic order. Groups, which gather in the security of homes and group homes for the overthrow of the Islamic Republic system and to assassinate sacred fighters and the innocent civilians of the streets and bazaars. Groups that engage in hatching terrorist plots and spreading corruption on earth, and committing sacrilege so that with them, wherever they are and likewise, in all the government bodies and Judiciary apparatus and universities and colleges and other centers decisive and severe action is to be taken. However, we must act with absolute caution but under the religious criteria and in keeping with the order of the higher and lower courts of law because to violate the religious limits even in relation to them is not permitted in the same manner that leniency and negligence must not be shown to them. At the same time, the authorities must not take any action that contravenes the limits of their authority, which also is confined to suppressing them in accordance with the stipulated criteria and the religious laws.

It needs to be strictly warned that if in order to find a group home or center of espionage and corruption against the Islamic Republic system, by mistake or error they enter the private homes or workplace of someone and therein they discover instruments of pleasure and vice and gambling and the rest of the deviant materials such as narcotics, they have no right to disclose them to others because the disclosure of immoralities is the biggest of cardinal sins and no one has the right to dishonor a Muslim and violate the religious criteria. They must only act in accordance with the precept of "forbiddance of evil" that has been stipulated in Islam and have no right to arrest or prosecute or beat-up and torture the owners of the homes and the residents. Transgressing the Divine limits is a sin and is liable for compensation and in some instances retaliation. However, those persons that are proven to be engaged in procuring and distributing narcotics among the people are decreed as spreaders of corruption on earth and are evidenced to be spreading immorality and causing death of generations and seeding so that in addition to confiscation of such things in their possession, they must be introduced to the judicial authorities. Likewise, none of the judges has the right to issue initially a verdict by means of which the authorized persons enter the homes or workplace of individuals that are neither secure bases and homes of the outlawed hypocrites and nor of other conspiracies against the Islamic Republic system. In this case, the one who issues the verdict and the

one who implements it shall be liable to prosecution under legal and religious laws.

8. His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Musawi Ardebili, chief of the Supreme Court and His Excellency the Prime Minister¹ have a religious duty to thwart the above-mentioned affairs speedily and decisively. It is necessary that throughout the country, in the provincial, district and governorships centers, committees are organized that enjoy the trust and confidence, and the people should be notified to refer their complaints concerning violation and excesses of the executive authorities that transgress their rights and properties to the committees. The above-mentioned committees should then submit the results of their investigation to the sirs, and they by referring the complaints to the relevant authorities and prosecution of the violators, punish the guilty in accordance with the religious limits and penalties prescribed.

All of us, must know that after establishment of the sovereignty of Islam, and stability and order of the Islamic Republic with the endorsement and favors of the Powerful and Benevolent God and involvement of His Holiness the Last of *awsiya* and Baqiyyatullah—may our souls be sacrificed for him—and the unprecedented support of the devoted and honorable nation for the system and the government, it is not acceptable and tolerable that in the name of the Revolution and being a revolutionary, God forbid, injustice is done to any person and actions that are contrary to the Divine-laws and the benevolent Islamic ethics are shown by individuals.

From now on when it is the time of consolidation and construction, the nation must feel at peace, secure, and continue with their tasks with relief and assurance. They should support the great Islam and the Islamic government and regard the Judiciary in respect of the appeals and execution of Islamic justice and verdicts, to be in their service. The security and police forces and the Guards Corps and the *Komitehs* should be regarded as being responsible for the peace and security of themselves and the country. This is the responsibility of all, to enforce it results in the consent of God and happiness both in this world and the afterlife while the violation of it results in the wrath of the Omnipotent God and the chastisement in the afterlife and prosecution and punishment in the world. I beseech the Omnipotent God to safeguard us from all omissions and sins and that He sanctions the Islamic Republic and links it to the worldwide rule of the Upriser of the progeny of Muhammad—May God's peace be upon him and his progeny. May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

¹ Mr. Mir Husayn Musawi.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 19, 1982 [Azar 28, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1403 AH]

Place: Huseyniyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Influence of imported culture on the society

Audience: Muhsin Ridai (Commander-in-Chief of the Guards Corps), Salik (Head of the Oppressed Mobilization), chiefs of the resistance bases, members of the Guards Corps Mobilization and the instructors of the *Basij* all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hollow claims of Rida Khan about the military

First, I would like to thank you the beloved youth for whom I have as much affection as a father has for his son and a brother has for a brother. I thank you for coming here so that I could see your radiant faces from close. Mr. Ridai¹ informed me of some of your activities. Because the universities have reopened, and God willing, shall reopen, I would like to start from culture until I come to you; to see what foreign culture did to us and what we must do to counter it.

I shall start from the military; what imported culture did to the military and the rest of the government organizations, and among the masses and our population. The era of Rida Khan was an era when they would claim that the army was at its strongest and was stronger than at all periods. I shall mention a part of history, which I think none of you was present at that time, and felt the issues from close. When the British and Soviet Union armies—Russia at that time—were at war with Germany and its supporters, on their orders they built roads and railways beforehand in Iran in order that they could transit their equipment. Then at an appointed time, they—the British and Russian armies attacked Iran. As soon as, they entered the far-flung border areas, the army of Iran fell into disarray. At the borders, they first claimed that the army resisted for three hours, and when Rida Shah had asked—as is narrated—that why they had resisted for such a short time; they had said that they had told lies about the three hours of resistance, in fact they had fled as soon as they were attacked. At that time, it became famously known that the army, which issued a single communiqué that had no second one to it, was the army

¹ Mr. Muhsin Ridai.

of Iran regarding this attack in which it issued a single communiqué that had no subsequent one to it. This was at the borders.

In Tehran, in those days, I was in Tehran and near this square close to the railway terminal; there I saw the soldiers that were based in the Tehran runaway from their barracks. Tehran was quiet, the action was only at the frontiers, and the news had reached that such a thing had happened. The soldiers had come out of the barracks and I saw one or two of them pursue a camel that was carrying a load and they were searching it to see if they could take anything worthwhile from it to eat. All or almost all the commanders packed their suitcases and fled; they ran away from Tehran; they ran away in order to get out or perhaps go abroad. Our army, which was spoken so much about that it was powerful, could only do this and likewise were its other police and gendarmerie forces that would only suppress the people. Rida Khan took over all the properties in the province of Mazandaran. All his strength lay in bringing pressure upon the people, upon the nation and especially upon the clergy, and to bully them. However, opposite those forces, although they were not at war with us and wanted to transit from here and occupy this place, yet they could only resist according to the first claim, for three hours, which was the first lie. While according to the second claim that was perhaps more honest, they did not resist at all and when they entered, our forces simply ran away!

This was the condition of the military and the condition of the gendarmerie forces at that time. This even those that served in the gendarmerie of Muhammad-Rida know and needs “no” saying that how it was then. The police forces of that time and the way the police officers behaved with the people. The police officers instead of maintaining security would either bully the people or rob them or take bribes and bring pressure on the people. This was the condition of our police and defense forces—or it was worse than this. Now, you must ask those that have depth knowledge of the situation.

Compare this with the situation now and with our dear Guards Corps, our army, our gendarmerie and our police. Why was it like that in those days; they were servile opposite the foreigners in that manner while now it is such that our youth face up to America and chant slogans and say “Death to America”?!

Efforts of the officials of the former regime for gaining the consent of foreigners

The point is that this transformation was brought about in the army; this transformation came into being in the Guards Corps. The youth, which before this Revolution were never thinking of fighting a war and being inclined towards combat and being in the military; they raise their head high among the people and protect the people. What is this? What is the difference between these two periods? The difference is in the culture. Our culture in that period differed from the language of our culture in this period. You should start from the university to the government offices, to the military, to the gendarmerie forces in that period and to all of these and to the teeming masses, the youth. You shall see what were the condition of our army and the rest of the strata of the nation and government; the legislative assembly of that time and the government of that time and see how all of these had been influenced by the imported culture.

We should investigate every subject and see whether it is in this manner. If a person is ill, he does not go to the physician until he feels ill. When he feels he is ill, then he consults to the physician. The physician also cannot cure the patient, unless he diagnoses the illness. When a society is ill, it is in this manner. Until the society does not feel it is sick, until it does not feel that it is needs to be treated, it does not think of consulting to the physician; it does not think of being treated. At that time, the society itself did not feel that it was sick; it would imagine that since we were healthy, our society was healthy. The shelter of His Royal Highness was over our heads! Our military would protect us and so forth. Because it did not feel the pain and if it did feel the pain, there was no physician around to treat this disease; rather those that were the administrators were not the physicians; they were criminals who instead of prescribing medicine, were prescribing poison to the people. They could not treat.

If our university were our own; if the university was not a university to imitate the imported culture; then its output would not have been what it was. Those who at that time graduated from the universities—however, I do not say all; there were exceptions but the exceptions were few—when they graduated, they would line up and flow towards England and France and lately, America. See what they trained in the universities! When they would go abroad and return, what they would turn out and what souvenir would they bring for us! Those who would graduate from the universities and had studied abroad and returned to Iran were the same individuals that would become the ministers and legislators of that time. What would these ministers

and legislators of the former regime do in Iran? What souvenir would they bring for Iran? All their efforts would be directed at appeasing at one time England and later America. In those days, Rida Khan was at the head and next came Muhammad-Rida Khan; he too spent all his efforts to appease them because he saw that if he would not earn their consent; he would be destroyed. As he was selfish and wanted to stay in power, he was unconcerned with what happened to the nation; as long as he remained in power; it did not matter.

See what would happen to the resources of this country—right from its crude oil to the rest of its resources that praise be to God, is present in abundance. Crude oil was being exported more than in these days. What would Iran gain from it? What would the monarchy gain from it? What would the foreigners gain from it? Who would stand to gain? Those who wanted the benefits to return to Iran would bring back equipment or other things, armaments and ammunitions from America. In lieu of the oil money that we would pay them, they would create bases for their own selves. God willed that they should bring these things to build bases for themselves and thank God, it went against them. At that time, our universities were in the hands of a bunch of people who at one times were English and recently, very American, meaning that they inclined towards America to take orders. There was also a minority of decent people in the parliament or at the university—but they could not speak out and had no following. They would have to suffer in silence and see the crimes being committed in their presence.

It was the same with each one of the former organizations; you name them. Look at the parliament and see what an atmosphere this parliament had brought about in this country. See what a parliament that was named as “National Consultative Assembly of Iran” did to the nation! You all remember in these recent times this last subject that they ratified that those who were American citizens have arrived from America, are military personnel and are citizens of America must not be prosecuted here. This was ratified by the Consultative Assembly. Of course, they would also play games and they tabled a motion, which both of them rejected as was preplanned and so it was done. Our parliament was the one that made us subservient to America and the king rats¹ of our parliament! Our country also was the one that subjugated our country in that manner.

The military also, because the culture was an alien culture and it was the training and imitation of the foreign culture. They would do nothing except

¹ Reference to satirical tale of Ubayd Zakani entitled “*The Mouse and the Cat*” and the hollow claims of the military officials of the Shah’s regime.

fill their pockets. It was not that, for example, we had a four-hundred thousand army and it was an army that was capable of offering resistance. The training was a training that deterred resistance. The comfort and welfare among them was such that it left no room for them to want to do something for the security of their country. In those days, the defense of the nation was the defense of the nation of Iran; was defense of the territory of Iran and so it is now. In those days as I mentioned there was absolutely no resistance, it was corrupt, and it became obvious that the army was ineffective while today you are seeing how these army personnel, these Guards Corps, this *Basij* are and how heroically they are resisting since the past two years or more; how these youth are resisting.

It is not the nationality that has made them such; was it nationality, and then they had it in them. These men that think these matters are from nationality are not aware. Had they been aware, they would not have been in this predicament. It is faith that has molded them. That revolutionary guard and that military officer who recites his optional midnight-prayers in his bunker; this military officer resists like a lion because it is for the cause of God. That military officer who drinks alcoholic liquors there and engages in gambling there for whom is he performing his duty? As soon as they see a revolutionary guard approaching, thirty-thousand of them surrender and become prisoners of war. Do you think that opposite this same Iraq that all the countries are supporting and the wretched sheikhdoms are pouring money to this criminal and also placing at his disposal unlimited weaponry from all over; do you think that if such a thing would have occurred in the former era—he with the circumstances at his disposal and our country in the circumstance that it was whereby the nation had nothing to do with these issues and only the army would be involved—would the army be able to resist even for a single hour? It was by the will of God that they did not think of it then meaning that it was also because the Shah had submitted to the Americans. They no longer had any reason to create problems for their own servant. Now, you are resisting since more than two years and the people are following you—women and men are backing you and are making efforts for your advancement. It is the culture of Islam that has brought this about and not the national culture and not the culture of the monarchy. Islam saved these youth from the beaches and entertainments that they created for them from the wells, which they had dug for them, gave them happiness, and enabled them to resist all the powers of the world and not show the slightest weakness. This culture made this possible.

Extermination of Islam was the mutual objective of the enemies in the former regime

God willing, after a few years, you will see the results of the Islamic university. Governments are formed from the university; legislators are molded at the university. The university is involved in the military; it has a hand in it. Culture has an influence on the army; culture has an influence on the common folks of the streets and bazaars. In those days when you would see the newspapers, they were newspapers, which were contrary to the interests of the country; and because they saw Islam as an impediment and they could not forestall it, they were opposed to Islam. During the reign of Rida Khan, you were fortunate not to have lived then for those who lived then were living in agony. Sir, in the newspapers and magazines that were published then, they openly insulted the honorable Prophet and not a single soul protested! The poets, the writers and the intellectuals of that era had openly joined hands to demean Islam. However, there were exceptions but they were in the minority and could not say a word. The magazines in those days, God alone know what the magazines of those days did to the youth! The cinema, the theatres and the arts in those days had all joined hands to expel Islam from here and bring in America. God has been kind to us, has had mercy on us that this transformation took place. As long as, this issue is present, this transformation is present and remains, you should not be afraid of anything. The difference between you and them is that you are engaging in a holy struggle for the cause of God while in those times there was no talk of God at all. The logic was that "His Majesty had commanded; the command of God was the command of the Shah."

The reason that the clergy are crying out that Islam must be strengthened in a country; that the faith of the people must be strengthened is because they have seen what it is in places where there is faith and how it is in places where faith is absent. Now you yourselves have felt this. These same youth that are present now, their likes were also present in the past. It was not that we did not have the youth in the past. The youth were present in the same numbers except fewer because the population has increased at that time and the same number of individuals was present; the same people but what was the situation? If you would walk in the streets, it was the same immorality. This was an alien culture. It was either partying and so forth or women moving around naked among the people. If you would look at the bazaar, it was the same; it was the same; the situation was the same. When you would visit the schools; inside the universities, the situation was the same. On the walls of the universities, they would slander Islam and the honorable Quran.

Even after the Revolution, when the *munafiqin* and their likes besieged the university, they would write offensive remarks about Islam on the walls. When we stretch our hands to America and eat whatever it gives us and implement whatever policy it gives us and we shut our eyes and ears; when this is how it is then it becomes as you and we have witnessed.

Difference between our people and the people that lived at the advent of Islam

God extricated us from this gutter and this deadly septic tank. It is He that raised you to the status of humanity, a status where you fight for the sake of God and to cause the objectives of Islam to advance. The likes of these holy warriors "*mujahidin*"; the likes of these youth of this era has not existed since the beginning of history until now. If at all they existed, they were few. From the era of the Prophet of Islam—may God's peace be upon him and his immaculate household—until the era of our Immaculate Imams—may God's peace be upon them—was the period of the growth of Islam. How much would the Prophet suffer at the hands of the people of his own land! How much did the Commander of the Faithful complain about them! How much has the Quran complained of those same Muslims! The Commander of the Faithful would complain of the same Muslims and the same people that were in his midst; he would go to the pulpit and implore for death! When the Commander of the Faithful was struck with the sword of that hypocrite he stated that, "*Verily, I swear by the God of the Kabah that I have attained righteousness.*" He said this because he had been released from the suffering at the hands of the people. He wanted to build an army, a division in the manner that was present in the past to defend Islam. How much agony he went through; how much he toiled; but they would not come forward!

Today, you have volunteers coming forward; volunteers who move towards martyrdom that go to face death. Today, you the *Basij*, the Guards Corps, the *Komitehs*, the army and the defense and security forces and the tribes are different from them. Now, they are different. You all are the aspirations of Islam. Islam is honored by your existence. Let them say whatever they want to in the foreign lands. Let them say in foreign lands that the people have reverted and the people have left the arena. When it is the elections—this recent election—initially they said in the foreign lands that the people would not participate; they would scare the people that if they participated, such and such thing would happen! Then when they saw that they participated, now they are saying that it was rigged. Whatever such thing happens one says to the other that it was rigged. They want to make us

doubt our credentials. When we say that it was so and that the people were present in the arena, they say no', the people are not at all present in the arena. When the universities reopen, they say no the people are not going! When the elections take place, they claim that no such thing has taken place; it was a selection! The government forced the people to go to the polling booths! People are congregating in the university to recite the daily mandatory prayers! No, they were paid to attend! They say everything is a lie so that we doubt our analyses. This is how their situation is now.

If these people were human beings, [they would not have done such things]. Truly, one regrets that some individuals that could have been human beings; that could have been useful; that could have been useful for themselves; could have been useful for their country have done such ignorant things; have behaved in such an ignorant manner with all. They had not understood Islam at all. They could not comprehend the power of Islam; they kept on talking of nationality and kept on saying such things. Islam has caused them to forget everything and has enamored them. They have not understood; they have not understood the nation; they have not been able to comprehend the faith of the nation. They thought that they would serve others so that they would attain their worldly objectives; but they themselves also gained nothing. They presumed that finally, America would return and thus they should establish a foothold for themselves; some of them are perhaps commissioned to act on their behalf; but there is no America any more! As long as these people are alive, there is no America any more! Now if at a point in history—God forbid—something happens and Iran forgets the humanitarian scenes; that is beside the point. However, God willing, these matters shall stay and shall remain valid. They are the losers and there is another group upon whom they are bringing misery. They should not do this any more! These youth should forsake these matters! They are seeing that it cannot be done any more; they know that these deviant elements cannot come here and form a government! Whom do they want to govern? Whereas they know that well, they can come and work like normal human beings and repent; return to their previous jobs.

Building of a proper culture

In any case, the thing that builds nations is proper culture. The thing that enriches the university so that it becomes useful for the nation; becomes useful for the country includes the ingredients that make up the university and it is not the academic lessons. Industry outside the sphere of faith brings corruption; knowledge outside the sphere of faith brings corruption; *“If a*

man of learning becomes corrupt, the world shall be corrupted."¹ The greater the knowledge, the greater its corruption. The dwellers of hell are troubled by the stench of the man of learning. The man of learning that has faith is the one whom God praises; whom the Prophet praises; whom Islam praises. If faith is not present beside knowledge, the knowledge will be harmful. If knowledge is present in a country in which there is absence of faith, it will destroy that country and make it to reach a dead-end. We had so many specialists in all fields of study in the former regime; yet what did these specialists do for the nation? Except that they kept on pushing the nation backwards; kept on making it more dependent; everything became dependent; you name it and they would say that we must go to Europe to get it. They knew well how to make pitchers; they would take us in order to teach us; they would not teach us. They would take away our youth and corrupt a group of them and teach them something inadequate. They would leave them to themselves midway. They repeatedly took us for a ride; they repeatedly took our country for a ride; they repeatedly gave false promises to our nation saying that they wanted to reach us to the great civilization! When they left, we saw that there was no great civilization at all; they made us dependent to the extent that all our things were dependent on others. They took away all our wealth. When these people went away, they plundered all the banks here; they went away and left behind such huge debts to the banks. It requires long years of hard work for Iran itself to pay off the debts accumulated by the fugitives to these banks. This was because the culture was not a religious culture; there was no faith in the society; there was no faith in the business place; there was no religion on the street; there was no religion in the university. Whichever place was more influential, they would bring greater pressure over there. The clergy—except a very few of them were aware of the issues that was of concern at the dawn of Islam—remained in their own places. They could not cause them to deviate; hence, they would eliminate them; they would imprison them; they would banish them; they would kill them. They killed a number of eminent clerics during the reign of Rida Khan. They banished them from their hometowns and kept them at far off places. They took away the theologians of Azerbaijan and relocated them. They imprisoned the theologians of Mashhad and brought them to Tehran. In Tehran itself, one of the biggest theologians of that place—I saw with my own eyes—who had permission to come out of his home up to a distance, he would sit and people would come and go but no one dared to greet him. In addition, this same person who was one of the first rate

¹ *Khisal Book*, Chapter 20, p. 37.

theologians of Mashhad—the late “Aqazadeh Bozorg”¹ who was a first rate theologian was taken for prosecution in the street and they finally killed him.

Transformation of the nation was by the grace of God

This nation was that same nation but why it did not protest? This was because the foreign culture would not permit. When the youth would open his eyes and look at the magazines, he would see that it all contained sexual matters when he would read the newspaper, it would contain either diatribe against the clergy or foul language against the priest or Islam or such matters. The child was reared to grow-up into an anti-Islam, anti-national, and anti-religion individual. If the Blessed and Almighty God had not had mercy on this innocent nation, then the dreams that they had dreamt was far beyond these matters. One of the two issues that had taken place towards the end was the marriage of the son of a colonel with the son of another colonel! The marriage of a boy with a boy! This was one of the subjects that had started lately. Later on, too, if they had been given the opportunity, this would have become commonplace such as in other places. Prostitution was rampant on the streets in Shiraz!² They had dreamt many plans for us. Then it was the issue of the beaches, which those that had gone there had witnessed or heard about, and the matter of the cabarets, pubs, and casinos that existed throughout Iran. There was no talk of Islam at all.

God had mercy on you and transformed you. He saved all our youth from that gutter and placed us in an Islamic-humanitarian environment that is resisting both the East and the West and is least concerned about the advances that they have made. You should know this that it was always in this manner and it has always been the endeavor of the colonialist to cause the people to fight one another; and always wanted to cause a military coup within the country itself; they have always attempted to create differences in the country. They shall not leave us to ourselves; our nation should be alert! Our military should be awake! Our Revolutionary Guards should be alert! Our *Komitehs*, our mobilized *Basij'* volunteers, our tribes must all be alert! They should know that if there is a murmur of differences arising, it is a

¹ Agha Mirza Muhammad Kafai Khorasani, son of Akhund Khorasani who was one of the eminent theologians of Khorasan. He was exiled to Shahr-e Rey by Rida Khan and finally died in a suspicious manner in that same place.

² Reference is to the indecent and shameful shows contrary to public decency in the streets of Shiraz. These shows were performed by a group of foreign artists during the so-called Art Show held in Shiraz. Farah Pahlavi—the wife of the Shah—by whose patronage and encouragement the Art Show was organized, resorted to illogical and foolish explanations that raised a hue and cry at that time.

specimen of creation of a problem. With the opening of the universities, these youth must be aware that there are certain elements at work to cause you to deviate and project things in a different light. When for the first time you see a professor or a student showing deviant tendencies, you should report them at once in order to nip them in the bud.

I hope that the Blessed and Almighty God grants you dear people that are the beloved of Islam; that are the beloved of the Prophet of Islam; that are the beloved of the Imam of the Time, the favor to endeavor earnestly in the path of Islam, in the part of your homeland. May that *Basij'* that is for learning is also for the religious education and learning of the Quran and book as well as for military education and so forth; that the country becomes a disciplined and divine country. A country that becomes such can be immune to the greed of others because they know that the harm is more than good from it.

Look at Afghanistan where its communists, its government were opposed with the people. This very group of people that belonged to the nation and belonged to Islam—they follow the path of Islam—this very people have resisted since more than one year causing the Soviet Union to repent for what it has done. One of those that had fled from the armed forces of the Soviet Union mentioned that so far thirty thousand military personnel of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan have been killed. They are seeing that it is not possible to oppose a country whose people want something. Now there their government was also in their favor and the political party was supporting them. Here we neither have a party that is opposed and nor a government that is in opposition and nor a parliament that is in opposition—none at all. What should they come here for? Every street that they pass through—they must cross from beyond the clouds. Ultimately, it is not possible to occupy a country and exploit a country from the heavens; it requires land and they cannot find it.

God grant you the favor to strengthen your faith—the faith of all of us. May God willing, the faith of all of us be strong so that our devotion to the Blessed and Almighty God increases day by day and the unity of our expression and our congregation that is at the head of all affairs increases in matter related to the safeguard of the country, God willing.

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

Permission

Date: December 19, 1982 [Azar 28, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for religious law and financial affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Fakhruddin Dashtestani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to God the Creator of the Universe; salutations and peace is upon Muhammad and his Immaculate Household; and damnation of God is upon all their enemies.

And then, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Fakhruddin Dashtestani—may His graces endure—is hereby authorized on my behalf to accept the financial affairs and collect religious law funds. He is permitted to utilize them for his own subsistence in the manner appropriate and to utilize the surplus one-third of the holy portion of the blessed Imam—may God's peace is upon him—and half of the portion of the revered *sadat* locally in lawful instances; and to send the balance to this person for utilization in the blessed theological schools.

“I admonish him—may God Almighty assist him—as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety and to avoid carnal desires.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1403 AH

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 22, 1982 [Dey 1, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Statement of the services of the nation and the need to serve them by the administrators

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq-Nuri (Minister of Interior), deputies and provincial governors from all over the country

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

Being grateful for the presence of the people in all arenas

Of course, I thank all the men for coming here and I shall talk about the subjects, which need to be mentioned. We must first take note of what the nation has done to us and then take note that what the nation has achieved has been from the Blessed and Almighty God. Next, we must thank the Blessed and Almighty God; and in what manner is thanksgiving? What has the nation done? All of you gentlemen know that in all eras and now also throughout the world you can never find a nation like the nation of Iran that are a help to you in all your difficulties. Except for a very small minority group—well, everywhere there are corrupt people—but the type of nation are composed of the masses of the nation. The masses of the nation prior to the Revolution and when the movement began and after the Revolution until now, are in the arena in such a manner that one is in baffled. You see in this same Assembly of Experts, which was the last thing that was asked from the people, well even in this instance more than several millions voted.

In the previous regime, when they wanted to do something with all those pressure tactics, six million—according to their own estimates—cast their votes. They raised a commotion that the nation had voted. Whereas of the six million votes, we are not concerned of how many were rigged—but of the six million also that were cast many were the votes of their own dependents and acquaintances and a result of the pressures they would bring on the people and the fear they would instill in the people. Here all the men know; the whole nation knows. Let the foreigners comment whatever they want; the nation knows that there was no pressure meaning that in no place or person or government official was anybody told to go and cast his vote. Alternatively, like in those the feudal in the former assemblies, the landowners and the princes and those who were influential would apply

pressure. They would pressurize the landless peasants to vote. Praise is due to God that those powers are no longer present and it is the power of Islam.

Well, on one hand the nation is this way; on the other hand the armed forces are resisting under all those pressures since the past two years; or since more than two years and are defending this country and have given so much blood. All of them from the Revolutionary Guards Corps and the army and gendarmerie and the police forces and the *Basij'* forces and the tribes—all have given a large number of martyrs and have also endeavored earnestly. On the one hand, they were engaged in battle while behind them the whole nation was united in their support for them. Women and men, the young and the old would support them. On the other hand, these houses all over the country, which the corrupt would team inside and engage in, corrupt activities. Well, what wrong have the *Komitehs* and the Revolutionary Guards Corps done! Just last night they announced that, fifty houses where they would team and a large number of corrupt individuals has been arrested. These are issues that if even one of them had occurred in the former times, they would create a commotion. Now I regard this as a form of injustice for them to engage in this manner and for the radio to make a passing reference to them and only say that such a thing has taken place. What has happened? They must thank the people. We must all thank the people; a people that are involved in these affairs and we must thank these Revolutionary Guards that go and sacrifice their lives and do what not to ensure that such corruptions are destroyed.

Prevention of misuse by the opportunists

To be thankful is that we should act; not talk; take action. The action also should be based on the precepts of Islam; to neither be aggressive nor be lenient. For this reason, just as I mentioned to the people, to go and work undercover and spy and do things which they would do—these things must not be engaged in. On the other hand, inside the cities, they must not think that now that the people are asked to be calm, they should take to the streets and commit wrongful acts. Any person, whoever he is, if he commits a wrongful act, an act that is against the tenets of religion, the people have the authority to forbid him from the wrong. If he does not repent, he should be referred to the centers. He will be taken there and reformed. In the meanwhile, one also finds a group of individuals that want to exploit the situation. There should be no mistreatment.

We have not mentioned that the enforced tenets of Islam are to be enforced only in bits and pieces. Is it only that it should be enforced to

prevent espionage and prevent interrogation! It is also applicable when a person wants to commit a wrongful act the people are responsible to forbid him. However, if he does not correct himself then the *Komiteh*, the police station and other places must be informed of the wrongdoing by this person. They, too, should arrest him and hand him over to the courts of law. It is not that we speak about a part of Islam and they exploit it. The matter applies to both parties. We must not transgress and do injustice and inspect the inside of the houses of people; they must also not think that they can act as they wish and create a problem. If one gets the correct information that there is a vice den in a certain place; that there is a drinking parlor somewhere; that there is a gambling joint—all of them must be prevented. If a person comes out in the open and does a wrongful act, that must be forestalled too. What is relevant is that we want to enforce the commandments of God. The commandments of God have the other side to it; it also has this side. The other side is that one must not behave with the people in such a way that they are insecure in their homes, in their daily lives, in their business and trade. The government of Islam must give assurance to the people in all things; in their assets; in their trade; in their factories; in all things the people must be at peace and the government cannot do injustice to them and they must not be wronged. If a person does injustice, he shall be brought to justice.

On the other hand also, if those that are opposed to Islam want to take undue advantage and now take to the streets and commit wrongful acts and just because now there must be peace, this is contrary to Islam. We do not say that there should be peace and calm and every person wants freedom of the Western form, he comes out in the open and drinks alcohol or opens a wine shop for himself. This freedom is within the tenets of Islam; it is within the bounds of human behavior and not for example, that he should be free to do as he wishes on the streets. In any case, we must consider all the aspects of Islam; both those aspects where the revolutionary guard and the police forces and their likes encroach on the people's rights and nor should they imagine that now that it is such they can do as they please. Not at all, it is not like this that they shall be severely dealt with; If a person commits a sin in the open of any kind, the government must deal with him severely and the revolutionary guards and the police forces and so forth are authorized to deal with them harshly. If a person comes and forbids him and he does not obey, then he must be arrested and handed over.

On the other hand, also, they, too, must not enter the homes of the people to see what is happening inside the house. However, if it becomes evident that this house is a den of vice like in former times; it becomes apparent that

it is a drinking parlor; a gambling den and so forth, these must be forbidden and one can never overlook these things so that those that were gambling come together again and open a gambling den. If, for example, they do something in their own homes, we shall not go to investigate them. However, if they create a center and they want to do such things in a center or set aside a house especially for such a purpose, this is wrong, is against Islam, and must be prevented.

Sincere thanksgiving for the service of the nation

In any case, we must pay attention to all the issues; one is that what has been the service of the nation to us; we must be thankful for this service. One form of this thanksgiving is that we say “thank you” and supplicate for them. However, true thanksgiving is that we compensate for a blessing that they have given to us. At present, there are many problems all over the country. We must take note of these problems and solve them. Now also, thank God, our country no longer has those aspects of instability and such things at all; that in a short time—very short time—it has consolidated this Islamic Republic is a favor of God that caused the nation to accomplish these tasks. The people must be made to understand that to pursue these issues and know that the Blessed and Almighty God are aware of all things. Therefore, we should act on Islam.

We want that the commandments of Islam to be enforced. All are opposed to us; all the foreigners are opposed to us. There are a very few among them are not opposed but all others are opposed and we must resist these antagonisms. The nation shall God willing be the same later on as it is now. The government and the nation all want to serve Islam. The government takes the initiatives and the nation should support it. The provincial governors and the district governors in their respective regions should serve and the people should support them. When we become servants to the nation and the nation also gives its support, the greed of the foreigners shall be totally eliminated. They always plan to corrupt from within the country, to corrupt the interior. We must pay attention to this.

Need to avoid differences

Our nation must also pay attention to this that it should shun differences and creation of disputes and such things and not allow the emergence of a difference. If a difference occurs, then immediately the individuals that are qualified should go and patch it up. They should not permit differences to occur, take root, and cause our country to be weakened. These issues should

not cause the weakening of Islamic matters. The Blessed and Almighty God has favored us and done such a thing. Now thank God, we are not under the subjugation of any power. Except Islam, no one else has any influence on us except the commandments of Islam. We must safeguard Islam and the commandments of Islam so that this is sustained. If we follow Islam and the commandments of Islam to the extent that we can, and consolidate it and establish and obey it, the Blessed and Almighty God will also assist us God willing. Until this issue is present and the grace of the Blessed and Almighty God is present, we should no longer be afraid of anything; of any power; we should not fear any place. Every person, every state must be afraid of itself and matters happening within it. The foreigners follow the developments inside the country to make a claim. It has always been in this manner. It was not that a foreign power would come and take over a country; it was not so. They would first destroy it from within; when the inside would be destroyed, they would then guide their local operatives. Usually it was in this manner; they would cause their local operatives and agents to penetrate. Those local agents would perform certain tasks. Praise is to God, we do not have such problems. The minor problems that existed have, thank God, been removed. They have gone to mind their own business—the corrupt and the corrupters and God willing they will also not be able to raise their heads later on.

Service to Islam under the aegis of service to the people

Let them utter whatever they want to us; their utterances are not important. Therefore, what is necessary is that we be the servants of Islam. Governors, district governors, ministries—all of them want a single objective. The objective, which we want, is service to the nation and service to Islam. Serving the government is serving Islam. Everything that is at present available here is service to Islam. All should have the feeling that the Blessed and Almighty God has granted us this favor and protected us from all powers who wanted to attack us from all around. Praise is due to God, now we have an independent government and nation and no one can dominate us. As long as, the nation is devoted in this fashion to unity and Islam, it must rest assured that others will not be able to subjugate it—such a thing cannot be done. They would always plan things from within the country; it was not that they would come from abroad and do something. When it would be destroyed from inside, then they would see no obstacle in their path to go about their corruption like in Afghanistan when it was corrupted from within, the foreigners arrived. However, if they are not able to corrupt the inside and the nation stays united and the government is with

the nation and the nation is with the government and all the government bodies are united with one another in serving Islam, in service to the people, which is the biggest service to Islam. Serving agriculture is the biggest service to Islam. Serving the rest of the jobs that the people are in need of is service to Islam. When we are decided on serving Islam, the Blessed and Almighty God will not leave us alone; will not leave us God forbid, to get into trouble.

The problems are always from the person himself. If a person is not having a problem from within him, they do not arise from outside. Until there is no decay from within the nation itself, the foreigners do not dominate. They want to do things from inside. Now, thank God, we are confident of the internal situation. When we have this assurance, we must serve. Now we must no longer say that it is the circumstance of the Revolution; the circumstance of the Revolution is over. Now the situation is calm; now is the time to serve the people; now is the time to serve the society; now is the time to serve Islam; now is the time to assure the people about all their things—the capitalist of his capital; the businessperson of his business; the administrator about his administration. When all of them are assured that, there is peace and calm and it is echoed abroad that peace has been restored here, those that fear to return will come back. They will know that there is no longer any problem except whom among them seeking pleasure; there is no place for them here any longer; they should seek pleasure abroad itself; they cannot be reformed any more.

However, thank God, our nation is now united. All are together. This election proved what type some of those people are; until after the first election—which of course must be at the top of the list of the elections and it was the election for a republic—after that we did not have such an election and thank God, it ended in happiness and peace. They were not able to do anything and despaired. They were not able to do anything in the society. Now if a thief does something, it is present everywhere. Now America is worse than all places. I hope that all the officials are aware that this people, who have toiled so much for this republic, have thrown out the corrupt individuals and replaced them with upright individuals, they should serve them in thanksgiving and gratitude for this blessing. The governors should serve these people; the district governors should serve; the ministries should serve—all must have the objective of service. We hope that God willing, there would be peace after these issues, the people also will be calm after this and be busy, that they invest their capital and not fear that suddenly someone will come and take them away. Never, there is no question about this; it is

not that they cannot do their job; they can invest their capital, manage the country, and strengthen it. The government also supports them and it must be. The main thing is that the Blessed and Almighty God is the supporter and we depend on His blessing. May God protect all of you.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 23, 1982 [Dey 2, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 7, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Safeguarding human values and prevention of corruption; achievement of the Revolution and the Sacred Defense

Audience: Salimi (Minister of Defense), personnel of the Industrial and Defense Research Group and a group of 40 officials of the ideological-political department of the Ministry of Defense

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Biggest crime of America and the internal traitors

Today, you have made me happy. Of course, I had the information that the brains that were not allowed to develop at all in the former regime are developing but I did not have the detailed information in this sector and now I am extremely pleased. I must thank these beloved youth for having brought and are bringing honor for their homeland and God willing for Islam. Every step that we move forward, we gain more information of what treacheries have been committed against this country; what crimes America and its likes have done to us; except that they did it with the hands of these same traitors that were within. The biggest crime that they committed was this same fact that they did not allow our youth to develop. If from the beginning when the army was formed, it was an Islamic army, was under the supervision of Islam, and was devoted to Islam, our condition now would have been different; but they did not allow. Nevertheless, the Blessed and Almighty God spread the favor of His blessing over this nation so that we reached midway and forestalled these issues. Today, everything of our country is Islamic and, of course, we are still midway and it shall increase.

I hope that the officials are aware that with their motivation and attention, the Blessed and Almighty God will reward them. That this is worship; that what you are doing is one of the biggest forms of worship; and that you are doing it for the cause of God so that the Blessed and Almighty God will favor you both here and in the hereafter. The job, which you are doing and God willing, you will complete later, this deed shall be recorded in your Book of Deeds and it shall be recorded in this world and everywhere.

Safeguarding the humanitarian values: achievement of the Revolution and the Sacred Defense

At the same time that in the war we have lost a large number of our youth, many beloved personalities, so many criminal acts have taken place, and in fairness, the recent crime in Dezful was one of the biggest crimes that they committed. At the same time that so many crimes have been committed against us; nevertheless, what our country gained is far more valuable and precious than the harm that was inflicted upon us. But the damage of loss of individuals, which, of course, we cannot repair; but God willing, later other individuals shall take over that can make up for them better. Damages such as destructions and such things can be recompensed; they are not important things, they can be reconstructed; but we must see that what we gain from them in return. We must think of this.

Those that are pessimistic sit there and repeatedly emphasize the weak points; they point their finger at the number of lives lost; how many hospital beds have been occupied; how many have been disabled. We all know of these that how many of us have been killed; how many disabled we have; how many poor people we have; but we do not observe the other side that what we have gained in return. Well, they say that we fought and have disabled people; we did not start the war; others started it.

If the men expect that, why we quarreled with America so that these wars took place and these things happen; we know that challenging America and all the powers has these repercussions. However, this is a question that we, that these men must ask the Prophet himself that why he challenged the “Abusufiyan”¹ so that they killed his uncle? So, they killed such a great personality? Well, you should have also sat in the security of your home and surrendered so that they would not have been killed! This blame also can be laid on the Commander of the Faithful. If the men lay the blame on us then it is also justified to blame him; well why did you oppose Muawiyah? Well, everybody said that he should allow Muawiyah to stay on his job as ruler of Syria and he should be pardoned whereas he said that he would not allow a tyrant to stay in his position even for an hour! Well, this resulted in the killing of great personalities such as “Ammar”² and several thousand people! If this logic is correct, then it is also valid for the Doyen of the Martyrs—may God’s peace is upon him. In the same way that they would object to him at that time that well, he was living comfortably in Medina so

¹ Hadrat Hamzah Bin Abdul-Muaalib—the great martyr of the battle of *Uhud*.

² Ammar Yasir was one of the great companions of the Prophet who fought alongside Hadrat Ali (*a*) in the Battle of *Siffiyn* and was martyred by the army of Muawiyah.

why did he have to depart with a small number of associates to challenge a tyrannical rule! Well if all the Prophets throughout history had made a mistake according to the logic of these persons, then all must compromise with bullies and we, too, shall confess that the Prophets were mistaken and we, too, had made a mistake like the Prophets! If this is not the issue, the issue is a humanitarian issue; it is of human values; the issue is one of prevention of these crimes that the bullies are perpetrating against mankind; against human beings; it is the disintegration of human beings; the question is one of extermination of outstanding individuals. If this is the question, then we are victorious. This is because this same subject that you spoke about concerning the activities that our beloved individuals have undertaken. Concerning this same subject, if these events had not taken place, we all were sitting in our homes, and America would also rule over this country, these things would not have occurred until eternity. All of us had to stand and pay respects to the Americans and flatter them so that they would give us bread; so that they would give us weapons; so that they would give us ammunitions. That, too, they would not give them to us but stock them here so that in case there was a war, it would be for their own use; we were not given anything at all. They took away all our resources and established a base here for themselves. However, the Blessed and Almighty God had mercy on us and those bases that they had made for themselves fell into our hands. All of these are war booties that God has given to us except that they surrendered them to us with their own hands.

In any case, we must think and place these two subjects on a balance; the subject of what we have lost and the subject of what we have gained. On the subject of what we have lost, we accept that we have lost many eminent personalities; many active personalities and many beloved youth and have also lost many to disability—in others words, many of our personalities were maimed and many women were widowed—we all know about these things. There was a lot of destruction in this country; all these are present. However, why do we not think about what we have gained? We must reflect that what we have gained is this that we have been delivered from a regime that was destroying Islam; that had corrupted our youth to become immoral; that had carried our nation to a stage where they did not know anything except to engage in immoral activities and become consumers of foreign goods. This was by the grace of God that He caused the whole nation together to feel that they must put a stop to it and rescued it from the swamp of decadence. What we have gained is that we have managed to revive Islam here.

Previously, there was Islam only in name but not in principle; meaning that in principle it was a quarrel with Islam; they wanted to relieve Islam; to destroy all these things except gradually. They could not say right from the beginning that we do not but it; they would say that they accepted it but only the fundamentals. They would keep on knocking down one by one. They had destroyed the commandments of Islam. All their work was in this way. Praise is due to God, the people are witnessing Islam in this country and are seeing that there is no mention of all those immoralities, which existed in the streets and the nightclubs and such things.

For this reason, they rescued these youth who were all on the verge of destruction. Today, all have become active. Now, they know that they must resist America; they must resist bullying; they must have independence themselves. This by itself would be sufficient achievement. However, thank God, many achievements have been made including these same that you have mentioned. The fact that these men are making things that one could not imagine they could make or they would not think of these subjects; the men themselves are undertaking them and we hope that God willing, later on also they would do more and perform higher. May God grants all of you and all of us the success in rescuing this nation that was until now under the domination of foreigners and under the subjugation and tyranny of the immoral regime and to free the people so that they get on with their own job. God willing, all the problems shall be resolved and you should be hopeful to the God's grace. All the difficulties will be finished. You are honored in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God and in the presence of the world. May God protect all of you.

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

Decree

Date: December 25, 1982 [Dey 4, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of members of "Follow-up Headquarters for the 8-Articled Command"¹

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardabili, Mir Husayn Musawi, Muhammad Imami Kashani, Ali-Akbar Naaq Nuri, Sayyid Musaafa Muhaqqiq Damad, Ghulam Rida Aqazadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Their Eminences, Hujaj al-Islam Musawi Ardabili, State Prosecutor General, Mir Husayn Musawi, the Prime Minister, Imami Kashani, Head of Appeals Court, Muhaqqiq, State Inspectorate General and Aqazadeh, Minister without portfolio are authorized by a majority of vote to dismiss the offender or offenders after investigation. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of the Messrs.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Issued on Azar 24, 1361 AHS, which has been mentioned below the aforesaid date in this same collection.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 25, 1982 [Dey 4, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission, duties, and role of the Ministry of Foreign affairs

Audience: Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Minister of Foreign Affairs), 28 deputies, director-generals and ambassadors

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Sensitive role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

First, I would like to thank the officials for having come here to meet with me and to express the pains of former times. You know that the Foreign Ministry is the only ministry, which can by becoming good and Islamic reveal its Islamic identity abroad and its impact is greater than all the ministries. Conversely, the damages that are inflicted to our country by the foreign embassies here, and our own embassies abroad and by the foreign ministries have perhaps not been inflicted by others. This is because the Foreign Ministry has relations with the whole world, with various thinking, with various ideas and various plans. However, the job of the Foreign Ministry is a difficult one, yet sensitive and it is necessary that it reforms rightly.

I know that these problems who have created for us—in every aspect of its creation—whether in the Foreign Ministry, whether in the rest of the ministries and whether in all the government and national bodies and so forth requires a lot of time to reform. But, when it is decided to be reformed meaning the government and all the ministries have determined that we must be ourselves; that we must not be dependent on others; that we ourselves must safeguard our reputation; if this objective is felt and it moves in this direction, then God willing it shall lead to reforms of all things. However, all the ministries and other places under government jurisdiction or the nation itself, if all of them have the common objective that we must have relations with those foreign countries that do not want to swallow us. Whereas there is not much need to have relations with those that want to exploit having relations in order to make us dependent on them. One must work very cautiously. Should you enter this straight path, which is the path of Islam, then until the end of your lives, all those that have recited their mandatory prayers several times everyday and have implored “...*Guide us on the*

*Straight Path...*¹ shall be rightly guided. When he is guided, he shall be guided until the end of his life. The important thing is that a person enters that path that he must traverse—be the spiritual journey or material journey that is also spiritual in one context. This means that after a government has become Islamic, it is wholly based on spirituality. It is not that its government does not have spirituality while for example; its congregation prayer leaders have spirituality. When the people feel that they want to become good humans; they want to be reformed; that they wish to reform themselves; they want their government to be a Divine government; that their legislative assembly should be likewise; similar for the rest of their things; when the feeling becomes such then it is all spirituality—except by different routes.

The same job that you are doing in the Foreign Ministry and the ambassadors are doing abroad; if the path is the straight Islamic path then it is itself “journey towards God”. It is not necessary that a person sits in a corner of a room and says that he wishes to undertake the “journey towards God”. Not at all, “journey to God” is in the same way that the Prophets and especially the Prophet of Islam and those that were related to him have undertaken. At the same time that they launched a battle, they would kill humans and be killed, they ruled; they had everything—all of the things were “journey towards God”. It was not such that on the day when the Commander of the Faithful was busily engaged in battle it was not “journey towards God” while the day he was engaged in reciting prayers, it was so. No, both of them were “journey towards God”. Thus, the Prophet states that, “One blow of the sword of Ali (a) in the Battle of *Khandaq* is superior to the worship of all the Jinn and Mankind.”² This is because it is a “journey towards God”.

Steadfastness in the path of objective

When we decide to fight the deviant elements—not a war with guns—when we want to pull the spiritual aspects into materiality; also pull materiality towards spirituality, a person shall ultimately succeed in this even though the task is difficult yet not impossible. It is an issue, in which a person succeeds; he succeeds when he takes action. You see in this same issue of the victory of the nation over the corrupt ex-regime. Well, initially, no one even imagined that a nation that was bereft of anything could confront a government that possessed everything and was also backed by all the

¹ *Surah al-Faaiyah* 1:6.

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

governments. Even the thought of such an objective was difficult for any person who was knowledgeable of the issues. Thus, those in whom this thinking prevailed would always counsel that it must not be undertaken. However, you saw that when the nation decided to do something, when it entered the arena on this basis, it should reach its conclusion. To reach it to its conclusion was a great feat, which we cannot right now comprehend the magnitude of what the nation has accomplished.

One of the writers¹ who have authored many writings sent a message through one of the personalities saying that we ourselves could not comprehend what we had done. He was right, because what has occurred in Iran was something that even we also could not understand what it was and what was going to take place. Every step that we took; that you took, God revealed the way to another step. Generally speaking all the steps was in a manner that as if the Blessed and Almighty God were holding a lamp in front that was lighting up the darkness. Every step that you take, you move and He never allowed this nation to weaken in its resolution. It sacrificed lives; every crime was committed against it but it did not retreat. This implies that it had discovered its path. When the straight path is found, it is easy to tread it. The main thing is that at the outset, these deviant elements cause confusion in the paths one pulling in this direction and the other in the other direction, "...*the path of those whom Thy wrath is upon.*"² They pull from one direction while these pull in another direction. When it becomes such; when the path of a person is changed he then traverses, that path to its conclusion meaning that he goes astray until the end. One must find the path. If the path is discovered, a person traverses it and thank God, now Iran has discovered its path. I hope that every day it also becomes more firm and moves more resolutely.

Determining the policy of the embassies of the Islamic Republic

Now, the embassies have become your own and there is no ruler to pressurize you to do this and that, you must act on your own. The embassies must be such embassies that move on the straight path of humanity. The straight path of humanity is also not that we recite the mandatory prayers—we must recite the prayers of course but the embassies must be free of domination of outsiders; no person should have any influence upon it except the government itself; except the Foreign Ministry itself. There should be one

¹ Muhammad Hasanayn Hiykal, politician and well-known Egyptian journalist and former Editor-in-Chief of the reputed and reliable daily "al-Ahram".

² Reference is to the verse 7 of the *Surha al-Faaihah*, which states: "...*The path of those on whom Thy Reward is upon and not the path of those whom Thy wrath is upon.*"

path and not that it should be pulled in this direction and that one such was in former times and it would be pulled and carried to this side or be carried to that side. This was our problem such that the dependencies were to the extent that it was a difficult task to remove these dependencies and to free the shackles from around the necks. However, thank God, until now our nation and our government have been successful and today also it must be the same. This means that at every step you must think whether the step, which we are taking, will cause us to become dependent, are the devils making us dependent or no it is a step towards freedom and it is we ourselves that want to do this work?

Whatever the embassies do, they must think beforehand that what they want to do take us closer to creating dependence or free us from dependence and take us closer to independence. Likewise, in the rest of the places. If we think of doing our work on our own; that the country is of our own; that we must till the soil ourselves; manage its offices for instance, on our own; that we must do the labor work on our own; when this feeling strengthens in a person, he will pursue this path. To find the path is difficult but after it is found, it is easy to traverse. A person who is lost in the wilderness, he will continually change from this path to that path and perhaps after ten years also he will not be able to reach the destination. However, when he finds the path that would lead him to the destination, it would then be easy for him to traverse it. A person in the wilderness, moves from one direction and sees that it leads him nowhere; then he goes from another direction and sees that it also does not lead anywhere until he reaches the asphalted road. When he reaches the asphalted road, he has the way and he moves along it and reaches his destination.

Efforts towards self-sufficiency and freedom from dependency

At present, we are also in this manner that, thank God, we have found the path and this is one of the biggest successes for us and it is easy to traverse it but it requires effort. All must strive and join hands; all the people with the government, with the nation, must together unite and strive to do the job on our own and that we want to become self-sufficient through our own efforts. Neither should we import wheat from abroad for instance and nor other food items and things that we need; nor import clothing; nor food and nor other essential items we need in the war and in other places.

If this feeling exists, then some of them will be achieved in the long-term and some in the near future. It can be done soon, for instance, if the clothing is changed and it is not what they want us to wear; or, for instance, the food

should not be what the aristocrats eat. This is easy; it can be changed quickly. Of course, regarding the weapons of war and such things, it is a complicated issue and complex and it can be accomplished in the long-term. Nevertheless, those who are knowledgeable in these fields have also achieved many successes. Yesterday, when the Minister of Defense had come here, he mentioned some of the accomplishments and the persons who had made those achievements possible, which made me truly happy.

I hope that all of you are successful and prosper and work for yourselves; work for the sake of God. It can be done. When it is decided that you want to free your Islamic country from the subjugation of foreigners—this is an Islamic issue; a moral issue; a spiritual issue—then spirituality shall be born within you. I hope that this spirituality develops and takes us to the end so that we reach to God, God willing.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: December 26, 1982 [Dey 5, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Virtue of *Jihad* in the path of God, in praise of the combatants of the fields of battle

Addressee: Military commanders and fighters of the Guards Corps, *Basij* and popular militia, tribes and police forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“*Jihad is one of the gateways to heaven which God opens for his special saints*”.¹ (Commander of the Faithful—may God’s peace be upon him.)

The great reward that has been quoted among the innumerable rewards bestowed on the fighters in the path of God is more conspicuous. These figures of speech with their own mystical meaning—not the Divine and mystical secrets that are inaccessible to us—undoubtedly the ordinary human being is rendered unable to speak and write about them. This Divine medal shines on the arms of the holy fighters like the sun on the owners of the invisible and angelic secrets. Is this manifestation not the same creation that honored the appointed one of the Compassionate, the Prophet Abraham? Is it not the radiance of the exalted position of the Divine Friend that radiates in the heart of the virtuous creatures? Is it not the bestowed position of the Divine Trusteeship from the Commander of the Faithful to the Last of the Prophets that has been bestowed on the saints of God? If it is—that it is—then with which statement can one attain it and with which human eye can one see this manifestation?² This great reward is for the holy fighters in the path of God whether they are martyred or become victorious or not. For the martyrs, there are other rewards that are beyond description; while for the beloved victors, there is a separate reward. Victors such as these beloved zealous fighters; right from the beloved commanders of the Guards Corps and the army to the rest of the holy fighters, the rest of the combatants and holy fighters of the battlefield of defense, the frontline soldiers of the volunteer “*Basij*” mobilization; the *Komiteh*, the Gendarmerie, the police forces and the popular forces and courageous and valiant tribe forces, which

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah* of Imam Ali, Sermon no. 27.

² Salutations to you o the chosen ones of God.

played a major role in smashing the siege of Abadan and breaking the strong fortifications of Khorramshahr and in the great conquest of Muharram. They gave such a slap to the face of the tyrannical opponent who was armed to the teeth with weapons from America and the Soviet Union and other powers as well as being supported financially and militarily by the reactionaries of the region, that the shame of it shall remain until history on the face of the men of Saddam. The big powers and the sponsors of Saddam must have understood by now that military power and modern weapons can never confront with the revolutionary and sacred fury of nations.

while apologizing for my faults, I would like to extend my congratulations to the commanders of the army and the Guards Corps; and to all the commanders of the military and security forces; and to all their fellow combatants who with their valiant defense of Islam and the country have brought glory to Islam and the Muslims and the dear compatriots in their respective arenas. For the honorable martyrs and the prisoners of war of the Islamic homeland who have attained eternal happiness, I pray for the infinite blessings of God; while for the mothers and fathers and spouses and the rest of the relatives and those of their survivors. I pray for the eternal happiness and infinite patience and rewards. Salutations to the guard's corps and the army of Islamic Iran, Peace be to their esteemed commanders, salutations to all the holy fighters and combatants in the path of the objective. Victory is to the commanders and fighters of the gendarmerie and the police and the *Komiteh* and the volunteer "*Basij*" mobilization and the popular and tribe forces. May the honorable flag of the Islamic Republic of Iran be fluttering high. Salutations and peace on the exalted patron of the oppressed people of the world, His Holiness the Baqiyatullah—may our souls be sacrificed for him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Remembrance

Date: December, 1982 [Dey, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to request for sending autograph for a school student

Addressee: Zahra Ghazaiyan

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

Imam Khomeini, O the beloved father!

I request you and implore you in the name of the God that all of you and us worship, to sign this photograph.

Yours truly,

Zahra Ghazaiyan—Third year of
intermediate school from Behshahr

O, the dear Imam! O, my Imam! O, my soul! O my being! With those pure hands of yours, sign this photograph and I shall frame it and hang it on the wall.¹ O God! O God! Grant long life to Khomeini until the Revolution of the Savior Mahdi and keep him by the side of the Savior Mahdi!

¹ The office of Imam Khomeini had also received another letter from this girl which reveals the pure feelings of the young generation of the Revolution vis-à-vis their leader and mentor Imam Khomeini as below:

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

His Eminence the leader of the Revolution, appointee of the Savior Imam , founder of the Islamic Revolution and beloved and kind father,

With greeting, a greeting that flies from one of the cities of Iran and through meandering and twisting pathways reaches to Jamaran. O; Jamaran! Accept my greetings, which flies across to you from furlongs afar from the city of the Party of God; from the city of honor and respect; from the provincial city of Behshahr.

I do not observe the resistance, the merit, and that courage in me in the greeting that I sent directly to the Imam. O Jamaran, bear witness and intercede on my behalf so that the Imam accepts the greeting that is filled with pain and moaning.

Jamaran, O the leader and lovers of proximity to God, and the beloved Imam , this time I found the courage to express my greetings to this Sage of Jamaran; this honorable sage, the righteous appointee of the Savior Twelfth Imam , the heartbeat of 36 million people, the hope of the hopefuls; and this physician of those who are in pain. Greetings to you who is the hope of all the children that have lost their fathers and share in the grief of the tearful mothers. I know that these blows dealt by the Peoples *munafiqin* group (hypocrites) to this uprising meaning the Islamic Revolution, has absolutely no effect on lowering your morale. In any case, they take away from us servants and link them to God. This time the dirty hands of the criminal Americans has revealed itself from the sleeves of the anti-people group and has pulverized an innocent gathering in south Tehran under the boots of imperialism. I express my condolences and felicitations to you and the court of the Imam of the Time—the Savior of mankind. O Imam, I felicitated you so that I might have spoken a few words with you; these words may perhaps be a panacea for the treatment of my weak heart so that it does not die.

O Imam, how is it and who are you that with the remembrance of your name, the heart is soothed and all the pains and afflictions are forgotten. Just as the honorable Quran states, “It is with the mention of the name of God that the hearts are soothed.” The heart is soothed both with the mention of the name of God and also with your soothing words. O Imam, I do not know how to praise or glorify you as I do not have the merit. O Imam, O the appointee of the Savior Mahdi, O the fighter at the side of Mahdi, what kind of a leader is you that with bare hands, you brought victory to Islam.

Imam, O my Imam! O my soul! O my being! I feel honored at having such a leader.

O my Imam! I take pride and feel honored that I have such a beloved. O my Imam! I look at you with the eyes of being my father, I imagine seeing you in front of me with pride and triumph; suddenly I plant a kiss on that radiant visage of yours, wet my dry lips with the fragrance of your countenance; gain renewed spirit from the body that abounds with your knowledge; and thus get myself closer to meeting with God. Once again, I take pride in being

Sent from Behshahr—Ghazaiyan, Imam Khomeini Street, Haqiqat
Printing Press, and Haj Samad Ghazaiyan.]

of the chivalrous of history because we have such a leader. The pen renders incapable of writing and the paper of giving space for describing the virtuous qualities of your radiant visage.

O Imam, whenever I become melancholic, I take a look at that radiant picture and that beautiful face of yours; and I hope that someday I will with pride and triumph, take you in my embrace but what a pity that I do not have such a good fortune.

O Imam! The only request, which I have from you is that I implore you in the name of the Savior Mahdi; in the name of your friend and companion; in the name of your sharer of grief and consistent helper and in the name of God, I beseech you, O Imam, to supplicate for us; to pray for this beloved and noble nation. Seek pardon for us from your Beloved One and implore Him to assist us so that we do not follow in the footsteps of the tyrants and the hypocrite groups; rather that day by day we take a step toward the Beloved One to be in love with the Messiah Savior Imam and in love with you. Pray for the combatants, we pray for you that: "O God, O God, we beseech Thee in the name of the Savior Mahdi to grant long life to Khomeini. Please send a reply to the letter.

Your true admirer,
Zahra Ghazaiyan
May God protect you."

[In His Most Exalted Name]

God bless the auspicious martyr.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The Imam Khomeini handwriting has been written on the photograph of the martyr.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 26, 1982 [Dey 5, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Roots of differences of values in the world

Audience: Muhsin Qaraati (representative of the Imam and head of the Literacy Movement), Ghayuri (representative of the Imam in the Red Crescent Society), teaching staff of the Literacy Movement, employees of the Red Crescent Society from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Differences in values based on various doctrines

Today, thank God, we are faced with two groups, both of whom are valuable; Group of teachers of the nation throughout the country—of course, a group of them—and also a group from the Red Crescent Society. The values in the world differ based on doctrines and based on opinions. With a study of the doctrines, which exist, in the world and the religions of the world, we can understand that values differ in religions and also the ideas differ. If you overlook the monotheist and Divine doctrines and refer and study the materialist doctrines and the ideas behind materialism, you will notice that these two doctrines are opposite to one another and different from one another. The monotheist and divine doctrine have one set of things; one set of topics while the materialist doctrines, whether materialism of Communism or materialism of capitalism and finally all the doctrine other than the divine doctrine have different set of values.

In this very country of ours, during the evil “*Taghuti*” regime and the evil “*Taghut*” you shall observe what values they imbibed and the nation that had incorporated their shades within itself, What the values were. During their time at a time when there were no cars and so forth, the values of horse-drawn carriages were based on the number of horses. The more the number of horses, eight horses or sometimes more and on the number of attendants and those that would gather round the human being or inhuman being that would be seated in the carriage. This value was prevalent both among the intellectual strata of that time as well as the writers of that time and also the poets and orators and the artists of that era; the value was that whoever had a bigger number of horses and a bigger number of attendants, had a higher value. The strata, which would call itself “the aristocrats and elites” would

value itself on the number of servants they had and how many villages it possessed and how many horses they had and how many dogs and hounds they owned. Among the capitalists also, the value was the amount of capital and on the accumulated capital and pouring their wealth in banks and trading houses by whatever means available. When you would look at the masses among the men and women of both strata, the value revolved around clothing and the manner of dressing up and tailoring and cosmetics. Whoever would wear better clothes and was more chic in style of clothing, he had greater value among the people. Any woman that would apply make-up like the Europeans and dressed like them; this woman would have more value among the women folk—however, among the majority. All the values pertained to materialist affairs.

When horses, donkeys, dogs, hounds, and the likes of these become the criteria of human value, then the source of that value would have a higher value than the human being possesses. If the horse is the source of value of a person, then that horse has greater value than a human being does because it is what has given value to the person. If carpets and rugs and items of luxury and make-up and hairstyle and importing fashion from abroad increase the value of a human being, then their value is greater than his because they are the source of the value. A person has no value of himself; his value is based on the animal husbandry; the cows have higher value than the human being himself; his value depends on the carriages he owns and the number of carpets—his value is based on such things. Based on logic, if the source of affluence is a thing because of which the person gains value, then that source of affluence has a greater value.

It is narrated that a mystic entered the home of a wealthy individual, a king or a commander, and saw that the gathering was provided with every comfort—everything was available. Meanwhile, he wanted to spit out. He looked around and spat on the face of the king. The king protested that why he had done so. To which he replied that he looked everywhere and could not find a dirtier face than his. If you look at the other side; if he looks at the second aspect of the universe and there he sees those who evaluate themselves based on these issues; he shall see that out there, the face of such persons has undergone a transformation. It is to such an extent that it is no longer a human face; it is the face of another being. If he is a dog-lover and gives all his heart for dogs, his face will be of a dog.

Knowledge and piety are the criteria of evaluation in monotheist doctrines

The question of manifestation of deeds and manifestation of morality and so forth is a subject that is recognized among the experts and researchers. It has also been mentioned in our narratives that the tongue of a person, which slanders lengthens to the distance between Mecca and Median apparently and on the Day of Resurrection walk across this tongue. This is the result of slandering. A person whose tongue stretches from this city to that city and he defames people and reveals their secrets, this tongue extends to the same extent that it would stretch in this world in the afterworld also. There also it will lengthen and the on Resurrection Day—according to this narrative—people will walk across it. When the value of a human being is based on these matters, the spiritualities will no longer be of any value. Do you think that among the stratum that place value on these matters, the value that the Prophets attach is of absolutely any worth for them? Do not believe it that they consider them values. They may say so but they do not believe it. If they believed, they would pursue those values. Now that they do not believe and do not pursue those values makes is obvious that they are not convinced. Value in the words of the Prophets and the words of the saints of God and at the top of them the glorious Quran and the honorable Prophet of Islam—peace is upon his soul—is value for knowledge and piety. The yardstick is these two qualities, knowledge and piety together. Knowledge alone is not of value or it has low value; piety alone has no value or has a low value.

In a narrative, quoted from the Prophet of God that, “Two persons broke my back: the man of learning who is unafraid of being disgraced and the man of piety who is ignorant.”¹ The ignorant person that does not know of the humanitarian-Islamic precepts shall always act in a manner that is contrary to the way of the Prophets however pious he may be. The man of learning that has no piety and is unbridled poses a far greater danger to Islam than anyone else. The value is for knowledge and piety. They accept everything from the men of piety. In the words of the Quran, knowledge has been highly acclaimed but with piety beside it. Knowledge alone is useless for a human being unless, it is based on the laws of nature and piety, too, without knowledge does not reach a person to achieve perfection.

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 2, p. 111, h. 25.

Necessity of urging piety alongside learning

You gentlemen and others wherever they are and are involved in this noble profession of imparting learning to our nation and this oppressed nation that was deprived of everything during the previous regime while they would continually talk about glory and civilization and their nation was inundated in ignorance. You that today have endeavored to impart literacy to the people must take note that the worth of your task has been upheld by the glorious Quran. However, alongside this teaching, there should also be development; there should also be a call to piety. There should not be education alone; there should also be training. A human being is in need of knowledge as well as education and training until the end of his life. There is no person who can do without knowledge and who can do without education and training. It is not correct if some persons think that the time for their learning is past then. Learning does not have a specific period; knowledge does not have a specific time. As has been narrated that knowledge is to be attained from the cradle to the grave¹ it is better for a person to learn a single word at the time of death rather than to die an ignorant. It should not be such that you teach them—and God willing, you will be successful—and fail to train them; do not be neglectful of this aspect. A human being is in need of knowing; he is in need of training; he needs them until the end of his life. Blend knowledge with training; these are two wings with which a human being can reach up to God. Call upon the people to observe piety. In the same way that you teach them, invite them to piety. The sentences that you want to teach them should be sentences that exhort them to piety; calls upon them to observe the moral teachings.

If you see, the books that were being taught in former times you will notice that the books themselves would sway people away from piety. They wanted to create knowledge without piety and our country was corrupted as a result of knowledge minus piety. Regimes were corrupted by knowledge without piety and the dictators also because they lacked piety and also did not have knowledge and were the worse. From the small child that wants to become literate at your side to the old man and old women that come to you holding a walking stick impart knowledge with total patience because it is necessary to have patience with this stratum of people. Teach them with total patience and tolerance and while teaching also strengthen that other wing which is piety. It means that the sentences you choose in order to teach them should be sentences in which piety has also been emphasized.

¹ "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave."

What you are seeing in the Friday Congregation prayers, which are the biggest of congregations—it was stressed by Islam—and thank God, today in Iran the biggest congregational prayers take place. In the Friday sermons, it is emphasized to urge people to be pious. This is because of the importance of piety. Following the mention of monotheism, salutations to the honorable Prophet of Islam and his appointed trustees and you mention their names, alongside you should urge them to observe piety. The Friday prayer leaders should not make passing references to piety; they must regard this to be one of the important subjects. If the nation becomes pious, it shall be able to safeguard itself against all afflictions, which occur in the world. God willing, the Friday prayer leaders pay more attention to inviting the people to piety. You must acquaint the people with that thing which the Prophets arrived on the scene. All the Prophets came to teach moral behavior;¹ the Prophets came in order to teach piety and train human beings. Now these Friday prayer leaders have taken over this noble occupation of the Prophets, which was the Friday prayer, and recitation of the mandatory prayers in the rest of the places. They should endeavor to train the people in piety; invite them to piety. Mention of piety and stating the history of piety is not enough in the Friday prayer; they must call upon the people to become pious and urge them to piety. They must give importance to this divine commandment for which the Prophets arrived and you teachers must give importance to the subject of piety. The students also must give importance to it. The university professors and professors of the seminaries must also give special importance to this aspect that if knowledge is isolated from piety—even if it is knowledge of monotheism, even if it is knowledge of religions—it has no value in that world. If the loss from unaccompanied knowledge on nations and on Islam would not have been greater than its benefits—which it is—then it must be mentioned that an impious person can destroy a country, destroy human beings and the person who is more learned can corrupt the people better. Thus, together with this education, there should also be education of piety. If there are children, teach the children piety to the extent that they can absorb; and likewise the adolescents. The adolescents should not be under the impression that they no longer need or the time is past; the time does pass. It is better for a person in all circumstances to know something than not to know. In any case, this occupation is extremely noble and its responsibility is also very heavy. God willing, you be successful.

¹ “I have been chosen to complete and teach the greatness of moral behavior.” *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 16, p. 210.

The value of serving in the Red Crescent Society

Following this same issue, is this Red Cross,¹ if the idea of the Red Cross is a humanitarian-Islamic one, and then this, too, is an issue that pursues that same piety; that pursues that same knowledge. It is knowledge and piety, which can give value to this Red Cross and this Red Crescent and what this Red Crescent is that, is here. Value is not because of the volume of work; value is because of the quality of work. When the quality of your work is good and its volume is also great, then the values are also very high. However, this job is a very valuable task; to work with the handicapped and the weak and with individuals that are in the warfronts and in the hospitals is worthy at the same time as it is difficult.

However, concerning what this person² said that according to international conventions, the personnel of the Red Crescent must have immunity, in places where they do not regard a value as human value, it is only words without meaning. You should not be under the impression that the Iraqi Baath Party is keen to know what international conventions are; or those same people that have themselves established these so-called international societies. They do not regard as a value those issues that the Prophets would propagate. They do not regard faith as a human value. They regard human value to be in tyranny, bloodshed and worse than that. When they do not regard those issues as human value and from the beginning, their evil soul is corrupted in morality and in everything, you should no longer expect them to observe international conventions. Which convention do they observe? Did not those that created these human rights groups and such and such organization themselves observe these international conventions?

When those that shout so much about human rights come across the Baath Party of Saddam that has killed so many people here and have rendered so many people homeless here and maimed so many, not only do they overlook, but they also justify them. They justify saying that well, you bombed such and such place in Iraq and they have retaliated! Iraq tells a lie to justify its own actions; every day they say that BaSrah has been bombed! Where is this Basrah that they bombed? Where are the inhabitants of BaSrah who were bombed or in the rest of the cities? Islam does not allow causing trouble to an innocent people in retribution for the sin of others. However, they say these things in order that when they drop a bomb or several bombs

¹ The Red Cross is a global society of aid workers, which is called the Red Crescent Society in Iran.

² Mr. Sayyid Ali Ghayuri, representative of the Imam in the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

that kill a large number of people including women and innocent children, innocent young and old, they can say that they have done such a thing in retaliation for that!

You should not expect those that make such claims and say for instance that the Red Crescent or the Red Cross should have immunity in every place. You should not expect that it should also be such in deed; in practice it is not so. For them, values are not humanitarian values. It is the same with all matters, although I mentioned just some of them. You undertake a study on your own and see what the values were everywhere during the former regime. What was the value of poetry. What was the value of the intellectual. What did the intellectual regard as values at that time. What was the value of human beings at that time. Then you will know that there are two paths to the question: one, the path of the Prophets and the other the path of the devils; one path is that of the evil men and the other is the path of the Prophets. The path of the Prophets regards the values differently. It regards the human being to possess value and do not regard value to be in animals, in inanimate objects or in possession of assets. They regard it in those things that are within him; in knowledge; in piety; they regard it in moral behavior, whereas this strata of the population of humanity regards all values to lie in things other than those that the Prophets preached.

God willing, you and we succeed in paying attention to the values of the Prophets; and, which we follow the Prophets and their teachings and to shun worldly values that are contrary to the teachings of the Prophets. We should want a world whose values are given by the Prophets; we should want a service that has been given value by piety and knowledge. I pray that God willing, all of you are successful.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 27, 1982 [Dey 6, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The Party of God and the satanic parties

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Secretary General of the Islamic Republic Party, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), members of the Central Council and officials of the offices of the Islamic Republic Party from across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Statement of difference between the Party of God and the satanic parties

This, too, is by the blessings of the Revolution and the movement of Islam that I am meeting with the people that are in proximity and I hope that these meetings and gatherings are useful. From the beginning of the universe until now, there have been two parties: one, the party of God and the other the anti-God and satanic party. The effect of each of them has also been distinct so that the one which belonged to God and because its objective is the Blessed and Almighty God, it moves towards Him and is on the straight path. The one that goes against this path—and the majority belong to it—is the satanic parties. From the advent of the universe until now and also during the era of the Prophet of God, it has existed and even in our own era, you saw the Rastakhiz (Resurrection) Party and know what its objectives were. Divine parties are manifested by the spirit of God meaning that they strive not to invite to themselves and invite one to God, not to invite one to nature and invite one to divinity and spirituality. This is a sign by which a person can know where he is headed to, whether he is heading towards the party of God and to God and is a member of the party of God or is on the side of other parties. A person can judge what he is doing. However, sometimes coverings prevent a person from knowing what he is doing. Those that are on the way to finding the path can tear the coverings and come on the path of the Party of God considering that “*the army of God will become victorious*”¹ and the other parties assuming that they stay on for a while and struggle shall ultimately be defeated.

¹ Surah al-Maidah 5:56.

Hypocrisy is the worst and greatest of deviations of human beings

What is necessary for all of humanity is that they take care to admit themselves in the Party of God. The Prophets also arrived for this same purpose meaning that if they fought wars, it was for the cause of God and if they would make peace it was for the cause of God and if they called to religion, it was for the sake of God. None of the Prophets we know, would live in isolation; he is a shepherd, he takes his staff and moves on to rescue the people and the pharaoh; but the pharaoh could not be saved. It is Islam, which moved together with these poor people, with this same people who were regarded as inferior by other people, and they would criticize the Prophet that he was supported by a bunch of lowly and backward people! Today, all the good that is in the world and all the manifestations of good is the result of the call of the Prophets. This means that those who accepted the call of the Prophets left behind good legacies and a group that were stubborn, yet even they left behind good legacies was also due to the influence of the Prophets. Because the influences of the Prophets caused them to do such things out of fear of the nations and to take to this path and enter the scene to further their objectives, but this is a deviation and a person must be delivered from these deviations.

The worst deviation is that a person assumes one form outwardly that is contrary to the reality. This is hypocrisy and in the glorious Quran, the worst of tidings has been stated for the hypocrites themselves. In particular, there is a *surah* revealed for them whereas there is no special *surah* revealed for others than hypocrites. Of course, for the deniers of faith and disbelievers there is for the disbelievers also include the hypocrites. Therefore, to the extent that Islam has stressed for the extermination or reform of the hypocrites, it is not so for the deniers of the faith. A person knows how to handle a faithless individual but does not know how to handle the hypocrite. It was the same during the era of the Prophet of Islam, the hypocrites have been condemned more strongly in Islam, and the hypocrite is the worst manifestation of faithlessness.

Reforming the self before reforming others

In any case, our society, our clergy, our intellectuals and our scientists must think about this blessing and opportunity, which God has bestowed upon us; we should not be ungrateful for them. Wherever the men are, whether in the party or outside the party, they must endeavor to keep the people in the arena. When people gather together, it is that they can accomplish a task; and when the drops gather, a flood will occur. Therefore,

we must call upon the people, and our call should not be to the self; it should not be a call to worldly things; it should be a call to God. When the call is to God and the world also becomes divine, it becomes the afterlife and it becomes the afterlife of the world. There is no difference between here and the hereafter; all are manifestations of God. The thing that corrupts the world is that a person pays attention to the abased world in relation to the Blessed and Almighty God. One who is worldly, gives in charity, and pays the religious tax and portion of income and all of these things will not be worse off in this world. The yardstick is not the volume; the yardstick is the spiritual circumstance of each person.

The source of all dangers for a person is man himself; and the source of reform also is man himself and it must start from the person himself. It is possible for a preacher who has not reformed himself to reform others. That preacher is able to sermonize who has reformed himself from within. Likewise, any person that wants to preach must pay attention to what he wants to say. Does God approve of what he says? Is it an invitation to himself or an invitation to God? After he has spoken, he should sit down and reflect whether the sermon was for this or that. This is the way for a person to reach God, which is that he takes note of himself and then after this self-appraisal he undertakes an evaluation. It is not that the political party is evil or that every political party is good; the criteria are the concept of the political party. If the concept is something else, then this political party is a party of Satan whatever its name is. Therefore, we must strive to make our party the Party of God and make ourselves the members of the Party of God. I hope that the men are successful wherever they are; that they work for Islam and for God and for attainment of the Divine objectives. If they find any person among themselves who is deviant, they should inform the officials. I hope that God endorses you so that God willing, you will become useful for Islam.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, December 28, 1982 [Dey 7, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran Tehran,

Subject: Necessity for legal confrontation with errant judges

Audience: members of the follow-up committee of the Directives of the Imam namely: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardabili (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Imami Kashani (Head of the Administrative Justice Court), Muhaqqiq Damad (Head of the State Inspectorate Organization), Aqazadeh (Minister without portfolio of executive affairs)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The necessity for legal confrontation with errant judges

I must mention to the gentlemen that the task you are performing, which is looking into the affairs of the offenders, whether at the court and magistrate and such levels or at the level of administrative offices and ministries, it is a task that now has legal mandate and must be performed with sincerity and decisiveness. We cannot see a country, which claims to be an Islamic Republic and the judge who has a religious mandate, sets a city on fire and we remain silent; or for instance, a prosecutor that has in some places done something illegal, yet we should sit down and keep quiet. From now on, silence has absolutely no meaning. The officials must establish a trial to look into the affairs of the errant; the errant judges and other people who have wronged wherever they are; the offenders after their offense has been established, those responsible must be immediately and necessarily be replaced within three days. If they, too, are negligent in this matter without a valid reason and refrain from doing this job, then you men yourself—the committee that is for investigation and is empowered to appoint—must independently make an appointment and there must absolutely be no negligence in any affair. Although on the other side also, with total care for all aspects of the issue so that God forbid, no injustice is done to any person. However, we must now lighten and eliminate this burden of injustice that now happens at times throughout the country to individuals. I now announce that should individuals because of their corrupt intentions wish to stir up trouble and make telephone calls to this side and that side and it becomes evident that they themselves are acting against the religious edicts and want to work against Islam; I shall announce to the nation that whoever acts in this

manner must be dismissed. In no place where a man of justice must be present and they do not accept him and inform that he should be penalized because he wants to enforce Islam. For undertaking a task, which removes injustice from the people; then if some person says that we shall create an atmosphere against him or some person says that they will not undertake that task—this must not be done. This means that the task of Islam must not be accomplished and the thinking of this person is the highest degree of wrongdoing and he must be dismissed; further on, it is possible that suddenly some other things happen. No person has the right throughout the country; no religious magistrate has the right to resign without reason and create a negative atmosphere. If he creates a negative atmosphere, it is evident that he himself is to be probed and he himself must be interrogated. If he truly does not regard himself to be competent, he must confess to it that he is incompetent and does not want to judge. After he has been dismissed, immediately and within three days, he must be replaced by another prosecutor or magistrate and so forth.

In any case, what you are doing; the committee that has been created for this purpose and wants to accomplish a task, it is not permitted that they be negligent in the same way that they also God willing do not engage in excesses. It is for both sides of the issue and the matter is not one of being negligent and being funny. If at any place we see negligence from a person, we shall interrogate him. If an official—whoever he may be—wants to create a negative atmosphere; wishes to deviate from these matters, this is a deviation from the commandments of Islam; and if he is an official who is a respected judge, he is automatically dismissed; and if he is not a worthy judge, the organizational machinery and the authorities must dismiss him. If they do not dismiss him, then this committee is again permitted to replace them. In any case, the matter is an important one and the matter is one of honor of Islam. The honor of the Islamic Republic and it is not a joke that a person should commit so many crimes in a city and that some other person comes to his rescue and helps the criminal. This must not be done. They themselves should refrain from these actions; otherwise, they shall be prosecuted. I pray that you are successful and that you accomplish the tasks with sincerity. Create local committees and courts that are taken seriously and are proper; or establish courts in surrounding regions to solve these issues and to attend to them. If a person has a complainant, they should summon him—whoever he may be—and they see that there is a complaint on correct basis, they must summon him and prosecute him. If he is innocent, well they should go their way and if he is guilty, he must be given the

punishment based on religious edicts—the defined limits, retribution and so forth. Because some of them have retribution as the punishment limit, the people must seek retribution from them while some of them have fines—the majority of them have religious fines—they must fine those persons that have committed them, and there must be absolutely no deviation from this affair. Any person that creates negative atmosphere does so to his own detriment and we shall announce him to the people. If some person wants to create a negative atmosphere so that Islam is rendered ineffective to perform its task, this is worse than what the hypocrites are doing because they are not creating a negative atmosphere against Islam whereas you want to create a negative atmosphere against the commandments of Islam—and you too shall become a part of them.

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

Decree

Date: December 29, 1982 [Dey 8, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative of Gilan Province and permission for religious and financial affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Sadiq Ihsanbaksh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is due to God, the Creator of the Universe; salutations and peace upon Muhammad and his immaculate household; damnation of God upon all their enemies.

Next, His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sheykh Muhammad-Sadiq Ihsanbaksh—May His graces last—is herewith being appointed as my representative in the province of Gilan. While attending to the religious affairs of the people of that province, he is permitted to take charge of religious tax affairs and those, which pertain to the period of the absence of His Holiness—the Master of Age—may God hasten his glorious advent—on condition of grant of permission by the religious jurispudent. He is also permitted to accept the blessed share of the Imams and spend the portion of the *sadat* locally and half of the blessed share of the Imam—peace be upon him—in determined cases and for propagation of the blessed religion and to send the other half to this person for expenditure in the lofty objectives of Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi Al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: December 30, 1982 [Dey 9, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Chief Justice

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[Holy presence of the Great Leader of the Revolution, His Holiness Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure,

This is to inform, His Eminence that based on the directive of your eminence for establishing a judge's tribunal and prosecutors of high courts and supreme courts of the Revolution, the Follow-up Headquarters for Implementation of the Order¹ has undertaken the formation of previously mentioned tribunal. In this regard, we request you to appoint a person, who enjoys the trust and confidence of His Eminent leadership for heading this tribunal.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili,
Mir Husayn Musawi]

In His Most Exalted Name

I am herewith appointing Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Jafar Karimi—may His graces last—for heading this tribunal. God willing, he shall perform this great service successfully for Islam and the Muslims with decisiveness and precision and in accordance with religious tenets and he does not take into consideration any other factor except the consent of the Exalted Creator.

Ruhullah al-Musawi Al-Khomeini
Dey 9, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal
14, 1403 AH

¹ “8-Articled” order about making Islamic the laws of the country and observance of the rights of the people, which was issued on December 14, 1982 (Azar 24, 1361 AHS).

Attestation

Date: December 30, 1982 [Dey 9, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Right to withdraw religious related monies deposited in Bank Sadirat

Addressee: Manager of Jamaran branch of Bank Sadirat

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

Respected Manager of the Jamaran branch of Bank Sadirat,

I herewith announce that all the amounts, which are deposited in the Current Account No. 500 of that branch in the name of Sayyid Hashem Rasuli, Hasan Sanii and Muhammad Hasan Rahimiyan including in the form of cash, bank cheques, guaranteed cheques, ordinary cheques, promissory notes and bank transfers etc., are all religious related monies. They pertain to the honorable Source of Emulation of the Shiites, the Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic, His Holiness, the Grand Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Ruhullah Musaafawi Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure. If God forbid, some incident should occur for His Holiness, after him they shall belong to His Holiness Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Husayn-Ali Muntaziri—may his sublime presence endure. The Imam has personally reminded this point and reiterated that not a single Dinar of this amount belongs personally to him and is not to be inherited by the heirs of His Holiness. For this reason, not a single Dinar of the above-mentioned amounts belongs to us personally or to the next of kin of these persons. We kindly request you to inform of the circumstances to the relevant authorities and top management of the Bank Sadirat. In case this letter requires legal and administrative procedures to be followed, then please take relevant action as soon as possible for its legalization and enforcement, and in case there is no need for going through legal procedures, then this letter should be kept in its original form in Bank Sadirat.

Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1403 AH / Dey
9, 1361 AHS]¹

¹ On 1/6/1362 AHS, an amendment together with the confirmation of Imam Khomeini with regard to the subject of this letter was sent to Jamaran Branch of Bank Sadirat, which has been mentioned in the collection of the historical documents contained in this work.

In His Most Exalted Name

I hereby attest to the correctness of the mentioned circumstances.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1403 AH

Statements

Date/Time: Morning, January 1, 1982 [Dey 11, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Earnestness in execution of Divine commandments

Audience: Sayyid Jafar Karimi (Head of the High Court Tribunal)

If the person that you intend to prosecute is the closest of individuals and friends of yours, be serious in your dealings with them, enforce the commandments of God, and do not listen to any person. If a person is the most distant of individuals to you and is even your enemy, but is innocent, then free him immediately. Of course, we also know you to be as such.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 2, 1983 [Dey 12, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The plot to isolate the clergy from society; enunciation of the problems of the world of Islam

Occasion: Birthday of Prophet Muhammad and Imam Jafar Sadiq

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General), Rabbani Amlashi (Chief of the High Court of the country) Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Qasim-Ali Zahirnejad (Commander of the Joint Forces of the Army), members of the Council of Guardians, members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, members of the Cabinet; Commanders of the three military forces; head and senior officers of the police forces; commander and high-ranking officers of the gendarmerie; participants in the World Congress of the Friday and Congregational Prayer Leaders; commanders of the Revolutionary Guards Corps; managing director and members of the supervising committee of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting; Association of the Combatant Clergy of Tehran; Association of the lecturers of the Qum Theological School; members of the Cultural Revolution Committee; Chancellors of universities; officials of the Central *Komiteh* of the Islamic Revolution; top political personalities and dignitaries; members of the Central Assembly of the Friday and Congregation Prayer Leaders; local and foreign journalists (totally 600 people)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Birthday of the Prophet (s): Origin of the movement of man towards spirituality

I would like to felicitate this great auspicious Islamic feast on this day the origin of movement of man towards the other world was founded and the spiritual movements originated in an environment, which was contaminated with every kind of polytheism and immoralities. I would like to congratulate all the nation of Islam on the auspicious birth anniversary of the honorable Prophet—may God's peace be upon him and his progeny—and the birthday of his honorable son, the source of all knowledge and carrier of the messages of the honorable Prophet, His Holiness Imam Sadiq—may God's peace be upon him. I also express my affection for all the dear guests; who have arrived here from various places; the Friday prayer leaders and perhaps the congregation prayer leaders and other brethren—I welcome them to their

own country. We do not feel any distance between ourselves and the Muslims and we hope that the Muslims also feel that all states are states of Islam and all of them belong to all the Muslims.

Attending to the sufferings and the reason for dispersion in thinking of Muslims

Auspicious is the time when the Muslims attend to the sufferings that they have and look into from where these sufferings have come and what is the reason for these sufferings and what is the way to salvation from them. The Friday-prayer leaders that have arrived in this oppressed and revolutionary country this week and shall God willing come to these sorts of gatherings at other opportunities, must investigate the reason for the diversion in thinking of Muslims and study those things that caused colonialism to dominate the Muslims and that cause resulted in colonialism to control the destinies of Islamic states and rule over all the oppressed of the world. They must evaluate these in the seminars and important conferences, discover the path, the cause and the scope of their domination, and find the solution. What must be done; what has been done and what needs to be done. However, most of the officials are aware from what path global arrogance has entered into these countries; they entered through these same individuals of these nations; with the plans of the backward governments themselves and of governments indifferent to the interests of Muslims and those who belonged to these governments; right from the writers to the orators and sermonizers and possibly the Friday and congregation prayer leaders. With the propaganda that was apparently inspired by foreign powers, they came to the conclusion that the thing that can resist the aliens and the foreign powers is Islam. They have analyzed precisely with the study conducted by the researchers of foreign countries and they regard the only path to their salvation either to eliminate Islam from these countries or that it is devoid of any content. Many regard its elimination to be unsuccessful but they have succeeded in emptying it of its contents and hope to succeed in this respect. If the Muslims do not awaken and take note, this matter and this program shall be pursued.

Scheme of Colonialism in separation of religion from politics

One of the important matters that everybody and many of the men know—for their domination—is to isolate the clergy from the society. For this issue, they have formulated various plans including the separation of politics from religion that unfortunately, has been very effective and has taken hold.

The problems of the Muslims are usually or rather all of them have been via this route than other paths. Now also, the colonial loudspeakers and those who serve the colonialists chant this slogan and regard Islam to be distinct from politics. They do not regard it permissible for the Muslims to interfere in politics and propagate this viewpoint. The clergy who are aligned with the governments and are courtiers propagate this subject—especially in this era. The Friday and congregational prayer leaders and all the sermonizers of the Muslim countries must inform the people of this subject that based on the logic of this segment which says that Muslims must not interfere in politics and they excommunicate them and may perhaps even damn them, they must also ostracize the Prophet of God.

Establishment of rule is the political aspect of the religion of Islam

The Prophet of God has based the foundations of politics on religion. The Prophet of God—may God's peace be upon him and his pure progeny—had established a rule; had established centers of politics. The rest of the caliphs of Islam to the extent that they were not pulled off course at the advent of Islam, must all be negated. These courtier clerics and these subservient kings must ostracize the honorable Prophet and the caliphs of Islam and say that they were not Muslims—precisely because they interfered in politics. The politics existed at the dawn of Islam was a global one. The Prophet of Islam had extended his hands around the world and was calling the world to Islam; and was inviting them to Islamic politics and established a rule; and the subsequent caliphs established governments. From the dawn of Islam, from the time of the Prophet of God until the time when there was no deviation involved, politics and religion were interwoven. Either these courtier clerics or these so-called American or Soviet kings must infringe upon the Prophet and the Prophets and caliph of the Prophet and the Prophets or they must cause their own governments to deviate. The question is between these two and is not outside these two. It is not possible that the logic, which violates our politics in Mecca and prevents the Muslims from chanting slogans against the oppressors and in the rest of the lands where some of the courtier prayer leaders, courtier Friday prayer leaders—if at all they exist among them—and courtier congregational prayer leaders are placed at the crossroad; that they should want to select any of them. To make a choice that neither the Prophet of God nor the caliphs after him and nor those that took charge of the affairs of Islam of the companions and those related to them at the dawn of Islam were Muslim; or confess that they themselves and the rules, which exist in their lands are not Muslim. The

choice will not be other than between these two. All of them are at this crossroad and the suffering of the Muslims is also in the same thing that has been infused in them; propagated in them that the clergy must go to the schools and mosques and speak on some of the subjects of Islam—not all of them. The fundamental issue is here that whether Islam is the religion of politics. Is it politics with all its dimensions; with the social issues of nations in all its dimensions; with the economic and cultural dimensions and all its aspects; linked with all individuals; or that must Islam be isolated and that those that ruled at the dawn of Islam were all in error.

Eliminating Islam by means of showing the commandments of Islam to be devoid of substance

The Muslims should know that these colonial trumpeters are separating them from Islam and eliminating Islam and are emptying Islam of its significance—including the subject of the Friday prayer leadership. At the dawn of Islam, the political issues would be sorted out in the mosques and through the good offices of the Friday prayer leader; the strategy for battle would be planned there. Unfortunately, they took us to the stage where in the Friday sermons there is nothing except for a few words of admonishment and warnings not to interfere in the affairs. Either no Friday prayer was held or if it at all was held, it was devoid of substance. Either they would not allow the people to go on *Hajj* pilgrimage or if they went, it was a *Hajj* pilgrimage without substance. A *Hajj* pilgrimage, which is a get together of Muslims and all Muslims, must solve their problems of the year in that place, all must sit around, and their scholars and intellectuals sit down together and discuss the Islamic issues. They should remind of the problems that they are faced with in each of the countries at the hands of the governments or at the hands of the big powers and think about the solutions and plan. They have made the *Hajj* pilgrimage to become devoid of substance and a lackluster event. Today, also a section of the Muslims from Iran and outside Iran are thinking of resolving the Islamic problems, the sufferings of the Muslims, the social issues, other issues that the Muslims are facing; problems that the big powers have created for them and the problems that the governments have created for them in that place. Unfortunately, it had been made into a lackluster event and convinced the people that it was not anything other than this. Today, also, they oppose a section that wants to revive it with all their strength. Today also, some courtier clerics are isolating Iran; they regard the Muslims of Iran to be non-Muslims simply because they are opposed to America. What crime is greater than this and what thing is greater in distancing a

person from Islam than for a person to show disrespect to America and Israel! You Muslims are being faced with these problems.

Duties of the Friday prayer leaders in explaining the problems of Islam and the Muslims

It is the Friday prayer leaders of the land that must explain the problems to the Muslims. They should not think that if they discuss these issues in public gatherings of Muslims, their governments could no longer be able to mistreat them. Today, the Friday prayer leaders that have arrived from all over the homeland, it is not that on their return to their respective regions, they will be able to solve the problems of the Muslims and pinpoint the problems and what the problems are and what are the reasons for the problems to the people right from the first Friday prayer that they lead. If all discuss these problems together, then rest assured that the governments cannot cause you trouble. They should discuss the problems of Iran; the political problems of Iran; the social problems of Iran; the Islamic problems of Iran and mention them to all the nations that how Iran was able to drive away the “*Taghut*” regime—a “*Taghuti*” regime that was greater than all of these minor “*Taghuts*” and installed Islam in its place. In the same manner, that Iran with the masses of its people was able to accomplish this task and the clergy, the writers and the orators became the sources of this matter; the men should also mention this matter wherever they go. They should awaken the people; they should enlighten the people, explain the pains to the people, and explain to them the cure. It is not enough that the men should sit at a get together or a meeting, talk among themselves, and write something. It is good but it is not enough. This issue must be circulated among all Muslim nations; the subject of Iran must be circulated in relation to all the loudspeakers that are now apprehensive of Islam and are seeing that Iran wants to offer and propagate Islam locally and to all the rest of the Islamic lands. In the face of all the loudspeakers that are pounding Iran, and all the speakers that do not regard Iran to be Islamic and regard Iran as a suppressive country that kills people, a country that kills children and pregnant women. This is only because they are fearful of Iran and want to degrade Iran among the Muslims. The Friday prayer leaders that are in every region and have come here and have seen the situation in Iran—it is hoped that some others from other lands also undertake the journey. If they should journey to Khuzestan province, they shall witness the crimes that America committed in Khuzestan and the crimes that the agents of America have committed in the Arab inhabited region of Iran in the name of non-Arabs;

they shall see the way of thinking of those courtier clergy and the way of thinking of those rulers. You must act; speech alone is not enough; action is required. The Muslims must enter the arena; they must make their presence felt. The theologians of Islam must enter the arena. In the same way the theologians of our country came and achieved results, they must bring the Muslims to the scene. They must bring the Muslims to the scene of battle with their publicity in order to sever the hands of the agents of the big governments or make them to submit before Islam.

If I speak of all the problems of the Muslims and their solutions, I do not have a lot of command on the subject and nor does your time permit me and nor my disposition. However, you who have come here and have meetings and get together and study the situation; one of the important studies is the subject of problems that we have discovered from the superpowers and are pathways that they have infiltrated the Muslim countries. Subsequent to comprehending the illness, you must also find the remedy. I hope that you succeed in it. When you work for the cause of God and for His consent then rest assured that God shall also guide you on course to the destination and He shall also bless you and be with you. This subject became a reality in Iran. You see Iran with a small population, without any weapons, and without any organization resisted against a great power that ruled this country oppressively for two thousand five-hundred years and today also—meaning in our time too—all the great powers aided him and gave him weapons; all of them would give him facilities, this small nation resisted in the face of all these powers whether of the East or the West and was not afraid of death. It was transformed into divine human beings who were zealous to meet the Blessed and Almighty God and were in love with martyrdom, has carried, and is carrying forward their objective. It must also be the same in the rest of the countries. Enlighten the governments. If they submit and are prepared to behave in accordance with Islamic teachings, they should be accepted; and if they are not ready, then they must fight them and not be afraid of anything.

Big powers are the root of the sufferings of Muslims

The sufferings of Muslims are all from these superpowers and their promptings and infusions to their servants in the regions. All the troubles that plague the Muslims are because of them and unless they are not liberated from their hands, the sufferings will not go away. One must see with what right America extends its reach from the other side of the world to this side of the world, interferes in Muslim countries, and wants to determine the destinies of the Muslim countries. Is it not a shame for the Muslims that a

country, which is regarded as the enemy of God—meaning its leaders—a country that is considered as the enemy of Islam and is considered an enemy of humanity should extend its hands from the other part of the world on a population of a billion Muslims and determine the destiny of Islamic states? That no one should question why it is interfering in Lebanon! Who are you to interfere in Egypt? We have broken its hands, severed it, and thrown them out from our country. America says that it has interests in the region! Why must it have interests in our region? Why must the interests of the Muslims be the interests of America and why must it have interests in the region and not a single person question it? Not a single soul should question America that who are you that want to determine the fate of this region? What businesses do you have? Why have you come? All the meetings that are arranged by the corrupt powers themselves are sitting silently although it is commonly considered in the world to be wrong for a government to interfere in the affairs of another government. Yet, it interferes openly and the dirty reactionary governments also openly ask it to interfere. These general meetings do not question why it is interfering. What businesses do you have to come here from the other part of the world to determine the destinies of the people? You want to interfere in the destinies of the Muslims. More unfortunate than that is the question of Israel, which until this day, the colonial propaganda machinery are encouraging Israel while at the same time accusing Iran of buying armaments from Israel and being allied with it. Sometimes they also say that Iranians are allied to the Americans. An Iran that since twenty years or more until now its enlightened orators regard Israel to be at the top of the list of their opponents and opposition to Israel is its topmost priority is accused of buying things from Israel. While an Iraq that supports Israel and that is supported by Israel is not Israeli! It is opposed to Israel! These are the afflictions that plague Muslims who sit back and ask what is to be done? O the Friday prayer leaders of Islamic lands and Muslim countries, what must be done? Why have we come to this day when America should come from the other part of the world and determine the destinies of our countries, and the destinies of the theologians of Islam even if it is with the help of others. Why should it openly say that it has interests in the region and interfere blatantly in the region while the Muslims sit back and watch? O the Friday prayer leaders of Islamic lands enlighten the people! Mention these “whys” to the people. These “whys” apply both to the West as well as to the East. Why does the Soviet Union interfere in Islamic states and that too, military interference? America also interferes in every manner in the countries that are under its influence or wants to bring them in its sphere of

influence; it interferes both militarily and also politically—and every kind of interference. Well, this has no why' in the world. Must not this population of one billion ask why'? If from this one billion population half of them cry out 'Why', then America will move aside. America secures its interests by means of these same dependent governments, at the hands of these same evil writers and corrupt orators while the Muslims sit back, these writers write, and these speakers speak. These courtier and these courtier clergymen assist these big powers while the people sit back, listen, and watch. Is there no obligation? Do the Muslims no longer have any obligations in this era? Are the Muslims alone? Must we not learn lessons from the history of the Prophet of God? He was a single individual and he accomplished such a feat. Must we not learn lessons from the history of the world that a single Prophet Moses did to the pharaoh? We must take lessons. Sir, that day there was no companion with the Prophet and he was alone with all the enemies; even his own kindred were hostile to him. However, trust in God; devotion to Him, destruction in His cause carried the task forward. A person cannot be a worshipper of the self and a worshipper of God. A person cannot consider his own interests as well as the interests of Islam. It must be one of the two; he must be either divine or evil; these are the two paths. You treat the people so that they come out of these immoral spirits.

Carnal desires are the source of corruption in regimes

If there are regimes in Islam that are governing in an unlawful manner, they should come out of this carnal spirit. If they take note of the honor of Islam; at the values of Islam and for the sake of a garden or orchard or a property and so forth, do not trample upon Islam, the problems of Islam shall be solved.

“Love of the world is at the head of all wrongdoings.”¹ All the sins are from man himself and from this love of man for himself. If those who lived during the advent of Islam were like the Muslims of today, they, too, would have suffocated in their same respective place and locality. However, they strove for Islam with their heart and soul and then departed and not because they wanted to conquer a country. What benefit has a country for Islam? It is because it builds human beings. They went in order that the oppressors sever their evil intents against the innocent. They went in order to sever the hands of the tyrants and to realize the divine promise that, “...and we willed that we favored the weak and oppressed clan in that land and to make them the

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

leaders of the people and the heirs to the land and position of the pharaoh.”¹ and they were very successful. However, they could not accomplish as much as they wanted; they wanted to tame the whole world. The Friday prayer leaders should strive to summon the people to piety; to make the people become pious, to cause the people to abstain from the material world and worldly aspirations. If they succeed in this objective, they shall succeed in arming themselves against those that are dominating the interests of Islam.

Call to piety and human values

You are a stranger here although this is your own home. However, you have just arrived here in your home and you do not know what it was like in Iran, what happened, and what has passed. What was the state of Iran; what was the situation on the streets of Iran. The liquor stores far outnumbered the bookshops and the dens of vice, and the brothels, the newspapers, the magazines, the cinemas, the theatres, the intellectuals, and all of them had blended together and created a satanic country. They had created an evil “*Taghuti*” country; and throughout history, Islam has extended its favors, its blessing to this oppressed nation and as a result, they were transformed. The man who frequented houses of vice was transformed into an Islamic fighter. A licentious man was transformed into a man who loved to die and it is this love for death that is solving all the problems of Islam. If these youth and these combatants that are all in love with death from all the strata—from the army, the Guards Corps, the volunteer *Basij* mobilization and the tribes and the rest of the people that are all united—had not been present; if this transformation had not occurred, we would still be languishing in the monarchial prisons. Transform the people. The remedy is in enlightening and transforming the people; in calling upon them to be pious; in inviting them to observe human values. For the evil “*Taghuti*”, human values imply having so many dogs and so many cars and so many gardens and so many servants. They trampled upon all the human values. You should invite the people; find the solution in these seminars and enlighten the people of your own countries about the issues and especially the political issues. Do not be afraid of these few courtiers that say that the clergy must not interfere in politics. Praise is due to God, the great majority of the men of theology in Iran interferes in politics; interferes in social affairs. Those few that remain at the bottom; that are remnants of the court can no longer do anything. This is how you should make the nation and I pray for all of you and do what my profession—which is to pray—demands. I implore the Almighty God to assist the Muslims

¹ *Surah al-Qisas*, 28:123 5.

throughout the world and to grant victory to the oppressed over the oppressors throughout the world. I pray for the success and endorsement of you the congregation prayer leaders and the Friday prayer leaders in this important Islamic matter and in this Islamic bunker that you are in; I beseech the Blessed and Almighty God for your success in serving Islam.

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

Decree

Date: January 2, 1983 [Dey 12, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Trustee of the Martyr Maaahhari Seminary and Mosque

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Imami Kashani—may His benign existence endure,

I appoint Your Eminence to the trusteeship of the Martyr Maaahhari Seminary and Mosque. I hope that you supervise with total diligence the affairs of that seminary and mosque and continue with your meritorious services for that seminary with total sincerity. I pray for your success in serving Islam and the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH

Decree-Permission

Date: January 3, 1983 [Dey 13, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in Ahwaz; permission for financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Ali Musawi Jazairi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is due to God, the Creator of the Universe; salutations and peace is due to Muhammad and his immaculate household; damnation of God is due for all his enemies.

Next, His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Ali Musawi Jazairi—may His graces last—is herewith appointed as my representative in Ahwaz. While attending to the religious affairs and meeting the religious needs of the people of that city, he should also attend to the affairs of the theological school and the seminary students of Ahwaz and endeavor and take action to solve their problems. In addition, with regard to the religious affairs and which is contingent on permission of religious jurisprudent, and likewise for accepting the religious payments and blessed portion of the Imams, he is permitted on my behalf to spend the portion of the *sadat* and one-half the blessed share of the Imams—may God's peace be upon them—locally and in appropriate instances. The other half is to be sent to me for expenditures for the lofty objectives of Islam and Muslims.

“I admonish him—may Almighty God assist him—to be cautious in all the affairs”; May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1403 AH

Statements

Date/Time: Morning, January 3, 1983 [Dey 13, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Action based on merit and in accordance with the rules of the Consultative Assembly

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Khatami (Minister of Islamic Guidance and representative of the Imam in the Keyhan Institution), Sayyid Hasan Shahcheraghi (Head of the Keyhan Institution)

Today, a very appropriate opportunity has presented itself to the officials of the country and they must derive the maximum benefit out of it for Islam and the Islamic Republic.

Newspapers and ministries should utilize all their potentials in the path of serving Islam and meeting the needs of the Islamic society. In this regard, they should transform and revamp and we shall be responsible if we do not utilize this opportunity.

It is not wrong if the views of the theologians and Islamic experts who are not deviant, are stated in the newspapers. However, you must pay attention to this fact that what is to be acted upon and is to become a criterion in the Islamic Republic are laws that pass through the legislative assembly and are endorsed and ratified by the Council of Guardians. The frontiers between the experts and the mandatory laws must be clarified in society.

[The Minister of Islamic Guidance said about this meeting that, "The Imam was profoundly troubled and expressed his worries at some of the booklets that are published in society in the name of ideological questions and answers for using to place individuals in institutions and organizations of the Islamic Republic and even stated that:"]

One can regard these as being of the astray. The questions are extremely baseless and irrelevant and in some instances even un-Islamic. These booklets cannot and must not become the criteria for placement and selection of individuals. If some persons are eliminated on this basis, their cases must be reviewed. These booklets must be removed from society with the cooperation of all the officials of the country and the Judiciary. One must not allow the interests of Islam and Muslims be jeopardized in such a way.

[On the subject of propagation of the *Hajj* pilgrimage, the Minister of Islamic Guidance said, "This subject has been mentioned to the Imam. Considering the sensitivity of the task of propagation of *Hajj*, and that basically the

theologians and clergy are responsible for this important task, while on the other hand, considering the devotion and attachment that people have for His Holiness the Imam, they follow the stances and directives of the representative of the Imam for *Hajj*. This matter must be accomplished in such a way that there is total coordination between those that are responsible for propagation and the representative of the Imam. If His Holiness the Imam considers it expedient, the head of the *Hajj* propagation with the consent of the representative of His Holiness the Imam for *Hajj* affairs, the Minister of Guidance directly supervise this affair.” The Imam stated:]

It is advisable that propagation must be under direct supervision of the clergy.

Decree

Date: January 4, 1983 [Dey 14, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for implementation of the disciplinary rules regarding military and police offenders

Addressee: Joint Chief of Staff; Commanders of the three defense forces; commander of the Gendarmerie forces; police chief¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Joint Chief of Staff, commanders of the three defense forces and gendarmerie and the statewide Chief of Police are permitted that for safeguarding discipline and prevention of chaos and disorderliness and confusion in the defense and security forces with observance of complete caution, to enforce the disciplinary rules against military and police offenders. In this regard, they can grant permission in essential cases to those commanders whom they are certain of not misusing this permission.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

14/10/1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal
19, 1403 AH

¹ Messrs. Qasim-Ali Zahirnejad (Joint Chief of Staff), Ali Sayyid Shirazi (Chief of the ground forces), Muinipur (Chief of the Air Force), Afdali (Chief of Naval forces), Kuchekzadeh (Chief of the Gendarmerie), Hijazi (Chief of the statewide Police).

Reply to a Query

Date: January 1983 [Dey 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Administrative Trusteeship

Questioner: Youth Islamic Association of the provincial town of Borujen

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed office of the Leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran His Holiness Imam Khomeini—may His blessings last,

With greetings and aspiration for the continued success of that eminent leader, based on the issues, which are occurring in our society, we regard it to be necessary to seek the religious verdict “*fatwa*” from the blessed office of that great leader with regard to the below mentioned case: Whenever in society administrative officials act in a manner that is contrary to Islamic rights and tenets and the directives of that eminent leader and the devoted employees and concerned individuals affiliated to that administrative office, ask them that why in such and such case they have acted against the rights, tenets and regulations, the authorities or those close to them point out that such approach with the authorities is against administrative trusteeship. They further state that because administrative trusteeship leads ultimately to the religious jurisprudent and the trusteeship of the Imam and the Prophet and God, thus the objecting individual who has lodged his protest through the law and in keeping with the directives of that leader to the authorities is a faithless and apostate person. We request you to announce your honorable opinion in this instance. May God’s peace be upon you.

On behalf of brothers at the Youth Islamic Association of the Town of Borujen—4/10/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

There is no administrative trusteeship in Islam and the employees and authorities in the administrative offices are only responsible to act in accordance with the administrative regulations and the Islamic government,

and there is no trusteeship on a person or over a thing. If they act against the religious laws or a regulation, others can remind them without creating commotion and corruption.

Ruhullah al-Musawi¹

¹ An answering committee to religious queries appointed by Imam Khomeini has replied the above query and the reply is in accordance with the principles and religious verdict “*fatwa*” of Imam Khomeini.

Decree

Date: January 5, 1983 [Dey 15, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dissolution of placement commissions all over the country and establishment of authorized committees

Addressee: Committee for Follow-up of Judiciary and Administrative Offenses (8-Articled Order)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Committee for Follow-up of Judiciary and Administrative Offenses

Recently, I have observed a number of books on the subjects of religious questions and Islamic ideology and was very disturbed at the contents of a booklet on developing religion—for general placement and they have been made a criterion for acceptance or rejection of individuals. The writings that contain questions, which are unrelated to Islam and religion and are probably harmful and obscene considering that they are being published in the name of the religion of Islam and are among the deviant books and booklets that are damaging for the reputation of Islam and the Islamic republic. I have recommended to the Minister of Islamic Guidance to remove these kinds of books immediately and to ban their sale and purchase on religious grounds. Perhaps many of the individuals who had a hand in their compilation were sincere but the possibility of infiltration of devils in such kinds of matters is strong. This is done in order to smear the radiant face of Islam or the Islamic Republic. Therefore, I request the respected committee to observe the following:

1. I hereby announce the dissolution of all the committees, which was formed in the name of placement throughout the country, whether in the armed forces, in the ministries and administrative bodies, or in the education centers reaching up to the universities—all of them are dissolved and the committee should announce their dissolution.

2. The committee is obliged to direct as soon as possible for the formation of committees to replace the dissolved commissions and be composed of devout, pious, prudent and of good moral behavior and wise and informed of the current issues so that in placement of deserving individuals without regard to relations. The placement should take place under their supervision and care is to be taken to ensure that these individuals are not narrow-minded, ill-tempered, negligent, and indifferent persons. As I

have mentioned previously, the criteria for placement is the present circumstance of individuals unless they belong to the deviant groups and are of the corrupt or their present circumstance is to create corruption and cause disorder. But those who in the previous regime have committed some improper acts because of the ruling environment or under compulsion of the tyrannical regime but are currently returned to normal behavior and proper conduct, no extremist reaction is to be taken against them for this is injustice and is opposed to the teachings of Islam, and must be forbidden.

3. Considering that, many of the Islamic questions of these booklets are from uninformed sources, which perhaps the hard-working theologians and men of religion are rendered incapable of answering, and also some of them are wrong and some of the questions and answers are conflicting, these manner of questioning can under no circumstance be a criteria for placement of individuals. Not to know their answer is not a flaw or shortcoming for them. It is necessary that the respected committee delegate some persons to see whether individuals because of the religious questions whose knowledge is not necessary for these persons or irrelevant questions that are unrelated to Islam, were expelled from offices, ministries, or other centers or were not considered for employment because of them. Should they judge that the dismissal or lack of acceptance was simply because of these matters or mistakes, they are to reinstate them to their former jobs. This is because this kind of action taken against them is blatant injustice and is to deprive the country of useful persons, all of which must be prevented. In addition, the proper individuals that were in the placement commissions should be rewarded while the other individuals are counseled so that such kind of actions does not occur in the Muslim country.

4. The respected headquarters is to order the compilation of concise booklets consisting of religious matters that the public should know and ideological questions whose knowledge is necessary in Islam in a plain language and without the riddles that are present in these misleading books and publications. Some questions should be provided compatible to the person's job and with the supervision of individuals informed of the commandments of Islam and aware of the political and social issues surrounding them and should place them at the disposal of individuals. In case of necessity, they should teach the persons and they should not question them without being taught. The criteria for failing or passing should be the Islam and humanitarian criterion for to guide the ignorant is the main intent and purpose.

5. It is absolutely forbidden to investigate the circumstance of individuals other than the corrupters and terrorist groups. To question individuals on the number of sins they have committed as mentioned according to some of the reports on the type of questions is opposed to Islam. The investigator is a wrongdoer. These types of affairs that are contrary to Islamic behavior and contrary to the pure religion must be forbidden.

6. According to reports received, some of the teaching classes, which are formed in the Army, the Guards Corps, and the rest of the centers, are extremely obscene and clichéd. Knowledgeable, prudent and devoted persons must manage these classes and the representatives of this person in the armed and security forces should undertake to reform them and to continue with their job. This committee is obligated to arrange libraries for every ministry or other centers, commensurate with their job in a reasonable and Islamic way and to forestall imprudent and possibly anti-Revolutionary teachings. I pray to the Exalted God for the success of the officials in the task entrusted to them and its continued progress. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 6, 1983 [Dey 16, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The key to the victory of the soldiers of Islam

Audience: Shamkhani (Deputy Commander of the Revolutionary Guards Corps; Jamali (Acting Commander of the Ground Forces; Military commanders of the Guards Corps and the army in the Karbala and Najaf headquarters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Trust and submission to the Divine commandments: Key to victory

I thank you brothers, the beloved youth in this frontline, which is the battle between faithlessness and Islam, belief and disbelief. Praise is due to God; you have been triumphant in all the frontlines and shall be victorious. One of the keys to the victory of you brethren and dear youth is trust in the Blessed and Almighty God, confidence in the mercy of God, to the favors of the Blessed and Almighty God, which is at the top of the list of all affairs. The other one is obedience of the commandments of the Blessed and Almighty God in being united together. In narratives of the Prophet of God it has been mentioned that, All of you; all of you Muslims; all the pious believers; “All are a single hand opposite the strangers.”¹ All are a single hand; even it has not stated to interpret as two hands; it is as if everybody is one. Your congregation and your unity must reach the stage where you become one; you should not see any separation between you and your brothers and this is a decree, which is Islamic. You are brothers; many brothers together have become one. This will result in no power being able to overcome you. Praise is due to God, today Iran; all the people, women and men, big and small are all united. A section from this unit is busily engaged in a sacred struggle in the path of God on the frontlines; and there are also sections behind the frontlines that are linked and compatible with you. Such a nation that is bonded together in this fashion cannot be vulnerable. As long as this devotion to God, this trust in God, this belief that every power is destructible, is nothing in relation to Him exists, it will result in you to forge ahead with a strong heart; a heart, which has faith in the source of the powers

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar* vol. 28, p. 104, *Musnad Ahmad* vol. 2, p. 215.

of the universe. You will battle with a strong heart and a clear heart, aware of what you are doing. You should not be under the impression of those who are confronting you, are aware of what they are doing; they are blind; they do not understand. Praise is due to God, with a clear heart and open eyes, you are engaged in sacrifice for the sake of God, for Islam, for the Islamic country and for a country that now belongs to you and no one else has any say in it. Your self-sacrifice is recorded in the court of the Blessed and Almighty God and the angels of God and the Prophets and especially, the last of them. You should never be afraid of any enemy. One, who has God on his side, is not afraid of any power except His Power. Everything that we have is from Him and everything of ours must be for Him and for His cause. Our selves, our lives, our wealth, our offspring and whatever we possess are from Him and are in His cause and therefore, we have no fear. Come what may, victory is ours. As long as you hold the belief that you want to serve God, you are worshipping and are victorious and your enemies are defeated and shall God willing, be obliterated.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for your success and endorsement. I pray that God grants you spiritual and bodily strength so that you engage in *Jihad* for His cause. God willing, you shall earn the reward of a martyr whether you are martyred or not.

May God protect you and all of us and grant you success. Go to battle with the enemy with a stout heart and hearts that are filled with the love of God and hearts that do not fear any power.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 8, 1983 [Dey 18, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 23, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The reason for the dissolution of the placement centers

Audience: Members of the Follow-up Headquarters of the Order of the Imam namely: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Imami Kashani (Head of the Administrative Justice Court), Muhaqqiq Damad (Head of the State Inspectorate Organization), Natiq Nuri, Aghazadeh, selected delegates of this committee for attending to the contraventions in 18 provinces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safeguarding the reputation of the people

You men must take note that all are in the presence of God; and a person must always think in this way that, God is observing his actions and behavior. In the Islamic Republic, other than the groupings that want to inflict harm and damage to Islam and the Muslims, one must not pursue the flaws of others. You must safeguard the reputation of the people and in whatever matter that occurs, see what God has to say and do just that. Regarding the placement commissions that existed before, I do not wish to undermine their merits; and because the possibility existed that some have infiltrated their ranks, it was expedient that I announce their dissolution so that they are re-established with a better arrangement. Some of the issues of placement were extremely bad and the possibility existed that corrupt individuals wanted to destroy us. This is because matters such as the identity card number of so and so person, and where so and so person was martyred are not among the Islamic matters. To mention such issues in an Islamic country in the name of religion are shameful that these are the criteria for placement and Islamic beliefs of individuals, and that we throw out the young people that are useful for Islam from work.

I was worried that we should sit back while books and publications are published in the name of Islam that have no relevance with Islam and a group also says that if these were flawed, they would have commented on them and thus they are silent in relation to them because they are acceptable. Our enemies have planned to corrupt the country from within; and with the transformation that has occurred today in the youth and all the people are

busily engaged in serving on the frontlines and behind the warfronts, we no longer have any excuse to serve or attract them. We must all endeavor to unite against the enemies of Islam and Muslims and perform our Divine duties.

I hope that you succeed and God protect you.

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

Decree

Date: January 9, 1983 [Dey 19, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acceptance of the resignation of the member of the Guardian Council

Addressee: Yusuf Sanii (Member of the jurists of the Guardian Council)

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

Blessed presence of His Holiness Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may His presence endure over the heads of Muslims,

With respects and good health, I hereby present my resignation from membership of the Guardian Council. I hope that it is accepted with honor and munificence.

Yusuf Sanii—member of the
jurists of the Guardian Council]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is accepted. May God willing, you are successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 9, 1983 [Dey 19, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of judiciary affair and the need for the clergy to pursue judicial affair

Audience: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General), Judges of the High Court and the State Supreme Court

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Pursuing judicial practice by the clergy

I must first mention two points to the men. One is that the clergy that were in the theological school and were reared there, they can come out of there with sacred honor and serve in other places. It is not like some people such as the hypocrite *munafiqin* think that the clergy do now have hold of what not and what they want to do. Even now, they engage in holy struggle; it is a religious obligation for them to take up such matters—not that position is important for them. They have for thirty or forty years come to terms with the seminaries and are habituated to staying in those places. Based on their education and training there, and the environment they have been in, they are conditioned not to naturally seek position. They would like to serve. If this service is in the theological school, they serve therein; and if see that heir duty is to serve outside the theological school, they serve outside them. Although justice is a matter that based on Divine command, is the right of the clergy, and during the time, the previous regime was in power, in the same way that they had deprived everybody of their rights, this divine right was taken away from them. Although it is painful, yet it is their right, they must take it up, and they cannot absolve themselves.

Now, also, that the men wherever they are and engaged in serving, it is not that they want to occupy a place by force and take it over and so forth. In the same way that well, they accuse Iran of wanting to take over all the countries and for example, and create an empire like the Ottoman Empire. It is not Iran has any such intentions to form an empire; Islam has not been such. The wars fought by Islam were not such that they wanted to establish an empire; it was in order to do away with empires that were oppressive and to establish an Islamic justice.

Impartial judgment in the review of the subjects of the Revolution

Now, too, those that are inside the country and are fair and are not of the Westernized type and find the system of the West to their liking and say that if it is not of that type it is neither humanitarian nor anything else.

Those that can comprehend the issues as they are seeing how Iran has changed from the way it were before. When they see its women, what the women in those days did and what they are doing now. Now they are seeing that these women are in the arena and are working for their country. In the war that is going on now, these women are busy working. When you look at everywhere and see their images on the television, you see that they are serving with their heart and soul. In former times, if something were to happen, no one of those who in those times were in the parliament, for example, of the women or who were in other places would be ready to say a word about this subject; take a step about this subject. All of them were thinking of doing other tasks. I am surprised that in these two days there was the seventeenth of Dey¹ when it was the time that Rida Khan did and inflicted that blow to our women; I could not imagine that there would be women who even now take his name and say that, for example, they want him and say that he had done a favor. However, abroad, well there are groups that are in this manner, praise Rida Khan, and overlook all the crimes that Rida Khan committed in Iran. Any person that remembers those days and those issues of that time and those tragedies that they created for the women, will know what an element this man was. In those times, also the British were at work; the British selected the time for the suppression. In any case, these are beyond the scope of our subject.

I wanted to say that the clergy today also enter into any field; it is not that they want to gain domination and for example, exercise authority. You are seeing that although the president has a higher position, yet how his condition is. How he deals with the people! How he lives! How he goes along his job! How he meets with the people! Well these are matters that all are witnessing. That person is the speaker of the parliament and this man is the head of the country's Higher Court. You are witnessing all of these things. It is not that they are one thing on the outside; you are seeing how they are; they have the same circumstance that they had when they were theology students and now also they are the same. Except that now they are performing greater service. Then their services were closer to spirituality. We must not be under the illusion and no person must be under the illusion that

¹ Seventeenth of Dey (January 6) was the anniversary of the forced removal of veil by Rida Khan Pahlavi.

the clergy have found something here and are pursuing it to increase it. They come here with toil and trouble.

Judgment is a serious, responsible and tough job

They know what a difficult and responsible job judgment is; you, too, know this; you, too, are a part of the clergy. You sirs also know that what an important task judgment is and what a responsible and tough job it is. Finally, one side of the verdict is unhappy with the judge. It is seldom that two person's dispute with each other and the party that is convicted is satisfied with the verdict. Definitely, the person who is convicted is discontented. Well, these widespread discontent that occurs for you sirs; the amount of hard work that you sirs are putting in and in return you are seeing that they get no reward from the people or for example, they are paid sufficiently—there is no such thing involved.

This was a point that I mentioned which we must know. We should be grateful for the sirs who enter this field from an environment that they were accustomed to and to come out of that environment was difficult for them. They felt they had a duty and they have a duty; they felt this, came out of that environment, and came here. We must be grateful to them for coming out of that environment to which they were accustomed; had friends; had jobs; were studying; possessed Islamic thinking and have now forfeited them in order to perform a duty here and engage in service.

This is one point. Another point is the Supreme Judiciary Council that existed which I must thank them. They worked hard; they toiled for two or three years; suffered and served well. It is not that they also came to take up positions. They are of the elites of the clergy. They, too, like the rest of the clergy came from an environment to which they were accustomed and desirable for them to an environment that requires lots of hard work and toiling and its responsibility with God is great and so is its discontent with the people. It is not that they came here to get any benefit. For them it is not important that now they should serve here or serve there. For an Islamic clergyman who is accustomed with the spirit of Islam, it makes no difference to him that he becomes the head of the Supreme Court and the prosecutor general of the whole country or does another job; or serves in some other manner; there is no difference in this, too. Therefore, it is not such that if because of some considerations and some expediency that was involved a person should be under the impression that the sirs that are in the Supreme Judiciary council are God forbid, incompetent. They are all competent; all of them are servants; they have served. Some of them have served in the

Revolution; from the beginning of the Revolution. It is not that if an interest demands that the sirs who have toiled for a period should now hand over their troubles to some other persons and they themselves for example, sit back and relax or serve in a place where the job is easier and the toil is lesser. It is not so that for example, now people think that it has become apparent what these sirs were. Not at all, I know all of them since the past thirty years and some of them even longer than thirty years. Therefore, it is not such that the people should think or a person should think that these sirs were incompetent and they have gone away. They were competent; but they were tired. Fatigue reaches a stage where a person in the Judiciary gets tired and these results in seeking a lighter job, or a better prospect and to seek a change in circumstance.

Now we would like to place this burden around the neck of Shaykh Yusuf Sanii as the Prosecutor General and introduce him to the sirs. I have brought up Mr. Sanii like a son. This Mr. Sanii who in the course of long years would attend my lectures and debates, he would especially come and talk to me and I would marvel at his knowledge. He is a distinguished person among the clergy and is a theologian and aware of the issues. He is opposed to these deviations that existed in this country such as the "*munafiqin*: and so forth. He is staunchly opposed to them. He acts with sincerity; he acts decisively when the time is ripe.

For this reason, I instate him in place of Mr. Rabbani¹ at the same time that I also thank him and express my appreciation for him. He must think to serve again in some place where can serve the country and be a civil servant. In the same way that other sirs are doing and I introduce him. I hope he pays greater attention to all the matters that he is aware of. I must say to all the sirs about this issue of justice, that the subject of judiciary is something that has very great responsibility. A person deals with the life of people, the honor of people, the wealth of people, the dignity of people. A single slip can result in the honor of a Muslim to be at stake. A single slip can possibly result in the deprivation of a Muslim until the end of his life; to make him miserable. These are the things that pertain to the power of the Judiciary. However, despite these, because the duty is a divine one and we cannot, because of the difficulty of a task shirk our divine responsibility. The duty is a divine duty and for this reason, one must, take it up.

¹ Mr. Rabbani Amlashi was the former Prosecutor General.

Judgment is the right of learned, just and pious individuals

The subject of justice is the right of learned individuals that are familiar with Islamic justice; who are just; who are pious; who are aware of what they are dealing with; of the great task that they are engaged in. A single slip in some instances can wipe out a whole country or weaken and destroy a family until the end. On the other hand, also, a good work can bring awareness to a country. Serving in the Judiciary is a great service. It restores the rights to those deprived people that are usually oppressed, and weakened. I hope that all the respected judges that we have throughout the country, our prosecutors, and those that are serving in the affairs of the Judiciary, all are successful for the cause of God, for the cause of Islam and for the sake of this poor. The deprived poor that throughout history have been under the pressure of the kings or the feudal lords, the capitalists and so forth and about whom the sirs are aware and know better many of them. God willing, they be delivered so that our country shall God willing, becomes a country that gets closer to the horizons of Islam. However, it is our aspiration that it becomes an Islamic country and all its affairs become Islamic affairs. This depends upon each person bears this in mind wherever he is serving which is that he is serving for the sake of God and for Islam. He does not want to work for status; position is insignificant. Position is something that however high it is, it is what you witnessed about the position of monarchy and you saw what happened to the Father and the Son and what condition they got into and what was their fate while it is not known what it would be in the hereafter. It means that we do not know how they are going to be dealt with in the afterlife. We are not concerned with their afterlife.

In any case, position is not a matter for a human being to overlook the human value. You have human value. Human value is the loftiest of things for you; and this human value must be strengthened. Serving the people is not corrected by stepping aside. The value of a human being lies in how he can serve society; and in what way he can serve these creatures of God.

You can see that the honorable Prophet of Islam suffered more than all to educate the people; in order to liberate those deprived people from the hands of the tyrants. Later, those persons that were devoted, and replaced him also bore hardships; and all of them toiled to do something. Well, you see that the Prophet of Islam in the situation that he was in at that time, and the creatures that had all become submissive to him, yet when he would sit in a gathering, no one would be able to distinguish which one in the gathering was the Prophet of Islam. An Arab would ask, "Who is the Prophet?" Another would call him by his name and point to him. His meetings were in the

mosque. He would go to the mosque and perform all the great tasks of the world in the mosque.

I hope that now also our mosques return to the era when the mosque was the venue for solving and agreement of issues and the mosques become the venue for planning war strategies, for everything. The mosque-goers are present so that the jobs are well done. God grant success to all of you; may you be successful and victorious and I pray for you.

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

Statements

Date/Time: Morning, January 10, 1983 [Dey 20, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Administration of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting under supervision of the three powers

Audience: Muhammad Hashemi (Managing Director of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting)

Supervision of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting by the three powers

In the Constitution, it has been forecast that the Islamic Republic Broadcasting is to be managed under the supervision of the three powers¹ or that these three powers are to supervise the proper trend of affairs at the Islamic Republic Broadcasting.

Because of the importance of this mass media that must coordinate with the authorities of the Islamic Republic, the heads of the three powers must not take this matter lightly. They must supervise and intervene on the subject of the programs and devote time to it. This is because if you present the issues in a deviant manner in the Broadcasting Organization, it can cause problems to arise. If you perform the tasks in a proper manner, it shall be the solution to the problems.

¹ The Executive, Judiciary and Legislative powers.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 16, 1983 [Dey 26, 1361 AHS / Rabi al-Thani 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Termination of excuses in serving Islam and the country

Audience: Salimi (Minister of Defense), Safai (Head of the Political-Ideology Department of the Army), employees of the Defense Industries, personnel of the Political-Ideology Section of the Isfahan Center of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ultimatum of God in elimination of excuses

I would like to thank the sirs and the dear ones present in this gathering for coming here so we can witness your radiant faces from near. Today, that thank God, Iran is being managed by the Iranians and all the affairs of the country are in the hands of the Iranians themselves and are being led by the adherents of Islam. Today, is a day when all the strata that are in this country have a responsibility. None of the individuals of this country; whether the writer and the intellectual; whether the clergy and the university student and whether the army, the Guards Corps, the *Basij* and the tribes; whether the people of the bazaar and the people of the streets can find a pretext to say that we could not serve this Islamic country because of such and such excuse. The Blessed and Almighty God have closed the pathway to all excuses and have given the ultimatum to all of us. Today, Iran is the field of work; it is the field of battle with the devils and it is the field of building of the youth; and it is the field of serving Islam and service to the Muslims and of service to the downtrodden of the world. Every person, in whatever occupation that is offered to him, if he does not merit that job, it is not right for him to take up that job. If he has the merit for it, then it is not right that he should decline to accept it. Today, we are in need of all the various groups that are in the country; and the whole nation of Iran is in need of various groups; and the beloved Islam is in need of the activities of all of you. The Blessed and Almighty God have terminated all excuses from His side; He has paved the way; he has removed the obstacles; he has put aside the enemies and has opened the field for activity. We in this country, Islam in this country is in need of many things, which they have the capability to meet —and the merit. For them there is no excuse for not entering the arena.

Necessity to supervise the affair of the Judiciary by the clergy

Today, we need judges. You know that throughout the reign of the monarchy, the Judiciary was not in the hands of the clergy, which based on the tenets of Islam is exclusively their job. The Judiciary had taken an ugly face and the judge was a person, who like the majority was good for nothing, especially in matter of judgment. Today, judgment requires individuals from the theological schools wherever they are located; be they located in Qum, Mashhad, Azarbayjan—wherever there is a seminary—Isfahan. The theologians and teachers of the seminaries must rear judges and this is a mandatory duty so that if a person is able to perform it and this matter is neglected, he is liable. The excuse which “I don’t have the disposition for it now; justice is a difficult task” is not acceptable. All individuals that regard themselves to be merited must come forward and lift up this great and neglected load from the ground. Wherever we have the orators throughout the country, whether they belong to the strata of the clergy and are sermonizing from the pulpit and whether they are from the rest of the strata. Writers wherever they are whether in the theological schools and whether in the universities and whether in the rest of the places, must serve this country with their speeches and writings. There is no justification for them that because they are not experts at a job, therefore they must not engage in writing. Today, to hold a job is mandatory for those individuals that are merited and Iran is need of their profession. A mandatory act is one, which is mandatory for all and if it is not undertaken, everyone are liable whereas if a group undertake that task the liability is removed from the others. The Judiciary is one of these affairs. To attend to the condition of the downtrodden; to attend to the condition of those that throughout the reign of the monarchy and especially this recent regime were deprived of each and every thing, this, too, is one of those affairs that those who have the abilities to serve them, are obligated to serve and must serve them. The question of propagation is one of the very important tasks in which you that are present in this gathering here are engaging in it.

The need of the military to engage in Islamic teaching and education

A person becomes responsible for whatever job that he takes up. He is responsible to act with honesty and trustworthiness; he is responsible to perform diligently and sincerity and with devotion for the Blessed and Almighty God. You who are holding the position of the political organization of the military and the ideological organization of the military, are now educated. No person can claim that he does not need to be educated and to be

trained. The Prophet of God also needed it until the end except that God fulfilled his need. We are all in need. The military is of those bodies that are in greater need of these matters and you that are responsible for this political matter and this matter of propagation and this matter of ideology must know that you have a great responsibility on your shoulders and it is also a worthy act. A military that throughout the reign of the monarchy was run by the foreign advisors or local commanders—who were not any better than them—and what was inconsequential there, was the political-Islamic issues and matters of Islamic ideology. Rather, in many places, they would move the people away from Islam; they would set aside the people; they would not allow the army to learn even its ordinary tasks. Today, thank God, that the military is Islamic and thank God, the armed forces have been transformed to an Islamic force and are in the service of the glorious Quran, today they are in need of training and education. They are in need of being told of the matters of the Islamic subjects, of the political-Islamic subjects and be educated in them. This requires that the sirs who are responsible for these affairs to remove them from the existing groups and existing parties and the military maintain its military identity. A powerful Islamic army except with Islamic teachings and educating them in what policy Islam pursues in the world and what it wants to accomplish—they must be taught these things so that they are trained and educated properly. To the extent that moral behavior is necessary in the military and the Guards Corps and the other armed forces, it is perhaps not that much necessary in other places. It is they that sometimes when they go to the frontlines; it is possible that they are confronted with a situation wherein if they do not have Islamic morals, they can pose a danger to themselves and to their army. Islamic behavior must be taught to them and thank God, they are now ready for it; and thank God, many of them have been educated and trained. When you see the frontlines, you can observe what sacrifices that these beloved youth of the Guards Corps and the army and the rest of the armed forces make and what supplications they recite to God. They are the products of Islam, but they still need to be trained and educated. Those that are responsible for industrial affairs—Defense Industries—should know that today Iran needs them and they are responsible vis-à-vis the Blessed and Almighty God. They must use all their strength so that God willing, we attain self-sufficiency in such an issue. The service that you are doing is a very great one and you have responsibility in relation to the service just as you have the reward in relation to the service—the reward of the hereafter.

The need for individuals to be trustworthy in responsibilities

One of the subjects, which is extremely important for every person, wherever he is, and wherever he is serving is that he must be trustworthy. If God forbid, in a group untrustworthy and deceitful individuals are present, then at some point we come to know that they have either brought disrepute or corrupted the whole group. Of the necessary aspects is the aspect of trust. For the inspectors, trustworthiness is of the crucial matters. Those who are working as inspectors must be reliable and they must not divulge subjects that they are handling to any person except where it is concerned. The honor of the people, the reputation of the people is a subject on which the Blessed and Almighty God have emphasized very much; and Islam has insisted on it very much. Respected judges of the courts of law and other places, those that are entrusted with the job of enforcing justice or inspection, wherever they are, they must be trustworthy and God willing, they are trustworthy. Those who are involved with the reputation of the people, are involved with the honor of the people; are involved with the lives of the people; with the decency of the people; they must maintain strict confidentiality. If they pursue a path other than the one God has determined; if they follow the wrong path and God forbid, they reveal the secrets of the people, even that of a sinful person—except in instances where the sinful act has been performed openly—in which case the wrongdoer shall no longer have any respect in Islam. The person who comes out openly on to the streets and commits a misdemeanor, he no longer has any respect in Islam. However, those who commit a wrong clandestinely, then even you come to know of it, you are not permitted to divulge it even to your brothers even to the members of your household. Therefore, of the important affairs for the judge, for those persons that is inspectors, for the Inspectorate Organization is the observance of trust in matters that are entrusted to them. It should be an organization for inspection while God forbid, it itself commits a wrong and reveals the secrets of people; and he should present his report where he must present it and under no circumstance transgress it.

Duty of the theological schools in training judges

I request the theological schools and the respected theologians of the land and the scholars of the seminaries, to help the country in this matter in the matter of the Judiciary and the justice affairs. At the same time, that those are seminaries and they must remain such, they can train judges and hand them over to the judge to the number that is required. This is an important task for Islam and for the Muslims. The reputation of the people is in the

hand of the judges; they must both educate them and also train them so that they come forward and serve this country. All persons who are present and we and you—all of us are responsible. We must think on what best way to serve today especially in an era in which almost all the propaganda in the world is against us. Whichever radio station you tune into and whichever foreign newspaper you read, they are filled with attacks on Iran and then they also tell as much lies as they want. Of course, the nation of Iran, the government of Iran also has inflicted great blows to them; it has turned off the crude oil taps on America and Israel. There is no place for them here and the places that they want to have here in order to counter their enemies. There is no way they can come here. The people of Iran are no longer dependent on them in order to work for them. However, they are the enemies and they shall remain so to the end. However, you sirs must all be united; there should be no differences involved; there should be unity; you should be linked together. The propagation should be widespread for Islam and for the Islamic Republic. Wherever the embassies are, they must propagate Islam and the Islamic Republic. We all must serve the nation that has undergone great toil and trouble in the course of fifty years or more and especially these recent years it has given so many martyrs and so many disabled that, a person feels ashamed, so that we can repay some of what they have done for us.

Efforts at self-sufficiency and release from dependence

Brothers, today is the day of work. Every person, wherever he is must work. We want to become self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency cannot be attained with sloganeering; it is attained with work. The landless peasants must work; the farmer must till the soil; the dairy farmer must engage in dairy farming and the fruit farmer must engage in fruit farming; the scientists must pass on their knowledge to the students. The university, which is at the head of the affairs and the destiny of a country, depends on their existence, must sincerely endeavor to turn its face away from the East and the West and face the straight path. It must turn towards the House of God; it must move towards the Blessed and Almighty God and build the youth for the future of the country. I am optimistic that all of us shall succeed to serve. You who are in the industries must strengthen the industry. The men who are in other places should strengthen the job that is entrusted to them. The propagators should increase their publicity and the scientists should increase their knowledge, pass them on, not sit, gossip behind one another, and say that since they are not involved, they must sabotage and create obstacles. In the course of these past four years, they have understood that their actions no

longer have any effect on Iran. The Iranians are pursuing the path, which they have discovered and chosen. They no longer have the power to cause them to return from this chosen path. Therefore, those that are living abroad should go and make a living for themselves and not waste away their lives and themselves and level abuses. Those who are inside and are a bit interfering should also desist from interference. The time for your interferences or your propaganda is past and they have no effect on this country. Thank God, this country has reached by the grace of the Sublime Truth and under the patronage of the Master of Age—may God's peace be upon him—to the position where it can traverse the path on its own. I hope that we are not overtaken by pride, also be devoted to God, and believe that it is the Invisible that is at work and performing the tasks; and you beseech that He performs them with your hands. God grant good health to all of you as well as honor and success; and deliver all the Muslim countries from the evil of aliens and plunderers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: January 18, 1983 [Dey 28, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1403 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of jurispudent member of the Guardian Council

Addressee: Muhammad Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi—may His graces last,

This is to thank you and express my admiration for your hard work in the post of the State Prosecutor General and likewise, in the Higher Council of the Judiciary. Considering that Your Eminence is trustworthy and of integrity, thus based on Article 91 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, which was designed with the purpose of safeguarding the commandments of Islam and the Constitution with a view to avoid conflict with the approved legislatures of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, a council is established for this purpose. The selection of the jurispudent members of that council in accordance with the stipulated conditions is my responsibility and I herewith, appoint you as one of the jurisprudents of the Guardian Council.² I beseech the Almighty God for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

28/10/61 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3,
1403 AH

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22 volumes compilation) vol. 17, p. 156, below the date has been mentioned as 27/10/61 AHS (January 17, 1983) that with reference to the hand-written document of the order, the date 28/10/61 AHS is correct.

² Mr. Rabbani Amlashi was appointed to replace Mr. Yusuf Sanii who resigned from membership of the Guardian Council on Dey 19, 1361 AHS (January 18, 1983) and his resignation was accepted by Imam Khomeini while Mr. Sanii was later appointed to the post of State Prosecutor General.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 23, 1983 [Bahman 3, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity to develop and expand propagation

Audience: Managers and officials of overseas programs, deputies of the political, overseas and provincial affairs programs, directors of news broadcasts, trainees of the newly launched Turkmen program

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of propagating Islamic culture

Propagation is an issue, which is important and sensitive meaning that the world revolves around propagation. To the extent that our enemies are using the weapon of propaganda, they are not using other means. We, too, must give great importance to publicity and pay greater attention to it than to all available means. Our cultural propagation on the radio and television must be more because the situation now is such that the villager who is engaged in farming in the wilderness also listens to the radio broadcasts and in some places, even television is available. To the extent that radio and television can serve the people, the newspapers and other media cannot serve. You know that there is a lot of foreign propaganda against us; by means of propagation of Islamic culture, you must give a reply to the lies that they spread.

Resistance and defense of the identity of Islam and the Islamic Republic

Today, the superpowers have been given a slap by our Islamic Revolution and they are afraid lest in other parts other revolutions like ours take place. They are nervous and every day design a new plot; we, too, must be prepared to counter them. In the same way, that America is prepared to hatch plots, we too must be prepared to counter and confront them. As long as we wish to be independent and not go under the burden of dependence, we must bear these difficulties and find the strength to combat them. Today, we have inherited a country that was dependent on the East and the West; the Eastern and Westernized were at the helm of affairs. Therefore, we must stand firmly and safeguard the republic that has resisted all deviations. Brothers and sisters of the various faiths should join hands, defend the

reputation and aims of Islam and the Islamic Republic, and not be afraid of this clamor for we shall not be defeated. You who are shouldering a heavy responsibility continue with confidence and solidarity with your job. Expand and improve your programs everyday and make efforts to present programs that are original and conform to the teachings of Islam and safeguard your nation and your religion. The programs must be prepared based on the perception and culture of Islam. I hope that with the strong heart and warmth that you have, you succeed in the job you are doing. Today, the country belongs to yourself. Today, everybody knows and understands that they are working for themselves, for the future of their own country. Put your trust in God for whatever we possess is from Him and are for his servants; thus serve for Him and His servants. May God protect all of you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: January 24, 1983 [Bahman 4, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Treatise, standing and performance of the Consultative Assembly

Occasion: On the eve of anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Superiority of the Islamic Consultative Assembly over the previous legislative assemblies

I thank the sirs for coming here in this cold weather and snowfall and for the opportunity to meet them from close quarters.

I have no doubt about this issue that this legislature is the best legislative assembly which exists throughout the world; and it is the best legislature that has existed from the beginning of constitutionality until now. I have understood the earlier times more than all of you. I have witnessed it from the time of the Qajar until now; and the manner in which the people have elected and to what extent the people were involved. I have witnessed the type of individuals who have gone to the assembly and this last years, which all the sirs are witnessing and have witnessed. Throughout the era of constitutionality, this assembly has not been in such a manner in all the terms whereby almost all its individuals are pious and convinced that Islam must rule. From my childhood days that I have been following the elections, and later on that, I heard from other places, the elections have never been totally in the hands of the people. For a long time, it was in the hands of the aristocrats of the regions and the feudal property owners and the big landowners and their likes. When their power and their influence were exterminated, it fell totally and wholly in the hands of the contemporary government. If for instance, in Tehran one or two persons would be elected, it was by the people while the rest was not so because Tehran was a place where one could not exert too much pressure. However, in other places, there was no question of the involvement of the people meaning that we never had a national assembly. If at all, there were a few nationalists in them, but the assembly was not an assembly, which could be a national assembly. Today, we have and Islamic and national consultative assembly in its correct perspective.

Topmost standing of the legislative assembly in relation to all the bodies

I have no doubt about this that the officials and legislators all of them with the rarest of exception have goodwill. I also have no doubt about this in the context that the legislative assembly is the leading body and the legislative assembly is the expression of the nation that is manifested in a limited space—this too is without doubt. Thus, up to here, we are in agreement with all the men and also have the conviction that you have. However, no person, no organization, and no individual can claim that we have no flaw. If any person makes such a claim, then this claim is his greatest flaw. No person can claim that he is without flaw. If some persons could be found that well, they do not have many of the flaws, but we have no one in the world that is flawless; we must always pay attention to our own flaws. Possible flaws, I do not say they are flawed, possible flaws. A human being who wants to work for the cause of God and attain the status of humanity must always take note of what flaws he has. He should not look at what virtues he possesses. This is because if he looks at his flaws, a human being shall attempt to remove them while to look at his virtues will result in a covering to appear over his eyes so that he is incapable of seeing his own flaws.

The aim of the legislative assembly is earning the consent of God and realization of the ideals of Islam

I would like—all of you like—that the legislative assembly that has been established by this same nation and with the vote of this nation; and you all know that the nation were solely motivated by Islam. Even the official religions also want religion; they want God; they want the consent of God. We must keep in mind the realization of this objective, which is earning the consent of God and the ideals of Islam, in a comprehensive manner. Sometimes, the view of a person—and the same goes for the assembly—are different. Both of them and the whole population want Islam but the view of Islam differs; and you know that the majority of our intellectuals are our educated class and they claim to be Islamists but they are uninformed of Islam. It is not such that you are able to comprehend Islam according to its meaning. They study one aspect of Islam and the matters pertaining to that aspect; yet there are other aspects in Islam to which they pay no attention and this causes differences of opinion to emerge. I would like—and you would like—that this legislative assembly should be such that if it ratifies a law, then when it goes to the Guardian Council, they approve it unconditionally. You know that the people want Islam that they want religion, that they want

the consent of God. All the people in Iran that fought and are now fighting on the frontlines and behind the frontlines all is being done for Islam and for the cause of God. We must consider this and safeguard the opinion, which they have of the legislature and the Islamic view that they have of it. This is not exclusively for the legislature; the same also goes for the government. All those who hold a job in the government must pay attention to this aspect that the people are devoted to Islam and the people will not accept the slightest deviation in any one of them. We must strive to earn the consent of this people for the sake of God. This means that this people has done away with those “*Taghuti*” legislative assemblies and created an Islamic assembly. They helped many people in prisons and freed many and brought back many from exiles. All these were things that the people accomplished. We do not claim to have done it; you did it; the society did it except that it did it by the grace of the Blessed and Almighty God. God placed the society in such a way and granted His Favor in such a manner that this society moved ahead with an Islamic view and sacrificed their youth and gave their all so that those that were strengthening that regime went away and an Islamic Republic came into existence. Thus, people are followers of Islam.

Not being influenced of epresentatives by deviant ideologies

If God forbid, in the Consultative assembly—not because of ill will, because there is less identification—a group get the impression that capitalism is better than Communism while for instance, one group thinks on the contrary. The group that thinks it knows better goes to find where in Islam these issues have been mentioned and without taking note of the surrounding aspects of the issue to see what has been said beside where it is mentioned. One group goes after that thing which has crossed their mind and goes after finding it. When I was in Najaf, I noticed that on the walls of the city of Najaf and Karbala, the Baathists that are basically opposed to religion and do not accept it, had written certain things from the *Nahj al-Balaghah*. For example, in the *Nahj al-Balaghah* where it is critical of capitalism and mentions that if capitalism grows big, it creates an oppressed person alongside it. They would write such slogans except that it was out of ill intentions. They were not persons that would obey the *Nahj al-Balaghah* and act according to it. However, the same persons that are sincere and want to serve this country and serve Islam sometimes because of inattention to all sides of the issue pursue a path, which they presume to be the path of Islam but have not taken note of the other aspects of it. For this reason, that which I aspire for is that we, you that are in the law-making center and your job is the

most important of all and those others that shall come after this event do not come under the influence of any doctrine. I do not wish to say that you have come under influence; but it is possible that a group come under the influence of propaganda of the other side or by the propaganda of the other side. We must follow the straight path of Islam and indulge in Islamic studies or learn from those that have Islamic knowledge that whether to what extent Islam accepts capitalism and what does Islam say about it and does Islam in principle accepts or rejects Communism. If we come under the influence of a deviant doctrine, we have disregarded Islam. We have the goodwill; we very much like the nation to be such and such; it is expedient how it should become today; the expedience for the strengthening of Islam is that how it should become today. Not all aspects of the issue are studied to conclude that the final interest—that which Islam has stated—is a matter that is from God. It is not that God has not considered what is in the interest of a nation or what is in the interest of a populace and what must be in its interest now; then it should be that. In places where there have been changes in the interest, God has stated them. Secondary commandments are for this purpose that sometimes an issue in societies occurs for which there must be the involvement of a secondary commandment; that also is a Divine commandment but a Divine secondary commandment. We must take care that if we give a vote to a proposal, we are not under the influence of a doctrine of the doctrines of the world. We should be under the influence of the Quran; under the influence of the narratives of the Prophet of Islam—may God's peace be upon him and his household. If it is such then tasks are accomplished sooner and are performed better and the people shall hold the same opinion of you that they hold now. If it happens ten times that a group that are for example, in the majority say one thing while a group that is in the minority says another thing and it goes to the Guardian Council and it is rejected; the opinion of the majority is rejected, is flouted; if this happens several times, the people shall become disgusted. It means that it is possible the understanding that the people have of you, God forbid, changes and this is the biggest of dangers that threatens the Islamic legislature and Islam.

Success of the legislature under the patronage of the nation

The big danger is that today, the possibility of the existence of that threat for us is that the nation turns its back on the government. Others cannot cause the nation to turn its back. The more America levels abuses on our government, on our legislature, on our individuals, they shall become more credible with the people. The tragedy was when they would sing your praise.

If America levels praise four times—I have said this earlier that they do not know how to bring down individuals—on a person; praise him for something; the people will know that there is something wrong with him that they are praising him; but God has willed that they should not understand this fact. If the people see that many times in the legislative assembly, those that they had sent to the assembly whom they identified with piety gave opinions, which the jurists of the Guardian Council rejected because of their being contrary to Islam, well; it will create doubt in their minds. You should work in a manner that reveals you are not influenced by any person; you should distance yourselves from all the doctrines of the world and your aspiration should be Islam, the Quran and the Islamic narratives; whether the primary commandments or whether sometimes, the secondary commandments. If it becomes so, the Guardian Council shall no longer reject them. I have the fear that after a period that you propose and they reject, there will be a doubt created in the people such that this fear exists for the government. If the government follows the same path of the people; if the government behaves with this people who have been in the arena—whether of the businessmen class or other people and whether of the smaller traders, except the rare few who were never in the arena—in a manner that causes all of them to become discontented, such as by increasing taxes without reason, by increasing the penalty for delay in payment of taxes without reason; by leveling fines for certain issues without reason; likewise, the judges that are around, if God forbid, their way of going about their job causes people to gradually have doubts about them, that is the day when tragedy shall befall us. That is the day when we can neither become victorious in the war nor can the legislative assembly be successful and nor the government; that is the day on which we must recite the funeral prayer. You officials must pay attention to this aspect that you propose the issues in such a manner; vote on the issues in such a manner that it is not rejected by the Guardian Council; or if at all it is rejected, it is limited to one or two proposals every year. Otherwise, on the one hand you toil for a month and discuss and debate an issue and then they say after a few days that it is against the religious canon; it is incompatible with Islam or it is opposed to the Constitution, which is also based on Islam. It creates a weakness for the legislative assembly and creates a fear in us that lest the people think that these have no religion. They do not take note of the fact that no, these have religion but their opinion is not what it should be. It is not that these have no religion; in fact, they are sincere, they seek the good, they are religious but it is not that all of them must hold the same opinion and be uniform on all matters. It must be such that if you have differences, it

should be like the differences between two sources of emulation; differences that two sources of emulation have with one another. That difference if it exists is acceptable to the people; it is also acceptable to the Guardian Council. However, if it is to be a matter, which the Guardian Council says it is against Islam; the Guardian Council does not say that it is against my religious verdict "*fatwa*" or contrary to the "*fatwa*" of so and so; it shall say that it is against Islam. If it happens in this way and it is repeated, it poses a danger for you and for all. If the government also operates in this manner which it sometimes does, and continues this line of thinking and pressurizes the people, pressurizes the bazaar traders, it should know that the funeral prayer of that government will be recited. It is necessary to attract the opinion of the people. The Prophet of Islam would attract the opinion of the people. He consistently attempted to attract the people, to draw the attention of the people to the truth. You, too, must pursue the same aim; the government must pursue the same goal; the military must pursue this same objective; the Guards Corps must do likewise. If, God forbid, some of the Guards Corps out of youthful zeal commit an offense and God forbid, repeat it, the opinion of the people, the view of the people about them shall revert and there shall be a question mark on them and this is a tragedy. You should not think that military strength has sustained you; it is the power of faith that has sustained you and the backing of the nations. You must safeguard this backing. If God forbid, this backing is removed from us, all of us shall be destroyed and Islam shall once again fall victim to other issues.

Responsibility of all the officials to act on the commandments of Islam

Today, we are answerable to Islam; we are answerable to the glorious Quran; we are answerable to all the Prophets. We must act in accordance with their opinions.

I must mention yet another point, which is that sometimes for example, I say something, utter some words that seem good to you also, then you notice that in some places they comprehend it differently and engage in sinful acts. They have informed me—I do not go out but some individuals informed me—that some shameful cassette tapes are available in certain places on the pretext that such and such person has said that no one has the right to intrude on the privacy. Would I say such a thing that one has no right to forbid evil? If I come to know that this is true, I shall grant permission to the person who wants to collect them from the streets; the shops that do these things shall be shut down. They themselves must take note that these issues are issues that jeopardize the reputation of Islam. For such a thing to happen openly on the

streets in an Islamic republic cannot be tolerated; the people cannot tolerate. You ascribe it to me; you ascribe lies. I cannot do such a thing that is against the religion and say that you must do it. We say that things that are against religion must not be undertaken; and not to engage in those things that are contrary.

Therefore, the Guards Corps that are the most adored of individuals in this country of safeguarding their reputation and their popularity. If they do not safeguard it, they shall decay, it shall be destroyed, and this depends on following the Islamic line of thought. The courts of law should follow the Islamic line of thought; they follow but they should be very careful. If they see that somewhere somebody has made a mistake, they should point out the mistake to the person. If they notice he has done it deliberately, they should inform so that he is dealt with in an Islamic way. Finally, all of us, all of this government and all those that are in government jobs or in jobs related to the Islamic Republic, they must safeguard their reputation with the people. This reputation shall be safeguarded if you act according to the principles of Islam including the primary commandments and if it is judged that the interest now lies in the secondary commandments, then according to the secondary commandments. However, this too must be based on correct reasoning. Well, some person sits down and says that now the circumstance is extraordinary and that such and such thing must be done while a group opines that it is not extraordinary, it is not possible that because now a group says that it is extraordinary, we will follow it assuming that it has a few people in the majority. You must work in such a way that it accepts it as being extraordinary; the Guardian Council accepts it; that at least two-thirds of the legislature gives its vote in favor of it being extraordinary, they should consult with knowledgeable persons. We must act on the principles of Islam. Sirs, you must act on the principles of Islam; it is both a religious obligation and also logical that we must protect the people. If the people pour onto the streets and chant slogans against us and chant slogans against some persons, well that is a tragedy. The slogans that they chant for us abroad and the slogans that the hypocrite "*munafiqin*" and their likes chant are enough for us. When we have the people on our side, when we have Islam on our side and the consent of God on our side, we have everything and none of that negative propaganda will have any effect. However, God forbid, if the people change and they see that you are God forbid, doing something wrong and they think that it is deliberate, well they do not know these issues and the masses cannot analyze the issues so that they would know whether it was deliberate or not; who so and so man was and so forth. This will become a

tragedy for you. I hope that God willing, you are very serious on this issue and God willing, the proposals that you put forward are done with lots of consultations. Rather at times, you should consult with some of the members of the Guardian Council and after you have consulted and the matter is discussed in that manner, then neither the Guardian Council shall reject it and nor the people shall be discontented. When the people see that a ruling is the verdict of God, the legislative assembly has said it is so and the Guardian Council is careful to reject a verdict that is against Islam so that now that they accepted it is Islamic, the people have no quarrel with Islam and shall accept it. The people accept whatever Islam says. A person that sacrifices his youth for the sake of Islam is no longer looking for material comforts and whether he has such and such thing or not. We must safeguard this beloved Islam. Our Islamic Consultative Assembly must safeguard Islam and all the government bodies must safeguard Islam; must serve Islam. When it becomes the servant of Islam then all shall approve of it either in Iran or abroad, all approve of it and that group that are opposed; that are opposed to Islam, their words shall be ineffective.

The war being at the top of the list of affairs

I hope that God willing, this war ends soon and ends to your advantage; ends to the advantage of Islam. If the need arises for the individuals to go to the frontline, they should again go to the frontlines. It is mandatory for them to go that if there is need otherwise in case of no need, it is not necessary. Sometimes it is said that they must not go. They should God willing, help the government, concerning building of highways and such issues; they must endeavor to help. Now you know that the war is at the top of the list of issues. If this is resolved, the other issues are insignificant, and shall God willing, be resolved. God willing, we put aside the souls of carnality and that which is quoted from the narrative of the Prophet of Islam: "That which I fear more than all things for you are two things."¹ One is the carnal desires and the other is span of life. These must be destroyed. We are not here to live forever; eventually we shall all be gone. Every person has a turn of a few days of life and then he is transferred to a world that is eternal; that is permanent. Therefore, we must earn the consent of God and strive to attain His consent. Now let that intellectual who thinks differently, utter whatever he wants to say. Let that other government also say and moan whatever he wishes to say. Let that hypocrites (*munafiqin*) say whatever they want to say. When we have earned the consent of God, the rest is easy.

¹ *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 4, p. 76, h. 63.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: January 25, 1983 [Bahman 5, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1403 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in the Supervision Committee for the elections to Higher Council of the Judiciary

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Saduqi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Saduqi—may His graces last,

Your Eminence is being herewith appointed as my representative in the Supervision Committee for the elections of two members of the Higher Council of the Judiciary in order to supervise that this election is held in accordance with the regulations. I pray that God willing, you are successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dated 5/11/1361 AHS

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22 volumes compilation) vol. 17, p. 156, below the date has been mentioned as 4/11/61 AHS that with reference to the hand-written document of the Order, the date 5/11/61 AHS is correct.

Letter

Date: January 25, 1983 [Bahman 5, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

Occasion: Unity Week

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may His sublime presence endure,

Respectfully,

A list of 31 persons convicted by the Islamic Revolution Court of Kurdistan and nine persons convicted by other Revolution courts has been proposed on behalf of the public prosecutors and religious magistrates on the occasion of Unity Week for the perusal and opinion of Your Eminence, is herewith presented to the blessed presence.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili
4/11/1361 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
5/11/1361 AHS

¹ In accordance with the duties and powers of the leadership stated in Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Decree

Date: January 26, 1983 [Bahman 6, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 11, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the head of the Bakhtaran (Kermanshah)¹ Theological School

Addressee: Mujtaba Haj Akhund, Husayn Zarandi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Mujtaba Haj Akhund and Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sheykh Husayn Aqa Zarandi—may His graces last,

It is necessary that you respected sirs take over the supervision of the Bakhtaran Theological School and oversee the affairs of the respected theology students and the seminaries of that place. In order to meet the needs in this subject, you are permitted to spend from the local religious receipts in whatever manner you deem appropriate. Meanwhile, for solving the problems and performing of tasks, please consult with the respected Friday prayer leader of Bakhtaran, Hujjat al-Islam Muwahhidi Kermani²—may His successes last. I beseech the Almighty God for the continued success of all. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 11, 1403 AH

¹ After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, in accordance with the proposal of several deputies of Kermanshah province, the name of the province and its capital was renamed "Bakhtaran". In the fourth term of the legislative assembly, again on the proposal of the deputies of the assembly, the former name was restored.

² Mr. Muhammad-Ali Muvahhidi Kermani who was appointed to lead the Friday-prayers of the city in place of Ayatullah Ashrafi-Isfahani (the Friday prayer leader of Bakhtaran at that time) who was martyred on 27/8/1361 AHS (December 18, 1982) by the terrorist *munafiqin* group.

Letter

Date: ?

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Unity of Muslim countries and the need to resist and be alert in the face of the American plots

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi (President of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Colonel Muammar Qadhdhafi, Respected president of Libya—may God's peace and mercy be upon you,

With respects and greetings, your honorable letter has been received. From the beginning of the Islamic Revolution of Iran that with the capable hands of the great nation and with trust in the Blessed and Almighty God, overthrew the corrupt dictatorial monarchial regime that throughout history had installed the foundation pillars of tyranny and despotism on the shoulders of the deprived and oppressed masses. In the process, it severed the hands of the plunderers and criminals from the Islamic homeland and laid the foundations of an Islamic republic with its ingredient of heavenly tenets of the great religion of Islam. The government and people of Iran, in keeping with the commandments of Islam wanted to extend their hands of fraternity as commanded in the glorious Quran, to all the Muslim countries. This was in order that with unity of expression and unity between all the Muslims, the Muslim countries would be delivered from the mischief of the big colonial powers and the plots of the super-plunderers and criminals. Everybody witnessed what a miracle unity between a small population of 36 million that relied on the glorious Quran and the beloved Islam created and defeated all the super and small powers that supported the deposed Muhammad-Rida and the great power of the monarchy. Unfortunately, most of the Islamic governments have not given a response to the call of this Islamic-revolutionary nation that wants to revive Islam and live with honor with the spiritual human values. Rather with their false propaganda and poisonous denials, they attempted and are attempting to weaken the Islamic Republic. We are not worried about the American and Israeli propaganda. They have been dealt a blow by the Islamic Republic, have lost their illegitimate interests, and are weary of Islam and the Muslims. Our regret is the opposition and hostility that some of the governments of the region have arisen in the name of Islam to counter Islam and the Islamic Republic; and

every day they slander and malign the Islamic Republic. It is unfortunate that although Islam and the glorious Quran call upon the Muslims to unite and to shun differences and disputes,¹ yet some of the governments that claim to be Islamic, have joined hands with America and Israel and are sowing discord and differences among the Muslims.

It is surprising that America supports the occupier Israel, shows its teeth and claws to the Arab people and governments, and threatens the Arab governments while the government and noble nation of Iran bans the sale of crude oil to Israel. They announce their support for the Arabs and call upon the Muslims to rise in opposition to America and Zionism. However, some Arab governments instead of uniting and extending their hands of friendship with their fellow Muslims as commanded by the honorable Quran, and seeking the assistance of the most powerful and devoted to Islam regime of the region to their own advantage and disadvantage of the enemy, fabricate rumors and slander and make Iran unhappy. They do this in order to appease America and Israel whereas friendship with them will have no reward except that it shall be to their benefit and to the loss of the region.

I would like to thank Your Excellency who have tasted this truth and condemn America and Israel and are faithful to the Islamic governments that adhere to the commandments of Islam. The government and nation of Iran alongside your government and nation and other Muslims devoted to Islam, are friends with “the friends of Islam” and are enemies with “the enemies of Islam.” We believe that until the big powers, especially America have influence in Muslim countries, Muslims cannot attain their Islamic and humanitarian values. I request you and your friends to advise the Islamic governments and especially the Arab governments to obey the commandments of the Almighty God and be faithful to Islamic brotherhood.

I would like to remind that our insistence on this Islamic issue is because of obedience of the commandment of the Quran otherwise, the great Iran, with the unity and harmony that exists between the government and the nation and the faith it has in the assistance of the Almighty God that taught a lesson to the aggressor Saddam. He has so repented his aggression against his own Muslim neighbor that he has been forced to seek help from both friend and enemy alike. Thus, although many of the powerful governments and unconcerned governments of the region have generously aided him financially, militarily and provided him with men, yet he has not been able to

¹ Reference to verse 103 of the *Surah Al-e Imran*, which commands that, “*All cling to the rope of God and do not be disunited.*”

save himself from the trap that he laid for himself. The intellectuals should learn lessons from the events that take place in the world.

In conclusion, we announce our support for your government and the rest of the governments, which are devoted to Islam and condemn Israel for its inhuman aggression especially for its occupation of the Jowlan Heights and its aggression against the innocent people of South Lebanon. I thank you for the brotherly advise that you have given on the subject but perhaps certain issues are involved that are hidden from Your Excellency which, the concerned officials of Iran shall explain to you so that the reality of the existing issues becomes clear to you. With hope for the unity of expression of Muslims vis-à-vis the tyrants of the world. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 27, 1983 [Bahman 7, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Role of the police forces in society and statement of their duties and their mandate

Audience: Mahdi Muvahhedi Kermani (representative of the Imam in the city police), Samimi (Chief of State Police), chief of city police forces of the provincial capitals, heads of the various city police departments

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity: guarantor of the perpetuation of the Revolution

It is of the blessings of the Revolution that we who were detached from you in those times, would flee on seeing you, you too disliked seeing us; I am not talking about you but those who were present then. Thank God that the Revolution removed this distance and all of us now regard ourselves to be from each other. It means that all of Iran is a single group; and this is one of the blessings for which we must be grateful. Whatever blessing descends on this country is through this channel that the government, the police forces, the defense forces, the clergy, the bazaar trader and everybody see themselves in a same row; it is a long row in which all are lined in a single file. Neither this one wants to do injustice to that one and nor that one wants to cheat this one. We shall reach the main destination, God willing, when all of us, each one of us knows his Islamic duty so that we know how to react in a situation wherein a country is surrounded by wolves ready to pounce on it. Know for sure that the superpowers always cause the inside to decay so that they can do anything. If it is strong internally, they cannot do anything and they know they shall not succeed. For this reason, they try to find a way from within and through that weak point compel the individuals so that they themselves and the groups themselves do something for them. All the military coups that occur in the world are in such a manner that the big powers reveal the way to a military man—a strongman—and he is compelled to act and to undertake a coup and take over the reigns of power and act in accordance with their wishes. If all the people know that their duty is to serve their country; the military-man does his military duty; the policeman does his police duty; a clergyman does his spiritual duty; the trader does his trade; the farmer does his duty; the civil servants all do their duty; the laborers all serve

for a single purpose, then rest assured that if God willing, something like this happens and is firmly established and now also it is almost being done then they will no longer covet you. Those who wanted to swallow you can no longer threaten you; they shall despair. For this reason, the thing that is of utmost importance is that we safeguard what God has given to us. Now we do not know exactly what has happened because we are in the process of it. When we all are involved in the process of an issue, when all are involved in something, they cannot comprehend the depth of the issue and how important it is. Now those that are abroad, that have stayed back abroad, sometimes opine that we ourselves do not know what the issue is. For the people to cause that sort of a power to collapse and those that were assisting it to turnaround and assist the people and join with the people so that they take away the initiative from them and that too what persons. From those persons that were being supported by all the governments, all were insisting that he¹ must stay. Sometimes even inside the country they would say such a thing. This was a very great accomplishment which the Blessed and Almighty God favored us with; we must be grateful for this blessing; to be thankful is for all of us to perform our respective duties.

Backing of the nation is linked with serving them

You are aware of the bitter experience that the nation had of the police; they were mainly involved in the affairs of the people meaning that they were inside the cities. Through them during the reign of Rida Khan—whoever remembers—they would trouble the people. It is quoted that in Qum, a police chief with a bleeding nose was sitting on the street; he was holding his nose but when he saw a woman with veil, he caught hold of her and left his nose. They had been trained in such a manner that the people had come to hate all of them; all the organizations and especially the city police that had more contact with the people. That taste and feeling in the people was intense and you must do something so that this bitter experience is transformed into a sweet one. When God willing, this becomes your objective, then God shall assist you and the people shall support you; now also they are supporting you. You should know that if in the previous regime a war had occurred, the people would pray that Rida Khan would be defeated. Well, I remember that at least Rida Khan was a monarch for Iran; whatever the circumstance, after all he belonged to Iran; was from Iran; yet when the foreigners came here and the people sensed that their everything was in danger, yet when Rida Khan left, the people were relieved that at least this blessing had arrived to

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi, the deposed Shah of Iran.

destroy this man. This was the situation he had created that the inhabitants of the country had such a feeling vis-à-vis their own countryman who was the king of the country; yet when the foreigners, the British, the Russians and the Americans arrived at that time, and they banished him, it was as if a blessing had been bestowed on them. If at that time there would be the means available, they would have lit-up the streets just as you saw what they did for the departure of Muhammad-Rida. We, too, must do something; you, too, must do something so that if God forbid, you are faced with a problem, this same bazaar and the neighborhood and this same street people pour out and solve your problem; this is how the situation is now. Do not be under the impression that other revolutions were like the Revolution here that as soon as the issue was resolved the people would cooperate with its government. They would work at the point of the bayonet because the revolution did not belong to the people; the revolution belonged to the powerful and for the reason they would hold the people at the point of the bayonet. Now also those that have undertaken great revolutions, are holding the people at the point of the bayonet. Here because the people themselves were involved, they themselves had undertaken the Revolution; there was no military coup involved, it was not such that a power would come and that power would want to accomplish something. The people of the streets and neighborhoods and bazaars and the clergy and the army and all of them together joined hands and did the job. For this reason, now all the people have this feeling that whatever is there is of their own. They do not regard themselves to be strangers; they regard you as one of them; they regard you as their own offspring. You must perform according to your duty of an offspring for this nation while they, too, perform their duties of supporting you and that of a father. As long as this blessing is present, you are powerful; you are strong and no power can destroy you. If God forbid, in the city police, the chief of the city police for instance, begins to do these things that create discontent among the people. However, right now, something is happening in the corner, but it is not important—but this matter will gradually spread and suddenly you see that in a place where the chief of the city police had committed a misdemeanor, gradually that city becomes corrupted. From there it spreads to other places and then suddenly a person comes to know that a whole country is opposed to the city police and this indeed is a tragedy. Now we have a blessing that we must safeguard; as long as we are thankful for this blessing—and to be thankful is that we serve the people for the sake of God for having given us this blessing—the city police should serve for the cause of God. Now the city police do not want to cheat anybody; it wants to

serve for the sake of God. As long as it is so, the Blessed and Almighty God shall strengthen it by the hands of these same people; He shall strengthen this same people so that they follow you—and we must safeguard this blessing. The issue that the sir raised, well, most of it can be discussed here while some of it I shall God willing speak about later. I have spoken about the issue in general terms; the reason I spoke about the main issue is in order that we revert Iran to an Islamic state; all things should become Islamic. If someone wants to exploit the situation that you must by now be aware of; if for example, somebody wants to exploit the situation because he is under the impression that since it is free and so forth, he can commit a mischief that he was engaging in before—and which is a religious offense that he was committing before—and he wants to commit the forbidden act on the open streets; the duty of the city police is to prevent him. It is for this reason that we want our city police to perform according to its duties. One of those duties is to prevent these forbidden acts that is going to take place in the city, wherever there is a shop engaging in it or some such thing, they must prevent it. At least they should inform the prosecutor so that he sends someone to prevent it. The people must not take undue advantage of the situation.

Necessity to observe regulations and response to offenses

Included among the issues is the affair pertaining to the system. We do not want that the system is messed up; from the beginning Islam arrived to create a system; an orderly system except that an orderly system is that in the same way that its city police performs on the basis of an order, its people also behave in the same way. If for example, they disregard the words of the city police and they want to commit a driving offense, well the driver must be prosecuted. It is not that now the people are free in the Islamic context; Islam does not give this sort of freedom to the people; Islam grants a correct freedom to the people and not the freedom to this one to break the head of that one and that one to break the head of this one. If you drive one day against the regulations, hundreds of persons can be killed; he must be brought to trial; he must be prevented. There is no question at all that now they will get nervous that something is going to happen to them! No, this must be done. This matter is for the order of the state; those things that are required for the protection of a country, for safeguarding the system of a city must be dealt with seriously. Wherever it is the duty of the city police, they must take action. Alternatively, with regard to the subject of plots, wherever the city police see that there is a plot being hatched, the city police see that there is a conspiracy at work, they must quickly neutralize the plot. They

should not adopt the attitude of waiting for it to go away while we go and see on what basis we should react. No, this is regarding cases that are definite; you see that now if you do not take action and follow-up the case, this house is a house in which they have congregated and want for example, to commit an offense; they want to cause an explosion and want to kill a group of people. In such instances, it is the duty of the police to prevent it. It is not that such things correct on their own; however, there are certain criteria to be observed about which we shall discuss later. But those things that concern these immoral persons that want to establish a center from which to distribute heroin among the people; this heroin is far greater in vice than all things else. Alternatively, there is a center that God forbid, is a place for alcoholic drinks; it is a place where people gather to engage in gambling; or engages in prostitution—all these are matters that must be prevented. In these cases we cannot say that no, now we shall wait and see what needs to be done; no, these require prevention; these must be prevented forcefully.

Avoidance of intrusion in the personal affairs and counteracting to plots

However, what we say is that no one has the right to enter the homes of people, the ordinary people who want to do something in their home. It is also forbidden to intrude into the home of a person that is doing something sinful inside his own home. No, this is not right. Doing this is forbidden; to prevent a wrongdoing with a greater wrongdoing is not right; it has conditions; to forbid evil has conditions; to enjoin good has condition. However, all these talks are apart from the subject of plots. If the hypocrites,” for example, have a house where they team together, one cannot say that let them be and leave them alone since they do not come out in the open. Well, when they do come out in the open they kill a number of people; they cause explosions and so they must be prevented. I had also written there on the subject about which I wrote, that there are exceptions to all these matters. One exception is persons that are in this manner; those that run centers of vice; those that run centers of conspiracies, those that run centers of prostitution—these are not the main issues. The question is something else that for example they enter the home of a person to investigate unnecessarily on the assumption that there is something in the house. It is not right to go and inspect. However, if they come to know, they get the information that the house is used as a center for vice and you consider it probable that there is something inside; no, you have no right to enter the house. Whereas if you see that there is a house that has become the center for a purpose, for a vice—whatever be that vice—whether they want to establish a center for

prostitution or a gambling den, these are those issues that I declare categorically must be prevented. Whichever aspect that pertains to the city police, they should take over and do the job while wherever it is the duty of the Guards Corps, they should handle and these were not of the issues that we say they must not be handled in this manner. What is said is that no one has the right to enter the homes of people—the ordinary people—even though an immoral act is taking place inside it, which is personal immorality, it is the private lives, and it is a personal sin. If it is done in the open, then too the forbiddance of evil should also be undertaken according to on religious laws. They should not enter the homes of people on the pretext of inspection of the condition of the people. It is improper, for example, to scrutinize the circumstances of Muslims that are doing something within their homes and ask them what they were doing there. No, they have no right to do this except in instances of proven centers of immorality. In cases of centers of vice, if there is likely to be a center of vice in this city; that it is likely that such and such house exists in which anti-social elements gather; and from the visits and movements made to the house it is highly probable that it is a meeting place of anti-social elements, in such cases an inspection must be made and this must be prevented. I am optimistic that God willing, you succeed in your job. I hope that this feeling will be borne in us so that we become thankful for this blessing that God has granted us; to show our gratitude is to serve. Of course, we should thank verbally too, but sincere gratitude is that when the city police sees that the country now belongs to it; that no power can interfere in it; that no one wants to plunder this country; that it should now feel that this is its own homeland; the country is its own; then it must eliminate injustice; it must serve. It must do such things; it must perform the tasks. Everybody wherever they are should perform the task that is entrusted to them in a befitting manner. I pray for all of you and God approve all of you.

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

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, January 30, 1983 [Bahman 10, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Leadership of the Bazaar in Islamic movements and necessity for support of the government by the Bazaar in the war

Audience: Representatives of the guilds and traders of Tehran and the entire country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am grateful that today I am face to face with the devoted Islamic strata of the countrywide representatives of traders and businesspersons. Today, I must talk a bit about the bazaar and about the government. which is about the bazaar, we all know and you know that the bazaar is one of the great strata that are devoted to Islam and it is the bazaar that has been at the forefront of all the movements that have occurred for Islam. On the tobacco issue and the religious verdict of the late Mirzaye Shirazi¹—may God grant him an illustrious status—it was the bazaar that supported it and caused the uprising. Some of the traders of Isfahan, as is narrated, one of whom was a reputed trader of tobacco, set alight all the tobacco that he had stocked in the Shah Square. In similar fashion, the other traders at that time also rose up in revolt in support of the verdict of the Mirza and were martyred. After that, in the course of the constitutional movement and the dictatorship in the form of constitutionality, once again the bazaar was at the forefront of all issues. It was the bazaar that accompanied with the rest of the strata of the nation, right from the laborers and the farmers and so forth, has engaged in a sacred struggle and faced up to the difficulties and has taken action for the advancement of the objectives of Islam to the extent of its capability. In these dark fifty years that has blackened the history of Iran, that darkened it more than the previous regimes, there was a lot of pressure on the bazaar and more than ever before, and they dreaded the bazaar very much such that they even planned at one stage to bring down the roof. They dreaded of what lay below these roofs but they did not succeed. In this movement, the bazaar had a big

¹ Mirza Hasan Shirazi (died in 1312 AH) with his famous religious verdict “*fatwa*” caused the abrogation of the agreement signed between Nasiruddin Shah Qajar and the British tobacco company according to which, the rights of tobacco and tobacco leaves was handed over to that company for a period of fifty years.

hand in the affairs right from the strikes and protests that it organized; and although the other strata also had a share, however, the bazaar had a great share in this matter. In this war too, the bazaar served both on the frontline as well as behind it. Now also once again, it is the bazaar that is serving and is at the service of the great Islam and the Islamic republic. Mirza was a source of emulation in a village in Iraq; he was not able to mobilize the seminary students that were there to confront that despotic monarchy. He issued a verdict; the theologians of the land also could not get going and break this black despotism. It was the bazaar and the nation that supported their very own theologians and sources of emulation and who overcame those that followed the path of despotism. In this same movement and in the same event that you all witnessed and we witnessed, once again it was the bazaar that went on prolonged strikes and closures and protests and by other means supported this movement. However, the rest of the strata also were present and God gave His support to all of them. It is the bazaar that from the beginning has backed the commandments of Islam and is also backing now and will also do so later. I hope that the government gives exclusive attention to the bazaar and serves this pious stratum to the extent of its ability.

The authorities are faithful to Islam and are servants of the nation

The thing that pertains to the government that I must mention and that you all know and perhaps some others know lesser while some know more is the knowledge I have of these officials some of whom I am familiar with since long years. I have met some of them from close while some others I have become familiar with in the course of the service they were doing. However, in order not to take too much of your time, we shall mention to you comprehensively. If you think that in the entire world of presidents, monarchs and so forth, you will find a single person like Mr. Khamene'i, that is both a devotee of Islam and a civil servant who sincerely wishes to serve this nation, you are mistaken. I know him since long and since the beginning of the movement; he was in it and would spread the messages all over. After the Revolution reached its climax, he was present at all places until the end and is present even now—this is one of the blessings of God to us.

Look at our legislative assembly; many of them I know from close meaning that they have a long track record like the speaker of the legislature¹ and many of the other officials; and I know them to be pious and devoted to Islam and to be servants to the extent of their capabilities. During the time since the legislative assembly is established I know all of them to be

¹ Mr. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

servants. I cannot find a single person among them who is not devoted to Islam. However, differences of taste, differences of opinion and differences of approach are present in all strata; it is present among the theologians; among the sources of emulation; among you officials also there are differences of taste, differences of opinion; but all are unanimous in serving and all want to serve. Among them, I cannot name a single person that is not deeply attached to Islam; all of them are devoted despite the differences of approach that they have. With regard to the Council of Guardian, I know all of the jurists that are there from close since long and I must say that I have reared and trained them and their position is clear. However, with regard to the government; I know some of them also since long while some of the ministers and other officials I have become familiar with in the course of their service; all of them want to serve. Do not be under the impression that among them you will find a single person that does not wish to serve. They shall all perform to the extent of their capabilities and to the extent of the powers invested in them. The Judiciary officials are also known persons; I know many of them from the beginning; and now, too, there are trustworthy and devoted individuals there but I do not want to go into details.

The subject of the war: A crucial problem of the government

I would like to mention to you officials the problems, some of the problems and not all of them, which confronts the government right now so that you can see that despite these problems, they have even now performed many of the tasks. They have done service to the entire country that had been neglected in these past fifty years. Does it not deserve that we praise and thank them! One problem now is the issue of the war. Perhaps some of you are aware of the daily costs of the war; how much ammunition is needed; how much expenses are incurred daily for the war. Today the war alone costs more than hundreds of millions every day. Next to it is the damages that have been inflicted to us, and the crimes, which the Baathist regime has perpetrated, against this oppressed nation. Following the crimes is the problem of the war refugees that number more than a million or may be two million—the exact figure I do not know right now—which the government must now tackle this issue. Next to this is the refugees from Iraq; the Iranians that were previously in Iraq and lived in Iraq and were expelled and whose burden has fallen on the government. Refugees that are pouring into Iran now from Afghanistan are faced with many problems, too. These destructions that want to be repaired—however, the nation has been very helpful in all these affairs but the assistance of the nation is not sufficient—it is the government

that is entrusted with this task and is responsible for it and is faced daily with one great problem. It wants to send trucks to the war front for logistical support from here to there and is faced with difficulty; it has problem for sending provisions to the war. Nevertheless, it strives with all its strength to give priority to the war effort. Now the problem of the government is so vast that this budget, which you allocate, cannot solve the problem of the government; the nation must set it right.

The need for support of all strata in the war

I would now like to tell you that suppose His Holiness the Commander of the Faithful—may God's peace be upon him—was in Iran today and was the head of the government. He would see that a group—Saddam and those that support him which means all the governments of the world except a few—has attacked Iran and wrought destruction, killing people, rendering them homeless and plundering and causing destruction. His Holiness witnesses that now Islam, the nation of Islam and the people of Islam are in danger of these Gogs and Maggogs attack Iran and wreak the same destruction in Tehran, Mashhad and Isfahan that they wreaked in Ahwaz and Khorramshahr. If His Holiness sees this, what would he do? Would he sit down and sermonize? Would he say that he would set things right on his own? What would he do when there would be no money, insufficient funds and taxes alone would not suffice? In such a situation, His Holiness would order that the people help in proportion to their ability, the weaker sections, the lower income groups aside, the high-income strata that for example, have a yearly income of more than a hundred million and more and especially those that are indifferent to such issues. However, the businesspeople are not of this type; the traders are not of this type and the smaller businesspeople are not of this type. However, among them there are individuals whom you know that engage in hundred million transactions and derive more than hundred million in profit, and do not disclose them. What would the Commander of the Faithful do with a country that faced a dangerous situation? He would dispatch all the individuals to the battlefield. He would forcefully take away the wealth of affluent individuals and send them for the war effort. If it were not enough, he would give his own robe; he would give away my robe too; he would give away your cap for safeguarding the country of Islam, for protecting the honor of this same people. You know what would happen if God forbid, Saddam would lay his hands on Tehran. Would he leave your wealth alone? Would he leave your honor and dignity intact? Would he spare your lives? Do you know what he would do? Do you know

what danger awaits you now? Saddam is not worth being a human being; however, Saddam and those that support him, the governments that back him up; those that provide him with assistance; the big powers that provide him with weapons; powers that send men, equipment and so forth—well this is the sort of danger that Iran is facing now. Is it fair that when there is such a danger facing all and not just one strata such as the danger in Khuzestan province is posed to all of Iran; or the danger facing Khorramshar and Abadan—places which they occupied at that time and did what the Mongols had not done throughout history—is posed to all. Is it fair that at such a time there be hoarding and this nation is put in difficulty? Is it fair that at such a time there be profiteering and the government is rendered helpless and not be able to correct the situation or at such a time we must help the government? Is it not our religious obligation to help? These respected guilds; these respected businesspeople are in a pposition to combat profiteering by way of selling at cheaper prices. If they sell their goods at a cheap price, the hoarders shall move away and they will not be able to hold on. Alternatively, the members of the guilds can themselves go to the hoarders and tell them why they are doing such a thing! Well at such a time when our everything is in danger, do we have the right to sit back and complain that for instance, such and such thing is in short supply or such and such thing is available in plenty? Well, this is not possible. The issue is greater than what you and I think; the issue is the issue of America and not of Saddam. The issue is of France; the issue is of the Soviet Union.

Support of the Bazaar for the government on the issue of the war

Well, the nation of ours has resisted until now and may God protect them, and from now on too, it has and will resist and it must also provide further resistance. Most of you remember the Second World War in which we were not involved and did not support any side. However, when they entered Iran and Iran was also not able to provide any resistance and that royal army and those things that Rida Khan would utter turned out to be hollow words, when they entered, although they had nothing to do with the people, but as soon as they arrived, you saw what happened to the goods! You noticed that no bread could be found; you saw there was no rice available; nothing was available and things were rationed and that too with those exorbitant prices for some items. Sir, today we are involved in a war; it is no joke. The matter of war is no joke; the expenses of war is no joke; to resist in the face of war is no joke; to equip a division or several divisions for confrontation are affairs that the government is faced with and is serving. We

must show our appreciation for this government that is serving; we must assist it. A few persons that are unaware are joined by a few hypocrites and repeatedly say something; they say something to them; they create discontent among the people. God knows that with this war and this situation that is now prevailing in Iran and that economic siege that is in place and those sabotaging at work and those negative publicity launched against you and against Islam, nevertheless, the government is steadfast and is serving and this is a miracle. We must help it; we must support it so that it can work. I know that there are problems; they also know that there are many problems but what can they do! Well, there are many problems but what should they do? Should they leave things to themselves and let every person do as he wishes? Well, there is a group that imports goods and sells them at several times their price; there is a group that hoards goods; there is a group that does no such thing but what can this hapless government do? Is it possible to leave the war to itself? Is it possible to leave the refugees alone? Is it possible to leave the oppressed on their own? You see despite these problems that have been created for our nation now, the government has resisted in their face and has built so many buildings for the people; so many roads for the people. I have asked them repeatedly to mention the things they have accomplished to the people so that they take note. Well you also know very well and the majority of you know the things have been done for them in places where they had no water, they had no land, no roads; in fact, they had nothing; no doctors whereas now the government has taken action to the extent of the powers vested in it. Therefore, we must support such an exemplary government. Do you think Saddam acts in this manner! Saddam is involved in a war and all are backing him. However, if you ask those that come from Iraq of what all he does; ask these Iraqi nationals who have run away and come here; ask them what he is doing to the people; about his prisons and what his henchmen do in the prisons. Therefore, we must look at both the sides of the issue. On one side, we must protect the bazaar with all our strength; it is the duty of all of us. It is the bazaar that has sustained us; that has sustained all while on the other side it is the bazaar that must safeguard the government. What can the government do if it is left alone. Mr. Musawi¹ the Prime Minister is a businessperson; he was a businessperson like you; his father, apparently is also now a businessperson. Well, he does not have anything to give of his own; the other ministers are also the same. The government does not have anything of its own. The government wants to defend your lives, your honor, your wealth and your dignity. Well then, we

¹ Mr. Mir Husayn Musawi.

must accept the responsibility of this task and those that have huge amounts of capital must contribute to the extent that they can. If you sometimes hear that some of these men make certain remarks, they imply the economic terrorists and the hoarders; the general bazaar businessperson is not a hoarder; they are pious people and do not act contrary to the religious tenets. There is a section that complains, that is indifferent to these issues, that engages in hoarding, profiteering and creating a black market—they are a small group. It is not that any person intends to malign the bazaar; until now, I have not heard any person utter a word about the bazaar. Well, this bazaar is the bazaar of the Muslims; it is a bazaar that has served from the outset, is serving now and it shall serve later on. Therefore, we too must take note of the problems of the government; we must pay attention to the problems of both the weak and downtrodden as well as the problems of these refugees that have arrived now. We cannot disregard the homeless people that are from our own people who have come from Ahwaz and Khorramshar and from the places that have invaded and attacked; who have come from Khuzestan province and also from other places; likewise the guests that we have. Well, they are Afghan nationals, they are Muslims or are Iraqi nationals for instance or the hapless people that have been rendered homeless, whose wealth has been taken away and they have been sent here. Well, what must be done with them? Must we not host them? We are Muslims; they too are Muslims. We must host them and take care of them. We must serve them and it is the government that is doing these things. We cannot comprehend the depth of the task of the government accurately. Until a government does not sit beside them; until some of the respected sirs of the business guilds do not sit beside the government; until these representatives of the government do not explain their problems to them, we cannot imagine the amount of problems that they are facing. Therefore, we must take note of both the sides of the issue. This means that we must take note of our and difficulties from all angles; and Islam has placed the responsibility on all of us. When the honor and lives of Muslims is in danger, it is compulsory on all of us that we contribute to the extent that we can; the one who is capable must get up and go to the frontline. It is compulsory for all that now a group have volunteered—and thank God—they are a large number that have gone to the frontline and thank God, the situation is good at the warfronts, however, they should be busy behind the frontlines and endorse the government. They should give their support to a government that spends hundreds of millions every month on the war alone. Every day the government spends hundreds of million for the war while on the other hand,

the revenues of the government that was mainly from crude oil, they are not allowing us to produce a lot. It is not possible to extract all the petroleum that belongs to future generations and spend it now and not be able to live after some time. The balance is from the assistance that well, the people should come forward; we advise and appeal to the philanthropists to help the government that is busy tackling the problems and is faced with so many problems. The government must also help you; the issue is mutual; it must not be one-sided. On the other hand, the government must serve to the extent that it can; it must serve the bazaar, the poor, and the others to the extent of its capability. On the other hand, all the sirs must also serve. However, now that I am talking, a large group but not so rich that have lesser capital are hearing it—they listen. However, also a section has huge capitals that do not listen to these words very much. Their accountability is with the Blessed and Almighty God. God endorse all of you and you prosper and that all of us together with the government strive to establish Islam and the commandments of Islam. I hope that we are victorious and we shall be victorious. God protect all of you.

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

Letter

Date: January 31, 1983 [Bahman 11, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegram received

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpayegani (one of the eminent Sources of Emulation)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Qum—His Eminence Ayatullah Golpayegani—may His blessings last,

I thank you for the receipt of the telegram concerning the recent issues. I hope that with the sacred and sincere prayers of Your Eminence, the problems and difficulties will soon be resolved and the revolutionary society of Iran by the blessings of the Islamic Revolution, benefits from total security and welfare and the commandments of God are established speedily. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: February 2, 1983 [Bahman 13, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity to implement and follow-up the “8-Articled Directive” about the approach with opponents and transgressors of the rights of the people

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)¹

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

Blessed presence of Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

This is to inform His Eminence that investigations undertaken show that the movable and immovable properties of certain individuals, are seized and sometimes impounded by various means that are based on the general commandments of some of the respected tenets. Based on what has been stated some of the previously mentioned commandments are attributed to Your Eminence, which, in the opinion of this committee is in contradiction with the recent directive. Please state your blessed opinion in this regard.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili, Mir Husayn Musawi]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

About the seizures, the issue is the same that is stated in the 8-Articled directive. Any sort of ownership and possession, transference of ownership, placing in trust and so forth prior to the issuance of verdict of the courts is not legal. If a verdict or order is in contradiction to it, then it is not valid and the committee should act decisively to restrain it. In case of attributing anything to this person, no action is to be taken before inquiring from me because many issues that are attributed to this person are contrary to the truth.

¹ Members of the Follow-up Committee of the “8-Articled Directive” issued on Azar 24, 1361 AHS (December 14, 1982)

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 13, 1361 AHS

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, February 3, 1983 [Bahman 14, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 19, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Freedom from dependence lies in trust in God and willpower

Occasion: 10-Day Dawn in the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Behzad Nabawi (Minister of Heavy Industries), deputies and members of the executive board of the Iran Industrial Development and Renovation Organization and managers and heads of the various industrial groups

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am of the opinion that you and all those who are working on a job must observe two aspects: one is trust in God and striving to earn His consent towards severance of every kind of dependence of this state on foreigners. This is because it is shameful for the Islamic Republic of Iran to extend its hands to others. Secondly, never lose hope in tasks, because everything is not set right all at once and the great tasks are evolved gradually; and this depends on the willpower of man; when a person wills, the task advances. You see that in this same subject of the Revolution, a number of people would question how it could be accomplished without weapons! However, when the nation willed, it succeeded. At present, you should strengthen your resolve and remove such thinking from your minds that the East or the West must perform all the tasks and resolve to undertake all of them on your own. Thank God, our country has a large number of talented and useful youth and there is no person over their heads like in former times to prevent them from pursuing specialized subjects or to keep them at the level of unskilled laborers. Now the field is open and vast for your activities. I pray that you succeed in the great task that you are about to perform.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, February 7, 1983 [Bahman 18, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 23, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Detailing and determining the duties and responsibilities of the courts of Revolution

Occasion: 10-Day Dawn of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Musawi Tabrizi (Prosecutor General of the Revolution), Muhammadi Gilani (Head of the courts of the Revolution and prosecutor of the Islamic Revolution of the centre), magistrates of the courts of the Revolution and assistant prosecutors of the courts of the Islamic Revolution of the centre

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Efforts to earn Divine consent

I am also aware that the difficulties of the courts of the Revolution and the tribunals of the Revolution are many; I also know of their toils that are many because to interact with the likes of those that are in contact with this bunch of men is itself a difficulty. Assuming that a person wants to state a problem to them and for them to give an answer, the volume of this work is very large. I know that with the large volume and shortage of personnel that the theological schools are unable to meet even though I have told them and keep telling them, yet there is a shortage. The point here is that the theological schools were not thinking of these problems meaning that the theological schools were concerned only about those teachings, that concerns them and that are raised by the people because there was no governmental concerns involved to think about them. These issues have started recently and the theological schools are attempting to train individuals and to search for individuals. I am also pursuing the matter vigorously and shall continue to do so but this is however, a difficult task and you must not and you do not expect that these problems are resolved easily when there is a revolution. If some person gives you a reward for instance, recognition, you are working for the cause of God; a person is insignificant, a person is one who says one thing now and something else tomorrow and may even say something contradictory. What is fundamental is that we set right our account with God and not with the people and we should not have any expectation from any person. We that want to perform a task for God should not have expectation.

Decisiveness in dealing with miscreants and anti-revolutionaries

I especially have great fondness for this section that deal with individuals that are anti-Revolution and miscreants and am aware of their toil. In the article that I wrote, I made the anti-revolution an exception and yet I see sometimes it is asked that what about them. Well, I have said from first that they are to be treated distinctly from these issues. For them now there is no amnesty unless they are judged to have truly reverted as otherwise we cannot behave with the anti-Revolution in a manner that tomorrow they again congregate and create a problem for Iran; create a problem for Islam. Islam does not permit this to us. We are talking about other individuals that are ordinary people; individuals that have committed such crimes that are commonplace and normal. However, they must be thoroughly investigated and so on and so forth.

Regarding properties, if the properties are such that they are truly in danger of destruction, if they are not taken care of, in the manner that Mr. Muhammadi¹ mentioned, well, they are to be taken care of. This is because they pertain to religious affairs and sometimes, it is mandatory to perform this task for safeguarding their properties that are at risk; that are in danger of destruction and to sell them and maintain them as pointed out by Mr. Musawi² and God willing, you shall perform these tasks.

The prison is a place for enlightening and education of criminals

About the courts of the Revolution and about the tasks related to the courts of the Revolution, I do not say that one must be negligent here. Here, they must be forestalled with earnestness; these immoralities must be prevented. They must arrest them, confine them and educate them or if they truly deserve to be meted the prescribed punishments, they must implement the prescribed punishments. The prisons must be places of education and training; the people in the prisons must be given training. The prison itself must be a training ground. Well those that are in the prisons should be spoken to and enlightened; the officials should speak to them and enlighten them. It is possible that a group of them have been truly deceived and perhaps the majority of them have been deceived. Those that have been deceived shall gradually reform until the time that calm has been restored and then they can turn back to normal living. However, those other than these for instance a person has committed a theft; a person for instance has

¹ Mr. Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, the head of the Islamic Revolution courts.

² Mr. Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi, the prosecutor general of the courts of Islamic Revolution.

committed an offense, the one for whom the legal punishment is prescribed should be handed the prescribed punishment. The one that has no prescribed punishment must be investigated and be acquitted and set free if required. The one who is sentenced to the prescribed punishment is to be given the prescribed punishment and then set free. To keep them in the prison is an offense and against the consent of God. A person that has to be freed after flogging should not be mistreated and his case must be investigated promptly. Now, too, everybody should know that other than the revolutionary courts that concerns these minor terrorist groups, the rest of the courts and tribunals must clear the work of the people promptly. I also advise and counsel the theological schools to help, for today Iran is in need of help.

Humanitarian-Islamic behavior with prisoners

If you knew that no where in the world can you find a country like Iran or a place where immediately after a revolution, things get back to normal. Now there is a bunch of miscreants. Well, does not America have all so many miscreants? Not all crimes, which are being committed in America, are not committed in Iran or in other places, all this is because a group of pious people handles the tasks; a group of the pious arrived on the scene and performed the tasks. Now a section of these pious people are men of learning while a group of them are ordinary people albeit pious; they came and performed the job and are still there. Even now all the Iranians that were present from the beginning are still present in the arena, even now they are still serving. Considering that there were some disturbances involved, well I thought it expedient to mention some of issues and to tell them to the sirs and the sirs are following them up. I hope that they perform the tasks properly. However, in that same place I said that the courts and tribunals of the Revolution that pertain do this group, I made it clear that theirs is a separate accountability. They must be pursued with earnestness, their cases attended to seriously, and their cases resolved. However, until the time they are in the prison, they must be a humanitarian-Islamic counseling and treatment with them. When it becomes clear that this person is to be given the such and such prescribed punishment, he is to be given the punishment and he must stay in the prison while the miscreant who again reverts to mischief making should remain imprisoned until God wills.

Being grateful and thanking the servants of Islam and the Muslims

In any case, we must all be thankful to—now there is a section that is not attentive and does not pay attention—these sirs who have put aside their jobs.

These men were engaged in another occupation and this was not their job; they were doing some other jobs. They were attached to certain issues; they were fond of debates; they were fond of studies; they were attached to a certain location. Without having any expectations, they came and got busy to serve Islam, to serve the Muslims. Well then, we must thank them and be grateful to them and the Blessed and Almighty God shall also reward them—and everything is from Him. He shall God willing, compensate for all the deficiencies. Man is nothing; for instance, he congratulates you; this has no effect whereas that which is effective is that the tasks are performed well in the sight of God so that a human being is always merited. I hope that God willing, in the same way that the situation of Iran is towards improvement, thank God and is improving, from now on too it moves towards improvement and this problem of the war, too, is God willing resolved sooner. If Iran is left to—whereas they shall not do that—it will do its job quickly; however, if they do not leave it to itself as of now, even then it will do its job.

Deceptiveness of the hypocrites “munafiqin” and the naiveté of some individuals

The issue that everybody was saying that (it could not be done, that there would be bloodshed and so on and so forth), some of the sirs from Qum wrote to me asking me to stop. They wrote that the Shah would stay and it was enough and that I should leave things alone, well these persons did not know the issue and were excusable. On the one hand, they wanted the good; they were excusable but even for the hypocrites! Well, the hypocrites had taken some of them for a ride; well they had taken some many of our youth for a ride; and not only that, they had also taken some of our theologians for a ride. Some of the elder theologians of ours had written to me cautioning me about them. That man who came and who had written the note of caution, I listened to his talks and noticed that he was a deviant man; I understood this from his excessive Muslim stance.

In any case, we must traverse this path to its final destination. We should not despair and you, too, should not pursue and expect that the foreigners congratulate you or the Iranians. They shall be hostile towards us until the end and we must not pay any attention to these animosities. They have everything; we have God on our side. This means that we have everything while they have nothing. So far, too, the Blessed and Almighty God has favored us and until now, too, thank God, we have not seen any bad in the manner that it is seen in other revolutions. We have not seen anything like the throwing into the sea of millions and millions and such things. This is

because the people were involved; Islam was involved; this people sent a message. Sometimes I attribute the narrative that has been quoted to the likes of Muhammad-Rida wherein it states that, "Always, this religion is endorsed by means of an immoral and sinful man."¹ These corrupt rulers carried the job to where suddenly a revolution was achieved. This is yet another endorsement; it is an endorsement of religion; this is a reaction. It does a thing whereby the reaction is something like this and this is a clear reference to that immoral ruler² who corroborated the regime in this context so that with his evil ways, oppression and tyranny, it caused an explosion. All the people understood that this was not a regime, which one can endear oneself to; that this was not a regime that wanted to do service; it was a regime that wanted to plunder and that wanted to destroy. When the people came to this conclusion—they arrived at this conclusion from their own actions—an explosion occurred. Thank God, you attained victory within a short time and with minimal losses while what you achieved has great value in the world and which is that revived Islam; you brought Islam to Iran. Now let any person say what he wants for it has nothing to do with us. They all speak about us and they also talk about you. For instance, about me they said that—these foreigners wrote at one time—I am not able to do anything any more and that it was the aides that were managing me whereas I am yet to know who those aides are or they say that so and so person has an influence on me. Those who know me are aware that I do that which I must and I am not under any influence. If I were one to be influenced, I would not have entered the job from the start at all whereas they spoke so much for my good until God knows where. Well, when I was in Paris, there were a lot of well-wishers who said that I would be killed; that there would be chaos; that what would happen; that it would not move forward and so forth but we saw that well this is a duty that we must repay. Thank God, we were able to do the job and even now we are capable and we were able to perform our duty. Now also it is the same. Now, we all face with a duty to safeguard this republic; all the Iranians have a duty to safeguard the Islam that you have revived. You removed a regime and brought on a regime of truth; you finally brought down the regime and repaid your obligation. Now, they are waiting to hear what we say so that they do it; now what would be the reaction of the people to this job; what do the people consider to be in their interest and they would counsel the Commander of the Faithful and ask him to let that man³ stay.

¹ *Kanz al-Ammal*, vol. 1, p. 45, h. 115.

² Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

³ Muawiyah Bin Abusufyan.

Later on, he would say that he could not let a man who acted against Islam to remain. In any case, I hope that God grants to all of us the strength to resist and that we become steadfast in the face of difficulties. I hope that God willing, the problems are resolved soon and if I am not around to see then God willing, you see that the problems are resolved and you succeed. God endorse all.

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

Message

Date: February 8, 1983 [Bahman 19, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message congratulating the anniversary and victory of the Islamic Revolution

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I am in receipt of the congratulatory telegram of your Excellency on the anniversary of the splendid Revolution of Islamic Iran for which I thank you. It is hoped that with the amputation of the hands of the colonialists of the East and the West and especially the world-devouring America from the region, the Muslim and oppressed nations live in peace and security. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: February 8, 1983 [Bahman 19, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of convicted prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, leader of the Great Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran— may his benign existence endure,

Respectfully, attached is the list of 1136 convicted persons of the high courts and the convicted persons of the general crimes of the tribunals and courts of the Islamic Revolution. According to the Amnesty and Pardoning Commission, they have been pardoned or their sentences reduced on Bahman 22, anniversary of the victory of the glorious Islamic Revolution. The list is herewith presented to your holiness.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Bahman 19, 1361 AHS²

¹ Based on the authorities and duties invested on the leadership contained in Article 110 of the Constitution.

² Meanwhile, on 12/11/1361 AHS (January 31, 1983) Imam Khomeini agreed with the request of the State Prosecutor General to pardon one political prisoner and stated,

“In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.

Bahman 12, 1361 AHS

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, February 8, 1983 [Bahman 19, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of cohesion of the Air Force with Islam; Divine favors in the victories of the nation of Iran

Occasion: Allegiance Day of the Air Force with the Imam

Audience: Muini-Pur (Commander of the Air Force) and personnel of the Air Force; employees of the Islamic Republic of Iran Airlines

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unforgettable devotion and self-sacrifice of the Air Force

I congratulate you sirs, all the armed forces, and the great Islamic nation for these powerful victories of Islam in this recent Ten-Day Dawn celebrations. It was the sacred struggle of you brethren of the Air Force that was the first force to link up with Islam; and was the first force that turned to Islam and the Quran and that turned its back on the evil “*Taghut*”. This devotion and the self-sacrifice that was extremely worthwhile at that time shall God willing never be erased from the memory of the nation and from the memory of the oppressed. At the Court of the Blessed and Almighty God, you are held high and are valued for smashing this barrier at a difficult time; and following you, the rest of the armed forces also joined with the nation so that thank God, this victory was achieved and the evil “*Taghut*” was transformed into “the Compassionate”. You who at that time were serving the evil “*Taghut*” are from that day onwards in the service of Islam and in the service of the Blessed and Almighty God.

The victory that was attained for you and the armed forces from the beginning of the Revolution until now cannot be regarded as an ordinary feat. You know what a power we were confronted with at the start of the Revolution, a power that was armed in the course of long years. Although they had not armed it for Iran but had armed it to confront the enemies of America and you know that, all the powers were backing it and were aiding it. Nevertheless, this nation that had nothing in those days and was empty-handed, managed to overcome these powers. Of those victories was the link-up of you brothers with the nation. In those days, the nation would chant the slogan of brotherhood and you accepted and today you are engaged in a

sacred struggle alongside your brothers. We must all know that the nation and all the military strata and the armed forces did this in order to implement the commandments of God and in order to get rid of Satan and the evil “*Taghut*” regime and to replace them with the cry of “*Allahu Akbar*”. The Islamic Republic regime has helped us and you at all stages and has not withdrawn its favors from you. I hope that you and all of the entire nation and us remain faithful to their covenant with the Blessed and Almighty God. If you assist God, the Blessed and Almighty God has also promised to assist you¹—and He has also granted assistance until now.

Divine Favors in the victory of the soldiers of Islam

You should be aware that at every stage that the nation of Iran, the army of Iran, the Guards Corps of Iran and the rest of the armed forces were faced with the faithless while at the same time that they were not as well equipped as them, and they were begging from everyone and were being assisted from all sides and Iran was only allied with the Blessed and Almighty God and was not allied with anywhere else, it was this Blessed and Almighty God that granted you and granted your nation these victories. Otherwise, a force that was consolidated in prefabricated bunkers; that was sitting inside very massive bunkers and were equipped with every kind of ammunitions and weaponry, is forced out of the bunkers and they leave their bunkers and so many prisoners of war are taken from them which you know. We must not regard this as an ordinary achievement and take credit for it. This is a supernatural feat. This achievement is of the blessings that God has favored you with and favors you. For us, all of these blessings of the Blessed and Almighty God are of the highest order. We are all indebted to His blessings and we must always bear this in mind.

Unity in the face of the enemies is the secret of victory

For being thankful for this blessing, the Blessed and Almighty God shall increase his blessings. He has promised that if you are thankful, He shall increase it. He shall increase His blessings. Today, you are seeing that all the armed forces, the armed forces and the nation together with the clergy, the clergy with all unite opposite the faithless and this is the secret of your victory. One such parliament that we have now in which the clergy are blended with you whereas in former times if a clergyman was present there

he was attached to the royal court. However, today there are clergymen there

¹ *Surah Muhammad* 47:7: “If you assist God, then God shall also assist you and shall make you firm in your resolve.”

that are of this same people, are the servants of this people, are from the theological schools, and are not attached to anywhere. Today, this combination that is in Iran where the army is blended with the Guards Corps; the army with the volunteer *Basij* mobilization; the *Basij* with all; the tribes with you and with all is not present elsewhere. Today, the nation is supportive; the clergy in support and all are united—it is a blessing, which, the Blessed and Almighty God have bestowed on Iran. Do not be under the impression that this blessing exists in other places; the reason is that Iran has arisen for the sake of Islam. From the start it cried out that it wanted Islam and in order to sustain the honor of Islam, the Blessed and Almighty God assisted you in this task that you did which was worthy in His sight. If other nations also follow this same plan, arise for the sake of Islam, and for the cause of God, the Blessed and Almighty God will do for them what he did for you. What is important is that we understand our duty. What is important is that man knows what he must do. If man discovers his path, the Blessed and Almighty God shall show him the pathways to guidance and the pathways to victory. You think that this fear that God instilled in their hearts is because of our guns! It is because of our power! This is a fear, which the Blessed and Almighty God instilled in the hearts of the enemies at the dawn of Islam, and with the very fear He caused the Prophet of Islam to triumph otherwise they, too, were ill equipped in the face of their enemies. The fact when the cry of “*Allahu Akbar*” is chanted, the armies suddenly take to their heels and leave their bunkers empty as it occurred just recently when I was told that when they attacked, as soon as the cry of “*Allahu Akbar*” was chanted, they fled. The same thing occurred in Khorramshahr, the same also in other places. Therefore, we must safeguard this blessing of God and the compassion that the Blessed and Almighty God have bestowed to us; we should strive so that this blessing perpetuates. To strive is to become divine initially; to serve in the cause of God; to be obedient to God and to regard ourselves to be from Him and our return to him. Following this objective, the second theme, which is unity and cohesion, shall be attained. This is because disunity is of Satan while unity of expression and cohesion is from the Compassionate. When you attain divinity; attain compassion and become devoted to God, pursuant to that one does not attain disunity; one does not attain discord. Thank God, today there is a great cohesion among all the armed forces and I hope that all take care to safeguard this cohesion.

Paying no heed to the propaganda of the enemies

You must never pay attention to these propaganda loudspeakers that are blaring in the world against you; that are blaring against all. Sometimes they instigate the army saying, "In Iran, the army has no role to play in the Islamic Republic anymore"; and sometimes they instigate from this angle. It is their job to do this after they taste a defeat. For a time they show absolutely no reaction; then for a time they say this one said such and that one said such and such a thing. Now also they say that the government of Iran claims what it has accomplished and Saddam says that he has driven them out of Iraq, killed all of them or caused them to retreat and captured their equipment—this is the basis of their talk.

Learning lesson from the capability of the nation of Iran

The governments of the region must understand the subject that if they become familiar with Islam and extend the hand of goodwill towards Iran, Iran can save them from the evil of all the powers. They shall no longer have to fear what they should do and what America shall do. Well, we acted upon that which you fear. We removed a prominent servant¹ of America, we closed down the Embassy of America that was an embassy only in name and which actually was an espionage den and occupied it and we threw out the American spies. We threw out the American advisers and America was not able to do anything although it wanted to do. Although Iran has a limited population of a maximum of forty million people and limited arms and ammunitions, yet it resisted opposite all the powers, it is not afraid of any power. This is because it relies on a single power that is God. When you rely on Him and connect to Him, you have no need to connect to others. When a population of forty million can resist opposite America, opposite the Soviet Union, opposite France and opposite all of them, can any one oppose it! These Muslims that are a billion-strong population but are disunited and dispersed and each of them plays a different tune; their governments are opposed to their nations; the nations in like manner with the governments and each government with the other government even when they claim to be friends, they are lying. Saddam who until now claimed to be independent of America; to be an enemy of Israel; to be an enemy of Egypt and to be an Arab nationalist who only understood Arabism and claimed to have nothing to do at all with America and France and others and had no regard for them, now the matter has become obvious. Now it has become clear that this man was an American as well as an Israeli; and who in their absence entered into

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

secret deals with the Soviet Union and with France. In fact, the thing that he did not have in mind was Arab nationalism. With Egypt too, it is because America is with Egypt that he has relations with it otherwise, he is only concerned with flexing his muscle in all of the regions. From the beginning too, when he launched the attack, they played with him although his own so-called ego and so-called ambition as well as his evil desire was also at work. America also deceived him into believing that Iran no longer had any capability since its army had dissolved and the Guards Corps were nothing to be afraid of and the other people also had nothing to do with these things so all he had to do was to go and occupy Iran and the oil was his. After he had accomplished this, the whole region would be his and he could take over the region. They fooled him with such words. This wretched soul was fooled and attacked Iran and none of them was familiar with Iran meaning they thought that Iran was like the Iran of former times. They did know Iran and they did not know that when a nation becomes Islamic and cries out for Islam all at once, this is something other than what they understand. They have absolutely no idea of the power of Islam. They do not understand, no they do not; some of these that are from our own people and that fled and engaged in sowing discord also did not know what Iran was about. They, too, thought that if they raised their voice, the matter would be over. For instance, a bunch of Communists in Amol would say that if they took into the streets, all the people would support them. Some such foolish assumptions resulted in Saddam's falling into a trap that was worse than a hundred of his own traps. I hope that the Blessed and Almighty God will perpetuate His blessings and that we serve Him more than ever before and that we unite and become a single hand and that God grants health to all of you. Your valuable service shall not be erased from our mind; you were the foremost persons that linked up with us, you are of those that have raced ahead, and is God willing, of the closest to God.

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

Message

Date: February 9, 1983 [Bahman 20, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Felicitation on the occasion of Bahman 22 (February 10)

Addressee: Nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The twenty-second of Bahman is the preface to the victory of the nation of Iran over the arrogant oppressors and plunderers. Bahman 22 is the preface to the decline of the oppressive machinery of the evil “*Taghutis*” and Bahman 22 is the preface to the rule of God over the world. Bahman 22 is the preface to the hoisting of banner of Islamic justice and the awakening of the oppressed. Congratulations to the great country and great nation of Iran and to all the Muslims, the oppressed and the deprived.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 9, 1983 [Bahman 20, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreement with the proposed criterion for amnesty of prisoners

Occasion: Anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (State Prosecutor General)

[In His Most Exalted Name

A- All those persons who according to the verdict of the public, Revolution and military courts have been sentenced to categorical verdicts of imprisonment or other primary or supplementary punishments—except the sentence of retribution and prescribed religious verdicts and fines that have been legislated according to the bills of the Islamic Consultative Assembly—on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran on Bahman 22 are to be considered for commutation or amnesty by the great leader of the Revolution as follows:

1. Those who because of committing premeditated or non-premeditated crimes have been sentenced to imprisonment and payment of fines and mandatory confinement on condition that they attain the consent of the complainant or the private claimant or have paid the damage and losses sentenced by the court.
2. Those who do not have private complainants or claimants, the relevant court should take action with regard to Act 52 ratified on 27/7/61 AHS of law of non-litigation affairs.
3. Those who because of inability to pay the cash fines and the loss and damages of the government and governmental institutions or other governmental rights are imprisoned provided that the executive court obtains the verdict of their lack of financial ability, the cash fines or the government loss and damages inflicted are forgiven and are freed from the prison. The public prosecutor implementing the verdict can make use of the group of heads of prisons or social workers or Association for Protection of Prisoners.
4. Provided that the crime committed is of a general nature.
5. Young adolescents who are below eighteen years of age and more than fifteen years and their sentences are issued by the juvenile courts or by lower courts deputizing for juvenile courts.

6. Drug addicts from whom the narcotics confiscated is of the quantity indicated in article eighteen of the legal bill for rigorous punishment of the perpetrators of narcotics crimes ratified on 19/3/1359 AHS by the Revolution Council and who have undergone fifteen days of imprisonment.

7. Those who in connection with drugs and narcotics have been sentenced to five years imprisonment and other fines if they have undergone one-fifth of the prison term while the rest is to be pardoned. All the previously mentioned instances shall apply on condition that the convicted person repents and the effects of the punishments are apparent on his behavior as confirmed by the head of the prison.

8. Those persons that are more than sixty years old and based on the testimony of the coroner and opinion of the prosecutor responsible for enforcing the sentence are disabled, aged and unable to tolerate imprisonment.

9. The sentence of those persons that in the former regime were condemned to life imprisonment shall be commuted to ten years and in case they have been condemned to imprisonment on first-degree criminal charges, their sentence shall be commuted to eight years imprisonment.

B- The following crimes and convictions are excepted for amnesty:

- Embezzlement of more than 100,000 Rials and bribery
- Thefts as contained in articles 222, 223 and 225 of the law of public penalty.
- Fraud according to the penal code contained in the latest article 238 of the public penal law.
- Importation and production of narcotics.
- Thefts contained in the law regarding rigorous punishment of armed robbers (approved in Tir 1333 AHS) and the law pertaining to rigorous imprisonment of armed robbery.
- Disobedience vis-à-vis the judicial laws and affairs of the Judiciary and administrative authorities of the country
- Armed robbery and banditry on the roads and highways and robbery with weapons.
- Crimes as mentioned in the law on rigorous punishment of violating drivers passed in 1335 AHS.
- Actions that is contrary to public decency.
- Crimes related to the blasphemous and immoral groups that have revolted and acted against the Islamic Republic. The public,

Revolution, and military courts are obligated to enact the regulations of amnesty, regarding those persons to whom the conditions contained in this directive apply as at the end of month of Esfand 1361 AHS; and to release the prisoners to whom this amnesty applies immediately and to announce the names of the freed prisoners to the Supervisory Council for the prisons of the country.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili, State Prosecutor General]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is agreed.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
20/11/1361 AHS

¹ Based on the duties and authority invested in the leadership contained in Article 110 of the Constitution.

Reply to a Query

Date: February 9, 1983 [Bahman 20, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Law for transfer of title of urban wasteland to Ministry of Housing

Questioner: Muhammad-Shahab Gonabadi (Minister of Housing and Urban Planning)

[... as you are aware that because of the deprivation of most families of the benefit of shelter and housing, by using the pursuant laws of urban wastelands after the ratification of the Council of the Islamic Revolution, concerning the abolishment of the ownership of urban wastelands, has been passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the respected Council of Guardians according to which, the urban wastelands that are not substantial in area be placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning. The urban wastelands beyond an ascertained limit are saleable only to the government. The municipality in order to meet the housing needs of the people and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning shall purchase such lands as needed in accordance with the law, on the basis of price for the area and transfer ownership to homeless families for general use.

Meanwhile, according to the aforesaid law, all the ministries and banks and all institutions to whom the law applies and foundations—the Mustadafan Foundation—the Housing Foundation etc... must hand over their surplus lands to the Ministry of Housing so that are used for public consumption and securing the housing needs of the people. However, firstly, most of the government bodies, banks, and foundations have refrained from handing over the lands despite the repeated circulars of the Prime Ministry. Secondly, some of the clergymen and government bodies have divergent views in relation to the transfer of ownership of the aforesaid lands to the people for housing construction and have doubts about their canonical validity. Consequently, the implementation of the aforesaid legislation is meeting with a lot of difficulties and there exists the possibility of its abolishment, which can have critical consequences in the housing, land and economic situation. Please guide and enlighten us on this subject.

Muhammad-Shahab Gonabadi]

In His Most Exalted Name

Whatever that the Islamic Consultative Assembly has ratified and has been corroborated by the Council of Guardians is both canonically correct and legal.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 10, 1983 [Bahman 21, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: In praise of the spiritual status of the combatants and the position of the martyrs and self-sacrificing individuals

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

Addressee: Combatants and exalted families of the martyrs and the people of Iran¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

With the arrival of the Day of God—of the twenty-second of Bahman—anniversary of the defeat of evil and the army of Satan at the hands of the righteous army of God, if we the writers, orators and narrators were to evaluate the worth of the accomplishments of these martyrs and the disabled in the way of God and their sacrifices, and the magnitude of the ramification of these martyrdoms and self-sacrifices, we might have to confess our incapacity. We are undoubtedly helpless and incapable of even evaluating their spiritual, humanitarian and divine aspects. Those who are unaware of such love for meeting with God and martyrdom and their spiritual and inner manifestations whose reward is this sort of love and who until the end of their lives are like my feeble self, prisoners to the trappings of nature and the satanic temptations are incapable of reaching the lofty summit of these divine and miraculous upheavals. Thus, we refer a priority to some of the evident and apparent aftermath although it is not possible to evaluate them from all angles. If you investigate the Revolution and the conditions that necessitate a revolution by a nation and look at it thoroughly, impartially and unbiased, you shall notice what anarchy and divisiveness occurs throughout a revolutionary country. It takes long years to establish the minimum of discipline and control and at least for a long period, shortages, chronic illnesses and clashes throughout the country and plundering, killings and lootings and robberies and moral corruptions and very many other problems confront it—and this is in case the revolution is reliant on one or a few powers. However, Iran, considering the composition of the Islamic

¹ Text of the message of Imam Khomeini was read out by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini at a large gathering of eminent families of martyrs, combatants and officials of the Islamic Republic who had converged on the “Tehran Mahdiyah” on Thursday, Bahman 21, for commemorating the victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution.

Revolution where Islam was the unanimous agenda and the Revolution was popular and independent, prior to its final victory and while the government of the former regime was in power, it established the Revolution Council with a few devoted individuals and likewise, the interim government. In a brief period, it held several referendum and elections and the republican system was established and there was no news of any shortages. Centers of vice, liquor parlors, brothels, gambling and immoral houses were swiftly removed. What the minor groupings especially, the *munafiqin* who with an agreeable façade joined the Revolution and began to collect and steal weapons and ammunitions and the unaccounted properties of the people in a hypocritical manner and with those same weapons confronted the people, created was defeated in a relatively short time. What they left behind is the same thing, which the big and small countries of the world that are at peace are confronted with such types of clashes and explosions. There is not a day when in one of the countries of the so-called civilized countries of Europe and America and the rest of the continents, an explosion does not occur and Iran is no exception in this case except with a far lesser magnitude. This spiritual and material triumph is indebted to the Islamic character of the Revolution and it being a popular one and the devotion of the people to Islam and to the enormous spiritual transformation that God created miraculously among this nation. This includes very dear youth throughout the country who suddenly and with a lightning spiritual and moral transformation and with the merciful assistance of the Hand of the Divine Truth, delivered themselves from the swamp that was created for them by the global arrogance. It manifested itself through the sleeves of the likes of Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Khan and the rest of the stooges of the West or East; they traversed in a single night the distance of a hundred years. What the mystics and the mystical poets aspired in the course of long years, they attained suddenly and they gave true meaning to the slogan of love for meeting with God and they recorded in deed in the frontlines of defense of the beloved Islam, their aspiration for martyrdom. This massive spiritual transformation at such an unprecedented speed cannot be explained except that it was by the grace of the Compassionate and Loving God.

When I witness these beloved youth that tearfully plead with me who is left behind to pray for their martyrdom, I despair of myself and feel ashamed of myself in their presence. When I look at the numerous photographs of these iridescent and newly adolescent youth and see their human values and divine status, I feel envious of them for being so distant from their status. When I come across the parents of these martyred youth and young adults

and witness that unimaginable courage and gallantry from them, I feel humiliation. I congratulate the blessed presence of the great Prophet of Islam—may God's peace be upon him—and the Twelfth Imam—may souls be sacrificed for him—for such a nation and such devoted and holy warriors and am thankful to the Exalted God for His trusteeship and protection of the nation. Today, the great Islam is witness to the sacrifices and martyrdom that the world with all its deviant propaganda and boundless interferences is compelled to bow down its head and this is a gentle breeze, which has begun to blow from the spirituality of Islam in this oppressed country in the course of the monarchial oppression. It is hoped that the benevolent God increases this divine breeze and bestows it on all the oppressed and troubled countries. May the slumbering governments of the Muslim countries awaken and become aware of their divine, moral and humanitarian obligations and refrain from further obstinacy and become repentant. Otherwise, it may be too late to go back from treason to Islam and Muslim countries and from warring with a country that has and shall sacrifice all it has in the path of Islamic and divine objectives. Today, they must compensate for their past mistakes for tomorrow may be late. They have clearly seen and heard right from the beginning of the aggression of the American Saddam on the Muslim country until now, his disgraceful defeats and are still in a state of blindness. We all know that the style of the mass media affiliated to the global plunderers is to portray the opposite of what is happening in Iran to the world; they attribute all that is undeserving to this revolutionary country that wants to be free and independent—which, too, they attribute in an exaggerated manner.

Today, the world is hostage to world-devourers and looters that are setting countries on fire and plundering them and is also hostage to their associates that sacrifice the interests of their own nations and countries to those of the superpowers. Likewise, it is captive to the organizations that are handpicked by the global powers especially America who with the meaningless names of Security Council' and Amnesty International' and human rights and such hollow words that serve the superpowers. They are in fact the administrators of their orders and objectives and are delegated to persecute the oppressed and downtrodden of the world in favor of the big global plunderers.

We all know and you know that Saddam since the past three years by launching his savage attack on Iran, has engaged in killing and pillaging. From the start until now, he has been holding parts of our country's territory and is engaged in committing treason against innocent people while not even once have these organizations condemned him. Saddam falsely proposed

peace at a time when Iran was being oppressed under the aggression of the bloodthirsty men of Saddam. With this satanic objective, he intended to occupy Khuzestan province as soon as possible and by holding a large amount of oil resources and with the support of the global plunderers, and intended to wreak havoc on the region. This is because the arrogant devil in him recognizes no limits and boundaries and until the region is not cleansed of his existence, it will not witness any security. We all know that every day, the hands of Saddam is tainted with the blood of hundreds of our innocent people but the mass media and the organizations affiliated to the superpowers especially America, go out of their way to praise and support the peace-loving attitude of Saddam. This is while the desire for peace of Saddam and the attempts by America to create security in the world and also the attempts by the other plundering powers and the so-called supporters of human rights are done with the same objective. As long as the world is afflicted with these peace-loving' and security-loving' and supporters of human rights', it shall never see the light of peace and security. The aspirations of humankind shall never be realized; rather humanity shall attain freedom and happiness only by the blessing of the monotheistic doctrines and their true believers and not with the Christian, Jewish and so-called Islamic governments. Those that are dependent and bonded with satanic powers are not less harmful but are more harmful than the superpowers for the nations involved. Lovers of reality and sympathizers of humankind must find a solution to this dangerous affliction. I pray to the Exalted God to deliver the people of the world from the evil of these oppressors and to bestow greater peace and security. I pray that He grants our country its aspiration, which is the appearance of His Holiness Mahdi—may our souls be sacrificed for him—the establisher of justice and equality and peace in the world. I pray that our martyrs be honored with the blessings that are reserved for the exclusive to His Court and to grant immediate cure to our beloved injured and disabled. I pray that He delivers our beloved prisoners of war and missing-in-action from the evil of the men of Saddam and returns them to their own country. I pray that He grants those left behind of the martyrs especially their fathers and mothers and spouses and all their near and dear ones patience and reward and to grant victory to our gallant combatants.

May God's peace be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, February 10, 1983 [Bahman 21, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of creating awareness in the downtrodden people of the world

Occasion: On the eve of the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Muhammad Khatami (Minister of Islamic Propagation), guests participating in the Ten Dawn Celebrations, poets participating in the celebrations, Arabic-speaking poets of Qum and children that were born on the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Establishing divine justice is the origin of the animosity with the nation of Iran

I extend welcome to the very beloved brethren of poets, theologians, intellectuals, and writers who have come here from various countries of the world. You are welcome to a country, which was crushed under the weight of the monarchial oppression in the course of history and the oppression by the Pahlavi regime in the past fifty years. You are welcome to a country that is being invaded with or without an intermediary by the big powers because it has arisen for the sake of Islam and wants Islam to rule over this country. You are welcome to this country that because it is opposed to the superpowers and their influence and has announced its opposition is being attacked by the enemies of Islam that has begun with Iraq—meaning the Baath Party of Iraq—with the assistance of America and the help of almost all the countries of the world. A country that wants to establish divine justice in the world and initially in its center which is Iran so that everywhere there is Islamic rule and wants that the hands of the big powers be taken off from Muslim countries. You know that the big powers from the beginning of the Islamic movement of Iran until now—and especially in the course of the great Revolution of Iran—have opposed it with all their strength. They have caused disruptions, launched a military attack, and have helped the enemies of Islam in launching a military attack in certain regions of the beloved country of Islam, as sin of being Islamic. You are aware that right now a war is in progress between youth devoted to Islam and the men of the Baathist Saddam that have turned their backs on Islam. In addition to the big powers that see the danger to their interests in this country and the other Muslim

countries and throughout the world and in the undeveloped countries, all of them have rushed to the aid of this Baath Party of Iraq. An extensive military, financial and propaganda aid is being given to them. Our country is a country, which, we must say, has no protection except the Exalted and Glorious God. Nations who are on friendly terms with us and that strata of the downtrodden of the world that are acquainted with Islam and are interested in justice and human dignity are being pressurized by the governments that for the sake of enjoying a few days of worldly pleasures have put aside Islam and have arisen against Islam. They are bringing pressure on their own nations out of fear lest they also seek justice and seek humane culture.

Necessity to educate the downtrodden of the world of the problems

Today, the duty of all of you sirs that have come from abroad—your poets, your writers, your orators—is that the poets should communicate the circumstances of this Revolution through their verses. If they can, they should express them in public gatherings and if they cannot then even in private gatherings so that it is safeguarded for future generations of which some of them are the infants who were born on the 22nd of Bahman (February 11) and for those that come in the course of history. The people, the people of the world must be made aware; the downtrodden of the world must be made aware—we should make them aware of what tragedies have been inflicted on them and under what conditions they are living; those that are governing them are of what circumstances and what their financial circumstances are. Those that are of the Islamic governments are spending their resources in what manner and putting them in the pockets of whom at the same time that their nations are starving; their nations are poor and many of them have died of starvation. This is while they are submitting all their resources to the enemies of Islam instead of spending them on their own nations so that even if they spent a fraction of the resources that belong to their nation on them, they would have developed. The poets throughout history must write these matters in verses and awaken the people. If they can the writers should communicate the problems of Iran in their speeches and writings and in the gatherings that they attend in their respective cities and respective countries. If they cannot, they should record them in their books and treatises so that later when the people of future generations come, they see who their enemies are and who their friends are and what their obligations vis-à-vis the friends and the enemies are. If we are neglectful in our publicizing, if we are neglectful in speaking and writing and reciting and

in all forms of writing and speech, we shall be indebted to the future generations. This is because it would be possible that with the writings of you dear writers and your verses they would have awakened and become aware about what all has passed on this nation in this period and what sufferings we have gone through so that they would undertake to find the solution. Today, we must find the solution, too.

All of you and all the oppressed nations know the pains; they know from where they are being harmed and who is dealing the harm to them and which regime is putting pressure on them. They must know the treatment so that so long as the world is afflicted with these criminals and those dependent on them, it shall see the light of happiness. We and you, who are all writers and especially the poets—for the language of verse is the most potent—must create awareness among the people, the present generations and the future generations. If we assume that it cannot be done in public gatherings, then we must start from private gatherings and start with those individuals with whom we are acquainted and inform them of a part of these problems, which has been inflicted on Iran; that has occurred. You must inform the people of the tragedies that have befallen during the reign of the previous regime—and perhaps many of you are aware—of the tragedies that have and are taking place in this period. You must inform them of the manner of struggle that has begun here from the start and that by the grace of the Blessed and Exalted God it has reached to this point and has been growing day by day—you must communicate to them this style of struggle. It is not necessary that it be a large gathering from the beginning; rather small gatherings and few individuals drop by drop can gather and form a sea.

Struggle until liberation from the domination of the East and the West

We started from zero; Iran started from zero. At a time when everything of it was in danger and suppression was such that neither the wife could speak a word to the husband nor the husband could speak a word against the regime to the wife—from zero. Individuals that were and became aware started from zero and this zero gradually became large, and these drops gradually became big, took shape, and turned into clenched fists and that too without their being an organized body and without possessing a single weapon. The people under no circumstance had any weapons but they started from scratch and reached the stage where they grabbed the weapons from the enemies and gradually with their cry for Islam, many people from the army and many factions joined them and they are present even now and are

...serving. Among the nation, also a large group was mobilized and is being mobilized even now.

We are hopeful that Iran will have an army in proportion to its population; to the number of youth that it has. A national, Islamic and humane army that whenever required can mobilize several million individuals ready to serve. Other countries, too, that are aware; those that are concerned about the problems; those that are neither oriented towards the West nor the East; those that do not regard their interests to lie with the East nor regard their interests to lie with the West; those that regard the East and the West as plunderers, they must also begin even if it is from zero. In the same manner that it started from zero in Iran and for approximately twenty years, they constantly came forward and served and suddenly the Revolution came into being; an explosion took place. With the Revolution and the explosion, the regime that was armed to the teeth and was armed by them and all the big powers were backing it, yet when the ordinary people of our country were transformed into divine human beings and monotheistic individuals, the regime was defeated and following it also the hands of America was cut off from this place and the hands of all the great powers was cut off from our resources. At this time when you are here, we are doing our job; our government is doing its job and the task of Iran in a befitting manner, is restarting the factories, and is solving the problems it is faced with one after the other. In a span of four years, we have all the things that an independent country must have. All this was at the same time that we were always under pressure and were always facing economic sanctions and military sanctions. Do not despair of God; know that God is present and the power of God is active everywhere. Refer to the advent of Islam when a complete single person who in the sight of the faithless was weak and downtrodden, arose and created a revolution of such a magnitude that it has influenced the world. Do not be afraid of the unity of individuals and their numbers for the Blessed and Exalted God shall assist you. When you seek the assistance of the Blessed and Exalted God, He has promised you His assistance and the smallness in numbers will not be a cause for weakness when the spiritual power is at work and there is cohesion and devotion to Islam.

Warning to the so-called governments of Islam and supporters of Saddam

At this moment that you are witnessing the men of Saddam are rejoicing and claiming that in this last battle, they say they killed seven thousand and

sometimes they claim to have killed and destroyed fifteen thousand Iranians meaning the soldiers of Iran while we had not sent more than four-thousand soldiers to the battlefield. Our armed forces are right now behind the frontlines. We want that these governments that are assisting a criminal in history; a criminal who came to the forefront from the beginning of the establishment of this party in Iraq and who came with the thesis of “there must be no Islam” to desist from supporting him. How can these governments that claim to be Islamic gain our acceptance; how can the world accept this claim that you make verbal claims to Islam whereas in practice you are crushing Islam and strengthening the enemies of Islam. America that is the enemy of all religions including Christianity; America that pays no heed to religions and only safeguards its own interests and has set fire to the whole world and is setting it on fire, you accept it with open arms in the region and accept its army in the Islamic regions in order to intimidate Lebanon and intimidate Iran. What must the Muslims do with such people whose objectives are based on this subject? What must the Muslims that are suffering from such governments do? Should they remain silent and be spectators? If the Iranians would think in this manner and say that it did not concern them and that they should mind their own business and have nothing to do with such issues, that God alone knows what would have happened here to Islam by now if that regime had remained in power. If it had the time, this inhuman regime would have emptied Islam totally of its contents and would have left a hollow façade or not even allowed a hollow façade to remain of it. It is hoped that history will record the catastrophes that occurred during his reign and the intellectuals and those that are aware of the issues write them down and document them for future generations. It was decided to obliterate Islam from here; they began by changing the history of Islam and wanted to distance our youth from Islam. Narcotics and drugs that kill human beings was being purchased by this same Pahlavi family and distributed by them. It was not only for material profits, it was in order to obey their orders which was that Iran must remain backward for a bunch of opium and heroin addicts cannot safeguard their own country and while they slept and snored, they would empty their coffers.

Follow the path of the Prophet (s) and the Immaculate Imams (a) in the fight against injustice

With His invisible power, the Blessed and Exalted God favored this nation and transformed these youth into mystical human beings that sacrifice their lives for the Blessed and Exalted God and for the love of the Blessed

and Exalted God. Their parents submit their children and this sacrificing has resulted in the fact that although we have lost many of our great personalities and many of our invaluable youth and suffered huge losses at the hands of the enemy, nevertheless what we have gained is the beloved Islam. Islam is worthy of sacrificing our everything in the manner that the Prophets of God had done. The Prophet of Islam gave away whatever he had in the cause of Islam; this leader never had comfort throughout his life. Husayn Bin Ali (a) sacrificed all he had for Islam and at the dawn of Islam, everything was sacrificed for Islam. We, too, must follow them and we are the *ummah* of that same Prophet and Shiite followers of those same personalities that lived at the dawn of Islam. Nations must arise. It is a mistake if they sit down and wait for others to solve their spiritual and material problems, as this will result in their being incapable of doing anything. If they remain as they have been in the course of history and their offspring also be likewise then nothing will change whereas if they have faith in God and with faith in God get busy and work for Islam, then the Blessed and Exalted God shall open the pathways to them. Perhaps history will not be able to write about the pathways that were opened for Iran, that guidance was imposed upon us without us being aware of them. We wanted to do one thing when suddenly we would notice that we were doing another thing and that other thing was what we must have undertaken. This cannot be recorded in history; this is a science that pertains to the hearts.

Poisonous propaganda of the enemy against the Iran nation

Endeavor to make your nations Islamic; awaken your nations and narrate to them the history of the dawn of Islam and reflect therein their efforts for Islam and the subject of Iran. We do not have the means to engage in propaganda; we cannot engage in it to the extent that they are able to indulge in propaganda. All the mass media are in the hands of our enemies and every day they engage in propaganda and every day they condemn Iran: organizations that are all servants of America and its likes, Amnesty International and so forth, Security Council and so forth. You are observing how they react throughout the war that Saddam and the men of Saddam have imposed on us. They have bombarded so many of our cities, killed so many of our youths, and have buried under debris so many of our young and old, men and women; yet they mentioned not a word on these issues—and how I wish they would not mention. Today, they are condemning us instead! Today they are accusing us and based on the accusations are condemning us. Our enemies quote these organizations and sometimes they also forge their own

documents if they do not have in hand anything they organize an interview on the radio or their publications. Interview with whom? Interview with the one who has plundered here and has fled. They make this document and use against us in their propaganda. All the propaganda of the world is against us. It is possible that the nations are also deceived; a group also is aware. The duty of you sirs is to reflect what you have seen—even if gradually—in your countries. Mention the situation here to your friends and mention to them that it is not as if you cannot walk on the streets because they would be killed; it is not that everyday children are being killed on the streets here; it is not that we engage in torture in our prisons and so forth; it is not that we who attacked Iraq; it is not Iraq that has left our territory completely—but God willing, it will leave and it will also surrender. The superpowers cannot save him. I have a fear that if these small neighboring countries continue in this manner they will one day repent but it will be of no use for them. I hope that the Blessed and Exalted God grants His blessings to all of you dear sirs that spent your time in this oppressed country and witnessed the injustices that was done to them; witnessed the strength of our youth and their motivation and their faith in Islam. I thank you and thank you more for being the messengers of Islam in the face of these many messengers of faithlessness and tyranny. May God grant success to all of you and save the Muslim countries from the hands of the tyrants and deliver all the oppressed nation of Islam and non-Islam from the oppressors.

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

Message

Date: February 11, 1983 [Bahman 22, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Evaluation of the condition of the Islamic Revolution on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the victory; reminders to the people, combatants and the three armed forces

Occasion: Bahman 22 (fifth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution)

Addressee: Officials of the Islamic Republic system, the armed forces and other strata of the nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On the eve of the fifth year of the victory of right over wrong and the Party of God over the satanic parties, I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to the Court of the Exalted God for we are all from Him and unto Him is our return. The successive victories are by His blessing. I express my affection to the sacred status of the Grand Trustee of God and the Custodian of God on earth—may our souls be sacrificed for him—who is in fact the intercessor of the blessings and favors of the Exalted Truth. It is his charitable prayers that is behind the nation of his honorable ancestor—may God's peace be upon him. I express my boundless felicitations and congratulations to the noble and devoted nation of Iran who from the outset of the movement until the culmination of the Great Islamic Revolution, and from the Revolution until the final victory; and from the day of victory until today have courageously and generously been and are present in the arena with their heart and soul. They are defending the territory of the beloved Islam and their own country and have placed obligations on all of us. If it was not for their gallantry, there would be no revolution and no victory of this magnitude would be attainable for Islam and the Islamic country. I thank God for this blessing that with His invisible favor, He brought about such a divine transformation in this oppressed and vulnerable nation and granted them victory by the grace of His Omnipotence over the enemies of Islam and humanity. I implore His sacred court to sustain these blessings and favors to this nation and to grant them to all the Muslims of the world. Thanks and bountiful praises is due to the beloved and courageous combatants of the army, the Guards Corps, the volunteer *Basij* forces, the police, the *Komitehs*, the gendarmerie and the respected tribal forces and the rest of the armed forces. With their potent hands—that was being assisted by invisible

forces—they gave such a slap to the faces of the men of Saddam and dealt such a blow to their patrons that the Baath party cannot recover even by resorting to taking any opiate. The miserable commander of Qadisiyyah extends his begging arm in every direction and has pinned his hopes on the bankrupt criminals to continue with his crimes against the innocent people of Iraq and the Arab Muslims and non-Arab Iran and the region. He has become so hopeless and wretched that he has audaciously cancelled out his hollow claims and has become close friends with Israel without whom until yesterday he claimed to be enemies. With America that he claimed to have no relations, he aspires to cooperate. With the governments aligned with America, whom he had with intimidation and repression and brawls emptied their pockets, he now hypocritically and shamelessly has set his sights on them and hopes to be saved by the other criminals of history namely Husni¹ and Hasan² and Husayn³ and Numayri⁴ who themselves are bankrupt. In order to save this drowning and helpless man,⁵ the horn and trumpet of the worldwide mass media—whose blatant lies are now known to everyone—are struggling to cover up the radiant sun of Islam for a few more days. However, they themselves are aware that this surging flood of divine blessing, which is for the salvation of Muslims and all the oppressed and deprived people of the world, cannot be prevented by satanic tricks. This sun of the heaven of spirituality cannot be put off by means of false propaganda. It is hoped that the divine promise to the oppressed shall be realized soon and the powerful hands of the Exalted Truth reveals itself as soon as possible from under the sleeves of the oppressed nations. The divine transformation that has occurred in Iran shall become a reality by the will of God in all nations and lands so that the hands of the tyrants are cutoff from committing crimes against the oppressed of the world and the innocent regain their lost rights.

Here it is necessary to remind the respected sisters and brothers although thank God; they are acquainted with the current problems of Islam.

1. This important subject that I have repeatedly mentioned I repeat again that the beloved and holy warrior nation and especially the gallant holy

¹ Husni Mubarak, the president of Egypt.

² King Hasan, the king of Morocco.

³ King Husayn, the king of Jordan.

⁴ MuHammad Jafar Numayri, the president of Sudan.

⁵ reference is to Saddam Husayn (president of Iraq) who contrary to his claims on the opening days of his aggression against Iran after the *Fath al-Mubin* and retaking of Khorramshahr had pleaded with the Americans and the reactionary Arab governments to save him from further defeats.

warriors for the cause of God, must take note that being swollen with pride of the victories is a great blight. This is brought about by the inner devil in the creatures of God in order to deviate them from the path of the truth and by means of which he intends to weaken the creatures of God in attaining the divine objectives. If God forbid, this devilish attitude occurs in the frontlines, it may delay the victories; rather with the devilish ruses, it is possible it may lead to defeat. This dangerous blight occurs at a time when a person becomes negligent of himself and his God, and regards the victories to be his own effort, and forgets the main source in whose hands are the reins of affairs and whatever power and perfection and beauty is from Him. The beloved nation and the armed forces in the course of this Revolution and this war have sensed that was it not for the divine assistance and the special favor of God, we would never have been able to face the satanic regime that was armed to the teeth and was supported by the global powers. But considering that the nation with a divine transformation based on spirituality started an Islamic Revolution, it was able to defeat that regional power and in an unequal war from the viewpoint of weaponry and generous assistances from the East, the West and the region, all these miraculous victories was earned by Iran and Islam. We must not forget the great victories such as the at of Khorramshahr in which the enemy was lying in ambush with all equipment, in fortified trenches and in great numbers, while opposite them were a bunch of devoted combatants of Islam who attacked them from open terrain. However, it was God who caused such a fear and panic, to overcome our enemies, which they took to their heels in disgrace, leaving behind thousands of prisoners of war and huge booties and the cities. Our beloved combatants must not regard this victory other than it being a result of Divine assistances. If they think thus then it will result in their pride giving way to a feeling that we are recipient of favors of the Blessed and Almighty and have nothing of our own and whatever we have is from Him and we must sacrifice in His path. It is here that God will continue granting His favors and you will continue the combat and the honorable war for the defense of Islam and the Islamic homeland and by the will of the Blessed and Almighty attain the final victory.

2. Now that by the grace and favor of God, the environment in Iran has been cleared of the dust of mischief of the mischievous elements—these false claimants to being supporters of the masses and the people—who with their own hands revealed their dirty faces. They joined hands with the enemies of Islam who were either their colleagues or their masters, consequently, peace and tranquility has been established by the grace of God. It is necessary that the great, faithful and Islamic nation undertake the reconstruction of the

shortcomings that are the essentials of all revolutions. In the Iran Revolution that relied on the infinite power of the Exalted Truth and the lofty motivation of the great strata of the nation, the losses in comparison with other great revolutions was lesser while its achievements were greater. Without delay, we must make use of the opportunity and motivate the country towards becoming more Islamic in all its dimensions. In all the bodies of the Islamic republic system, from the three administrative powers, which are the basis of the system to the seminaries and universities that are the basis of the culture; and from the defense and security forces and other armed forces that are the basis of the security and to the strata of businessmen and agriculturists and laborers—each of whom is a pillar of the economy of the country—this motivation towards Islam must take place. It is obvious that in this great task with its extensive aspects on which depends the destiny of the nation of Islam, unless the whole nation endeavors and participates actively, the lofty Islamic ideals will not be realized. It is only with unity of expression and the efforts of all behind whom are the potent hands of the Exalted Truth, God willing, and the task will get results. But with regard to the quality of assistance:

A. The Judiciary that today is in urgent need of pious, knowledgeable, and virtuous individuals for dispensing religious justices. The seminaries wherever they are located especially the big seminaries must regard this matter as a critical religious obligation. For this important Islamic objective, they must invite the existing religious scholars of the seminaries and from the provincial cities. All the respected theologians are aware that justice is an important subject that in the former “*Taghuti*” regime was in the hands of persons that were mostly not qualified. In the former regime, we were excused because qualified individuals were not admitted in any field leave alone justice. However, today there is no excuse when Islamic justice is to be implemented. It is mandatory for the qualified individuals to act on this obligation to the extent of their ability and to guide and mobilize others. It is also necessary for the respected teachers of the seminaries and theologians and the reverend jurists to restart teaching subjects that were formerly consigned to oblivion. Today, there is an urgent need for them, such as books dealing with justice and testimony, retribution, religious limits, blood money and others. They must discuss, teach, and do researches on them so that in future we are not faced with shortage of individuals such as we are facing today. It is hoped that for the sake of the Exalted God and performance of duty, this issue is given greater importance so that the subject of justice that is among the problems of the Islamic Republic is resolved by the blessing of

the great jurists and theologians. In addition, the Judiciary Council must earnestly prepare the laws related to justice and the respected legislative assembly must give priority to ratification of the religious laws over other tasks so that Islamic justice is implemented in the country.

B. The Islamic Consultative Assembly that is at the head of all bodies, at the same time that it has knowledgeable, intellectual and educated individuals, it would be good if wherever necessary, it invites devoted experts in the commissions so that with meeting of the minds, the tasks are performed quickly and assuredly. The opinion of devoted and pious experts is to be taken for identifying the subjects for the secondary tenets of Islam so that the tasks are performed in a befitting manner. It is necessary to remind of this point that the rejection of the secondary tenets after recognition of the subject by the panel of experts is not contrary to the rejection of the primary tenets because both are divine verdicts of God. In addition, the secondary tenets are not related to the actions of the religious jurist and after the balloting by the Assembly and ratification by the Guardian Council, no authority has the right to reject it and the government must without any consideration take action for its implementation. With the judgment of two-thirds of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, which is a composition of theologians, jurists, intellectuals and the pious followers of Islam, on issues that are norms and their judgment are on basis of norms, with the consultation of experts, it is a religious decree so that opposition to it without a more powerful argument is against logical reasoning. Similarly, changing the primary verdicts, with doubt in the subject is contrary to logical reasoning.

C. The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran which is responsible for the administration of the country and is responsible for taking action in every occurrence, does not have the capability to resolve all the problems in the present situation without the help of the nation. It requires help for administration of the republic system and defending against the invading enemy and solving the problems of the war, which is of a massive scale. Because defense of territory, lives and wealth of the country and safeguarding Islam is involved, it is mandatory for every person to help to the extent he can to ward off the great danger and invasion by aliens of Islam and Muslims. The duty applies more to the affluent and wealthy class and next to the middle class based on their circumstances and not on the poor and weaker strata whose income is to the extent of their sustenance although this class does greater service than all the sections. I thank and am grateful to all my beloved fellow citizens for being in the arena from the beginning of the

Revolution until now. I hope that the Exalted God grants us the favor to be present in the arena. The respected government must pay attention to the fact that in addition to the divine duty that is for the entire nation, the government possesses a specific divine duty that is exclusive to it and the rest of the administrators and it shall strive to be disciplined in the affairs from all aspects. The subject of the defensive war that is topmost priority and the devoted nation regards helping the cause as a necessary matter and in relation to it, the government truly makes all-out efforts, but it is necessary to remind and to repeat in matters that are of importance. It must extend the dimensions of aid to the warfronts and God willing until final victory give the topmost priority to the defense program. Thank the Almighty God; the Islamic armed forces have for the defense of Islam and the beloved homeland, have from the start of the invasion of the insurgents until now by sacrificing their lives, blood and with love for the meeting with God smashed the satanic forces of the enemy. At every stage, they have emerged stronger and more devoted to continue with their courageous fighting than the previous one. All of us and the homeland of the Islamic Iran are indebted to their invaluable services. If it was not for their spiritual and divine power, it is not evident that our country with so many enemies and assistances of the big and small powers would be in what situation. The holy warrior and pious nation that has throughout the Revolution and the imposed war not withheld its generous help to the warfronts and behind the frontlines. One of the pillars of victory is the presence of the nation in all the arenas and especially in the war arena. Truly, this exemplary nation has an enormous value at the court of the Exalted God; and it is hoped and expected that for the safeguarding of Islam and their Islamic country, they will increase the amount of their assistance which God willing, it will be done just as the volume of the expenditure of the government is increasing daily. At a time when the presence and aid of the noble nation of Iran to the government and the warfronts increases daily, a group of God-denying hoarders and profiteers continue with their dirty profession and are not sympathetic to their own and the country's condition. They must be fearful of Divine wrath and not bring greater shame to themselves in the presence of God and the creatures of God.

D. Regarding culture, however much is said about it, it is insufficient. We know and you know that if a deviation is detected in the culture of a regime and all the organizations and authorities of that regime are firmly on the straight path of humanity and divinity, and believe in the independence and freedom of the nation from the satanic bonds and pursue it and the nation also are firm in their obedience of Islam and its valuable demands, yet it will

not be long before cultural deviation overtakes everybody and everybody will willingly or unwillingly be pulled towards deviation. It will corrupt the future generation in such a way that deviation would be regarded as being beautiful and the straight path to salvation so that they accept the deviant Islam instead of the true Islam. They will wreak such havoc on themselves and their country that the oppressive monarchy brought upon the country especially in the course of fifty years of despotic rule. The legislature, the nation, and the pious intellectuals must believe in this reality and take the reform of the culture including the reform of the schools from the primary level to the university, quite seriously and strive with all their strength to block the deviation. A few persons do not have the strength to undertake this immense weight of reform and to make it hundred percent Islamic and national and place it in the service of the state. We are all responsible and must answer at the Court of God and the court of the creatures of God. At this moment that we have a valuable opportunity, no excuse from any person is acceptable and all must strive to the extent of their abilities in this critical issue so that the blood of the young holy warriors and the efforts of the nation and its unstinted holy struggle are not wasted.

3. The authorities and officials of the country have repeatedly announced to the Islamic governments of the region that the Islamic Republic of Iran is essentially based on Islamic justice and is faithful to it with all its existence. It has no permission to invade the territories of others and engage in oppression and injustice and this divine covenant is the principle of the system of Islam and the Islamic Republic. Repeatedly and at every opportunity, it has counseled the governments of the region and others and has asked them to be faithful in observing the decrees of God and the glorious Quran regarding Islamic fraternity and good neighborliness. It has assured them that if they take a single step towards observance of fraternity, we shall take several steps to shake their hands in order to eliminate the superpowers. Several times they have been reminded that if the Muslims act according to the Islamic tenets and safeguard their unity of expression and avoid quarrels and disputes that are a source of their defeat, then under the protection of the flag of "There is no God save God" they shall be immune from the invasion of the enemies of Islam and the global plunderers. As a result, the hands of the East and West will be cut off from the beloved lands of the Muslims because they are both numerically superior as well as they have infinite resources. Above all, they have the infinite power of God for their support while the great powers and their likes are in need. Repeatedly this fact has been stated and been experienced that the super criminals of the

East and the West do not worry about anything except their own devilish interests and looting the property of others and dominating them. They blatantly say that they have interests in the region and must safeguard our interests and benefits! If they help you with a single dollar, they take hundreds of dollars in return. These political visits and arms and military aid are only in order to fortify the foundations of their influence in the Islamic and non-Islamic countries. You and the mass media of most stations whether you engage in malicious propaganda or not and whether you shut your eyes and ears to the explicit truth or not, Saddam and the Baath Party of Iraq are basically anti-Islam and wish to create discord in the region. America exploited the ignorance, ambition and pride of Saddam and forced him to invade Iran. In the reasoning of America, defeat of Iraq and Iran or the destruction of both or Iran are in any case both to its benefit. The wretched Saddam had made some of his own calculations. In his empty head, he imagined himself being the gendarme of the region and commander of Qadisiyyah. What he did not know and will not understand is the power of the great Islam and the self-sacrifice of the combatants of Islam. Because of this ignorance and foolishness, he threw himself into a trap from which no power can save him. Once again, we warn the governments of the region not to trouble themselves more than this for saving a hardcore criminal who if he gets the opportunity will set the region on fire and they should not put themselves in danger. The promises of America and others should not make you negligent that by continuing assistance to the enemy of Islam for possibly it can create an obligation for the nation and government of Iran that we do not like. Until there is, still time, surrender to Islam and its life-giving commandments and save your country from the evil of the deceptive powers. Know that to revert to Islam and peaceful coexistence with the Islamic Republic is in your interest; and the nation and government of Iran are better for you than America and Saddam and Egypt and other tricksters. You must have felt and sensed that the sum of all the powers of the region is half as powerful as the deposed and deceased Shah. The power of Iran today by the blessing of Islam and the presence of the nation is several times greater than that of the former regime. In the same manner that in time of the distress of the deposed Shah, America could not and did not want to help, it shall also not come to your help who are of lesser vale than the Shah was to it. America and the other powers are using you as a tool to secure their interests in the region and if you fall into their trap, then do not take the trouble of rescuing yourself.

4. Administrators of the affairs and the Higher Council of the Judiciary and the follow-up committees should strive to attend swiftly to the prisons and the condition of the prisoners and those persons whose amnesty poses no harm to the Islamic republic and deserve to be granted amnesty, a list be prepared and their amnesty be speeded up. Those persons for whom Islam has decreed a punishment, their case must be determined and after implementation of the commandment of God, if they do not cause corruption are to be freed and finally, the tendency should be based on amnesty and mercy. But with the corrupt and the corrupt minor groups and the immoral, they should be tough except those that repent and it is proven that they are serious in their repentance and they can be set free on bail.

5. One of the important issues that bother me is the problems of the seminaries especially the great seminaries such as the sacred Qum Theological School. The respected theologians and teachers that want the good of Islam and the Muslim countries must pay careful attention lest they be carried away by protocol and numerous buildings for political and social objectives of Islam cause them to neglect the important issues of the seminaries which is to pursue the current Islamic sciences and especially jurisprudence and its origins in the traditional manner. Lest not God forbid, pursuit of the origins and fundamentals result in neglect of the main objective which is revival and development and research of Islamic sciences especially jurisprudence in the manner enunciated by the noble predecessors and the great scholars such as “Shaykh al-Taifah”¹ and his likes—may the Almighty God be pleased with them—and the later ones such as “Sahib Jawahir”² and the honorable Shaykh “Ansari”.³ If God forbid, Islam loses its all but the theology that is handed down through generations from the great theologians remains, then it can continue on its path. However, if it attains everything but God forbid, loses the theology in the same manner of the noble predecessors, it cannot continue on the path of the truth and will be destroyed. Although we know the grand theologians and the supreme sources of emulation and the respected teachers—may their sublime presence endure—pay attention to this issue but the fear exists that if formalities and the glitters resembling the materialists becomes commonplace it has an impact on the future generations

¹ Shaykh Abu Jafar Tusi—of the great Shiite theologians.

² Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Sahib Jawahir al-Kalam was one of the most distinguished Shiite works that includes a course in logical jurisprudence on basis of Shiite theology in all the subjects of jurisprudence jurisprudents.

³ The Grand Shaykh Murtada Ansari who is among the eminent contemporary Shiite jurist and theologians.

and God forbid, that what we fear befalls the seminaries. It is necessary that the sirs that are involved in these affairs and are responsible for these affairs pay attention to prevent extremism and whatever they do is in the service of the theological schools and in the service of Islam and Islamic sciences. Tasks should be distributed and extremism be shunned. I pray to the Exalted God to grant everyone the favor to be at the service of knowledge and the theologians and Islam and the nation.

6. The subject that is always of consideration of all and which has been stressed is safeguarding the unity of expression and avoid differences. We all know what miraculous effects the unity of the nation has and has had. In contrast, what havoc discord and disputes have brought upon the Muslims in the course of history. It is necessary that the great nation of Iran, that has witnessed both aspects and suffered from discord and—thank God—also tasted the sweetness of unity and has felt its miraculous power from the start of the movement until the Revolution and until now, be vigilant and not allow the dirty satanic hands and operatives of global arrogance to enter their sacred ranks and sow discord. Whenever they witness such treachery from persons or groups, they should without hesitation and immediately take steps to prevent them and inform the authorities of the state and introduce them. This matter is of importance for the entire nation and is of special importance to two sections namely: One, the strata of students especially the university students. It is necessary that they with sagacity and devotion to Islam and service to the country, take care of the circumstances of the students and university students so that God forbid, these great centers of training and education do not fall prey to issues that they were formerly afflicted with. God be the helper and companion of all of you.

Second are the armed forces which in the present situation when the aliens have attacked and we are facing the conspiracies of the satanic powers, its importance is greater than at any other time and everything else. All the commanders and personnel of the army, the Guards Corps, the *Basij* volunteers, the tribe forces, the security and police forces pay special attention to this critical issue. If God forbid, these devoted and beloved strata with the help of the criminals and conspirators, get afflicted with differences and each regards itself as a pivot, then rest assured that the devils and the Great Satan have infiltrated them; and it will not be long when all shall be destroyed and defeat shall be inevitable. With their defeat, Islam shall face a defeat both here and in the rest of the regions from which it cannot recuperate for centuries. Brothers' soldiers, beloved of the nation, supporters of Islam and the Islamic Republic, are alert for the devils are lying in ambush

and the smallest negligence on your part shall cause the biggest disaster for the nation and for Islam. The Benevolent God save us from their evil.

7. I would like to say a final word in the presence of the Benevolent God that O God! You have obliged us and on a day such as the 22nd of Bahman (10th February) granted us victory over your enemies. You assisted this oppressed nation and led it from the downhill of decline and hell in both worlds to the lofty summit of Your favors and You lifted this people that were oppressed throughout the oppressive monarchy, to eternal honor. You caused the noble youth of this nation to be enamored of Your love and for martyrdom while you answered the prayers of the night worshippers for we the guilty ones.

O God, do not withhold Your favors from us and make our Twelfth Imam—may our souls be sacrificed for him—to be pleased from us and make us to always benefit from the light of Your guidance. O God! These combative youth of ours who with the love of Your beauty and with hope in Your favor and patronage fought gallantly and broke through the ranks of the invading enemy who attacked Your creatures suddenly and shed the blood of innocent beings. They destroyed their homes on their heads and were worse than the Mongols showing no mercy to young and old, Arab and non-Arab. In a war that was unequal, with one side being armed to the teeth and having every kind of weaponry at its disposal and was being aided endlessly by the West the East and the region. While the other side consisted of sincere and pure Muslims and dawn-rising and zealous combatants that were in awe of You and bonded to You. They defeated them in every region and took a large number of prisoners of war and war booties and relegated them to abasement and disgrace and threw them out of their country. They had no regard for the assistances of the East and the West O God! Bestow Your blessings upon them in abundance and grant them the final victory. Resurrect their martyrs with the martyrs of the dawn of Islam who fought alongside the honorable Prophet of Islam. Resurrect their honorable parents that reared these beloved youth in their bosoms of love and sacrificed them in the path of Islam, with Your blessing with the honorable saints (may God's peace be upon them). Grant their spouses and sisters and brothers and their near ones patience and honor. Grant strength and power to the nation of Iran that brought honor to Islam in the world and created a model country which it is hoped that the rays of its sun-like radiance shines over the lands to the East and to the West of it and the oppressed of the world triumph over the arrogant oppressors.

Salutations to all the holy warriors of the path of the Truth, right from the honorable Prophets and the benevolent saints, to the pious and the

peacemakers throughout history. Salutations especially to the last Prophet and the most supreme of the lineage of Adam, Prophet Muhammad Musaafa (may God's peace be upon him) and his glorious progeny, the last of the saints of God—may our souls be sacrificed for him. Salutations on the twenty-second of Bahman—the Day of God—and on those that made it happen. May God's peace be upon his righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 12, 1983 [Bahman 23, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Theodore Zhikev (President of Bulgaria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Theodore Zhikev, Head of Public Council of Bulgaria,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. It is hoped that with the special blessings of the Exalted God and assistance of the free countries of the world, the deprived and oppressed of the world are liberated as soon as possible from the subjugation of the criminal superpowers and especially from the world-devourer America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 23, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 12, 1983 [Bahman 23, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Pal Lusonies (President of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Pal Lusonis, Head of government of the Peoples Republic of Hungary,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. It is hoped that this Revolution will be a model for subjugated and deprived nations of the world that are being subjugated by the criminal superpowers so that by using the manner of struggle of our heroic nation, they are able to liberate themselves as soon as possible from the enslavement of the world-devourer America and other colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 23, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 12, 1983 [Bahman 23, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Gustav Husak (President of Czechoslovakia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God for the liberation and salvation of all the deprived and oppressed nations of the world from the captivity of the oppressive superpowers and especially the world-devourer America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 23, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 12, 1983 [Bahman 23, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Truang Shin (President of Vietnam), Mam Van Dong (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 23, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-

Thani 28, 1403 AH

His Excellency Truang Shin, President of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and His Excellency Mam Van Dong, Prime Minister of Vietnam,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I hope that with the blessings of the Exalted God and cooperation and assistance of the free countries of the world, the deprived and oppressed nations of the world that are under subjugation of the bloodthirsty superpowers and especially the criminal America, attain liberation from the captivity and rise to their feet against the colonialists and world-devourers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, February 13, 1983 [Bahman 24, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity of the Guards Corps to be a model from the viewpoint of conduct

Audience: Rafiqdust (Minister of the Guards Corps) and the deputies and officials of the Ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Of the issues that is necessary for you to pay attention to is that because the Guard Corps is a newly established body and is responsible for safeguarding Islam and the Revolution, it should be a model from the viewpoint of conduct and have the right and Islamic approach in dealing with all people and the rest of the powers. Individuals that cause disputes should not gain entry into the Guards Corps or the military. The theory of the deviant elements right from the beginning was that the Guards Corps was of no use while on the other hand a group would say that the military must be eliminated. Both of them wanted to deliver a blow to the Guards Corps and the military. Today, both the military and the Guards Corps are good and are servants of Islam and the Revolution. Because we wish to build the country from the foundation and revive those Islamic issues that were eliminated, we must be concerned about the Guards Corps and the military and know that they are connected to us until the end of history. If God forbid, a deviation occurs fifty years hence, we are responsible for it. My emphatic advice is that in accordance with their religious obligation and interests of the society, in the Guards Corps and the military they should pay attention to the issues and shun factionalism and discord strictly.

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

Message

Date: February 14, 1983 [Bahman 25, 1361 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad (Secretary-General of the Socialist Party and Head of the Consultative Assembly of South Yemen)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ali Nasir Muhammad, Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Yemen and Head of the Consultative Assembly,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims of the world. May God's Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1403 AH

Political-Divine Will

Date: Written on February 15, 1983 [Bahman 26, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1, 1403 AH]

Reviewed and amended on December 10, 1987 / Azar 19, 1366 AHS

Recited on June 5, 1989 / Khordad 15, 1368 AHS

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Political-Divine Will (timeless message of Imam Khomeini to the contemporaries and future generations)

Explanation:

[Imam Khomeini finished writing his political-divine will, which in fact is the timeless message and summary of all the wills and messages of his life on February 15, 1982 (Bahman 26, 1361 AHS). He deposited in trust a copy of it on July 13, 1983 (Tir 22, 1362 AHS) vide a message to the Experts of the first term of the Assembly of Experts of the Leadership. In the following years, Imam Khomeini reviewed the will and after amending it, gave two copies of the amended version in an envelope on which is written: "Text of my political-divine will for safekeeping in the Assembly of Experts and Astan-e Quds-e Radawi" that was delivered to the aforesaid centers by my representatives. The copy of the will was delivered in the presence of a gathering of the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran system on December 10, 1987 (Azar 19, 1366 AHS) and the handing-over ceremony was broadcast by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting. At this meeting Messrs. Muntaziri (Deputy leader at that time), Khamenei (President at that time), Hashemi Rafsanjani (Head of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Meshkini (Head of the Assembly of Experts), Safi (Secretary of the Guardian Council), Musawi Ardeblii (Head of the Supreme Court), Musawi Khoeyniha (State Prosecutor General), Mahdawi Kani (Secretary of the Association of Combatant Clerics), Karrubi (Secretary of the Association of Combatant Clergymen), Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini and staff members of the Office of the Imam were present. After this meeting, those present went to the Islamic Consultative Assembly in order to seal the will in the two envelopes. At the office of the head of the Assembly, initially Mr. Meshkini spoke and thereafter, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini handed over the will to him. The sealing ceremonies was performed in the presence of the gathering and the copy related to the Aстане Quds-e Radawi was taken to the sacred city of Mashhad by Messrs. Mahdawi Kani, Karrubi, Tawassuli and Sanii. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini took the

previous manuscript of the will that was being kept at the Assembly of Experts to the Imam.

Full text of the will of Imam Khomeini has been included as a timeless message in the last volume of this same collection (as the final document)].

Decree

Date: February 17, 1983 [Bahman 28, 1361 / Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of spiritual representative in Syria and Lebanon; permission to accept and spend sums of money

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Fahri Zanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Fahri Zanjani—may His graces last—who has spent a long period of his noble life studying religious sciences in the sacred theological schools, is herewith appointed as my representative in Syria and Lebanon. God willing, he shall take steps to solve the religious difficulties and religious needs of their people and make sufficient efforts in this direction. In this regard, he is authorized to accept religious taxes and to spend them in the region. He is authorized to pay the share of the *sadat* to the needy *sadat* and use half the Blessed portion of the Imam—may God's peace be upon him—for propagation of the sacred tenets and lofty ideals of blessed Islam.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors 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 brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1403 AH

Message

Date: February 18, 1983 [Bahman 29, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Sia Capromin Stations (President of Sierra Leone)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Dr. Sia Capromin Stations, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I hope that all the oppressed nations of the world and especially Muslims, with reliance on the assistance of the Exalted God and unity and cohesion, arise against the criminal superpowers and especially the world-devourer America and liberate themselves from under the yoke of colonialism and oppression and injustice.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 29, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 19, 1983 [Bahman 30, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Assassination attempt on the life of the representative of the Imam in Mashhad

Addressee: Abbas Waiz Tabasi (Representative of the Imam and Custodian of the Astan-e Quds-e Radawi)

In His Most Exalted Name

Sacred Mashhad—His Eminence Mr. Tabasi, Respected Custodian of Astan-e Quds-e Radawi—May His graces last,

I thank God that the conspiracy of the criminal deviants from Islam about you was nullified. I thank God that every day these criminals add a black sheet to the pages of their crimes. Now that by the will of God their hands have been cut off from every where, and each of their groups accuses the other one and have despaired of what they aspired to achieve in their imaginations, they have no alternative except to terrorize in order to make their presence felt. That too has nothing except disgrace for them. I pray to the Exalted God for your health and happiness and of the rest of the faithful followers of Islam and servants of the Islamic Republic. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 30, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 19, 1983 [Bahman 30, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Suharto (President of Indonesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I hope that that this original Islamic revolution will be a model for the rest of the nations under oppression and injustice of the world and with trust in the Exalted God; they are able to liberate themselves from the domination of the colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 30, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 19, 1983 [Bahman 30, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (President of Maldives)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, President of the Republic of Maldives,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God for the salvation of the oppressed nations of the world and their liberation from the domination of the colonialists and especially the world-devourer America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 30, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 19, 1983 [Bahman 30, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muhammad Abdul-Aziz (President of Arab Republic of Sahara)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Muhammad Abdul-Aziz, President of the Arab Republic of Sahara,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God for the salvation of all the oppressed nations of the world and their liberation from the domination of the colonialists and especially the world-devourer, America. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 30, 1361 AHS

Message

Date: February 19, 1983 [Bahman 30, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Indira Gandhi (Prime Minister of India)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Her Excellency Madam Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India,

I received the congratulatory message of Her Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. It is hoped that this original Islamic Revolution will be a model for the rest of the nations that are under domination so that they liberate themselves from the yoke of the colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 30, 1361 AHS

Letter

Date: 1983 [1361 AHS / 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determining the criteria for what has been attributed to him and denying the claims of certain nationalists

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

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

Some individuals after the victory of the Islamic Revolution have occupied important positions and have also reached the high governmental positions. In some of their statements and writings, they have attributed certain issues to Your Eminence while some of the groups have claimed that while in Paris they were delegated on behalf of Your Eminence to form the interim government in Iran. What are your blessed views on such issues?

Sincerely,
Ahmad Khomeini]

In His Most Exalted Name

Unfortunately, while I am still alive, many of the issues that have been mentioned by some individuals or some groups and have been attributed in their writings and statements to me are contrary to the truth. Today there are many books and treatises that have been printed or are under print that deliberately or mistakenly are designed to spread lies or make history. The beloved nation must know that the yardstick for the accuracy of what they have attributed and are attributing to me is my own writings and statements that are recorded. My statements while I am alive are either published in the mass circulation newspapers or are proven by two just witnesses of the theologians and are devoid of leanings to political parties and factions. The latter emphasis is because some political personalities justify lies for their own objectives although apparently they may seem to be pious. I seek refuge from evil and the carnal soul in the Blessed and Exalted God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: February 20, 1983 [Esfand 1, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 6, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for spending religious taxes

Addressee: Muhammad-Baqir Tahiri Shahrudi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Tahiri Shahrudi—may His graces last—who has spent a long period of his noble life in studying religious sciences is herewith authorized on my behalf to accept religious taxes and is appointed as authority on religious affairs. He is authorized to spend half of the portion of the *sadat* and one-third of the blessed portion of the Imam—may God's peace be upon him—in instances determined and to send the rest to this person for expenditure for the lofty ideals of pure Islam and for expenses of the sacred theological schools.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors 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 brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 6, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: February 21, 1983 [Esfand 2, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 7, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Khomein Friday Prayer Leader

Addressee: Haydar-Ali Jalali

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

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Haydar-Ali Jalali,

His Eminence is herewith appointed to the post of temporary Friday Prayer leader of the provincial city of Khomein. While performing this great divine obligation, God willing you invite the local people to unity and solidarity and to shun differences and discord. The respected residents and especially the revolutionary bodies and government organizations shall cooperate with you in holding this unifying prayer as splendidly as possible.

I pray to the Exalted God for the success of your eminence and the respected residents in performance of the invested duties. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 7, 1403 AH

Message

Date: February 22, 1983 [Esfand 3, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Paul Biyah (President of Cameroon)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Paul Biyah, President of Cameroon,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the splendid Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God for the salvation of all the deprived nations under oppression of the domination of the colonialists of the world and especially the world-endevourer, America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 3, 1361 AHS

Permission

Date: February 23, 1983 [Esfand 4, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for receiving and spending religious taxes

Addressee: Sayyid Abuaalib Mahmudi Golpayegani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Abuaalib Mahmudi Golpayegani—may His graces last—is permitted to accept religious and legal taxes that is conditional upon the permission of the religious jurispudent and observance of caution. He is also authorized to accept the blessed portions and spend the portion of the *sadat* for the expenses of the *sadat* and to pay them. He is permitted to spend half of the Blessed portion of the Imam (*a*) for his own expenses and ascertained instances and to send the other half to this person for expenses concerning the lofty ideals of the pure Islam.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors 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

Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1403 AH

Letter

Date: February 24, 1983 [Esfand 5, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expression of thanks and gratitude

Addressee: Mahin Muhammadi

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed Presence of the beloved Imam,

Greetings,

Really, what day is it? I think I am dreaming and cannot believe that on such a day the Imam, this sage of Jamaran shall read my letter and accept my unworthy gift. O my God, can I have this fortune? O beloved Imam, with my own money and my own hands I have knitted this sweater for you in the hope that it will be a means to bear witness on the Day of Judgment that O God, I love the beloved Imam and the deputy of your Messiah Imam of the Time. You should not allow the hand that has stitched a sweater for this Imam to return in despair from Your Court. Dear Imam, I plead with you to accept this unworthy gift that has treaded a long distance and not break my heart because I have aspirations. But dear Imam, I would like you to put on the sweater at least for once even if it is not of use and bless it for it is a source of pride for me. Dear Imam, I have another desire also which is to favor me with a few words in your own handwriting. You will make your child to become infinitely happy. I shall thank God and shall make a will to bury those few words with me in my grave. In need of your prayer,

Your daughter,
Mahin Muhammadi]

In His Most Exalted Name

My daughter, I have received your loving letter together with the worthy gift that you knitted with your own hands. One must recount the spiritual value of such gifts whose value is recorded in the presence of the Exalted God. God protect the devoted offspring like you for Islam and increase their

numbers and He blesses both us and you by His own favor. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1403 AH

Permission

Date: February 28, 1983 [Esfand 9, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for receiving and spending religious taxes

Addressee: Imami

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Thiqqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Hudaye Imami—may His successes last—is permitted on my behalf to accept religious and legal taxes and to spend one-third of the blessed portion of the Imam (*a*) and half of the portion of the *sadat* for his own expenses and the ascertained instances. He is required to send the other half to this person for expenses concerning the lofty ideals of the pure Islam.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors 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 brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1403 AH

Message

Date: March 3, 1983 [Esfand 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH

His Excellency Mr. Shadhli Bin Jadid, President of Algeria,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. Unfortunately many of the reactionary leaders of the region who regard themselves as the rulers of Muslims, instead of supporting this genuine Revolution that is the protector of Islam and reviver of the lost glory of Muslims, have all risen in conspiracy against us. They do not withhold every kind of material and military assistance to our enemies and make every effort towards our isolation. A case in point is their unconditional assistances to the Baath Party of Iraq and to the criminal Saddam. More unfortunate is that despite these assistances some are also assisting in the continuation of the war and bloodshed by remaining indifferent, talk of peace and halting the war while they are fully aware of the aggressor and the criminal, and are encouraging them. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 3, 1983 [Esfand 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Yutsay Deniyal (President of Mongolia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Yutsay Deniyal, President of Peoples Republic of Mongolia,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God to liberate all the deprived and oppressed nations of the world from the evil of oppressors especially the world-devourer America.

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

Message

Date: March 3, 1983 [Esfand 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Head of State of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Head of State of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God to liberate all the deprived and oppressed nations of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH

Message

Date: March 3, 1983 [Esfand 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Eric Honecker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Eric Honecker, Head of state of the German Democratic Republic,

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I pray to the Exalted God to liberate all the deprived and oppressed nations of the world from the domination of the oppressive superpowers especially the world-devourer America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH

Message

Date: March 3, 1983 [Esfand 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Jaywardane (President of Sri Lanka)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH

His Excellency Mr. Jaywardane, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution and in support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for which I thank you. I am optimistic that the genuine Islamic Revolution that has been the fruit of the revolt of the deprived masses of the Muslims of Iran will be a model for the rest of the deprived and oppressed Muslim nations and they liberate themselves from the domination of the enemies of Islam and their handpicked stooges. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 3, 1983 [Esfand 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi (President of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I received the congratulatory message of His Excellency on the anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran for which I thank you. Unfortunately, this genuine and Islamic Revolution that has sprung from the spirit of the sacred tenets of the glorious Quran and the beloved Islam and depends on the deprived and Muslim masses of all the world and belongs to them, has become the target of the hostilities and opposition of many of the reactionary rulers of the region. They regard themselves to be the leaders of the Muslims and they do not desist from any conspiracy against this Revolution and place all kinds of assistance at the disposal of our enemies. The imposed war of Saddam is a case in point. With their generous material and military aid to the declining regime of Iraq, they are becoming obstacles to the ending of the war and the salvation of the deprived people of Iraq from the evil of the bloodthirsty regime. I pray to the Almighty God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and the extermination of the enemies. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1403 AH

Message

Date: March 6, 1983 [Esfand 15, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message for the New Christian Year

Addressee: Ahmad Sekotoreh (President of Guinea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ahmad Sekotoreh, President of the Revolutionary Peoples Republic of Guinea,

I thank you for the congratulatory message on the occasion of the new Christian year. I pray to the Almighty God for the peace and prosperity of all the deprived nations and for their salvation from the domination of the global plunderers, especially from the criminal America. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1403 AH

Permission

Date: March 8, 1983 [Esfand 17, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for receiving and spending religious taxes

Addressee: Muhammad Buhrani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1403 AH /

Esfand 17, 1361 AHS

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Buhrani—may His graces last—is permitted on behalf of me to supervise affairs related to religious canons, accept religious taxes, and use them at his own discretion in an economically expedient manner. He is to use one-third of the surplus of the portion of the Imam (*a*) and half of the portion of the honorable *sadats* in instances approved locally and to send the remaining to this person for expenditures related to the lofty ideals of the pure Islam.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors 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 brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini.

Statements

Date: March 9, 1983 [Esfand 18, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Decisiveness in the workings of the courts

Addressee: Sayyid Jafar Karimi (Head of the Supreme Court of the Defense Prosecutors)

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

[Head of the Supreme Court of the Defense prosecutors at a meeting with Imam Khomeini while presenting a report on the situation of the court and its problems said, “Unfortunately some of the sirs do not cooperate in answering the questions and excessively delay in giving answers. I hope for the implementation of the eight-point program of the Imam of the *ummah* this limited number of judges also cooperates like the rest. At this meeting, Imam Khomeini stated:]

...you continue with your job with resolve and no one has the right to challenge the court and in case any person disrupts the work of this court, introduce him so that he is dealt with in accordance with the law and the canons.

Speech

Date: March 13, 1983 [Esfand 22, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Conspiracy to unveil women during the reign of Rida Khan

Audience: Women members of "Farvardin 12 Institute" of Qum and Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Leading astray the youth in the name of civilization

I must thank the respected women of Qum and the respected audience that have come here today and I am grateful to them. Perhaps I am better aware of the problems that occurred in this country during the reign of the father and son in this country. There are few who witnessed these issues to the extent that I did perhaps because they did not live as long.

Most of you women do not remember those days and perhaps there are very few among you that remembers that unfortunate period. In that period, on the pretext that they wanted to activate half the population of Iran, that criminal tyrant¹ committed a heinous crime, which was to unveil women; and instead of activating half the population of Iran, he deactivated largely that other half also which consisted of the men. These dolls that they crafted and placed in all the offices and in all the streets so that those that were in the offices caused the rest who were employed in the offices to refrain from work while those that were left on the streets corrupted our youth and caused them to become inactive. In their own words, they wanted to import the Eastern civilization into Iran and with the situation that they created, they even destroyed the great Islamic civilization. Thank God, in the holy city of Qum, the women and women resisted in such a way that they gave them a punch to their mouths and in Tehran and the rest of the cities, the majority of the women were opposed to it and they hit back. The same number of dolls that they themselves had arranged for was enough to corrupt Iran; was enough to corrupt our youth whether boys or girls. The Blessed and Almighty God did a favor to our nation and rescued it and the women from the plots that they had hatched. What positive work did the women who came out and entered the society during the reign of the Father and Son do? Compare now with that time.

¹ Rida Khan Pahlavi.

Valuable activities of women in various fields

Now Iran has almost become a school and in every part of Iran, one sees the women engaging in Islamic, religious and even political activities while safeguarding their chastity, while safeguarding their honor. Throughout the period when they were abandoned among the people, they only caused immorality. While in this short period, these ladies engaged in so many activities, a sample of which you are witnessing in Qum—and there are many such specimens in other cities too. Of course, I must thank the residents of Qum and the illustrious ladies of Qum that at such a time when we are plagued with superpowers and corrupt powers and Iran is being attacked from every direction, behind the frontlines, you ladies are engaging in the same activities as the combatants in the frontlines. In the same way that they are engaged in activity, you too are engaged in activity. One way is self-building and building our youth and the young women while one path is the path of providing support to those that are serving on the warfronts. This is an issue that deserves many thanks and is extremely valuable and is more worthy in the sight of Almighty God. Every task that a person is engaged in especially Islamic and humanitarian is worthy. Of course, a group out of jealousy or competitiveness or because they are deviant and so forth oppose such tasks. You must not expect all the people and the women that are working in this institute and are the managers of this institute and those that are employed in this institute and those that are studying in this institute to agree with you. There are individuals among them that cannot see these Islamic issues. Some of them regard Islamic matters as issues that because they are opposed to the civilization of the East and the civilization of the West, for this reason they are reactionary. They regard progress to be either affiliated to the West and be Westernized or to the East and be Orientals. Today that Iran has shunned both these groups and is inclined neither towards the East nor towards the West and wants to lead a humanitarian life, and wants to start a life that is worthy and honorable, they are causing disruptions. However, those that are causing disruptions if they are Muslims—this is a great service that these ladies and these women are doing and is a worthy service in the presence of God—it is among the cardinal sins to cause disruptions in these matters. If they are not devoted to Islam and want to engage in prostitution, then they should know that the season for prostitution is over. The women of Iran shall no longer allow you to engage in what you were doing in the past and pursue such things. I must thank all of you. Of course, thank God, you are busy with religious activities and there is also political opinions among you and among the women of Iran, there is both

religious opinions and political opinions. Those barriers that were restraining you from political and religious activities have been eliminated. I am optimistic that you shall reach a level where each of you is able to train a number of people. God willing, Iran becomes an Iran that is alive, an Iran that is eternal, an Iran that is resistant to the East and the West and vis-à-vis those that are in confrontation with us.

Non-alignment of countries in relation to the big powers

However, let me speak a word about the issues that have cropped up in these times. One of the issues is the conference of the so-called non-aligned leaders. The conference that the founders of the movement started was composed of individuals that were very devoted to Islam and to their own countries and were independent of the big powers. But today they are composed of various types; many of them are non-aligned while some of them are those that if they were to be non-aligned, then we must not be having aligned. If the Jordanian Husayn¹ and Hasan² and Husni Mubarak³ and their likes are non-aligned, then all are non-aligned; thus, we must not say one group is aligned and one group is non-aligned. Of the tasks that this non-aligned conference must perform and which is of utmost importance, and it must undertake it even later on, is that it separate the aligned from the non-aligned. They should not allow every person who claims to be non-aligned in their ranks. It is possible that there are individuals that are more dependent and are slaves of the East and the West than the existing aligned ones and if they enter this group, penetrate, and gain influence among them, they shall deviate from the path and cause others to deviate.

Need to clean out the dependent elements from the non-aligned countries

These non-aligned countries must first separate these countries that want to be independent, these countries that want to make themselves non-aligned. They must first clean their assembly, their conference, their movement of those elements that in the name of non-alignment infiltrated them and want to serve either America—the majority are such—or the Soviet Union that also has a large following. If they join your ranks, they will not allow you to remain non-aligned; they will not permit you to work for the weaker countries; they will not permit you to end your dependence from those countries. They are ahead of you in sloganeering. You see in the conference

¹ King Husayn of Jordan.

² King Hasan of Morocco.

³ Husni Mubarak, the President of Egypt.

that was held a few days ago and has concluded, one of those that supported it was America, an America that wants to dominate the whole world! If it had been apprehensive of this conference lest the conference issue a statement against it, it would have never praised it, but they praised it. This is because they are confident of the individuals that have entered this conference like Husayn of Jordan and Husni Mubarak and their likes and Saddam. They have gained entry in the name of being non-aligned; and these non-aligned want that you, too, should become non-aligned like them. If you truly want to remain a non-aligned group, leaders of the non-aligned movement and practice your policy of non-alignment, then the topmost priority is to cleanse it. If there is a single corrupt person among you, he shall not permit you to do your job. You must first banish the likes of these, Saddam, Husayn, Husni and Hasan from your regular members so that you can organize a proper conference and be a non-aligned movement. Otherwise, once every few years you gather with all that much trouble, expenses and problems, you do not do anything beyond proposing a single issue and discussing it and then not taking action. This is because those that have infiltrated your ranks are not allowing the performance of tasks.

Non-alignment of Iran in relation to the big powers

The topmost priority should be to push them aside and take the seat yourself. In the same way that Iran does not extend its hands towards anyone in these past few years and has remained independent and both its women and men are resisting vis-à-vis America, the Soviet Union and vis-à-vis any transgressor. They are truly non-aligned; they neither have cultural dependence nor military dependence and nor any other dependence. However, if there is a place that says they do not have military dependence but have cultural dependence, in that case the cultural dependence is worse than military dependence, it is dependence not alignment. Those that say aligned and non-aligned are dependent and are the chained slaves of some of them. If you do not want to be dependant, you must change from the grassroots; you must not align from the military aspect alone. You must be non-aligned and non-dependent in industry, culture and in all matters that are required by a country. If it becomes thus, then you are non-aligned and can stand on your own feet. If these individuals enter your ranks then they will not allow you to remain non-aligned and they will make you dependent and make it worse than alignment for you because alignment is mutual whereby one party makes a commitment for the other party and the other party makes a commitment for that one. However, they want to make you dependant and

unquestionably and in the same manner that they themselves are dependant and are working for them whereby they place all the wealth of their own countries with all those poor people that are living throughout their respective into the pockets of the superpowers. When they enter in your midst, they will do the same thing with you. I hope that the truly non-aligned reflect on this and throw out these corrupt leftover persons so that they are able to do something for their own countries and for their oppressed nations.

May God grant all of you with health and prosperity. May he make all of we and you to become active in the path of serving the oppressed; in the path of serving the poor; in the path of imparting literacy; in the path of education; in the path of training and God willing you all be in the trust of God.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Letter

Date: March 16, 1983 [Esfand 25, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a loving letter of a school student

Addressee: Hamid-Rida Imtihani (fourth grade student of Taliqani Primary School)

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

Letter to the beloved Imam:

While expressing greetings of peace, I pray to God for your good health. I hope you are in the best of health.

O Imam, you are the only aspiration of our country and I always pray for you. It was you that defeated the Pahlavi monarchy and brought about the Islamic Republic for us; and although I am only ten-years old, I would like to embrace you before my soul departs towards the blessing of God.

O Imam, I pray for you and the combatants and I want that if I do not see you, my letter that I have written reach you and you reply soon to my letter. O beloved Imam, I am sending you my photograph and you, too, send me a radiant photograph of yourself.

O Imam, I would like very much to go to the frontlines and have insisted very much but this good principal that I have come to our class one day and said that the school is also a bunker and asked us to safeguard the bunkers. On hearing this, I study very hard and no longer think too much of going to the frontline but I help the warfronts to the extent of my ability. God be with you O Imam. God protect you.

O God, O God, until the Revolution of Mahdi save from harm Khomeini,

Your son,
Hamid-Rida Imtihani from Jahrom,
Fourth grade pupil of Taliqani
Primary School]

In His Most Exalted Name

My beloved son,

I read your loving letter. I pray to God for your health and happiness.

In the same way that the kind teacher said, the school is also a bunker and God willing from this bunker we shall destroy the devils.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: March 17, 1983 [Esfand 26, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Pardoning of prisoners

Occasion: On the eve of the New Year

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of the Supreme Court)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed presence of His Holiness Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, attached herewith is a list of names of 558 persons convicted for common crimes related to the high courts and tribunals of the Islamic Revolution and six convicted persons of the judiciary. Either based on the opinion of the Amnesty and Pardoning Commission, they have been eligible for granting of amnesty or their sentences reduced on the arrival of the New Year, is being referred to your blessed presence.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is agreed.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 26, 1361 AHS

¹ Based on the duties and authority vested in the leadership contained in Article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Radio-Television Broadcast Message

Date: March 21, 1983 [Farvardin 1, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Enunciation of Divine favors in relation to the nation of Iran

Addressee: The nation of Iran

Occasion: Iranian New Year Feast

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I implore the Almighty God to make this new year an auspicious year for all Muslims of the world and the Muslims of Iran. Especially for the strata that is engaged in holy struggle, the families of the martyrs, the families of the disabled and their relatives, the *Basij* volunteers and for all the armed forces of the military and non-military, the Guards Corps and all of them. God willing may this year be an auspicious year for the nation of Iran and bring victory in its wake. God willing, victory be destined for the oppressed nations of the world and the Muslims of the world and we and the beloved nation of Iran be grateful and show gratitude for these blessings that the Blessed and Almighty God has granted them. God has given abundant bounties to the entire universe, which cannot be calculated. We do not have the power to recount all the blessings that the Blessed and Almighty God has given to us but to the extent that we can. The things that the Blessed and Almighty God has granted to our nation are many. Among them is that we were rescued from the cultural and moral deviations and connected us to a higher degree of morality and culture; victory on the warfronts and loftier than that is the victory over the carnal soul that our youth and a broad strata have attained. I am optimistic that this spiritual victory and this control over the carnal self and this control over the demon of the soul shall be achieved. Today, we are flooded with blessings for which we cannot be thankful except to thank the Blessed and Almighty God in a general manner for having granted us such a nation that is present on all the fronts and in all the arenas. God granted us a favor and saved us, our youth and our women from the cesspool that was prepared for them. God returned our youth that were on the verge of being lost to Islam and getting out of the hands of the Muslims. He caused them to become so pious that now they volunteer for martyrdom; while fighting on the frontlines, they chant slogans in praise of God; they recite their daily prayers and at nights, they supplicate to God. We must give thanks for these blessings. Our women however, they had guided a limited

number of them on the incorrect path and their numbers were increasing, God granted us a favor and saved us from those things that were crafted by global arrogance and from the hands of their servants. The Blessed and Almighty God saved us from them; he saved our women so that today our women are immersed in the blessings of God in such a way that perhaps even they themselves are unaware of those great divine blessings that are unlimited. I hope that the Blessed and Almighty God for the sake of Islam grants strength to this nation that is living in innocence with whom all the countries of the world with few exceptions are inimical and may he destroy our enemies and make this day a happy one for all.

The point that I wanted to mention is that on the feasts, that Islam has favored us with, in all of the feasts, one notices in all of them there are prayers and supplications, there is fasting, there is mention of God. In this feast, too, which is a national feast and is not Islamic but Islam is also not opposed to it, again we notice that in the narratives it mentions that one of the rituals is fasting, one of the rituals of today is to supplicate, to recite prayers. This teaches us that if a nation wants to follow the right path and wants to safeguard its independence, its freedom, it must on its feasts and other times mention God, remember God and live for God. Even on the day of the feasts, there is the command albeit a non-obligatory command to fasting. Fasting is prescribed in order that a person cuts himself off from his lusts and devotes himself to the Blessed and Almighty God. This is because for every step forward that we take towards victory; for every step forward that we take for building our country, we must take a few steps for building ourselves; for victory over our carnal self; for victory over the demon within ourselves.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God grants His abundant bounties to this nation, to our beloved youth, to our martyrs and to all our war disabled. May He guide us with His own guidance on the right path.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 21, 1983 [Farvardin 1, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Endeavor and attention to spiritualities, seeking welfare and palatial residences are the sources of deviation

Occasion: Iranian New Year Day

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Hashemi Rafsanjani (Head of the Legislative Assembly), Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of Supreme Court), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Qasim-Ali Zahirnejad (Chief of Staff of the Army), Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi, members of the Guardian Council, Members of the Legislative Assembly, members of the Cabinet, members of the High Council of the Judiciary and State Inspectorate Organization, commanders of the three armed forces, judges of the Islamic Revolution court of the military and the Prosecutor General of the Revolution, Association of Teachers of the Qum Theological School, Central Council of the Friday prayer Leaders, Association of the Combatant Clergymen of Tehran, Association of the Sermonizers of Tehran, Supreme Council of the Guards Corps, Chiefs of the Police and Gendarmerie, members of the Construction Jihad, Martyrs Foundation, Imam Khomeini Relief Committee, Khordad 15 Foundation, Organizing Staff of the Friday Prayers and Advisory Office of the Imam, Managing Director of Central Bank, Central Council of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq, Iranian Delegation to the Non-aligned Conference, Municipal authorities, Red Crescent, Islamic Republic Broadcasting, Islamic Republic News Agency, Editorial Council of the morning and evening newspapers, Officials of the political-ideological departments of the Army, the city police, gendarmerie, members of the presidential body

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Explaining the services performed for the people

In this start of the New Year, I would like to extend my congratulations to all the sirs that are present at this gathering, to the entire nation and especially the troops that are engaged in self-sacrifice on the frontlines, the families of the beloved martyrs and to the war disabled and their relatives. I hope that in the same manner that the Blessed and Almighty God right from the start of this movement, guided us step by step on the path of victory, He continues with His favors for the victory of Islam and the Muslims. The sirs mentioned a gist of what has been performed in these past few years, but of course not all that has happened for one cannot explain all of them in these speeches and gatherings and nor do we have the power to explain them. I

have repeatedly asked the relevant authorities to explain the tasks of that magnitude that have been undertaken to the nation. This is especially when you are seeing that all the mass media and all the deviant individuals of the world are constantly telling the people of the world that this victory has not been achieved for Islam until now; rather that this republic is on the decline.

Say to the people what you have done. It is possible that these propaganda may God forbid have an influence on a group of people that are not familiar with the issues. What we have heard from the administrators is that in every aspect we have seen that the amount of work that this Islamic Republic has done for the poor and underprivileged classes is huge and was not achieved throughout the reign of the Father and Son.¹ We are seeing that wherever these officials go to and take action, the people there usually complain to them of what they have and what they do not have. They had not even constructed a road for these poor and wretched people and nor a clinic for these rural people and these villages are existing in the most oppressed conditions. In this short period that it was faced with all the internal and external problems, the Islamic Republic, the administrators and the nation itself have worked so hard that it was not expected of them despite those problems. Yet because they enjoy the blessings of the Exalted Truth, those same blessings have motivated the people to serve and thus a lot of success has been achieved.

Efforts for implementation of spiritualities in society

What has passed is more than what we can describe. However, I shall mention what is to be done from now on. Until now many victories have been achieved and those that caused disruptions inside and outside the country have been crippled; have God willing, been destroyed or shall be destroyed soon. However, what must we do from now on? One subject that is topmost priority is the question of spiritualities. We must strive to implement spiritual values among this beloved nation and among the Muslims, invite the people to spiritual values and invite them to Islamic morals and rituals of Islamic culture. Thank God, our nation is well prepared to pursue spiritual values and so far it has also taken many steps but the road is long and the road to spiritual values is such that a person must strive throughout his life. Perhaps many assume that material comforts and having bank deposits, property or owning land or parks and their likes brings happiness to a person; this is a mistake that a person makes.

¹ Reference is to Rida Khan and his son Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

The slums are the source of blessings and not the palaces

A person is under the impression that his happiness lies in owning so many orchards; owning so many villages; having money deposited in banks; being so and so in trade; perhaps this is what a person imagines. However, when we take notice and measure happiness, we see that those persons were happy that were dwelling in slums. Those that are in palaces are not happy. The amount of blessings that circulates around the world from the slums are not found at all in the palaces. We had a four to five person slum at the dawn of Islam and that slum dweller was Faaimah Zahra (s). There are far more humble slums than this one, but what are their blessings? The blessings of this few occupancy slums is such that it has filled the whole universe with radiance and the road is long for a person to attain those blessings. These slum dwellers in their humble slums are at such a lofty level in the field of spirituality that the hands of heavenly beings also cannot reach them. In the field of training, it has been to such an extent that whatever blessings exist in the Muslim lands and especially in lands such as ours is by their blessing. The honorable Prophet himself—may God's peace be upon him and his household—who is at the head of all had a slum-dwelling existence. Do not think that they had a single room like those of the middle-class families of this society. It had a few chambers; humble chambers. In addition, the light of this high-ranking person illuminated the earth and the heavens from this humble chamber and the range of his message extended throughout the world. Although what he wanted has not been opened and humankind cannot reach up to him except God willing, his pious successor¹ and with his blessed hands the lofty ideals shall be realized. Apart from the spiritualities that we mentioned, in these cultural affairs, in these material affairs, in the affairs that inventions and discoveries are present, if you move around the dwellers of mansions, I do not think you will find a single dweller of mansion that has succeeded in making an invention. It was the lower strata that have succeeded in making inventions. The inherent characteristic of the rich is to pay attention to seeking pleasure and enjoyment and devotion to the world and attention to wealth and affluence so that lust and gluttony cannot give the time to think on an issue and reflect. Those that are inventors, those that have worked hard and placed valuable books at the disposal of society on every subject—they were from the lower strata. Wealth and affluence is inherently opposed with proper training; it is in conflict with invention, composing, compilation and hard work. If you travel throughout the world, you may succeed in finding one, two, or a few. Almost all the writers were from the

¹ His holiness the promised Messiah Mahdi (may God hasten his advent).

lower strata and almost all the inventors were from these same lower strata. When we take note of our own religion in which our jurisprudence is so rich and our philosophy is so rich, those persons that made this jurisprudence rich and those that made this philosophy so rich were not the affluent residents of mansions; they were from the lower strata. Shaykh Tusi¹ who is the source of these affairs and the most valuable individual in Shiite society was not from the affluent palace dwellers. If he were of the affluent class, he would not have been able to hand over these books to the society and to train those pupils and hand them over to society. Such a job cannot be done by the affluent strata. When we take note of the latter theologians, we see that “Sahib Jawahir”² wrote such a book which if a hundred human beings wanted to write, they would not be capable of writing it—and he was not from the affluent strata. It has been narrated that when he was writing the book there was no basement in Najaf and Shaykh Ansari³ took it as a gift from Iran to Najaf. He had a humble home and the door of one of the rooms opened to a corridor and as has been quoted, in the heat of Najaf, a hot wind would keep blowing while he kept busy writing the book “*Jawahir*”. Such tasks cannot be expected from a person who is fond of food, lusts, wealth and ambition and so forth; the natural inclination of the subject is that he cannot do so. Everybody or perhaps most have heard of the life of Shaykh Ansari and his ascetic circumstance. Was it not for that circumstance, he would not be able to train those great students and would not be able to write those invaluable works and present them to society.

Clash of nature of affluence with culture of Islam

We must try to eliminate the moral conduct of affluence from this nation. if you wish that your nation should remain eternal and to realize the ideals of Islam in our society in the manner that the Blessed and Almighty God has wanted, bring down the people from that nature that is characteristic of the affluent. Dwelling in mansions, itself brings about this nature. It is possible that you may find some among them also, but they are rare. Take care that

¹ Muhammad Bin Hasan Tusi was one of the biggest Shiite theologian who was eminently known as “Shaykh aa-Taifah” and who died in the first half of the fifth century AH in Najaf.

² Muhammad-Hasan Najafi was one of the greatest Shiite theologians wrote a book on jurisprudence in the 13th century AH entitled “*Jawahir al-Kalam*” and is famously known as Sahib-e Jawahir. He died in Najaf in the year 1267 AH (Around 1845 AD).

³ Murtada Ansari famously known as “The Supreme Shaykh” was one of the eminent Shiite jurisprudents whose two books on jurisprudence and fundamentals are still being taught in the theological schools. He died in Najaf in the year 1282 AH (around 1880 AD).

this nation whose lower strata is engaged in activity and are toiling on the fronts and behind the fronts continue to work hard so that they stay with this same nature of the lower strata and do not have regard for the palaces in order to continue with the proper Islamic living. That nature of affluence is harmful; it itself is not harmful; its nature is harmful; but by itself it brings this nature in its wake. A person who is fully focused on animal husbandry cannot become a human being. A person whose total concentration is focused on horticulture cannot become a useful human being. Those whose animal husbandry is useful for the society do not pay attention to animal husbandry. Those whose animal husbandry is for safeguarding society are a part of those same affluent strata. It is the same with those whose horticulture is to safeguard society. However, when the nature of landownership, horticulture and palatial living is present among the people, it will result in occurrence of moral deviation. Most of these corrupt habits have originated down from the affluent class to the other people. Today, when you notice in your own society, in the society of the learned and school-goers, those that are working hard for the Islamic Republic are those same lower classes. They should go to the chambers of the theological schools and see what is their situation and their activities. They should go and see how the homes of the theologians of Islam are and note their circumstances and their work. They should go and see the homes of the teachers in our society and what their job is. Thank God, today not all our officials are of the affluent palatial class. Our government is not a government of the affluent palatial class. The day on which our president God forbid, pays attention to the palace is the day when we must recite the burial prayers of the government and the nation. The day on which our president God forbid, comes out of the habit of slum dwelling and focuses on palatial living is the day on which deviation will afflict him and those that are in contact with him. The day on which God forbid the legislators form the habit of affluent living and leave this worthy habit of slum dwelling is the day on which we must recite the burial prayers of this country. In the course of the constitutional movement, we were dealt many blows by these affluent mansion dwellers. Our assemblies overflowed with strata of palace dwellers and among them were a limited number of slum dwellers and it was this limited number of slum dwellers who forestalled many deviations and would endeavor to prevent them. The day on which the religious scholars and academicians focus on the material world and pay attention to owning such type of houses and the glitters of the world God forbid, influences them; on that day, we must recite the burial prayers of Islam.

Attention to spiritual values is the key to safeguarding the Islamic system

As long as this nation sustains this condition that it has now which is devotion to spirituality to an extent; and these our youth pay attention to spiritualities; and this great transformation has occurred in them and in those that barter martyrdom with their heart and soul; as long as these are safeguarded, this Islamic Republic is safe and no one can violate it. The day on which the glitters of the world take over and Satan appears in our midst and Stan takes over as our guide, that is the day on which the superpowers can influence us and can destroy our country. This country has always been destroyed by the palace dwellers. The rulers of tyranny who were almost all from the class of palace dwellers could not be concerned for the people; they could not comprehend the meaning of poverty; they could not feel what it was to be homeless; they could basically not feel these things. When a person cannot feel what it is to be poor; what it is to be hungry; he cannot think of the poor and the hungry. However, those that have been reared in this same society and have felt what it is to be poor; they have seen and tasted poverty; they have felt it and so they can attend to the condition of the poor. We must strive to maintain this circumstance in all of us. Devotion to God must be safeguarded in our legislative assembly, in our government bodies, in our holy warriors, in our military, in our armed forces and in our Judiciary. It is devotion to God that causes a person to arise from the hot sands of Arabia and from that center of all ignorance to become the Prophet and to train such humans under such ordinary circumstances, and to establish such a nation. These things cannot be undertaken by a monarchy. It is His Holiness Moses (s) who can get going and stand up to the pharaoh. A person like the pharaoh himself cannot undertake such a task. We must train human beings and not gluttons. Islam wants to build humans. Islam wants to safeguard independence and it is not possible to safeguard independence by devotion to the material world. Those that are now causing destruction for their own nations in that fashion are of those that are seated in palaces and do not know what it is to be hungry. They are concerned about their own interests and are seeing that America is safeguarding their interests and its own interests and safeguards their interests to the extent that they are safeguarded for itself. Such persons cannot be thinking of their nations and the independence of the nations. all their attention is focused on building palaces for themselves and even for their pets. They even build palaces for their dogs. They cannot think of the people and the hungry that are in their own countries and therefore we are seeing that they are taking away the crude oil of these same wretched

people and depositing it in the pockets of America while their nation continues to be hungry and barefooted. They do not have other feelings; they are devoid of human feelings. This attention to glitter of the material world removes a human being from that feeling of humanity; he is an animal that is walking among the people. Try to strengthen spirituality among this nation. It is with spirituality that you can safeguard your independence and safeguard your freedom and to attain perfection.

Duty of the theological schools in training of judges

But the problems that we now face and we must pursue is the subject of judgment. This I have also mentioned previously and yesterday a person came to me from the Judiciary Council and said that at the same time that today they were working very hard and the situation of the Judiciary has vastly improved, nevertheless, they were facing a shortage of judges. He said that at present they need 120 clerical judges; they need clergymen. I have also stated previously that we extend our needy hands towards this seminaries; the big theological schools such as the Qum Seminary—Qum has done a lot in this respect—such as the Isfahan Seminary; such as the Mashhad Seminary; Azerbaijan. Sir! The question of judgment is something that is your responsibility. The subject of judgment is one that is the responsibility of the men of learning. They are responsible in the presence of God; they cannot sit back and watch while the judiciary reaches the stage where the Judiciary Council cannot send an average judge in every place. Of course, we must gradually move towards the condition that Islam has commanded. The seminaries must pursue this matter and find a judge with the conditions that the sacred canons have stipulated. However, today that we cannot reach to that lofty degree, we must not sit back while the Judiciary remains in the way it was before. We must make the effort and to the extent that we can; the seminaries must make the effort. Persons that are now in the seminaries and are qualified for this job and for example they are not engaged in teaching in the seminaries; they are not involved in teaching jobs and such matters, well there are a lot of persons that can do the job. A large number can go from the Isfahan Seminary; so also from Mashhad; so also from Tabriz and such places. We even have individuals from the rural areas because this is a task that it must be accomplished. Should we continue to sit back and wait for someone to do the job for us. Who must manage the Judiciary other than the theological schools; who has the capability for the job? Of course, they must also think of the future and build great pious judges as well as think of the present when we are facing problems, should

we want to delay justice, which is in principle attending to the problems of the people. Well a group must take charge of this affair and can even do the job based on emulation—and this is a duty on all of us. Another point is that the Judiciary must take care that it is concerned with the life and properties of the people; the honor of the people and their job demands. Thus, they must appoint pious people there; they must be upright individuals and be careful not to make a mistake for the error of the judge can cause great damage and can be tragic if it is deliberate; they must be very careful in this job. What I mentioned in the announcement that I made regarding this eight-point program they must pursue with forcefully and strongly which of course they have followed up but it requires more follow up so that the problems of this country are resolved.

Not being negligent of giving thanks for the blessings of God

Now if I say a word that such a thing must be done, when I switch on the radio of such and such station in the night it says the situation in Iran has become critical because so and so has said that such and such thing must attended to. If in the Quran it invites the people to poverty, does it mean that there is no piety in Islam!? The Quran has asked that we practice piety. Well, to enlighten the people even though good is a common thing. The Blessed and Almighty God counsels the Prophet to observe piety. Now if such and such radio broadcast says that well, God has told the Prophet to observe piety¹ does it imply that he was impious? Never.

One of the great blessings that I wanted to mention now is the situation that we endow in Iran. We cannot give enough thanks for it that in all places now, both our Friday prayer leaders, also our people are all devoted to Islam; also the Friday prayer leaders and the people both men and women. These Friday prayers that are held in Iran—throughout Iran—are attended in cold weather of winter, in humid weather, in freezing conditions, in the hot summer in hot climatic regions, in the war-stricken areas such as Abadan that is being attacked daily by the criminals, yet the Friday prayer is being held and the people attend. What is this? What is it that we have achieved? Who has done this other than the Blessed and Almighty God? These are the blessings that God has bestowed upon us.

Thank God, we now have a parliament that shall God willing improve; but we have a parliament that is establishing the demands of Islam. When we look at the parliament, when we see the Guardian Council, when we notice the Government, when we observe the Judiciary, when we observe all of

¹ *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:1, “O Prophet, fear God and observe piety.”

them—we must give thanks for these blessings. We must be thankful that a bunch of this same people, not those high living and aristocratic class but from the same ordinary people of ours have taken charge and are working hard for this nation. We also thank this nation for having supported it with all its power. The nation must thank this government and be grateful; the government also must serve this nation and thank it. The nation must thank these armed forces, these youth that are sacrificing their lives for safeguarding your honor; they are losing their health and are toiling to protect you—you must be grateful to them and are grateful. We must not be negligent of giving thanks to God for the present situation that we have. When we go to the warfronts, the youth are actively engaged in that manner and are sacrificing their lives. When we visit the hospitals, we see the sick in that manner; the disabled, those that have been disabled in the war, those that have been injured in the war have such Islamic morale. What was the gendarmerie in those times and what is it now? How was the army and how is it now? Who were the personnel in the army staff and who are the persons now? Thank God, everything has changed. We must thank God and safeguard this. To safeguard this is that we be together. Sir, the entire world is opposed to us; we ourselves must be together; we are together. Now in the night program they should not claim that it is clear that there is chaos; but a reminder is always necessary.

Stating the moral behavior codes and their repetition

One of the points that has been repeated in the Quran or are repetitions is because the Quran wants to build human beings. The Quran is not history; if it was history, in the history book it would narrate a story that many have written. However, the book of moral ethics must be repetitive. Those that want to state moral behavior for the people must repeat and repeat and repeat until it penetrates the mind. It is not enough to state it once. One of the great points that the Quran has is that you notice the repetitions. These are not repetitions; the style of building human beings is thus. Every page that you open is invitation to observe piety, invitation to be good, invitation to so and so. Another page that you open is the story of Prophet Moses, which has been repeated several times. The story of Prophet Abraham is repeated several times. It does not want to narrate a story, which is enough to narrate once. Those that are not acquainted with the Quran; these foreigners do not understand what the Quran is so they say that it would be good if it was divided into chapters each dealing with one subject. The Quran has descended in order to build human beings; it is not possible to build human

beings by stating only once. A teacher of moral behavior cannot talk about a topic once and then go away; he must repeat a subject ten times in every session and repeat and repeat and repeat until it penetrates the hearts. We must constantly enjoin each other. The seminaries must advise the government and the nation and to them; it must call upon them to observe piety; call upon them to unity; call upon them to self-abstinence. Among the people, when they sit down together they should make this call. The sermonizers are doing it but they must do it more. The parliament must in their speeches build the people. The debate in the parliament is like the debate between two theologians and it is not because they have differences. Well the theologians had differences from the dawn of Islam until now. If these opinions would not clash with each other, our jurisprudence would not be as powerful as it is. There must be a clash of views; there should be a debate on them. In some of the seminaries that I studied in, there was debate; the tutor would say one thing and the student would stand up and challenge him; this one would say that one would say and again this one would say one thing until a subject reached a conclusion while the other students would benefit from it. It must be in this way in the parliament also. there is no fighting involved; it is just an academic debate; it is a debate on moral behavior; it must be taught to the people; however, there must be no fighting involved.

Unity and support of the nation tied to service of the authorities

Likewise, until the time we are united and our hands are held together and we recite the supplication of unity, we exult. That day we shall be obliterated when these are disjoined; one slander that one; that one slander this one and this one criticizes that one and that one criticizes this one—that is the day. Thank God, we have a nation whose hands are joined with one another and no one can harm this nation. This support of one another and this assistance whereby the seminaries help the government, the Judiciary and the parliament while the parliament helps them; the government helps all and the people help one another. This burden that is now on the shoulders of the government cannot be handled by it alone. This is something obvious. If the nation offers no support, if not all the strata give support everything will be in chaos and it is not possible to do anything. The fact that you have been victorious until now is because of the support of the nation itself. The Blessed and Almighty God has delegated this nation to support you. When you do your job well for the nation, they, too, shall support you. When the government does a good job for the nation, they are supportive.

When the parliament does a good job for the people, they shall support it. The people must support the nation and support the government; they must support the parliament; they must support the Judiciary and all serve one another. All must have good intentions for serving one another; and they should know that this service is a worship that has few rivals in its greatness. Today for the safeguarding of Islam, we must shun all those things that are working our minds and the animosities that for instance, we had at one time; for God's sake, we must be together. If it is so, then you shall be safe and you will sell Islam abroad to all over the world. I say this to you that if God forbid, God forbid Islam is dealt a blow in Iran, know that it will be dealt a blow throughout the world and know that it will no longer be able to raise its head again so soon. To safeguard Islam in Iran is now a great duty that is above all other duties. To safeguard Islam in Iran depends on your unity; the unity of the clergy and the people, the people and the clergy; the military and the gendarmerie and the armed forces with the government; all of these together. When all join hands and all, become "a single hand against the strangers"¹ in the manner that has been stated that they are a single hand against strangers than no one can harm us. We shall be harmed on that day when there is a chink in our unity. No person can undertake a coup in this country; no one can in the present situation. The day when differences surface among you, know that on the same day the devils that are sitting there and watching shall create plotters to undertake a coup. Differences shall do this job. We are optimistic that this unity shall sustain and this new year that has arrived will bring greater unity than before. With the blessing of this unity we shall reform both our spiritual values as well as our material welfare and find a solution for these poor people; find a solution for the homeless—find a solution for them.

Striving in the affair of the poor and the deprived

I hope that those persons that are affluent; those that have several homes, those that have many assets do not think that their happiness is tied to these abundant riches. A person that has less but in proportion to his sustenance derives greater pleasure from this material life than the person who has a hundred palaces and is worried day and night for their safekeeping. He cannot understand what the pleasures of living are. There are thousands of varieties of food here—perhaps you have seen in these films for example—there is so much food available but he does not have the appetite to take them. It is not that he does not want; he has no appetite at all. Not that

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 28, p. 104.

he wants to show off that he eats less—he cannot eat. Whereas a mystic who finds a piece of bread and eats, it enjoys it more than that person who has a hundred palaces and is not able to use them. Deriving pleasure is not tied to assets; enjoyment is a subject that a person must seek it within himself and it is not possible except with devotion to God and believes firmly in God. The person that is hesitant in life; do you think that the president of the United States and the head of the Soviet Union are living in comfort? The tension that is in their hearts is not present in any person, in any individual. Each of them wants to gobble up the other. I do not know whether you have heard this or not that when the wolves want to sleep as they are a pack and want to sleep, they sleep facing each other meaning in a circle. This is in order that none of them has their backs face the other for fear that if they sleep with their backs to the others the others will eat them up. These superpowers are like them. At present, America is changing the situation in the Soviet Union while they, too, are thinking of causing disturbances there and all of them have a quarrel over the nuclear weapons. Their worries are so much and they are so afraid of one another; this one fears that one and that one fears this one. We must think of safeguarding ourselves from the turbulence that is present in the world and to be safe is to lean towards Islam and lean towards the tenets of Islam and to take care of the poor and attend to the condition of these individuals that are toiling for this nation. The government should attend to their plight; the people should attend to them. I would like to say to the individuals that own many properties and possess a lot of wealth to attend to the plight of these poor people, if they are tenants paying two-thousand toman rent and you ask for three-thousand. Well lower your rent a little so that they too can live. Do not wait until some force is used. We hope that there is no need for such actions and the people themselves voluntarily solve the issue so that the poor can live a simple life. These wretched poor are content with an average existence, an existence that can sustain them so that they can have a roof over their head. May God grant success to all of you and may He make this an auspicious year for the Muslims and all of you and all the subjugated nations and our beloved nation.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 21, 1983 [Farvardin 1, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The necessity to nullify the propaganda of the enemies

Occasion: Iranian New Year Day

Audience: Members of the Cabinet

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

Having a purely Divine intent in matters

... this is how practicing of piety and good moral behavior was; we know that. I hope that in this coming year—meaning the same year that we have stepped into—our intentions become purely divine intentions so that under the shelter of this purely divine intention, we pay no attention to the differences that crop up sometimes. Sometimes it is possible that individuals that are not too much concerned about all the issues and at times worsen matters, as they want that there be differences, we should eliminate such things totally. Of course, there are differences of viewpoints; this is not wrong, while in practice a person can adapt himself. God willing, we pursue this path and it should not be such that others focus on our weak points and we are unaware of them and be preoccupied.

Service to the deprived and explaining the services

The most important task in this year is that we attend to these refugees very much; and to these poor, and attend very much to these villages. The services should also be told to the people. Sometimes for example, the sirs become “more papal” than the pope becomes and think that this is hypocritical whereas at times this is necessary. What if opposite you, certain groups constantly fill the ears of the people telling them that this government has not done anything; that there have been no changes; that this is just like the former regime; that their leaders are creating hell for the people and taking away their properties and so forth then what is your response? The foreign radio broadcasts had said that—of course used a lot of abusive language against the clergy, the theocracy, and the late Mr. Kashani¹ and to

¹ Mr. Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani was a religious-political leader in the 1320's and 1330's. (AHS).

us and all the sirs and the government officials—no, they want that it should be like.

In the face of the widespread propaganda that is spread everywhere both locally and abroad, well, we must make our presence felt. Of course, we cannot engage in publicity to the extent that they are doing for the whole world is in their hands and everyone is engaging in propaganda. However, to the extent that we can—at least in our own environment against those that are creating trouble in this same environment and creating an atmosphere and want to destroy everything—we should speak out. It is necessary for us to say whatever is essential for safeguarding the prestige of the Islamic Republic to the people and tell them what we have accomplished. The Ministry of Propagation must also pay great attention to this and to all of us. This is not an issue about which me, you and the sir and others have differences. We must all make the effort against this propaganda that is being unleashed against us. We should try to nullify them and God willing, they can be nullified; it can be done sooner or later but we prefer that it is done sooner otherwise it will be done. This means that if we fulfill our obligation vis-à-vis the Blessed and Almighty God, He will fulfill His blessings to us. God forbid the day when we do not fulfill the obligation that we have vis-à-vis the Blessed and Almighty God. God commands that we fulfill our obligations; I, too, shall then fulfill my obligations. Our obligation is to be the servants of Islam, of this country and of these wretched people that are present—to be their servants. The Blessed and Almighty God will help God willing. God willing, this feast be auspicious for all the Muslims of the world and for all the oppressed of the world. That day shall be auspicious on which God willing, the Muslims become victorious.

Message

Date: March 29, 1983 [Farvardin 9, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message for the New Year (Iranian Nowruz)

Addressee: Eric Honecker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Eric Honecker, President of the German Democratic Republic,

I have received your congratulatory message on the new solar year for which I thank you. I pray to the Almighty God for the salvation and happiness of all the deprived and oppressed nations of the world from the subjugation by the colonialists and especially the criminal America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 9, 1362 AHS

Message

Date: March 31, 1983 [Farvardin 11, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message for the New Year (Iranian Nowruz)

Addressee: Paul Lusonis (President of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Paul Lusonis, Chancellor of the Peoples Republic of Hungary,

I have received your congratulatory message on the new solar year for which I thank you. I pray to the Almighty God for the salvation and happiness of all the deprived nations of the world from the subjugation by the colonialists and especially the criminal America.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 11, 1362 AHS

Message

Date: April 1, 1983 [Farvardin 12, 1361 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Six reminders to the nation, the government, the parliament and the Judiciary

Occasion: Farvardin 12, anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran system

Addressee: Nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“There must be a group from among you that must invite to virtue and enjoin good and forbid evil; and they are the delivered.”¹

I would like to congratulate the noble nation of Iran and the oppressed nations under repression of the internal and external tyrants on the fifth anniversary of the official establishment of the Islamic Republic and I implore the Almighty and Omnipotent God to deliver the nations under subjugation. Congratulations because in the past years especially last year, we witnessed the glorious political, military, social, cultural and economic victories. Thank the Almighty God, the nation, the parliament, the government, the Judiciary, the pious strata of the clergy and the university students emerged victorious and with honor and glory in the presence of the Exalted God and with heads held high in the presence of the inhabitants of the world from the melting pot of the examination. At every step they attracted the hope of the oppressed inhabitants of the world in Islam and its apparent and spiritual power more than the previous one. Despite all the difficulties and bragging of the global plunderers and their puny affiliates, they proved to the world that, *“Conquest and triumph are not attained except from God.”²* Moreover, *“If you assist God, He shall send you assistance and shall make you firm in your actions.”³*

The Almighty God has granted His exclusive invisible favors to this oppressed nation. Thus, at the beginning of the fifth anniversary, it is a country that miraculously is free and independent in every respect and has pinned its abundant hopes on the triumphant perpetuation of its humane-

¹ Surah Al-e Imran 3:104.

² Part of verse 126 of the Surah Al-e Imran.

³ Part of the verse 7 of the Surah Muhammad.

Islamic existence. It does not fear any power and has brought to their knees its political and military enemies. Amazingly, despite all the various pressures of the superpowers and their allies and military, arms, propaganda and abundant financial assistances to the enemy of Islam and Iran, until now, the Islamic Republic system with trust in the favors of the Creator has not sought assistance from any government or nation. With the backing of the nation and the courage of its beloved youth, all the wheels of the economy and the military are moving in a merited manner on the route to Islam. If the Exalted God wills and the nation and the administrators of the Islamic system continue in this same manner, meaning be faithful to Islam and its blessed commandments, every year it shall emerge stronger and more glorious than the previous one in all respects. Now it is necessary for me to remind about certain points although they are repetitive and the nation and the government, thank God, are aware of them.

1. All are aware and we must know that till the time the nation supports the parliament, the government and the armed forces; and the parliament, the government and the armed forces serve the nation especially the deprived strata and they seek to earn the pleasure of God in this mutual service, then no power can harm this sacred system. However if God forbid, one of the two or both of them withhold mutual service, the defeat of the Islamic Republic and the great Islam even if it is in the long term, is certain. Therefore, to discontinue this mutual service that culminates in the defeat of the Islamic Republic and Islam is one of the biggest cardinal sins that must be avoided in the same manner that this service is one of the great compulsory obligations that must be performed. Dear brothers and respected sisters, in this period when the superpowers and the powers have attacked us from all sides in order to destroy the Islamic Republic and the beloved Islam, by inattention to duty and negligence, the spiritual and the material world of this innocent nation is in danger. For the protection of your honor and dignity, resort to patience and do not become lethargic because of rising prices and some shortages of goods. The unfair profiteers and hoarders should not think that this injustice is acceptable because of the present circumstances. Today, this kind of crime can possibly lead to the defeat of the Islamic Republic; it is an attempt to weaken Islam. I fear that the Omnipotent God will inflict His wrath upon you and that God forbid, both good and evil burn together and there shall be no way out. "I seek refuge in God from His patient wrath." It is better that the respected bazaar traders that are the active pillars of the Islamic Republic with sensible planning, nullify the conspiracy of these unfair elements that bring disgrace to their trade.

2. At the start of the New Year and anniversary of the official establishment of the Islamic Republic, I expect all the government bodies of this republic from the parliament, the government organizations, the Construction *Jihad*, the Guardian Council, the Supreme Council of the Judiciary and the respected judges throughout the country and the courts throughout the country, the armed forces including the army, the Guards Corps, the *Basij*, the gendarmerie, the *Komitehs*, the police, the popular forces and the tribes—may the Exalted God assist all of them—to strive to implement the commandments of Islam. They must strive to be faithful to the various dimensions of this human-building doctrine, to engage in holy struggle in the path of the truth and self-development and to reform the self internally and externally. With their reforming, the country shall be reformed. In the previous regimes, what corrupted the nation and especially the youth was the corruption of the ruling apparatus that had unleashed itself on the nation like cancer and was leading the youth towards immorality. The most important of all the efforts are the efforts by the clergy and the university students in the path of self-purification and self-development and the beloved youth in line with education to the level of specialization. This is because their immorality will corrupt the world¹ and it will reform with their reforming. The men of learning and the eminent theologians of the seminaries of the land and the respected and pious professors of the universities should strive to bring the universities and seminaries closer to one another. The respected professors and devoted intellectuals of the universities and the rest of the educational centers that have been affected by the moral corruption of the former regime and the miseries that were inflicted by the corrupt system on the nation and their country, should for the sake of Almighty God, and for safeguarding the independence and freedom of their country, strive in the humanitarian development of the youth together with their education. This is because knowledge and specialization without self-purification and training is a blight that has afflicted humankind today and is on the verge of setting the world on fire. What havoc can the competition and rivalry of the two superpowers and their arming themselves with modern atomic and nuclear weapons that originate from satanic and unrestrained soul wreak upon humankind unless some invisible hand comes out and saves humanity.

¹ When a man of learning engages in moral corruption, he corrupts the entire world. Hadrat Ali (s) has stated that, “The misdemeanor of the learned man corrupts the world.” The honorable Prophet of Islam was asked: “Who are the worst people?” He stated: “The men of learning when they become corrupted.” (*Bihar al-Anwar*, Majlisi, vol. 74, p. 137).

3. It is necessary that at this time when our Islamic country is engaged in an imposed war, to remind these defenders of the great Islam and the beloved country as well as the rest of the authorities in charge of military, police and security affairs that in the same way that you have until now witnessed and experienced that it is your unity and solidarity that ensures your victory on the frontiers and inside the country. Likewise, the slightest negligence in this matter and more important, negligence from remembrance of the Almighty God will result in lethargy and indifference on your part so that the toils and troubles of several years and the blood of the beloved martyrs shall be utterly wasted. Paying attention to spirituality, the Divine duties and remembrance of God results in this unity to be safeguarded and this fraternity to sustain. There is a growing fear that weapons in the hands of you the beloved youth will result in conceit and arrogance so that the immense spiritual transformation that has occurred in you be lost and the inner demon ensnares you and urges you to misbehave with your brothers and as a result sincerity and camaraderie gives way to enmity and distrust. That day will be a tragedy for Islam and a painful sorrow for you and your companions and friends. Thus, strive to maintain this camaraderie and sincerity as much as possible so that you enjoy the support of the nation in the same manner that you have been enjoying it until now. God be with you.

4. The Judiciary, the follow-up committee, the other relevant committees, and their branches should strive to Islamize all the government bodies in this New Year. With all in their power, they should not give respite to misbehavior and deviant elements that portray a wrong image of the Islamic Republic with their inhuman and anti-Islamic actions that are either deliberate or out of ignorance. Islamic justice must be executed with regard to them without any leniency. It is necessary to remind that with regard to the rights of criminals and the ungodly deviant elements also the Islamic criteria and limits and prescribed punishments must not be violated which by itself is a crime from the viewpoint of Islamic justice and liable to prosecution. I pray to the Almighty God to grant success and endorse those that categorically and speedily take action so that the Islamic Republic can claim that Islamic justice is implemented fully in our country. Of the crucial tasks, is to attend to the condition of the prisoners and their files. For speeding this process, it is necessary that committees be established for attending to their conditions so that as early as possible, complete reports are prepared about the prisons and the prisoners for the judicial authorities.

5. It is hoped that the girls and boys that have been deceived by the irreligious and unpatriotic deviant elements that have destroyed, and are

destroying their lives, learn lessons from the inhuman, anti-national, and anti-Islamic actions of the minor groups and come to their senses. They should take note that in foreign countries especially France, the ambitious leaders of these groups are arming the tyrant Saddam with weapons of destruction that are being used in the killing, injuring and destruction of Iran and the innocent strata of the Arab and other settlers. They are leading a luxurious life and have entered in a bond of fraternity with the infidel Baath Party and are supporting the anti-Islam and anti-Iran powers. Think a little, should one support those that are destroying the homes of the wretched and oppressed masses over the heads of their women and children? Should one support those that are shaking the hands of a Saddam who set fire and spilled blood of Iran? One is amazed at the human, Islamic and national deviations of those that in order to attain imaginary positions trample upon all those claims to being supporters of the masses and having intellectuals, and being enlightened and seeking independence and being seekers of freedom and so forth, all at once. In the false belief that the Baath Party shall defeat and subjugate Iran and will destroy the lives and honor of the Iranians, with the false greed of attaining something by seeking shelter of the enemy of Iran, they have joined hands with them and sought refuge from them. More astonishing is that some of the youth that have witnessed the treachery of the leaders of the minor groups and have seen explicitly that there is no place nor respect for them in Iran, yet they continue with their childish obstinacy and are sacrificing their lives and youth for their hollow greed. They are unaware that those in France and in other countries are indulging themselves in pleasure, luxury, engagements, and marriages while these petty elements here are putting themselves in danger for their sake. It is hoped that God awakens them and makes them vigilant so that they are saved from the snare of this blight. I advise those treacherous elements that are sitting abroad and are engaging in propaganda and wasting their lives in destructive slumber, that if carnal desires have not caused you to become ignorant, you must know that these rumor-mongering and spreading false propaganda will not get you any where. It is better not to waste your lives more than this in useless activities that further tarnish your image.

6. My final word is with the governments of the region who like the wretched Saddam have become tools in the hands of the Americans; and who in order to gain the consent of America and Israel and to safeguard their interests—especially of America—want to suffer from damnation in the afterlife and death and disgrace in this world. I advise them that in these four years that have elapsed from the life of the Islamic Republic, you noticed that

the superpowers and most of the regional governments endeavored to obliterate the influence of the Prophet and the glorious Quran and they and you supported the enemy of Islam with all material and spiritual strength. However, yet the Islamic Republic is advancing by the grace of the Almighty God and the support of the glorious and thankful nation of Iran with strength and without relying on anyone except the Almighty God so that all your efforts and the resources of your oppressed nations have been utterly wasted. Refrain from this useless and wasteful task and become friends with the Islamic Republic, which is the only big and growing power of the region. Rest assured that America will not assist you in your troubles and sufferings and as is evident from the analysis of the American government, they wish to keep you only to safeguard their own interests. Do not support Israel, this sworn enemy of Islam and the Arabs for if this repressed serpent lays its hands on you, it will not show mercy to your young and old. Repeatedly, the government officials of Iran have announced at every opportunity that the Islamic Republic would like to live in peace and harmony with all its neighbors and to assist the Islamic governments if they are attacked. However, it will strongly resist in the face of misbehavior, oppressions, and Islam-bashing and is not afraid of any power. Because it has arisen for the victory of God and has faith in His promise and is hopeful of His assistance. I beseech the Blessed and Almighty God not to withhold His assistance to the Islamic Republic and the oppressed nation of Iran; and to cut off the hands of tyrants from the Muslim lands; and to grant success in religion to the nation and government of Iran; and to grant them the favor to serve the weak and the deprived. I implore Him to save the Islamic governments from negligence and to create unity among the Muslims. Peace and salutations to the great nation of Iran and the blessings of God be upon the martyrs of the path of the Truth especially the martyrs of the Islamic Republic. Salutations be to the families of the martyrs and peace to the disabled of the imposed war. These honorable youth are the living martyrs of the Revolution. Peace is upon our beloved prisoners of war that are in the clutches of the enemies of Islam and our missing-in-action. Salutations are upon the parents and spouses of them all. Salutations be upon the armed forces and the gallant fighters—may God Almighty assist them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 4, 1983 [Farvardin 15, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Assignment to create coordination between the affairs of the military and the Guards Corps

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President)

In his Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ali Khamene'i, respected President of the Islamic Republic—may his graces last,

Considering the effective and crucial role of the armed forces of the republic in defending the country and the Islamic Republic, and the need for all-out efforts and supervision as much as possible over them and with regard to the devotion, insight and interest of Your Eminence in the affairs of these forces, I delegate your Eminence to take all necessary actions for coordination of the affairs of the army and the Guards Corps and to report¹ the crucial issues to me. God willing, you succeed and be of the assisted.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 15, 1362 AHS

¹ In accordance with the authorities and duties of the leadership contained in article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the leader of the Islamic Republic is entrusted with being the commander-in-chief (and supervision over the affairs of the military).

Message

Date: April 6, 1983 [Farvardin 17, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of sympathy and condolence for the occurrence of earthquake in Amol¹

Addressee: Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Chairperson of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union,

Thank you for the message of condolence and sympathy on the sorrowful earthquake in the region of Amol. I pray to the Almighty God for forgiveness of the dead and patience and reward for the survivors and the injured.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 17, 1362 AHS

¹ At fifteen hours thirty minutes and fifteen seconds on fifth Farvardin (April 3, 1983), an earthquake measuring above five Richter hit the central parts of the Alborz range and the Haraz highway (Tehran – Amol) and also Larijan inflicting damages to life and property of the villages.

Message

Date: April 6, 1983 [Farvardin 17, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of sympathy and condolence for the occurrence of earthquake in Amol and northern Iran¹

Addressee: Eric Honecker (President of the German Democratic Republic)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Eric Honecker, Secretary General of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Government Council of the Democratic Republic of Germany,

Thank you for the message of condolence and sympathy on the sorrowful earthquake in the region of Amol. I pray to the Almighty God for forgiveness of the dead and patience and reward for the survivors and the injured of this heartrending incident.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 17, 1362 AHS

¹ At fifteen hours thirty minutes and fifteen seconds on fifth Farvardin (April 3, 1983), an earthquake measuring above five Richter hit the central parts of the Alborz range and the Haraz highway (Tehran – Amol) and also Larijan inflicting damages to life and property of the villages.

Speech

Date: April 10, 1983 [Farvardin 21, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity to defend the country in the face of the enemy

Audience: Ali-Akbar Naaq-Nuri (Minister of Interior), officials and personnel of the countrywide Central *Komitehs* of the Islamic Revolution

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise for the toils and troubles of the Islamic Revolution *Komitehs*

I thank the brothers for having come here so that I can meet with you from close. The toils and troubles of you brothers and the *Komiteh* are praiseworthy. At a time when it was the start of the Revolution and victory of the Revolution, and as is natural in all revolutions, there is chaos and insecurity, thank God, you were able to restore calm in the cities and control the security situation of the cities. From then until now also, with your fellow Guards Corps and your army brothers, all were at the service of Islam and your beloved country. This matter is recorded with the Blessed and Almighty God. I am optimistic that this matter will perpetuate and your names will be recorded at the Court of the Blessed and Almighty God with the names of those persons who at the dawn of Islam served for the victory of Islam.

Defending Islam and the Muslim countries by entering the territory of Iraq

What is evident and which you all know is that today we are defending; let whatever the foreign propaganda say against us. But you know that at present some of our cities and some of our territories are in the hands of the enemy while our border towns are shelled everyday by the long-range artillery and missiles of the enemy. It is obligatory for all of us to defend our country; and to defend is to push back the enemy to where their missiles cannot reach our cities. Entering the territory of Iraq is not invasion of Iraq; rather it is defending Islam and the Muslim country. It is like a person standing outside your house and throwing stones at you from inside his own house causing damage to life and property. If you enter his home you have not trespassed it; you want to defend yourself. We never intend to invade any country. We intend to defend ourselves from an invader and an attacker and an ungodly force that when it cannot invade and do anything, it resorts to long-range artillery shelling and launching missiles from outside and far off

places thereby bringing ruin to our country and killing our beloved. We are in a defensive positional though the foreign propaganda machinery claims that we have entered the territory of another. From the start of the war until now when they were on our soil, there was no talk, there was no problem in neither the organizations nor in the mass media. Today, that we in self-defense want to push it back to where it cannot inflict damages on us we have attacked Iraq! This is the nature of those that engage in propaganda against Islam. Therefore, because we are defenders, it is mandatory on all of us except that every person must defend in one way or the other.

Safeguarding the country depends on the unity of the defending forces

Thank God, the *Komitehs* are defending within the country and are also present at the borders and are also present at the frontlines. The same with the Guards Corps, the same with the military, and this is because we do not have an army that is distinct from the Guards Corps and guards Corps that is distinct from the *Komitehs* and a *Komiteh* that is distinct from the *Basij* volunteers and all of them being distinct from the tribal fighters. We are brothers with different names but whose soul is one. We are several brothers with different names; the names are distinct but they are not different groups and are brothers. our groups have various names such as *Basij*, Guards Corps, army, *Komiteh* and so forth, but their spirit is one. They have ideological unity, they have unity of religion and this has resulted in you being able to smash so many of the big powers and to resist vis-à-vis all the powers of the world. Until this spirit of unity is present, and the *Komiteh* does not regard itself in confrontation with the military and the military in confrontation with the Guards Corps and the Guards Corps opposite the rest; as long as this spirit is safeguarded, you too are safe. I am optimistic that this spirit of unity; this spirit of humanity shall God willing, be safeguarded in our society so that it remains immune from the harm that they are preparing for it in the future. We shall stand in defense of our country and in defense of the beloved Islam in the face of every invader be it a superpower or be it a lesser power—it makes no difference to us. For us it is compulsory to defend the honor of Islam and our own honor and defend our own Islamic country. As long as we are defending, we shall confront with every power that wants to attack us and we have no fear. The ultimate objective is that we shall be martyred in the path of God and this is the aspiration of our youth. I hope that this power is safeguarded and you advance with this same power and strength. Because we are in a defensive position, as long as the warfronts require assistance, it is compulsory upon all to go to the frontlines and

defend. However, the *Komitehs* that also have internal tasks are defending as well. Internal defense is also important and in the same way that those that are in Kurdistan and are toiling there; in the same way that those that are on the frontlines of the West and the South, those that are toiling in Kurdistan are also earning the gratitude of all the nation. Considering that, we are a united nation, a united populace, thus all of us prays for those that are working hard for this country and are sacrificing their lives for this nation and are sacrificing for Islam and the entire nation is grateful to all of you.

Animosity towards the nation of Iran in all its dimensions

You are witnessing that opposite you the beloved youth of the entire nation; throughout the country, the growing youth throughout the country are confronted with all kinds of enemies. There are enemies engaging in military operations; there are enemies engaging in propaganda. You are now seeing that this crude oil that has spilled in the gulf, put our brothers in the gulf in trouble, and is causing inconvenience to the Arab nation that are now in trouble; once again you will notice that all the foreign propaganda is against us. It is like saying why you have crude oil so that Saddam should come and bombard it and spill your crude; it is your fault that you have oil; it is your fault that your people are living in Khuzestan. It is not Saddam's fault to kill them; it is their fault for being there and for being killed. This is how they are; they will not say a word to Saddam that why he has done this; why he has done this to the crude oil notwithstanding that thank God, we are not in need of this small quantity. What we are saying is that well these Arab brothers that are bordering the gulf—right from Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and Dubai and so forth—they are now faced with water shortage, they will not ask why he has done this; these governments will not ask why Saddam has done this. Instead, they will say that the oil from Iran has come here! Iran's crude oil has on its own flowed and reached there! The situation of the world is an unfortunate one and one cannot say how this has come about, how it is that the people of the world have such a moral outlook. The people that are controlling the mass media and those that are powerful getting together to decide what to do. Well, what is to be done? Should they do as Saddam gives them the permission! A single person that has committed so many crimes until now yet you have not said a word that he has committed these crimes against us. Our fault is that we say that Islam must be present. However, the recent crime that he has committed and he has committed it against the Arabs—he has committed it against us—the crime against us is that we our crude oil has been spilled and lost; but what about the wretched Arab

women and children; what have they done? What have the women and children of the gulf countries done while this crime has been inflicted upon them? Now also that they have gathered, they are unable to guarantee that he will not attack so that they can go and repair this area. This is an astonishing situation in this world. May God reform humankind and the situation that we are in now and the moral outlook that humankind has taken on itself.

Self-defeatism of the governments of the region in relation to the superpowers

This self-defeatism that the governments bordering the gulf and beyond the gulf are showing in relation to the big powers, do they think that if Saddam lays his hands on one of them he will allow them to be in power? Saddam has a moral outlook that no one can control him. If he could control himself, he would not have been in this situation—and yet they help him. They think that if they have a problem, America will come forward and stop him lest he should harm them. America wants you because of your oil. America wants you because it wants to create a market to take away your oil and sell junk to you in return at exorbitant prices. Why should America care for your situation. Whatever situation you are in; however hungry your nations; however thirsty your nations are now, why should it be bothered with these things. It wants to use you; not the benefit that one person derives from another or the benefit that a person derives from a slave; rather a benefit that they regard as being inferior to animals and want to exploit us.

Defense in the face of interference of the superpowers in the affairs of the region

You will not be able to resist in the face of these powers unless you join hands and unless you safeguard Islamic unity. They will suck you dry and make your nation miserable, weak and helpless and yet all of you are sitting back and waiting for America to do the job for you in the same way that we are sitting in wait for America to do something for us. We are sitting and waiting for America to commit a mischief so that we can prevent it; we are sitting and waiting to see that if the Soviet Union wants to do something, we should prevent it and defend ourselves. We are not waiting for America to do something for us. We shall crush America in these matters; we will not allow it to interfere in our affairs; we will not allow any one else to interfere in our affairs. Should they want to attack, we will prevent their aircraft from landing and will kill their paratroopers in midair; we will destroy them. Do

you think they can attack us? However, they are never so stupid to want to attack; rather they are pursuing a plan to sow discord among us.

Sowing discord—the ploy of the enemy to overcome us

I have repeatedly said this and shall repeatedly say this to you if I am alive which is that as long as you are united whereby the man in the *Komiteh* does not say that since he is a *Komiteh* man, he should be such and such, rather the man in the *Komiteh* says how we Muslims must be. The military man does not say that being a military man, he should do this job; he too says that we the armed forces must be in that fashion and our nation must be such. So also, the Guards Corps says the same thing, so also the tribal warriors, so also the bazaar tradesman and so the average person says the same thing. As long as you are like this, no power can defeat you. It cannot be done because these great powers are looking to secure their interests. They are not looking to inflict a loss; they want to make a profit even at the cost of destroying the world. This is good. However, they find a country like this that has no benefit for them. Despite all their powers, they found they had been losers in Afghanistan. From the initial days when their ambassador came to me and said that the Afghanistan government had asked for their assistance, I told them not to do such a thing as they would lose and now they have understood that they had suffered loss. They know that it is not possible to attack a country in such a situation; there is no benefit to be derived here; it is all losses. However, they are attempting to sow discord among you; they are attempting to create differences. In one area, they would say there is a shortage and a bunch to follow them and chant slogans that we are facing shortages. They think that in other places there is abundance. Sir, in other places the queues are longer than here. Here there are no scarcities; there is aplenty except that the prices are high and high prices can be remedied. Should we put our honor, our Islam, our lives, the lives of our youth in danger because meat is expensive or fruits are expensive! If you want that there be a rift so that one group complains while another group assists them and a third group engages in negative publicity so that there is discord among the nation itself and especially between the Guards Corps and the army and the *Komiteh* and so forth, then God forbid, the unity that exists shall be destroyed. The day when this unity is destroyed is the day of the death of all of us and is the day of the destruction of our honor and the destruction of all the hard work of the Prophets—peace be upon them—in relation to this our country and in relation to other countries. All their efforts shall be thrown to the wind of destruction.

Oppression of nations because of blow dealt to Islam

You must know and the individuals that are intellectuals must know; individuals that are sitting on the sidelines and shouting abuses; persons that are sitting abroad and who pay no attention to local issues must know that if today Islam is dealt a slap on the face in this country, then nations must until the end bear these pressures. Today, Islam has raised its head here and has hoisted its banner and I hope that this manifestation reaches to all places so that the oppressed are liberated from under the yoke of these injustices. Those that complain of this country and think that they are being sympathetic to Islam, must know that if this Islam that is present here is dealt a slap on the face, then Islam has been dealt a slap until the end and you must sit back again and again and regret it. Again, it shall return to where a police officer comes and destroys all of you and insults all of you and you do not dare to speak out. Do you recall the era of Rida Shah; you recall the beginning of the reign of Muhammad-Rida also; of course, lately, he did not have the power. Until you do not join hands and till all of you do not unite, until those that do not attain welfare think that this is welfare. God knows those that are now suffering; the Minister of Interior who is sitting here also has problems; not that he has welfare; he too is poor. The same is with the president; the same with the parliamentarians and the same is with its government, its police, its armed forces are also the same; they are sacrificing their lives for their country and they must be maintained. One must not complain; one must uphold them for God's sake; for the sake of your own honor; for the sake of your own country. If you sympathize with your country, you must strive hard. By sitting back and complaining that our country is being destroyed, you are simply engaging in propaganda. With your propaganda, you want to destroy your country; otherwise can we by entering into a pact with Saddam protect our country? Will forcing the foreign governments to do such and such thing here protect this country? Well, come to your senses and pay attention to issues. I hope that whoever wants to do something—you our youth, this nation of ours, this beloved nation of ours—will continue to be brothers in the same manner that they have been until now and remain united in the same way that they have been, without involving in arguments, so that God willing, this country is safeguarded and nobody can harm you. May God protect all of you and you prosper and be successful and continue with your job and advance with strength so that God willing, you propagate Islam in other places. God protect all of you and grant you success.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Reply to a Query

Date: April 24, 1983 [Ordibehesht 4, 1362 AHS / Rajab 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Source of judgment of “appearance of deliberate murder” in accident resulting in killing

Questioner: Yusuf Sanii (State Prosecutor General)

[In His most Exalted Name

Blessed presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, may His presence endure,

After greetings, you are requested to please reply to the below question:

In the inquiry made from your holiness regarding drivers that cause death of individuals in accidents as a result of non-observance of the driving regulations or because of lack of driving skill. In reply, you have stated thus:

“Assuming that the violation is dissipation in relation to the self, the verdict is that it appears to be deliberate.”¹ Is this verdict absolute meaning that in the opinion of your blessed holiness it is dissipation or the judgment is the responsibility of the tribunal and your holiness has given the verdict regarding the subject?”

Yusuf Sanii
State Prosecutor General
Ordibehesht 4, 1362 AHS]

In His most Exalted Name

The judgment of the subject is not with me.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In accordance with the judicial commandments of Islam which is the basis of the legal system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, “murder” is divided into three categories namely: deliberate, erroneous and appearance of being deliberate” and the verdict for each of them varies.

Decree

Date: April 24, 1983 [Ordibehesht 4, 1362 AHS / Rajab 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in Kashan

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi respected Friday Prayer leader of Kashan—may His graces last,

I herewith appoint you as my representative in the region of Kashan so that the exalted God willing, you will take the necessary steps for meeting the religious needs and solving the religious problems of its inhabitants. In matters requiring the permission of the religious jurisprudence, your Eminence is authorized to accept payments and make expenditures on my behalf. It is hoped that the respected residents, organizations and revolutionary bodies make efforts to coordinate and cooperate with you. I pray to the Almighty God for your continued success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rajab 10, 1403 AH / Ordibehesht 4,
1362 AHS

Speech

Date: April 24, 1983 [Ordibehesht 4, 1362 AHS / Rajab 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Era of decline of human values and dominance of satanic values

Occasion: Birth anniversary of Imam Muhammad-Taqi (a)

Audience: Ali-Akbar Parvaresh (Minister of Education), Ahmad Tawakkuli (Minister of Labor and Social Affairs), workers from all over the country, teachers and trainers in education, members of the Martyr Professor Murtada Maaahhari honoring committee

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Struggle for revival of humanitarian values

It is a good coincident that on the auspicious birth anniversary of His Holiness Jawad—peace be upon him—we are in gathering of two honorable strata comprising of teachers and workers. I hope that these two respected strata that are the two arms of the country and the nation succeed in their respective trenches to intensify the struggle against the oppressors. The teachers and tutors should train the youth for service to the country and to Islam; and the most beloved workers work earnestly to rescue their own country from the evil that had existed in the reign of the evil “*Taghut*”. The former group in education and rearing, while the latter in action and work make all the countries of the world to understand that a nation that wants to make itself stand on its own two feet shall itself be trained and shall also itself work.

Beloved brothers, we are living in an era in which darkness has enveloped the entire world. We are living in an era in which human values have been totally destroyed and replaced by demonic inhuman values. We are living in an era in which the satans of the world have launched an attack on human values and wish to bring the world under the subjugation of Satan. With trust in the Blessed and Almighty God and seeking assistance from Islam and the glorious Quran and the Messiah Imam of the Time—peace is upon him—we must try and undertake a Jihad. *Jihad* in the universities and colleges, *Jihad* in the factories and workplaces, *Jihad* in agriculture, *Jihad* in schools, *Jihad* at the universities and *Jihad* everywhere; *Jihad* on the fronts and *Jihad* behind the frontlines. It is possible that the demons infiltrate all these groups that are revolting for the sake of God.

All the strata that we have must face up to these demons and confront the hypocrites. It is possible that there are influential persons in the factories that would like this country to revert to domination of the superpowers; it is necessary that the devoted brotherly workers and for this great Islamic *Jihad* to confront them and not allow their negative propaganda to corrupt our youth. At the universities and colleges and high schools and academic centers, the teachers and students—the professors and the students—take care not to allow those corrupt elements and the hypocrites and the non-hypocrite elements that are all corrupt gain influence and God forbid, revert the university to the situation it was in before. The teachers, the students and the school students must strengthen their bonds with the seminaries. Our beloved workers and agriculturists, that are all important people in whose hands lies the economy of our country, must strengthen their bonds with Islam, the Quran and the theologians of Islam.

Independence under the auspices of trust in God and devotion to the doctrine

If you want to triumph in all difficulties, you must stand firm opposite all the powers. You must prepare yourself to face all difficulties. You must send abroad human values from here to all places and must firmly sustain your overall independence—be it cultural, economic, and social and all other forms of independence. This is possible under the auspices of devotion to the doctrine of Islam and trust in the great God and in fraternity and brotherhood of all the strata with one another. The enemies are in ambush. You are observing around you what the enemies are doing to us with their propaganda and what they are doing with their endorsement of our enemies. We have no one except the Blessed and Almighty God to lean on; whatever they have, we have human values and God on our side. You see what those that claim to be supporters of the masses and supporters of the Arabs are doing in Khuzestan province; and what they have done to the beloved town of Dezful. They are under the immoral impression that by launching missiles on the homes, the children and the women and by killing the old and young, they can cause us to surrender. Once again, they have not understood Khuzestan; they have not understood Dezful; although from the start of the war until now they have had the experience and destroyed the homes of these our dear ones and have martyred a large number of the friends of God. Yet they are seeing that the people are firmly resisting and the nation of Iran and the beloved Dezful are firmly resisting them and although today they

inflicted so many sorrows upon them, yet the cry of “War, war until victory” resonates from our youth in Dezful.

Disgrace of the false claimants of the defenders of human rights

Those that make hollow claims of being supporters of the masses are behaving in this manner with the people of Iran and are assassinating the great theologians of Iran, the great beloved of Iran, the great scientists of Iran and all strata and are shaking the hands of friendship with the government of Saddam who has committed these crimes in Iran and committed this great crime in Dezful, they have revealed their hands to the world. Even today, they are not ready to condemn these savage acts and these horrendous crimes committed by this evil man. This is how the situation in the world has become. You are observing that such a great crime that has occurred and that has repeatedly taken place in recent years and has occurred several times in the past few days has not been condemned in all the mass media. They would make a passing reference to them or say a word that Iran has said such a thing while on the other hand Iraq was saying that it would avenge it. Human values are buried in this world. We have not seen those that clamor for human rights and organizations and so forth that are to be found with great pomp throughout the length and breadth of the world to condemn this act. They falsely take something from those that are hostile to us and issue announcements against Islam, against Iran and against the beloved nation of Iran and warn us and the reason they give is that the enemies have said such a thing. The solid reason of the organizations of the world is that we kill small children in the streets and everyday in the Evin prison, hundreds of people are killed by firing squads; the reason is that the hypocrites “*munafiqin*” have said so. This is a big reason for the organization; but the organizations never ask what Saddam has done here. This is how the situation of the world is. We are hopeful that a situation is created in this Islamic center of Iran whereby those immoral values are buried and the beloved Islam is propagated and the rays of the Quran are manifested throughout the world so that Islamic values that have been eliminated and human values that have been eliminated are revived and resurrected. For this, the first thing is that we pay attention to ourselves; we take care that if we are to choose between humane and divine values and evil “*Taghuti*” values we choose the humane values. If we are to choose between either serving our own country and being devoted in relation to Islam and our own country or serving the countries of the East and the West, we must choose that thing which is for ourselves.

Being Iranian is in shunning dependence and treachery

Those that are in this country and are the remnants, one group of them clamors for the East while one group for the West while at the same time claiming to belong to the nation. The person that wants to create disruption in the factories; who wants to pull his country towards domination by others and the person that creates disturbances in the university and wants to drag his university towards subjugation by others, these are foreigners in the guise of nationalists and in the guise of Iranians. They are strangers to Iran and Iran no longer recognizes them as being Iranian. We do not regard the one that sacrifices all his Islamic and national values for the Soviet Union or sacrifices all his values for America to be Iranian.

Seeking refuge in the Prophet (s) and the Immaculate Household (a) in the face of difficulties

Brothers and sisters! We have entered a path, which is the path of the Prophets; and history reveals that the Prophets were faced with difficulties. They were always of the deprived strata opposite the evil “*Taghut*” and the problems they faced were very many and energy sapping. From what we know of history and that has been handed down to us from the Prophets, we notice that all the Prophets were faced with the contemporary evil “*Taghuts*” and were having problems. We that want to step in the path of the Prophets must not be afraid of facing difficulties because in the same way that the honorable Prophet of Islam—peace be upon Him and His Household—accepted all the difficulties in the more than twenty years of his Prophet ic mission. To spread the commandments of religion he bore all the difficulties; he faced economic hardships, was imprisoned several times in a cave, and was faced with those hardships but he did not surrender his objectives. The Quraysh clan did to him what is revealed in history, yet he did not give up his objectives and similarly, the other Prophets. When the objective is divine, however difficult the path but because the objective is divine, it must seem easy. You see in some of the narratives that Husayn Bin Ali (a) would become more radiant the closer he got to the noon of Ashura. His face would light up¹ because he saw that it was *Jihad* in the path of God and because it was *Jihad* in the path of God, the loss of his dear ones was in fact not a loss but were reserves for the eternal world. You that are equipped to serve Islam, our beloved workers that are equipped to serve Islam and to operate the factories and they should act with earnestness so that they safeguard their independence. They do have problems but the problems are

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 6, p. 154, h. 9.

not unsolvable problem. The universities, the teachers and professors and the students that work for the sake of God do have problems but they are in the path of God and the hardships in the path of God are not hardships so to speak. If we take into account the hardships faced by the Prophet of Islam—may God's peace be upon him—and Hadrat Ali—may God's peace be upon him—they were far greater than the hardships that we are plagued with today. They were patient and the Blessed and Almighty God is on the side of the patient. We must be patient and face the powers that want to swallow us and bang their heads.

Brothers, my dear ones, sisters, the beloved of Islam, be careful and take care of yourselves and do not allow any hesitation to overcome you for we are victorious. We resisted on the day when we had nothing and all the powers were against us. Today, thank God, we have a nation that is united in the face of all the powers; we have a Khuzestan province that has bravely faced those hardships and we have a Kurdistan province that has valiantly resisted despite all the hardships—and all over Iran, it is the same. Thank God, today we are strong and the region has no such power. Today, we are resisting all and no power can harm us. Hardships have no effect on a nation that is ready for martyrdom. The parents that sacrifice their beloved ones for Islam face no hardships; they have overcome the hardships. Our country has overcome its hardships; it has tolerated all the pressures brought upon it from all around. *"For verily, God is with the patient."*¹

After placing our trust in the Blessed and Almighty God and are on the right pursue the truth, why should we be afraid of anything. We are not afraid of martyrdom and thank God, today the power of Iran and the power of Islam in Iran is such that it has attracted the attention of all the oppressed nations and Islam has been exported all over the world. From the dear blacks that are in America and Africa and on to the Soviet Union and everywhere. The light of Islam is shining and the attention of the people is drawn towards Islam. This is what we meant from exporting the Revolution, it has become a reality, and God willing, Islam shall prevail over faithlessness everywhere.

May God grant you happiness and may God connect our beloved that have been martyred and especially the recent martyrs of Dezful to His own blessing. May He grant patience to the inhabitants of Khuzestan and especially Dezful and a great reward and equip us to face greater hardships and grant us greater benefits by His own favors.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:153.

Letter

Date: April 26, 1983 [Ordibehesht 6, 1362 AHS / Rajab 12 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Securing the budget of the endowments from sources of income

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Itimadiyan (Deputy Prime Minister and Head of the Endowment Organization)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Recently, the budget commission of the Islamic Consultative Assembly has eliminated the budget allocation of this organization that exceeds one-hundred million *tumans* annually. It is of the opinion that the entire required budget can be secured from the incomes of the endowments and to spend all surplus incomes in charity. With the explanation that has been personally given to the representatives of the assembly, the legislators were of the opinion that the matter be referred to His Holiness the Imam that whether it is possible to secure the budget of the Endowment Organization which is between thirty and forty percent of the total income of the endowments from the sources of income or as before, it should be paid from the general budget of the government. Because taking decision in this case depends on the opinion of His Holiness, please state your opinion in this regard.

Sayyid Mahdi Imam Jamarani and Muhammad-Ali Nezamzadeh (representatives of the Imam in the State Endowment Organization), Muhammad-Rida Itimadiyan (Deputy Prime Minister and Head of the Endowment Organization) Ordibehesht 6, 1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

One can spend to the amount required of the endowment for maintenance, collection, expenditure and wages of workers. It is not permissible to spend in excess of the needs of these affairs.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: 1983 [1362 AHS / 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a letter of a prisoner of war

Addressee: Ali Javid (prisoner of war in Mosul, Iraq, Camp No. 2)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Peace be upon you; I hope you are in good health and are always successful and victorious in your job. Dear *Dorreh*, I miss each one of you but my heart misses another one very much. You do not know how I miss him. He is my beloved grand father Haj Aqa Musawi. Another thing is that I advise you to participate in the weekend prayers at the university. Dear *Dorreh*, Faaimah had written in her letter that she was missing me in the house. If mother grieves, I swear on you whom I love that I will be unhappy. Mother, I kiss your worked hands from afar. Likewise, I kiss the hard working hands of my beloved father that darkens in winter. Kiss each other on my behalf. Especially engineer Acharu! Convey my greetings to Mr. Shahrabi... Abdkhudai, Partow Alam, Mr. Eskandari, Husayn Aqa, Human and finally all whom you see especially dear mother, aunt Farah, Aunt Shirin, Aunt Azam, Aunt Huri, dear Aunt Fakhri, dear aunt Faaimah, and cousins and paternal aunts and paternal and maternal cousins and finally to all. My *Dorreh*, I do not know finally whether I should change my name or not.

Happy New Year 3/1/1362 AHS
Your younger brother, Ali

Eat in my remembrance for when I return I shall make you go bankrupt.

In His Most Exalted Name

Respected Head of the Imam's Office, peace be upon you,

After greetings and hope for your success, considering that my son is for the past eight months in captivity of the infidel men of Saddam, recently he has written a letter stating, "I miss my grandfather Haj Aqa Musawi very much." Since due to restrictions we cannot send posters or photographs of

the Imam for him, therefore, please convey this letter to His Holiness Imam—may His blessings last—so that he writes a few lines as a blessing and to raise the morale of these beloved sons that are confined in the dark and humid prisons of Iraq.

While requesting to be excused, meanwhile at the end of the letter please sign it with your name Grandfather Haj Aqa Musawi.

O God, O God, sustain Khomeini until the revolution of the savior Mahdi; shorten our lives and add our years to his. Amen, O the Creator of the Universe.

Mother of a prisoner of war]

In the Name of God

My beloved son, I received your letter. I hope that God willing you are freed soon. We are worried about you but God is great. God willing, you succeed. Be patient for God is with the patient. May God's peace be with you.

Your Grandfather

Speech

Date: April 26, 1983 [Ordibehesht 6, 1362 AHS / Rajab 12, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Hadrat Ali (*a*) pillar and model

Occasion: Birth anniversary of Hadrat Ali (*a*)

Audience: Fakir (representative of the Imam in the Guards Corps), personnel of the Air Force division of the Guards Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I felicitate all the nation of Iran and especially you brothers on the birth anniversary of Hadrat Ali—may God's peace be upon him. The point that this birth anniversary holds is that we must all be followers of such a perfect human being that specialists in all fields bow in humility before him. In every field that a person wants to give an example, he is exemplary. From the aspect of piety and knowledge and from the aspect of charity to the poor and the weak, from the aspect of courage and battle and finally from all aspects he is made a role model. In fact, he is a creature with a thousand dimensions and we must follow such an individual. Although one cannot be even one-thousandth like him but to the extent that we can, we must follow in his footsteps considering the devotion he had for Islam and that he gave all he had for Islam. If you become a specialist, you must bear in mind to imbibe his piety and devotion because if a faithless specialist does not cause harm to a regime, neither does he have any benefit. Unfortunately, in the former regime, they did not allow our youth to demonstrate their talents, to the extent they could they earnestly tried to corrupt them, and thank God, today we have been saved from that situation. If we find the time, we shall carry forward this country with the blessings of these beloved youths to where its dependence in every field is cut off from other countries. I hope that God grants you the favor to serve this country and the nation that has been kept backward for long years and that you defeat the internal enemies and inflict greater defeat upon the visible enemies.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: April 30, 1983 [Ordibehesht 10, 1362 AHS / Rajab 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of commander of the Naval Forces

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Head of the Supreme Council of Defense)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Supreme Leader of the Revolution and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,

In implementation of the text of Article one hundred and ten of the Constitution, the appointment of Admiral Esfandiyar Husayni as commander of the naval forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran is being proposed to His Holiness.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei,
President and Head of the Supreme
Council of Defense]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is agreed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 10, 1362 AHS

Message

Date: May 4, 1983 [Ordibehesht 14, 1362 AHS / Rajab 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Arrest of the leaders of the *Tudeh* Party and in praise of the services of the unknown soldiers of Islam in the Ministry of Information and other security and police bodies

Addressee: Nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If the conquerors of the world take pride in the unknown soldier, the great Islam and the noble nation and our beloved conquerors take pride in thousands of unknown soldiers that are not concerned about name and awards and bring miraculous honors and innumerable victories for their Muslim country and beloved Islam and the human-rearing nation. There is a difference between the unknown soldiers that the material powers of the world take pride in and the soldiers that are reared by Islam and the doctrine of monotheism. The motivation of the former is attainment of power and is mostly tyranny while the motivation of the latter is God and the asking for right.

Essentially, the soldiers of Islam even if they are celebrated are unknown in this world. The most celebrated self-sacrificing soldier of in Islam is the Commander of the Faithful and he is the most unknown soldier. With which mystical, philosophical, political thinking and with which pen and language and expression can humankind describe this unknown soldier and recognize him and introduce him? The issue is the same given the maintenance of the respective standings. Our unknown soldiers on the warfronts and behind the warfronts are day and night sacrificing their youth and existence for Islam and the Divine doctrine and do not want to be celebrated and given awards and are not celebrated. Often because of organizational exigencies, their spouses, mothers and close relatives are unaware of the epic struggle they are engaging in and what values they are creating for the Revolution. You are more or less aware of their issues and their honorable epics; but until you do not visit their trenches that are the centers of worship of God and only look at things from afar, the depth of their sacrifice and their divine-mystical gatherings shall not become known. Our honorable and beloved youth, with their self-sacrifices and divinity on the internal fronts; right from the depth of the vast jungles to the caves and huge safe havens of the ungodly deviant

elements—from the Democrats, the Kumulah to the *munafiqin* and *Fada'iyān-e Khalq* and so-called Muslim Peoples Party to the *Tudeh* Party and the rest of the minor and major groups—have battered them in such a manner that despite all its animosities, the world was left astounded and baffled. Attention to the security and information effectiveness of these unknown Guards Corps, *Basij* Volunteers, *Komiteh* and the Judiciary youths and other lovers of the path of God in arresting the treacherous leaders of the *Tudeh* Party who like the spotted serpent were engaging hypocritically in overthrowing Islam. Each of them had a lengthy record of twenty to thirty years in gathering intelligence, espionage and establishment activities and was highly specialized in these fields. It is a matter of honor for the nation of Islam to have such sacrificing youth and has caused astonishment and bafflement in the intelligence and espionage organizations throughout the world. This wonderment has not come about except with the guidance of the Exalted Truth and the exclusive attention of the Supreme Trustee of God—may our souls be sacrificed for him. The nation of Iran must give thanks and be grateful for this victory in its various dimensions especially its political aspects and endeavor to boost the strength of the gathering of the soldiers on the frontiers and inside the frontiers. It is most unfair that someone or some persons because of their useless beliefs criticize these guardians of Islam and protectors of the Islamic country.

O God, we thank You for these blessings that You have granted us and for having protected, us from the plots and treachery of the ill-wishers by means of these smitten youth and we cannot be thankful enough. O God, safeguard these beloved holy warriors of the path of God for our nation, bless the martyrs among them, and grant patience, reward, and bounties to their relatives and especially their parents and spouses.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Date: April 1983 [Ordibehesht 1362 AHS / Rajab 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Responsibilities and empowerments of the parliament and the government at the stage of reviewing of the bill on procurement and distribution of goods

Questioner: Muhsin Mujtahid Shabestari (Commercial Affairs Commission of the Islamic Legislative Assembly)

[... Considering that the bill on procurement and distribution of goods is under review in the Islamic Legislative Assembly, please rely to the two questions below in an explicit manner for which I shall be grateful and obliged. Meanwhile, the aforesaid bill is being presented to your Eminence. In case you have a specific opinion please honor us so that the necessary amendments are made.

1. In the book “Secondary *Tahrir al-Wasilah*” you have stated, “The Imam (*a*) and the trustee of the Muslims is empowered to take action based on the interests of the Muslims regarding fixing the price and industry and restricting trade and so forth are matters that are connected with the interest of the society and the social system.” Does this religious ruling “*fatwa*” directly apply to the government of the Republic of Iran or is it necessary that the Islamic Legislative Assembly be permitted and delegated on your behalf to distribute and delegate this authority to the relevant authorities such as for example, the Higher Council?

2. From the point of view of administrative affairs, is the above subject matter a primary ruling or is it a secondary one? If it is the latter, in case of commissioning the assembly concerning determination of prices of goods that has been stated in Section 6 article 2 of the bill; and likewise the procurement and distribution of essential goods that according to Section 2, article 5, it is the responsibility of the government and requires a time limit and two-thirds of the vote of the representatives.

With highest respects,

Muhsin Mujtahid Shabestari, on
behalf of the Commercial Affairs
Commission of the parliament]

In His Most Exalted Name

1. The legislators of the assembly are permitted to give permission to the government.
2. The ruling is secondary.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 8, 1983 [Ordibehesht 18, 1362 AHS / Rajab 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The poor and the needy in the forefront of society

Audience: Members of the Central Committee of the Imam Relief Committee from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Existence of the Guards Corps and the Relief Committee are of the blessings of Islam

Beforehand, I would like to thank the theologians and the pious believers who have come here and for me having succeeded in meeting them. Of the issues that we must pay attention to is that the Islamic Revolution has introduced innovations that are unprecedented.

After the Revolution, certain groups and certain societies came into being that I do not think it has a precedent in history. This very Relief Committee group has not been established in any country that I know of whose efforts are directed towards attending to the poor and needy and the peasants that are living in the most distant towns and the deprived of the society. Likewise, government bodies such as the Guards Corps, the *Komiteh* and so forth, the *Basij* volunteers are initiatives that have been created by the blessing of Islam and the faith of the nation in Islam, and are unprecedented.

It is unprecedented that as soon as a revolution occurs, a group called the Guards Corps, a group called the *Komiteh*, a group called the *Basij* arise from the people themselves to ensure the internal and external security. It is unprecedented that in a country the people and the theologians and the pious believers themselves create a relief committee with the objective of serving and granting relief to the poor and the needy throughout the country. These are the blessings of Islam and these beloved groups and committees and likewise, this Relief Committee have a pleasant, precise and noble cause and by this action God willing, they will be able to eradicate the roots of poverty throughout the country with the help of the honorable nation of Iran and the efforts of the honorable government of Iran. The action of you sirs throughout the country is a very noble and God-like one that will earn the pleasure of the Blessed and Almighty God. The Blessed and Almighty God is so concerned for the poor and the deprived that it is not clear He has so much concern for the other strata.

The deprived and the weak are the true patrons of the Revolution and Islam

You have accepted a task and have accepted the responsibility of performing a task that the Blessed and Almighty God has reserved His exclusive favors for it. However, I must draw the attention of the sirs to this that although they themselves are aware that this deed must be performed with certain tact so that the poor and the deprived do not think that this relief is being provided to them because they are from the lower strata of society. Indeed, they are at the forefront of society. The poor, the needy and the far-flung are of the frontline of society and it was these same slum-dwellers and these same lower strata and this same deprived that brought about this Revolution. It was these that sacrificed all they had in the path of the beloved Islam during the former regime and all of them are now busy. It is these same people that are busy making sacrifices on the warfronts; it is the youth from this same strata that are busy endorsing Islam all over the country—both inside and outside the country. The noble nation of Iran is grateful for such youth and such families that hand over such youths to the society and most important is that these individuals have a special radiance in the presence of the Blessed and Almighty God. Were it not for these deprived of society that have no craving for this world in the manner that the higher strata have; if it were not for the efforts of these deprived and the efforts these villagers and the efforts of these poor city dwellers, then neither the tyranny of the former regime would be exterminated nor we would be able to resist in the face of difficulties. All these are by the blessing of those who you have arisen to provide relief; and they deserve that we serve them with humility and give them service; we must all be their servants. We are indebted to them for having liberated us from the shackles that the superpowers had tied our hands and feet with. Our country has an obligation to them for having brought about the rule of the beloved Islam in this country; we and you are not doing anything for them. They took us to where we were able to stand in the face of all the powers and be honored that we are neither on the side of the East nor the West and nor do we need to be dependent on them. We are an independent nation. We are a free, independent and honorable country that has eradicated all the roots of corruption; or God willing, if there is still a decade root remaining, we shall eradicate it—and this is made possible by the blessing of these same deprived. These same slum-dwellers whom I saw on the television and I cannot forget that from one of these slums a number of old men, aged women and children and so on came out and one of the was asked where they were going and they replied that they we going to join the

protest demonstrations. These are the same that did not have lunch or dinner to eat but with their lofty courage; with their divine spiritual strength they came out during the former regime, gave martyrs and triumphed. In the Islamic Republic also, it is this same people that give support and are offering resistance both on the warfronts and behind the warfronts. Of course, we must say that all strata of the nation were oppressed; because our powerful governments had made them weak and they had weakened all the nations of the world. In the former regime, all strata in their view were weak and must obey orders; from the strata of the clergy to the bazaar trader, to the villager and the people living all over the country. Today all of them have been liberated from the shackles and for the same reason that these deprived and weak and other strata revolted, started a movement and had no fear of anything. The Blessed and Almighty God assisted them with His Invisible Assistance and spiritual manifestations and support of His Holiness the Savior Trustee of the Age—may our souls be sacrificed for him—and liberated us. Thus, they have done us a favor and we must serve them; we must be their servants.

Serving the deprived is the biggest of spiritual dimensions

It is fair those that are in possession of some wealth and can serve them to do so for this service will remain eternal while properties and what they deposit in banks shall not remain for them. What remains is the spiritual dimensions that a person performs. The spiritual dimensions, the greatest of which is serving the creatures of God; serving the deprived human beings. This is what remains eternally for a person and which helps him in the after world. The wealth that a person leaves behind is of no use to him. The wealth of good deeds that he sends in advance shall be of use to him. I hope that those who possess certain affluence take care to attend to the poor that are our benefactors and help with their payments to the account that they mentioned. This is order that the decayed roots of this deprivation is God willing, eradicated with the lofty efforts of the entire country and all the theologians and non-theologians and all individuals of this nation live a middle class life that they must live and can easily engage to serve Islam.

Inattention of the patrons of human rights to the crimes of Saddam

I hope that God willing, no harm is inflicted by the corrupt upon this country. You are aware that the government of Iran has since long asked the United Nations to send a representative to witness these crimes that the ungodly Baath regime has perpetrated in Dezful, Pol-e Dokhtar and the rest

of our cities. However, there is no sign of them doing such a thing until now and we do not expect them to do. When the hypocrites and their likes tell a lie that everyday hundreds of people and small children are being killed on the streets and what all we are doing in Evin prison and so forth, they base their stories on the statements of an enemy of Islam and create an uproar and issue statements and so forth but they are not willing to send a representative to see what they have done to the cities of Iran; what they have done in the province of Khuzestan. They who say they are Arabs and have so-called Arabic honor should see what they have done with this Arab nation; with this Muslim nation; with these Kurds. That claim to be supporters of human rights are not ready to listen to the words of these oppressed that are under the oppression of the tyrants led by the tyrant oppressor America that is responsible for all our sufferings. They are not ready to see what has happened. On the other hand, they issue statements against us and issue declarations that condemn us. We don't care neither for their condemnation nor for their lack of presence.

Secondly, I would like to thank the sirs for this very noble and great service they have undertaken. Do not allow these your beloved brothers who have throughout history been oppressed, been deprived to face deprivation again. They must not face deprivation in an Islamic regime; they must also be delivered from deprivation. Your biggest efforts is to be directed towards the far-flung villages that had nothing in the former regime and thank God, a lot of work has been accomplished in those places. However, your efforts must be directed more towards them and to serve them more. God Almighty grant all of you success God willing and amputate the hands of the oppressors from the oppressed of the world and may the Almighty and Exalted God grant us the light of His own guidance.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 10, 1983 [Ordibehesht 20, 1362 AHS / Rajab 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need for unity of the oppressed in relation to the big powers

Audience: Messrs. Ernesto Cardinal (Ministry of Culture and member of the Council of the Sandinistas of Nicaragua), Jawad Mansuri (Cultural Deputy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Piruz (Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Nicaragua)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Uniting all the oppressed opposite the oppressors

I thank you for coming here so that we can air our grievances to one another. There is a lot of similarity in what you¹ said with our country although our country has much more problems. We are faced with the plots of all the powers of the world and our crime, and that of our country and nation is that we have risen in revolt for independence and freedom and do not want to be under the domination of any of the powers. This is considered a great and unpardonable sin from the point of view of the superpowers and the other powers. If the oppressed of the world—whether those that are under subjugation of America or those that are under domination of the rest of the powers—do not awaken and do not join hands and arise, the satanic domination will not cease. We must all strive to realize the unity among the oppressed of every religion and creed for if God forbid, we are lethargic, these two arrogant poles of the East and the West shall destroy all of us like a cancer. We are determined to stamp out all subjugations and you must strive to acquaint the nations with the truth. What is important is that you in your own faith and we in our own faith safeguard sincerity and place our trust in the Blessed and Almighty God so that we receive His favors and He liberates us from being under these dominations.

¹ Nicaragua.

Speech

Date: May 11, 1983 [Ordibehesht 21, 1362 AHS / Rajab 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Motivation and blessings of the Prophetic mission of the Prophet (s)

Occasion: Anniversary of the Prophetic mission of the Honorable Prophet (s)

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamnei (President), Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of Supreme Court), Yusuf Sanii (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister) Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi, Members of the Guardian Council, members of the Supreme Council of the Judiciary, members of the cabinet, judges of the Islamic Revolution Courts of the capital and the military, heads of the Courts of Administrative Justice and State Inspectorate Organization, Joint Chief of Staff of the Army and commanders of the police and security forces, members of the Higher Council of the Revolutionary Guards Corps and representatives of the Imam in the Guards Corps, Society of Teachers of Qum Theological School, Central Council of the Friday Prayer leaders, members of staff of the Cultural Revolution Council, Association of Combatant Clergy of Tehran, heads of Political-Ideological Departments of the police and security forces, participants of the first congregation of the Islamic Republic Party, members of the Central Council of the Construction *Jihad*, officials of the Islamic Revolution *Komitehs*, Martyr Foundation, *Mostadafan* Foundation, Fifteenth Khordad Foundation, Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Relief Committee, Endowment Organization, *Hajj* and Pilgrimage Organization, Red Crescent, Central Bank, Municipality, mass media, War Propagation Organization, Islamic Republic News Agency, Managing Director and Supervisory Council of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting, Sermonizers of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Prophetic Mission: Origin of mystical-scientific transformation in the world

Reciprocally, I extend my greetings for this auspicious feast of the Prophetic mission to you sirs and the noble nation of Iran and to all the Muslims, rather, to all the oppressed of the world. The subject of the Prophetic mission and its blessings are not something that our restricted vocabulary can mention; the spiritual and material aspects of it are so vast that I do not think that we can speak even about its fringes. The subject of the Prophetic mission created a mystical-scientific upheaval in the world that it transformed the rigid philosophies of the Greek that had been realized by the Greeks and was and is also valuable, into a tangible mysticism and an

intuitive reality for the masters of intuition. This aspect of the Quran has not been recognized so far by anyone except by the addressee of the Quran and in respect of some dimensions it is not discovered even by the addressee and is manifest only to the Essence of the Owner of Glory. If a person reviews the philosophies before Islam and the philosophies after the dawn of Islam, especially in the latter centuries; and the mystics before Islam and those that in India and other places pursued such subjects and the mystics after Islam that entered this realm with the teachings of Islam, you will understand what a transformation has taken place even though the great mystics of Islam are also rendered incapable of discovering the truths of the Quran.

The language of the Quran, which is of the blessings of the Prophetic mission, is among the great blessings of the Prophetic mission of the Prophet of God, is a language that is impossible to comprehend. Many perhaps think that they can understand the Quran as in their opinion it is easy to understand. Many of the scholars of wisdom and philosophy think that they can understand the Quran because they do not know the aspect that has manifested itself to them and the aspect that is behind these aspects. The Quran contains aspects that had not revealed themselves to anyone of the creatures of the heavens and the earth until the honorable Prophet—may God's peace be upon him and his household—had been appointed Prophet and the Quran had descended from the status of the invisible and by manifesting its descent in the heart of the Prophet of God. After the Blessed Prophetic presence of the supreme trustee got connected with the source of knowledge to the extent that it could be connected, the Quran manifested itself in his blessed heart and expressed itself in a seven-stage descent on his blessed tongue. The Quran that is now in our possession is the seventh descent of the Quran and this of the blessings of the Prophetic mission. This same seventh descent created such a transformation in Islamic mysticism and in global mysticism that the men of wisdom know a small part of it, not all aspects of it have been revealed to humankind, and it is not known if at all, the aggregate aspects of it shall be revealed. There are verses in the glorious Quran that are once again of the blessings of the Prophetic mission. These verses at the same time that a person thinks that well it is obvious, but they have not as yet been understood. "He is the beginning and the end and the seen and the unseen and He is aware of all things... and wherever you are, He is with you."¹ "He is the light of the heavens and the earth."² These are verses which neither the commentator can comprehend nor the philosopher

¹ *Surah al-Hadid* 57:3-4.

² *Surah an-Nur* 24:35.

and nor the mystic. Whoever claims to have comprehended them is steeped in ignorance. He has delivered the Quran to, “Verily the one that can understand the Quran is the one to whom the Quran addresses itself.”¹ A limited number of the Prophets of God and the immaculate Imams—peace be upon them—and through them, a limited portion that is comprehensible have been interpreted for humankind. But that which is the puzzle of the revelation is the same verse, which states that, “*Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth.*” The commentators who laid their hands on it have interpreted “*Allah, Light of the heaven and the earth*” meaning that it is not connected in any way to the Quran. These commentators, although they have taken a lot of trouble, yet they are unable to comprehend the subtleties of the Quran. It is not that they are to be blamed but the fact is that the glory of the Quran is far more than these matters.

The question of the wisdom of God that is propounded in the Quran, it states that “We have not comprehended you in the way that is your right to be understood.”² and not “We have comprehended you to the extent of our ability to comprehend in relation to you.” To the extent that is the right of comprehension of humankind, it has comprehended it but the scope of understanding of humankind is other than the right of understanding of God. The right of comprehension of God and the right to worship of God even in keeping with the above narrative, the honorable Prophet who is the biggest mystic and the greatest worshipper states that, “We have not recognized the right of your comprehension and your worship.” But he does not say that, “We have not worshipped you in the manner that is your right to be worshipped.” This is because he has repaid that but that pleasure is humane and is an apparent manifestation while for understanding of God, neither the closest angels and nor the Messenger of God can find that understanding—and this is of the blessings of the Prophetic mission. The amount of knowledge that has been attained for the men of knowledge is a result of the book of God that has descended on the heart of the Prophet of God that also is of the big secrets. Quality of revelation is a subject that except for the Prophet of God and those that were the closest to the Prophet of God and have been inspired by him cannot be comprehended by any person. Thus, whenever it has wanted to introduce itself, it has done so in the language of we the common people as in the case of the Blessed and Almighty God Who in the language of the ordinary human being refers to Himself as a camel³;

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol 24, pp. 237-238, h. 6.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 68, p. 23.

³ Reference to verse 17 of the *Surah Ghashiyah*.

He refers to Himself as the sky; He refers to Himself as the earth and as the people and so forth. This is because the tongue fails to do justice to the subject the way it should be and so the Quran has done justice to the extent it could and no book of knowledge has been able to do justice while those that have been able to do justice have done so in emulation of the Quran.

The Quran is the gateway to Divine Wisdom

If the Quran did not exist, the gateway to understanding of God would be closed until eternity. The Greek philosophy is another gateway, which is very admirable in its own place because it proves with logic while no knowledge is gained; it proves with reasoning the existence of the Blessed and Almighty God. Knowledge is other than proving the existence. The Quran has descended in order to prove it with the same usual methods and perhaps even more basic methods than that. The other aspect of it is the mysticism of the Quran which to the extent that is in the Quran you will not come across in any book not even in the books on Islamic mysticism that have been transformed and is vastly different from mysticism prior to Islam. Still the changes of the Quran are other than what they have.

There is one another method, another subtlety in the Quran that are also by the blessing of the Prophetic mission. The blessings of the Prophetic mission is more spiritualities than in the material, but the amount that has been revealed in the material was again not present before Islam. The connection of spirituality with the material and the reflection of spirituality in all aspects of the material are of the characteristics of the Quran. At the same time that the Quran is spiritual book, it is mystical in a manner that in our hands; in our thinking; in the thinking of the Trusted Archangel Gabriel it does not come across as such; yet it is a book that it polishes the moral behavior, that also reasons, that also governs, that also enjoins unity and also urges fighting. This is to the limit of a human being and also the gateway to material as well as connection of the material with the spiritual and also the gateway to administration and also the gateway to rule and to everything. We who hope to be the followers of Islam and be the followers of the Quran must consider all aspects of it. Not only must we keep it in mind, rather to pursue it until we attain it; we should engage in holy struggle until we attain it.

Fighting injustice and liberation of human being was the motivating factor of the Prophetic mission of the Prophet (s)

If in case with the same apparent aspect of the Quran, the same aspect for which the Quran descended on humankind, which was to eradicate oppression from among humankind. This implies that one aspect of it is to eradicate oppression from humanity and establish social justice among humankind. If we strive and those that regard themselves to be followers of the Quran; if the Muslims of the world endeavor to spread this aspect of the Quran which is the aspect of implementation of Islamic justice in the world, then it will become a world that is apparent manifestation of the Quran. We the nation of Iran that started a movement and cut off the hands of oppression must pursue this matter of justice to where the hands of the tyrants are totally cut off from our country. With the guidance of this light, the rest of the Muslim countries and the rest of the oppressed of the world should awaken and liberate themselves from the domination of the big powers. The thing that we must pay attention to on the anniversary of the Prophetic mission is that the objective of the Prophetic mission of the Prophet of God was to teach the people the path to eliminate oppression; to teach the path that would enable the people to confront the big powers. The Prophetic mission was to save the moral conduct of the people, the lives of the people, the souls of the people and the physical bodies of the people and all of these from evil; to do away totally with darkness and replace it with light; to do away with ignorance and replace it with the light of knowledge; to do away with the darkness of oppression and replace it with the light of justice. It has shown us the way; it has taught us that all people, all Muslims are brothers and must be united and not have differences.

Obligation of all strata to safeguard the Islamic Republic and unity

Brothers, we are suffering at the hands of all the evil powers of humankind; we must pay attention and see what is our divine obligation today when all have attacked us. All the strata of the nation, all those that are administrators of the country and are government officials; all those that have been entrusted with the Judiciary; those that have been entrusted with other tasks; those that are guarding the frontiers such as the army and the others; those that have been entrusted with all things and the rest of the strata of the nation have a duty to safeguard Islam; they have a duty to protect the Islamic Republic. This biggest duty that Islam has and it cannot be accomplished except with understanding; except with all the nation-becoming brothers.

“*The pious believers are brothers.*”¹ If this religious fraternity is sustained throughout our country and every person does not think about himself and pays attention to the objective and sacrifices himself for the objective, then no one can violate this country. If God forbid, among the sirs, among the people, among the government administrators; among the legislators; among the various strata of the people, workers, employers and agriculturists if among all of them this religious fraternity is weakened, on that day the demons shall infiltrate your ranks and sow discord among you and the big powers will derive the benefits.

They, the big powers, are sitting there with their operatives in this country to find ways whereby the inhabitants themselves clear the path for them. They will not approach you directly; with these methods, with corrupt pens, with corrupt thoughts that they employ to serve them they will approach you; and with rumor-mongering and spreading lies among you, they want that each person becomes distrustful of the other. The day that the strata of the nation God forbid, contrary to what they are today, become distrustful of each other, on that day they shall infiltrate and exploit them. We are all responsible; from me the clergy up to the theologians of the Islamic homeland and the authorities. The parliament, the president, the military, the Guards Corps and all the strata of the nation are responsible before God. All of us shall one day go in the presence of God and we shall be questioned; they shall question us about the blessing and that blessing is Islam. We are responsible, we must trample upon our personal grudges for the sake of God and for the objective. We must all live for God because we are from Him and whatever we have is from Him. Whatever power there is belongs to Him; whatever blessing there we have is from Him and He is the light of the heavens and the earth. We have a duty on His behalf and on behalf of our own mind and our conscience to serve the One who is custodian of all our things. Our objectives and aspirations should be to strengthen His religion and to implement Islam among humanity and this would not be possible except with your unity of expression and shunning differences if at all, God forbid, there is and God willing, it is not present. I am optimistic that with unity of expression and fraternity of religion, we and you stand firm and safeguard this country from the events of the world. May God willing, all of us are granted the pleasure of receiving the spiritualities of the Prophetic mission of the honorable Prophet. May the Almighty God, grant us the blessing of the light of His Wisdom that has been sent down by

¹ Reference is to verse 10 of the *Surah al-Hujurat* that commands, “*Verily, all pious believers are brothers.*”

means of the Quran. May the Almighty God safeguard the Islamic unity of this nation and awaken the Islamic governments and link the nations of Islam together.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Permission

Date: May 14, 1983 [Ordibehesht 24, 1362 AHS / Shaban 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission regarding receiving and expenditures of religious tax affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Rida Alamulhuda

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Rida Alamulhuda who has spent a period of his noble life in studying religious sciences, is herewith permitted on my behalf to supervise the religious tax affairs and to accept religious sums. He is authorized to spend half of the portion of the honorable *sadat* and one-third of the blessed portion of the Imam—may God's peace be upon him—locally and to send the balance to me for expenditure in connection with the lofty ideals of pure Islam.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 1, 1403 AH

Permission

Date: May 14, 1983 [Ordibehesht 24, 1362 AHS / Shaban 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission regarding receiving and expenditures of religious tax affairs

Addressee: Abul-Qasim Muqaddas

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Thiqqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abul-Qasim Muqaddas who has spent a period of his noble life in studying religious sciences is herewith permitted on my behalf to supervise the religious tax affairs and to accept religious sums and spend them according to his own judgment in an economic manner. He is authorized to spend one-third of the surplus of the blessed portions in determined instances and to send the other two-thirds to me for expenditure in connection with the lofty ideals of pure Islam.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban1, 1403 AH

Speech

Date: Morning, May 16, 1983 [Ordibehesht 26, 1362 AHS / Shaban3, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: As long as we are the true guards, the big countries cannot do anything

Occasion: Birth anniversary of Imam Husayn (a) and Guards Corps Day

Audience: Fadlullah Mahallati (representative of the Imam in the Guards Corps) Muhsin Rafiqdust (Minister of the Guards Corps) commanders and members of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The true guard is the defender of the territory of Islamic values

Reciprocally, I too express my congratulations to you on this great day and always pray for you. But the reason why I did not communicate a message is that firstly, the government bodies and organizations have increased and secondly, because I consider all the organizations right from the Guards Corps, the army, the *Komitehs*, the parliament and the government to be one. I have communicated a message to all before.

What a good selection that the birthday of His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs—peace be upon him—is named the Guards Corps Day. I hope that in the same way that Imam Husayn—may God's peace be upon him—revived Islam with his blood, you too in emulation of him, guarantee the Revolution and Islam. The Umayyad intended to destroy Islam and in the former

regime they would go against religious tenets and in the name of “Gateway to civilization”, they had planned to corrupt the universities and keep the ordinary people preoccupied with lustful activities. If the people had not undertaken the Revolution and the country had been in their hands for a few more years, everything would be destroyed which with the blessing of God, those problems were eliminated. So long as we are true guards, the big countries cannot do a damn thing. The reason for the pressure of the world also is that they are seeing that in this country neither military coup nor military adventure has any meaning, which Iran has from the viewpoint of Islam and the region, achieved a special power, and therefore they are not letting us to be in peace.

We must advise all to serve Islam and to be united in a single column so that no deviation occurs. We must always feel that we are alone in the face of so many enemies. We must carry this huge burden to its destination, be

united in this objective, and not have specific inclinations towards this group or that group.

Convey my greetings to all the brothers and the guards and the defense and police forces. I pray for you and am your servant.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, May 18, 1983 [Ordibehesht 28, 1362 AHS / Shaban 5, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Love of Islam of the nation is the source of the animosity of the enemies

Audience: Theologians of the Guardian Council, Safi Golpayegani, Mahdawi Kani, Jannati, Rabbani Amlashi, Khazali, Redwani, and the jurists of the Guardian Council anmely, Iftikhar Jahromi, Arad, Mehrpur, Salihi and Hadawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity and solidarity negate the propaganda of the enemies

I thank you for your toils and troubles. You should not expect not to be insulted. Everybody knows that unless a person does not do something, no one will slight him. Insult is for those that want to be alive. None of us must expect to be praised. we must act upon the commandments of God and do not be bothered with these things that who is in favor of what we are doing for the sake of God and which person disapproves of it. I have endorsed the parliament and the Guardian Council whenever it was required. We must join hands together to build an Islamic country.

Today the world is hostile to us because of Islam. Some that are ignorant say that Islam is not of any use while some who are aware of the situation in Iran say that Islam is good but not the Islam that they are preaching but the righteous Islam.

Today the propaganda is not against you and us; it is against Islam. If we have nothing to do with Islam, no one would be on bad terms with us. Today they do not condemn America and the Soviet Union that are engaging in so much corruption in the world but all the condemnations are reserved for us. In the world, it is only Iran that is being questioned; but if we safeguard our unity and move with a single voice and the same direction then we must not fear anything. What is important is that we be good with each other and decide to move in an independent and free manner—and rest assured that you can. At that time we must be fearful when the leaders have differences with one another and the people are absent from the scene which thank God, today both the people are in the arena as well as the authorities are on good terms with one another. I once again thank you for your efforts in the Guardian Council. You are working for the sake of God and God willing, He shall endorse you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 22, 1983 [Khordad 1, 1362 AHS / Shaban 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Affliction of the Islamic Republic with the plots of the agents of America and the Soviet Union

Audience: Abdullah Nuri (representative of the Imam in the Construction *Jihad*), Officials and members of the Construction *Jihad* from all over the country, commander-in-chief and regional commanders from all over the country, officials of the political-ideological office of the Gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Being sincere in service to the creatures of God

I thank the Blessed and Almighty God for the opportunity of meeting you dear sirs that are working hard for this country, are taking pains to help the deprived on this day, and am benefiting from your radiant faces. The Blessed and Almighty God will never forget the exhausting toils of you dear sirs. You dear sirs whether from the strata of the clergy and whether of other beloved strata have in this long period suffered enormous problems and have provided merited services all over the country on the frontlines and behind the frontlines and presented it to the Almighty and Exalted God. Those that serve a poor and a pious believer have so many rewards from God. Only the Blessed and Almighty God can calculate the infinite rewards granted to you that are serving millions of the poor and millions of the deprived. I am optimistic that you continue your job with this same determination and with these same divine steps and not pay attention to what people say about you or what the opponents say about you. You be sincere and work for the sake of God and the creatures of God, and ask for praise and reward from Him for He shall give you your reward and your dues. I likewise, thank the respected commanders of the gendarmerie that are present here for they are serving this country to the extent of their ability. Today, the country belongs to you and the hands of the East and the West have been cut off from the country and it is you yourself that must manage and safeguard your country. From the start when this Islamic movement and Islamic Revolution became victorious all the strata of the nation, the defense and police forces whether the beloved Guards Corps, the Construction *Jihad*, the *Komitehs*—all the strata of the nation extended the hands of brotherhood and moved forward. So many martyrs they gave and so many injured and so many families that lost their

youth in the cause of Islam; but we must not say that they lost them. That which is lasting; that which is lasting for all is their service in the path of Islam and the blood that is spilled in the path of Islam. From the start, Islam has arisen for this purpose, which is to serve the poor of the world in the face of the oppressors and to put these oppressors in their place; and you are the adherents of such a beloved Islam and you must continue with this adherence.

In praise of the occupiers of the Espionage Den of America

Today, I shall talk about certain issues with you dear brothers and praise you at the same time that you and the entire nation, in addition that the spiritual divine forces are chanting your praise and regarding you highly for this service. However, there are also groups that because they are opposed to this country; that are opposed to the independence of this country; that are opposed to the freedom of this country and finally, are opposed to Islam that has brought about this freedom and independence for you, yet they do not refrain from mischief. The style and method of Islam is the same that from the start it was mentioned in the slogans of you the beloved youth throughout the country, which was that we want independence, freedom and an Islamic republic. This slogan of “neither East nor West” that is contained in this same slogan was heard from all the strata of the nation from those far-flung villages to the centers and was being echoed everyday.

From the time when our youthful guards conquered the Espionage Den and banished the American spies from Iran, we have been plagued with a path and a method that was against the country and Islam and have been suffering from it since long and for long, our youth have been condemned. The youth that wanted to free themselves from under the yoke of America and the powerful of the world and manage their own country themselves have been insulted for the fault of occupying the Espionage Den. For long all of us have suffered from this issue; and after those issues were created and these individuals, most of them are at the head of affairs, have openly admitted that they were spies working for the Soviet Union and subsequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expelled a number of them. The same gratitude and esteem that our nation and we have for those dear youth that destroyed the Espionage Den of America, the same reward we reserve for these youth that arrested these inhuman and anti-Islamic spies that are opposed to our country, nation and Islam. The same merit that we reserve for these two groups we reserve for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the respected Minister of Foreign Affairs that after identifying them, declared a

group of them undesirable elements and sent them away from Iran. In the same way that they proved that we are not dependent on the West and advanced with valor and courage, and paid no attention to the disruptive actions and criticisms that were leveled upon them by those that were opposed to them, these too did the same thing with the Eastern and northern party without the least apprehension of those big and powerful countries. Spies that were inside the country and regarded themselves to be Iranians—although we do not recognize them as Iranians—were trapped and arrested and their espionage dens were taken over. Following them, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expelled a number of persons that were spying for foreign countries—for the Soviet Union—from Iran without the least apprehension of the East and the West.

Warning to the mischief of the evil supporters of colonialism

Following this issue, today we are again troubled by individuals that are busily engaged in negative propaganda for the leftists and for the *Tudeh* party and for the Soviet Union and work against the interest of Islam and the country. It appears that today, both the groups, the former group that have been dealt a blow by those beloved Guards Corps and the latter group that were inflicted a blow by this group of Guards Corps have joined hands to continue with their mischievous activities. I must warn both the groups to refrain from committing mischief. Today, the mantra that the government of Iran has not done anything worthwhile for Iran and that the arrogant has become more arrogant and the weak has become weaker, these inauspicious mantras that must come out of the mouth of America and the Soviet Union, those that in Iran regard themselves as Muslims must expel these mantras from their throats. However, there is a group inquisitive and evil that have been dealt blows from Islam and they have lost their great master and these too have recently lost their great master; they are engaging in mischief because they have lost their masters. These same people compel a group of simpletons that hold no grudges to engage in propaganda so that wherever there is a gathering for example, at the Friday prayers or if they get an opportunity in the parliament they utter the same words that must come out of the throat of America and the Soviet Union which is that nothing has been done for this nation—this same words are uttered by these wretched souls. One group of the misled and one group of devils, one-group wants that there be anything other than an Islamic Republic. This one says that the Soviet Union and Communism must be present while that one says that America and the West be present. It appears that the two groups have arrived at a

consensus in urging a group of simpletons in the parliament or outside it to propose issues that cause the nation of Iran to despair as much as possible. You brothers that are serving these people for the past four years and the service you have done for this nation in this period was not done throughout the reign of the monarchy. They devoted all their service to the dwellers of palaces while you have served the slum-dwellers—these they do not take into consideration. The revolutionary guards that have done so much on the fronts and beyond the frontlines, they have cut off the hands of the *munaḥiqin* so thoroughly. Are these not services? Must service be of the American or Soviet Union variety?

Expression of regret for the naïve and sincere misled

It is very unfortunate that a bunch of mischievous devils deceives a Muslim so that he wants to weaken the Islamic Republic, the government of the Islamic Republic and the president and the rest. I deeply regret that this group of sincere people be so naïve that they believe that whatever these demons say is correct; these same demons that say nothing has been done for Iran; these same demons that say that it was better during the reign of the Shah than it is now.

This inauspicious mantra of “the arrogant have become more arrogant” meaning that Islam is worse than the monarchy regime. With those who know and yet speak out of evil intent, there is no alternative but to deal with them powerfully. However, with those that have been misled by these devils we ask them that why are they allowing themselves to be taken for a ride. You that have spent a lifetime in the service of Islam and have seen the repression of the “*Taghuti*” era and have tasted the insults of the “*Taghuti*” era and today you have been freed from the pressures and those sufferings and are breathing freely and are living with independence, why are you saying that it is worse now than at that time; and are attempting to weaken the government. Why are you not taking into account the services that this nation has done, that this Construction *Jihad* has done, that the Revolutionary Guards have done, the services that the *Komitehs* have done and the services of the government. What has happened to you that you are being taken for a ride by a few devils in the nooks and corners of the country and are not aware of what you are doing. You are not aware that you are destroying Islam; that you are weakening the Islamic Republic. You do not desire to weaken Islam but they are taking advantage of your ignorance and are compelling you to put forward these issues.

Enmity and weakening the system in the name of empathy for the people and the country

Take stock of the situation, be alert and do not be so naïve. I say to those devils to remain in your seats otherwise the list of your people shall be revealed and you shall go the way of the *munafiqin*.

In the same way that the *munafiqin* professed Islam, and are still doing, they want the righteous Islam! Not an Islam in which the prescribed limits are implemented; not an Islam in which there is prescribed retribution; not an Islam that expels the superpowers from the country; not an Islam that crushes the Communists and neither an Islam that crushes the West. You, too, are *munafiqin* but in a different guise. In the name of sympathy for the people—in the same way that the hypocrite *munafiqin* did—in the name of sympathy for the country; in the name of empathy for the people you are weakening both Judiciary and the Executive Power and also the Islamic Republic. Your illness is that your hands have been cut off from corruptions and I promise you that they shall no longer return. I say to you that your waiting and yearning is in vain. Remain where you are and do not indulge in so many plots; do not weaken the Islamic Republic for those matters are irreversible. Our nation is not a nation that will weaken in its resolve for the sake of the likes of you. Those that possessed high status and thought they were important have been destroyed. Despite its immense power, America was crushed in Iran and its supporters were literally banished from Iran while a group of them have been imprisoned and shall be meted out their due punishment. The *munafiqin* that were large in number, engaged in widespread propaganda, and had misled many of our youth have also been thrown in the garbage dump. What have you few have to say? You few so-called intellectuals who wish to strengthen Communism in Iran; or a few others that in their dreaming want America to return, I say to you that until you are alive, America shall not return; the Soviet Union shall not return. If in future, the nations and generations move in the same way and the clergy be present everywhere and the people be present on the scene and the defense and police forces be a defense and police force in the service of Islam, then God willing, this shall not happen throughout history also. However, if God forbid, in the long-term the country becomes lethargic or the devils infiltrate inside the country, then in this case God must come to our aid.

Affectionate approach and gratitude for the youth

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the health and welfare of all of you dear ones. I advise all the clergy of the country, whether in the

villages or whether in the cities and wherever they are, to encourage these youths; to approach them, talk to them; to be affectionate towards the youth that have lost their beloved ones—these youths that have spent all their energy for serving this Islam and serving their country. In addition to the reward that the Blessed and Almighty God grants to them, He wants that we serve them and be grateful to them. May God protect all of you and sustain you in reserve for this nation. May He straighten those that are deviant or else put them in their respective places.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: May 23, 1983 [Khordad 2, 1362 AHS / Shaban10, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreement with formation of “Committee for the Reforming the Prisons”¹

Addressee: Supreme Council of the Judiciary

[Blessed Presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure,

According to the information received, His Eminence Ayatullah Muntaziri has established a committee for reforming the prisons consisting of Messrs. Abaahi, Gilani, Karimi, Aahiri and Qadi.²

The Supreme Judiciary Council hereby presents its endorsement and agreement to His Blessed Holiness.

Musawi Ardebili³, Yusuf Sani⁴, Murtada Muqtadai⁵]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
2/3/1362 AHS

¹This committee was organized following the order of Imam Khomeini (8-Articled Program) for attend to the affairs of the prisons.

² Sayyid Muhammad Abaahi, Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid Hasan Aahiri Khorramabadi and Mahdi Qadi.

³ Head of the Supreme Court.

⁴ State Prosecutor General.

⁵ Member of the Supreme Council of the Judiciary.

Decree

Date: May 24, 1983 [Khordad 3, 1362 AHS / Shaban11, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Endorsing the merits of members of Supreme Judiciary Council

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Husayn-Ali Muntaziri—may His graces last,

His eminence is hereby authorized to take whatever actions that is expedient for endorsing the merits of those individuals that are proposed as candidates for the Supreme Judiciary Council. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 3, 1362 AHS / Shaban11,
1403 AH

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, May 25, 1983 [Khordad 4, 1362 AHS / Shaban12, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Necessity to put forward political, social and moral subjects in the Friday prayer sermons

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Friday Prayer Leader of Tehran), members of the central committee of the Friday Prayer Leaders of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Establishment of rule contingent on following the Prophet (s) and the Immaculate Imams (a)

Of course, the sirs must advise me; but considering that admonishment is a fraternal right, I would like to mention some subjects. Undoubtedly, holding the Friday prayers in Iran is among the most important issues. Friday prayer causes subjects that have been forgotten in Islam to be stated to the people in the best possible manner. In the past, if a clergyman would speak on political issues, they would ask that he be left alone as he was a political person; this kind of thinking without fail was the work of local and foreign devils. They had convinced us that a clergyman must wear his robe and get to the mosque to recite his usual mandatory prayers. The clergymen had no right to intervene in any affair. However, the truth is that we are followers of the Prophet and the Immaculate Imams—may God's peace be upon them—who controlled all the affairs and established rules and guided the people.

Advice to simple living of the men of knowledge

Thank God, today discussing political subjects is no longer a flaw; but you must note that all are focusing on you and therefore, protect the ideals of the men of knowledge. Lead a simple life exactly like the theologians of the past. In the past, the standard of living of both the clergyman and the prominent theologian was either below that of the common people or the same level as them. Today, you should attempt not to change your lifestyle of that of a cleric. If one day you surpass the common people from the viewpoint of lifestyle, then know that sooner or later you shall be discarded because the people shall say that "when they did not have the affluence they were living like the common people but today that they are well-off, they have distanced themselves from the people". You must live like before; we must live in a manner that do not see that we are "*Taghuti*."

Mentioning the duties of the Friday Prayer leaders in the sermons of the prayer

Another subject is the sermons of the Friday prayers. You must call upon the people to observe piety; it is mandatory to exhort the people to practice piety in the first sermon while in the second sermon, it is mandatory on condition of exercise of caution. Talk of the moral subjects to the people and urge them to observe Islamic ethics. Talk of the subjects of the day to the people; of what takes place in the course of the week in the country. Keep the people present in the arena for that which has safeguarded the Revolution and Iran is the presence of the people in the arena. Nowhere in the world shall you find a people as good as the people of Iran. Today, the people are behind the Islamic Revolution and the government. The support of the people for the government is because they regard this government to be Islamic and they are aware that supporting the government is supporting Islam. It is only for this reason that they support the government; you must sustain this support. The Friday prayer leaders enjoy the biggest congregations; take advantage of these congregations and remind the people of the religious and political aspects and arm them in the face of the devils. Today the government is working with all its strength and is doing all it can; the task is difficult. Today most of the governments are not in good terms with us. Our enemies have done a lot of things against us; they have created local differences and have imposed the war on us and still they will not leave us alone; despite all these hardships, so many things have been done. However, there are shortages and very high prices and the people are unhappy about these things; but is there a place where there are no shortages and high prices. Despite its claims, in the Soviet Union there are still long queues. In Iran also, there are shortages and high prices but we must resist for the sake of Islam. However, a people that have sacrificed their youth in the war are not troubled by these difficulties. Those that are on the warfronts are not afraid of difficulties and offer resistance. Those that are fighting and engaging in struggle are patient in the face of shortages but those that are sitting on the sidelines; that crowd that would seek pleasure and whose pleasure-seeking has been halted are unhappy. They are the ones that are weakening the government and constantly complain of shortages; they are the ones that are engaged in weakening the government. Sirs, you must support the government at the Friday prayers. I hope that the Friday prayers are held vehemently. God endorse all of you. May God's peace be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, May 28, 1983 [Khordad 7, 1362 AHS / Shaban 15, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Blessings of the lunar months of Rajab, Shaban and Ramdan

Occasion: Auspicious Birth Anniversary of Hujjat Ibn al-Hasan, the Savior Messiah of the Time (May God hasten his blessed advent)

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamnei (President), Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of Supreme Court), Yusuf Sani (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Musawi Tabrizi (Prosecutor General of the Revolution, Qasim-Ali Zahirnejad (Joint Chief of Staff), Imami Kashani (Head of the State Administrative Justice Organization), Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi, Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Hakim, representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Members of the Guardian Council, members of the Supreme Council of the Judiciary, members of the cabinet, judges of the Islamic Revolution Courts of the capital and the military, heads of the Courts of Administrative Justice and State Inspectorate Organization, Joint Chief of Staff of the Army and commanders of the police and security forces, members of the Higher Council of the Revolutionary Guards Corps and representatives of the Imam in the Guards Corps, Society of Teachers of Qum Theological School, Central Council of the Friday Prayer leaders, members of staff of the Cultural Revolution Council, Association of Combatant Clergy of Tehran, heads of Political-Ideological Departments of the police and security forces, members of the Central Council of the Construction *Jihad*, officials of the Islamic Revolution *Komitehs*, Martyr Foundation, *Mustadafan* Foundation, Fifteenth Khordad Foundation, Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution, the Imam Relief Committee, Endowment Organization, *Hajj* and Pilgrimage Organization, Red Crescent, Central Bank, Municipality, mass media, War Propagation Organization, Islamic Republic News Agency, Managing Director and Supervisory Council of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting, Sermonizers of Tehran, State Aviation Organization, editor and editorial board of the *laailaat* daily; tutors and students of the first group of the Commanding Staff College and staff of the ground forces of the army; local and foreign journalists

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Supplications of the month of Shaban are the greatest sources of Divine teachings

Reciprocally, I extend my felicitations for this great and glorious Islamic-religious feast to the respected audience and the authorities of the country and to the rest of the oppressed strata of the world and especially to

the glorious nation of Iran. I hope that God willing, with the exclusive favors of the Imam of the Time—may our souls be sacrificed for him—this rocking ship of humanity reaches the shore of salvation and that the oppressed of the world triumph over the arrogant oppressors. It is hoped that the universal rule of His Holiness—may God's peace be upon him—is established soon and the eyes of all of us and all Muslims of the world are lit up with the light of his appearance. These three blessed lunar months of Rajab, Shaban and Ramadan have plenty of bounties for persons that are capable of taking advantage of these blessings. However, the origin of all is the Prophetic mission and following it, all the aspects that are present. In the month of Rajab, the great Prophetic mission and birthday of mawla Ali ibn Abialib—may God's peace be upon him—and some of the other Imams are celebrated. In the month of Shaban it is the birthday of His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs —may God's peace be upon him—and of His Holiness the Twelfth Imam—may our souls be sacrificed for him—while in the blessed month of Ramadan, the descent of the Quran and its revelation in the blessed heart of the honorable Prophet is commemorated. The tongues, intellects and the minds cannot gauge the moral distinction of these three months. Among the blessings of these months are the supplications that are recommended for these months. Today we are in the blessed month of Shaban, and the supplications of Shaban are among the greatest and most glorious of Divine teachings and are among the biggest affairs, which those that are of the pious can to the extent of their understanding benefit from them.

Subjects on divine issues and mystical issues are easy and each person thinks he has understood them; and the subjects of logical reasoning at the same time that they are exact are easy to understand. After the rise of logical reasoning and following it, reaching the inferences of these subjects and the results of the logical reasoning to the heart, which is called faith, is more difficult. Often the experts on logical reasoning do not reach to this degree of faith. This subject must reach the heart with promptings, repetitions and self-abstinences. You notice that as necessitated a deceased person does not inflict any loss to a person except some persons. Others if they are alone in a graveyard and they are confronted with the body of a dead person in the mortuary, they are overcome with fear; this is because that logical reasoning and mental necessity has not reached the heart. The rationalization that the mind has understood and is also necessary, has not reached the heart. However, those that wash the corpses and are working with the dead, from the viewpoint that this subject is repeated for them, it has reached their heart

and they have no fear. It is the same with Islamic subjects and subjects of the mind. There are intellectual subjects that with logical reasoning are fixed but it has no effect on the person because the result of the logical reasoning has reached the mind but has not entered the heart. There is no faith in it; the mind has understood it but the heart has no faith in it.

Mystical taste in understanding the secrets of the teachings of Quran and supplications of the Imams (a)

Often the mystical issues that are in the Quran and the supplications of the Immaculate Imams—may God's peace be upon them—and these supplications of the month of Shaban are mystical subjects, which the individuals, philosophers, mystics can to some extent comprehend, to understand the themes, but they cannot do justice because that mystical taste has not been obtained. The noble verse in the Quran that states, "...thereafter, he came near and he got very near to the equivalent of two bows."¹ Well the commentators and philosophers have spoken on this subject but that mystical taste is lacking. "O God, grant me the perfect connection with Thyself and grant radiance to our heart and sight with Thy Own Radiance so that the eyes of the heart tear the curtains of light and reach to the fountainhead of glory and our souls are tied to Thy glory. O God, make me of those who as soon as you call, reply to Thee and who as soon as you pay attention to them, faint and cry out in response to your glory and manifestation."² They think that the subjects are the human beings; well, we also know. Neither the mystic nor the philosopher and nor the theologian can discern what the subject is. The source of the subject of "*He rent asunder the mountain and Moses fell unconscious*"³ is the Quran and the subject of "... Moses fell unconscious" is a subject, which a person assumes that well, he fell down unconscious, but what was this unconsciousness? What was the falling down unconscious of Prophet Moses? This is a subject that only Moses can understand. Or take the case of the manifestations that is mentioned in this great supplication and some other sentences that are in it are subjects that on the surface are easy and in reality, impossible to understand. It requires a lot of practice of self-abstinence so that a person can understand their meaning. Is God supplicating with a person; what is supplication? What do the Imams want? This is of the supplications which all the Imams would recite and I have not seen a narration say this about any

¹ *Surah an-Najm* 53:8–9.

² *Ma'fatih al-Jinan*, general supplications of the month of Shaban.

³ *Surah al-Araf* 7:143.

other supplication. What was this? What came to pass between them and the blessed and Almighty God? “It is in Thy hands and not in the hands of other than You my profit, loss, abundance and deficiency.”¹ Well, apparently a person will say that everything is in His hands. However, the true meaning of this subject that no loss befalls us except by His leave or no profit is gained by us except by His leave and that all profit and loss are by His leave are things that we cannot comprehend.

Pray that the Blessed and Almighty God that in this blessed month and the blessed month of Ramadan, grants us the favor to derive some pleasure even if it is a small manifestation in our hearts and souls so that at least we come to believe what the subject of the “lightning” is; come to believe what is supplication of God with a person. We come to believe in the supplications and not deny them and say that these are words of ascetics. All these subjects are in the Quran in a subtle manner and the books of sacred supplications of the guiding Imams; all these subjects are present although not as subtly as in the Quran but in a subtle manner nonetheless. All the individuals that used the terminologies have knowingly or unknowingly taken them from the Quran and the narratives and it is possible that they do not know the true sources of them. However, few can comprehend their truth let alone their souls to be touched by them. For the soul to be touched by them is a subject that is way beyond these subjects.

America’s defense of the spies and the aggressors of the Islamic Republic

I hope that the blessed and Almighty God cuts off the hands of the corrupt and tyrants from this nation that has arisen today; it has started a movement for Him and has arisen for His sake so that it attains the objectives that it must. However, until these superpowers are seated on the throne of power, this is something that appears to be a little difficult. I do not know whether you heard the speech of the President of the United States that was broadcast over the radio in which he asked the entire world to assist him in getting the release of these Bahais² living in Iran. He said that they were innocent and were not spies and that they do not engage in any activity other than religious ones and it is for this reason of engaging in religious activities has condemned 22 of them to death. He pleaded with the entire world that

¹ *Mafatih al-Jinan*, general supplications of the month of Shaban.

² The Bahai cult is a misled group that was established by a person named Sayyid Ali Muhammad Shirazi during the reign of the Qajar dynasty (Nasiruddin Shah) and after his execution, this sect continued with its socio-political activities and is the time from which this sect placed its services at the disposal of the agents of colonialists and global arrogance.

they were not spies and are a people that do not interfere in anything and he was pleading on humanitarian grounds. Had he not mentioned these subjects some naïve minds would think that well, they too are a people that although they have corrupt beliefs but they are engaged in their own religious worship; this too was not their intention. However, after Mr. Reagen said that they were only engaging in religious ceremonies and nothing else, could we still believe? On the one side when they arrest the *Tudeh* Party officials, the Soviet Union protests that they are an innocent group that are also in agreement with the Islamic Republic; that they support it; that they backed the Islamic Republic like all others and are even now supporting it whereas now the government of Iran has come and unnecessarily arrested and imprisoned them. On the other side, Mr. Reagen¹ is now saying that these Bahais are a wretched and peaceful people busy with their own worship ceremonies and are performing their own religious rituals and Iran is opposed to them for this very reason that their beliefs are contrary to ours. If they were not spies, you would not have voiced concern. Because they are a bunch that are working in your favor otherwise we know you; we know America would not all of a sudden clamor for 22 Bahai individuals who according to him have been arrested in Iran and that it is for humanitarian concerns that he is voicing his protest and is pleading with the entire world to come to their rescue. The people know you; you that persuaded Iraq to do unto our country what the Moguls had not done; and likewise unto their own country. Iraq that has arrested a group of great theologians such as Ayatullah Yusuf² whom I know to be an upright and proper man purportedly in order to take revenge from the late Ayatullah Hakim, he has arrested him and a large number of the big and small members of this family. If you were humanitarian, it would be nice if you had said a word and asked why he was doing this. Why not a word is said in your mass media about what he is doing in Iran and Iraq. You saw what they have done to the point where you studied their files and yet you are saying this—or perhaps you have knowledge of the unseen. If we did not have proof that they were spying for America just from the support of Reagan for them, and we did not have reason that the *Tudeh* party are spies just from the support of the Soviet union for them would have been sufficient. However, we tell you that the *Tudeh* party not because it was the *Tudeh* Party and the Bahais not because of their belonging to the outlawed Bahai sect were prosecuted by our

¹ Ronald Reagen, former president of the United States from the Republican Party.

² Sayyid Yusuf Hakim the son of Haj Sayyid Muhsin Hakim of the Sources of Emulation of Iraq.

prosecutors and sentenced to imprisonment. They had problems; the *Tudeh* party came forward and confessed all their activities and they have a record. The Bahais are not a faith, they are a party, a party that in the past was supported by the British and are at present being supported by the Americans—they too are spies just like them. If they were not spies, then well, there are many other people that have ideological deviations; they are communists, they are other things but our prosecutors do not arrest and imprison them because they are Communists or have ideological deviations. Not until the *Tudeh* party engaged in conspiracy; not until its conspiracies increased—of course they were under surveillance for what they were doing because they had a track record—but not until their conspiracies reached the stage where in their own corrupt opinion, they were to fructify, that our dear Revolutionary Guards arrested them. God willing, they shall be handed sentences that they deserve.

The problem is that you Mr. Reagan are supporting them; and their supporters are the sirs in the Soviet Union and this reveals that they have a peculiar situation whereby they provide benefits to you and that group provides benefits to them. Apart from providing benefits, they also provide information about us to them; engage in espionage activities between the nation of Iran and the government of Iran for them. These are the problems that our country is encountering with these superpowers and these deviant elements today.

Right criticism, yes; conspiracy, never

On the other side, there are devils inside the country that are either their operatives or are ignorant or that they basically, dislike the Islamic Republic. They say it should be another form of government or they truly believe in the Islamic Republic and accept it and have everything in common with you sirs but their naiveté is being exploited and they are being used. I say for example, that such words must not be uttered or such statements not be made in such and such place; I do not say that it should be repressed; let them whatever they want to and criticize at will; criticism is other than conspiracy. The tone of conspiracy differs from the tone of criticism. Criticism is of the constructive variety. Scientific debate in the same manner that Islamic science does not achieve its objective, political affairs also will not get anywhere without debate. It requires debate; it requires criticism; it requires exchange of views—no one wants to prevent this. However, sometimes the tone is not of criticism; the tone is the tone of weakening the Islamic Republic even if it has been dictated to them and he is unaware that it is so.

We are opposed to this tone; this tone is not allowed. Conspiracy is not allowed; criticism is allowed. Write, say, criticize but to engage in conspiracy with an attempt to weaken the Islamic Republic and to weaken the organizations of this republic reveals that there are invisible hands at work and beyond them are hands that are guiding them. This government is working with all its capabilities at a time when everyone else would be rendered impotent in the situation that we are in. No highly capable person that wants to do something positive cannot do anything; a government that is doing all in its capacity for this nation and is working hard is confronted with these accusations. Once they accuse its prime minister for such and such thing; next they accuse its ministers. If they truly opposed to this, every Muslim is opposed to this; every clergyman is opposed to this; every human being is opposed to this. Sir, the people have worked hard; sacrificed their youth; have sacrificed their all in the path of Islam. Now that this Islam with the blood of these people; with the martyrdom of these beloved youth reached to the stage where it wants to grow and strengthen itself—and thank God, it has strengthened itself—now you want to start all over and each one of you want to weaken it and say that that one is a plotter, that one is a Communist, that one is a capitalist and such nonsensical talks that are uttered repeatedly. If you have constructive criticism, well then say it and testify that what you are saying is right here and wrong there and even though the government has worked hard, yet it is at fault here. If you see that for example, such a court of law has deliberately committed a wrong or such and such government or such and such minister has deliberately committed a wrong, prove it by giving reasons. That government and that minister shall be interrogated. However, if a person sits back and without a signature or proof write and publish and repeatedly slander and publish—why is it done without signature? If he is speaking the truth well then sign it. A person must not think that they are getting something; what else are they gaining except toil and trouble? These clergymen of Qum except toil; these respected theologians of Qum except toil and using the time which they should be usefully utilizing for academic affairs have come forward and are using in matters that must be used for—what are they gaining? What have they been given? What has this “Combatant Clergy of Tehran” gained except that they are working hard and are going through hell.

Weakening the Islamic Republic means weakening Islam

These courts and prosecutors offices and these judges and this parliament and this Guardian Council and all of these up to the Revolutionary Guards

and policemen that are sacrificing their lives for you and for Islam and for the Muslims, is it right for a person to weaken them? Is it right to say things and publish them over there so that the people are weakened? These are the things that cause one to speak out and say, "Sir, sit where you are; it is enough; that system can no longer return." But no, so and so person is opposed to criticism; not at all, criticize but do not plot. I am opposed to conspiracy; all are opposed to it. By weakening the Islamic Republic, we are weakening Islam. We are opposed to this. Which Muslim person is not opposed to this?

Trust in God and being fearless in affairs

In any case, God willing, I hope that this feast is auspicious for all of you and you continue with your efforts with confidence I that the Blessed and Almighty God is kind towards this country. This country is an exemplary country in that it is devoted to Islam; this is a country whose nation and government, parliament and clergy have all joined hands to implement Islam both here and in all places. Rest assured that the Blessed and Almighty God has favored you and the twelfth Imam—peace is upon him and may our souls be sacrificed for him—is kind towards this society. By placing our trust in God and the favors of the blessed souls, we must not allow any fear to overcome us and we of course have no fear. I have repeatedly said this that the one who has no reserves for the other world is the one that has fear. Do these youth of ours that come and tell me that they want to be martyred have fear of death? These that plead with God for martyrdom, do they fear to be martyred? Are they afraid of dying? These that are engaged in serving and the likelihood exists that God forbid, they are fired at with something have no fear; they are preoccupied with service. The one that does not accept the other side has fear. The one that has understood that there is another side; that has understood that this world is a passage to that world no longer has fear; he aspires to reach his objective.

May God cause Islam to triumph and the soldiers of Islam to triumph and cuts off the hands of miscreants from this country.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Permission

Date: May 30, 1983 [Khordad 9, 1362 AHS / Shaban 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission to attend to and supervise the financial affairs of the minor children of the martyrs and instances that require the permission of the “Religious Jurisprudent”

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi (representative of the Imam and head of the Martyr Foundation)

In His Most Exalted Name

You are permitted to take steps that are necessary for the safekeeping of the properties of the minors and for looking after their interests. May the Exalted God willing, you are successful. If they have paternal grand parents, then it should be undertaken with consultation and permission with them.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 17, 1403 AH

¹ Mr. Mahdi Karrubi (representative of the Imam and head of the Martyr Foundation of the Islamic Revolution) had in a letter (Ref. 113056—4/3/1362 AHS) to Imam Khomeini requested his permission for supervision over the safekeeping of the properties of the minor children of the martyrs and likewise, their guardianship in instances where they did not have an appropriate and qualified guardian.

Decree

Date: May 31, 1983 [Khordad 10, 1362 AHS / Shaban 18, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Continuation of the work of the Committee for Follow-up of the 8-Articled program of Imam Khomeini by the Judiciary

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of the Supreme Court)
Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may His graces last,

It is about five months that following the “8-Articled Order” the Follow-up Committee has been formed. In this period, despite many difficulties and with the continuous and day and night efforts, it is performing its duties and responsibilities. It has presented a report of its operations and the achieved results in a book presented to you while the rest of the complaints were referred to the qualified sources so that they are investigated when due. Considering that all these affairs have a judicial aspect to them, and at present, all the judiciary organizations, the Supreme Judiciary Council, the State Supreme Court, the police prosecutions, the State Inspectorate Organization and the courts and prosecutions are fully prepared to accept and to perform the delegated responsibilities; thus if Your Eminence considers it expedient, and instructs that attending to the workings of the committee and the continuation of this job be the responsibility of the judiciary alone so that the brothers of the Executive Power can attend to their responsibilities with more earnestness. Meanwhile, we would like to thank and express our gratitude to the Combatant Clergy and all the inspectors of the executive and judiciary that have until now taken a lot of trouble, such that was it not for their untiring cooperation, the committee would not be able carry out this task of such great magnitude. May God grant you longevity.

Abdul-Karim Musawi—Head of the
Supreme Court, Mir Husayn
Musawi—Prime Minister of the
Islamic Republic of Iran—8/3/1362
AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Thank God, with the earnest and tireless efforts of the follow-up committee, the necessary revolutionary anarchy has been prevented to a noticeable extent. No person allows himself to trespass the homes and shops and without a legal and religious permit and almost nothing is done at random. The courts and prosecutors offices do not take any action without legal permission and appointments are made in an Islamic manner. Finally, the basis of affairs has been reformed with the efforts of the "Committee" and I would like to thank this committee for their efforts. Considering that the matters are related to the Judiciary, and His Excellency the Prime Minister and some of the other ministers must continue with other important tasks, while expressing my gratitude, I agree with the previously mentioned proposal. God willing, you are successful and blissful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 18, 1403 AH / 10/3/1362
AHS

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 2, 1983 [Khordad 12, 1362 AHS / Shaban 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The parliament and its importance in the Islamic Republic order

Occasion: On the eve of the Day of God of Khordad 15 simultaneous with holding the "Parliament and People" Week

Audience: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), families of the martyrs of Khordad 15 (June 4), members of parliament and their families, administrative staff of the parliament and the Guardian Council, head and officials of the Khordad 15 Foundation from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of the parliament in reform and corruption of affairs

I must thank the sirs for taking the trouble to come here so that we can talk about the issues we are facing besides each other. The question of Khordad 15 is one of those issues that few know about its before and after happenings. These shall remain unknown until the end; and I know of many of the issues that cropped up before and some that occurred after Khordad 15 but I shall not mention them. However, with the efforts of the youth of the country and the martyrs in the path of Islam, fifteenth of Khordad became the origin for the subsequent upheavals. I beseech the Blessed and Almighty God to grant His abundant blessings to the martyrs of Khordad 15 to whom we are indebted. May God grant patience and rewards to the families of the martyrs that are still alive and shall also be present later.

The subject that I must speak about and perhaps I have spoken about repeatedly is the subject of the parliament and its importance. As I have repeatedly said, that if the university and the theological Faydiyyah School are reformed, the country shall be reformed; and all the things that were done during the deviant regime were done by the universities that were deviant.

Regarding the parliament, I must say that in a country like Iran which thank God, is now an Islamic Republic in all respects and is planning to Islamize all affairs, in the same way that we have primary industries, the parliament is also the same. If the parliament is an Islamic one and is elected by means of proper elections, and the individuals that are elected are truly representative of the nation, then all the tasks shall be reformed by means of the legislators. All the tasks that were performed after the constitutional crises and the deviations that gradually surfaced and that reached its peak

during the reign of the Pahlavis, one of the big factors that I must say that was the mother of all factors was the parliament. They misled the constitutional movement; they made the parliament a parliament of bullies; they deprived the nation of voting. This issue was not restricted to the term previous to this one; rather the majority of the terms were definitely like this except that suddenly the appointment of legislators fell into the hands of the feudal and the influential persons of the country. In all regions the people had no say; and if at all they did have a say they were ignorant of affairs. They would gather the landless peasants and bring them to the ballot box to cast their votes in a manner that they had previously ordered them to do without them understanding what they were doing and knowing what voting is and what they were doing. Only the feudal landlord knew that they were voting for his benefit and for the benefit of their governments and there was no question of which way the country was heading involved; they had nothing to do with this. Later on during the reign of Rida Khan and after Rida Khan the majority of you know how it was, all of you know in the latter period of the catastrophes that befell the nation, and the parliament was the mother element. A group of them would prepare a list and as Muhammad-Rida confessed—except that he would say that it was during the reign of his father—the embassies would send them the lists of those that must be appointed. After his reign it was even worse and our legislators must be approved by America and before it Britain while the people and government of Iran and nobody else could give an opinion on this issue. The legislators were appointed on their orders with names and portfolios determined except of some in Tehran that were in a very small minority. Of course, it gradually became so until the reign of these when it reached its peak. All the miseries of the government were rooted in the parliament. They would do whatever they wanted to; they did whatever corruptions they wanted by dictating it to the parliament and they would create opponents and proponents as required and then cast their ballot as was dictated to them. The Blessed and Almighty God wanted that the situation of the feudal and the interference of the embassies in Iran be curtailed. Thank God, in the recent election the vast majority of the people were involved while the feudal property owners had no say and where they did have a say, the parliament promptly rejected them.¹ In the future, too, if the nation be present in the arena in similar fashion and appoint the legislators that are devoted to all aspects of Islam and interests of the country, then it is hoped that in future, each year be better than the previous one. Thank God, in this term, also, there are many radiant faces in the parliament and there are intellectuals, jurists and their likes in the parliament and one more year remains for the end of the term. I am optimistic that in this year there is greater earnestness for attending to the affairs of the country and the deprived and oppressed of the country.

Meticulousness and necessary analysis of the parliament in ratifying bills and plans

In this new year also, the parliament should spend its time in Islamizing difficult issues, with the same meticulousness and attention to detail that the men of science have in scientific matters. In the same way that scientific issues require a lot of invaluable attention to detail, political issues require no lesser than that. This is because regarding political issues, the destinies of the country is in the hands of those that want to reflect on these issues. The sirs should not think of proposing many plans and passing many bills in parliament; they should think of presenting good proposals and passing them

¹ Reference is to Khosrow Khan Qashqai who was elected from Firuzabad constituency of Fars province. After investigating the manner of holding of the elections in that city, the members of parliament judged that most of the votes of the people was cast by coercive methods into the ballot boxes. They gave a no-confidence vote to Khosrow Khan and rejected him. Later on Khosrow Khan was condemned to death by firing squad by the Islamic Revolution Tribunal for the crime of spying on behalf of the CIA.

well in parliament. In the same way that the men of science are meticulous in every task and investigate and debate and discuss issues; these matters also must be in such a way that the pros and cons of the issue is sufficiently studied and analyzed meticulously. With meticulousness and motivation, many motions should be forwarded so that when it comes to the parliament it is a developed issue from all aspects and paves the way for the solution of the problems of this country. I thank the sirs for their valuable troubles in the years that have passed and have resolved many problems that existed inside the parliament and outside it and are now doing their job with sufficient strength. The parliament of this year differs from the parliament of previous years; this year the parliament has more power meaning that those that were causing disruptions for the parliament and for all government bodies and basically intended to cause disruption for Islam have either gone or fled or have been isolated. Thank God, today the parliament is able to resolve the problems that have occurred and will occur in this year which is the last year with a heart that is relaxed and a straightforward and merited manner so that this parliament becomes a role model for other parliaments. If in the following year, for example, another group takes over from the sirs, they

would know what they must do and what you have done and they must know how to follow-up.

Comparison of the Islamic Legislative Assembly with the parliament of the Pahlavi regime

Finally, the parliament reforms the basis of a country or corrupts the basis of a parliament. It was the parliament that created so much corruption and so much treachery during the Pahlavi regime while it is the same parliament has done so much service and is keen on serving. I do not want to say that the tasks have been implemented and all of them are finished one-hundred percent; but when we compare the individuals that are in this parliament with those during the reign of Rida Khan—except for rare instances—and the time of Muhammad-Rida without exception and see the record of those individuals and how they lived and who they were, it would be sufficient to make us feel grateful for this parliament. In the present parliament, there is none of the types of former times. If suppose there is an individual that is opposed with your position, this difference is of taste and not of any real deviation as was present in individuals of former times. Previously there was deviation meaning that they would appoint deviant individuals for the job. It was an order and they could not oppose him; and if at all, one or two persons would oppose, they were in a minority and their protests would get nowhere. Today, it is quite the opposite; thank God, the sirs that are in parliament are neither dependent on the East nor the West and want to serve even if they have differences of style.

Necessity of agreement of legislations of parliament with the commandments of Islam

To debate is one of the most critical aspects of the parliament; there must be debate. Every issue must be meticulously investigated and initially be studied in the commissions and secondly in the parliament and finally in the Guardian Council so that when a legislation comes out of parliament, it is one-hundred percent legitimate that is in agreement with the primary commandments belonging to Islam. Alternatively, they should be in agreement with the secondary commandments that are also belonging to Islam. This method is a method which, God willing, if it perpetuates then rest assured that the parliament will perpetuate and the government shall also be reformed and the rest of the powers that are in Iran shall also be reformed meaning that deviation shall no longer be possible. Deviation would start from the parliament and not that it is ordered from outside; outside would

issue the order and they would get going. If the parliament is upright and does its job in a manner that is in the interests of the country; in the manner that is demanded by the commandments of Islam and is investigated in a meticulous manner and be researched thoroughly and with patience so that whatever the issue, the important aspects of the issue must be debated earnestly. The sirs that are habituated with theological school debating and are educated in theological schools are familiar with problems, rejection, elimination and all these matters, must also act in this manner. This is because this is equally important; that too involved Islam, this too is also Islam. Therefore, in this year that is in progress, God willing, it is hoped that it passes well and the sirs serve these poor and the historically deprived with a relaxed mind. I am optimistic that God willing, this year shall pass auspiciously and in the coming year the parliament will be as it is now and with the same type of individuals so that God willing, the problems are resolved. It is hoped that the next parliament no longer has to face those problems.

Opposition of the powerful with progress of Islam

Well, the question of the opposition of all the powerful of the world with Iran is not an issue that is hidden; they themselves confess to it and say that Iran must not be defeated. The yardstick is not Iraq; it is not Saddam. The yardstick is the progress of Islam. It is not that they have sympathy for Saddam; Saddam is a man—if at all he could be called a man—who shall be destroyed later. However, that which they fear is Iran meaning that they would like to see Iran be defeated. Although the American president claimed neutrality—just recently he said they maintained neutrality—but it is a matter that everybody knows and it is not necessary for us to bring clear proofs for him. We all know to what extent he is neutral in this matter; it is the same with others; the same with the Soviet Union; the same with France and the same with the others. The question is not of neutrality; the question is the backing of every regime that is anti-Islam and pulverizing Islam in any way that they can.

Resistance in the face of difficulties arising from the imposed war

Thank God, this parliament, this nation, this army, this Revolutionary Guards and this the rest of the bodies that are in this country are resisting in the face of all affairs and are resolute. If God willing this was imposed on us, is finished and the government patiently attends to the condition of the poor, all the issues shall be resolved by the government and the parliament

including the issue of inflation. We all know that the inflation today is very high and a group is suffering because of it. However, compared to the sufferings that the Prophet himself and his honorable and beloved wife Her Holiness Khadijah went through¹ whereby they would as is quoted, place the goatskin water container in the water in order that they could for example, get some of the fat from the goatskin container. When they acted in this manner for the sake of Islam, and resisted in this manner in the face of the enemies of Islam, you too are the nation and *ummah* of that same honorable Prophet and must not complain about such and such thing being in short supply. It is not that the provisions are in short supply; what is lacking is the decorative line-up that they wanted; they wanted a group to be present and they are God willing not present anymore and must also be destroyed. There is inflation and high prices but is there a place where there is no inflation. It is not that inflation is exclusive to our nation; inflation is everywhere. If the government becomes strong enough meaning, the war ends and we return to normal life, by the blessing of Islam and the presence of the nation of Iran in the arena, these issues shall be resolved in a short period.

Two-sided approach of the affiliated media in the crushing of the Kurds

Of the important issues that are present, I would like to speak on one aspect of them and not talk about the other aspects for the time being and I want to talk only about a single aspect of it, which is the subject of the incursion of the Turkey into the territory of Iraq for crushing the Kurds. What I would like to speak about is that the Kurd of Iran, the Kurd of Iraq, and the Kurd of Turkey are all Kurds. The difference is that the majority of the Kurds of Iran are in favor of the Islamic Republic while a few corrupt groups among them are opposed to it. Right now throughout Kurdistan, their Friday Prayer leaders, the theologians of that land and their people are in favor of the Islamic Republic. Those that sow discord consist of one or two groups some of which are Communists and some are worse than communists are. What has happened that all the mass media in the world have become so sensitive about the Kurds of Iran and perhaps more sensitive than the Kurds themselves? The Kurds themselves say that they want these corrupt elements to be destroyed; but the mass media always condemn Iran. Their tone in relation to the incursion of Turkey into Iraq for crushing the Kurds or the agreement of Iraq with them if true is no more a problem. Well they have come and do not want their country to be divided; what is indeed the question is that why talk about the Kurds of Iran? If the issue as they say is

¹ Reference is to three years of siege of the Prophet and his companions in the Shib Abitalib.

separatism, well, our corrupt Kurds are more; what has happened that the whole world are putting all their weight on Iran and saying that it is Iran that is doing such and such to the Kurds. How is it that they do not speak as much about the Kurds of Iraq and the Kurds of Turkey or if at all, they say a word and make only passing references to them. The problems that humankind is facing are of these types; it is these sorts of injustices that have enveloped the entire world. If in case a savior of humankind is not found—I hope that God willing, he will appear soon and God sends the great savior of humankind—if it is delayed then basically, killing would become something commonplace among all of them. A group of helpless and innocent people is being crushed all over the world and there is no talk about them anywhere. In America, so many innocent people are being trampled upon while basically, there is no word about America that why they are doing this. In the Soviet Union too, so many innocent people are being trampled upon, but there is no word about them too. The same in the region; they are trampling upon their own people and nation so much and yet there is not a word about them. It is only here in Iran that its government is creating repression and its entire people are opposed to the government; and it is the bayonet that forces them to pour onto the streets; and to be present in the arena. What must we call this in the world? What must we call the one that holds the pen in his hands and writes these things? What must we call the one that gives instructions to the media and coordinates all of them so that suddenly you notice that the same voice arises from everywhere; what are they saying? What kind of a congregation are they? What sort of brain structure do they have? These are the problems that our republic that has been established in these few years, is facing, that our parliament also faces, that our government faces and that others are facing. When these problems are resolved and the world comes to its senses, speaks the truth, and propagates what is indeed the truth, our job will then become easy.

Dependence of the international organizations on the superpowers

Now, I do not know what the sirs that have come to investigate the destructions in Iran and also visited Iraq and brought back only a handful of injured and showed what had happened to them have to say later. However, there was no destruction to show and perhaps they had destroyed a couple of walls just to show there was destruction. They shall say that both Iran and Iraq had violated; is there nothing else to say? Alternatively, do they really want to investigate and understand what was the scale and what Iran had done and what they had done? At the same time that they were busy

investigating, they were shelling Iran. Does this reveal that those that have come are with us? You should not have asked them to come. Now we are waiting to see what they are going to do, what they shall do, and what they have to say. I hope they act based on human conscience and report what is there. After giving their reports, those that receive the reports have nothing to do with what is the opinion of America on the issue and what the opinion of the Soviet Union is and what is the opinion of France—they should have nothing to do with these and give a true ruling based on facts. We have no expectations from them except that they speak the truth.

Necessity to defend opposite the aggressors of Islam and Muslims

I hope that people of ours that are in the arena show more presence in the arena; they should not get tired of war. War has been an issue in Islam from the time that Islam began to rule and before it, also they were busy making plans. As soon as the Prophet of God came to Medina and established a government, war was either imposed or he was engaged in warfare until the end of his life. The day on which he wanted to return to God, on that day also the soldiers of his commander, Usamah¹ was waiting outside the city to fight a battle. War is something that is essential for justice. If people are just, then there is no need for war. If people are humanitarian, there is no need for war. However, when a group are trampling upon the rights of a majority that are oppressed; when the honor of Islam and Muslims is at stake; when the honor of this entire nation of ours is at stake then one must fight. After all, we did not start the war; even now, we are defending. One must say that almost daily without exception, Abadan is bombarded in addition to other places that you all know. We want to cut off their hands so that they do not violate our nation and us. We are defending and right from the beginning we wanted that there be no war and there be peace everywhere. Do you accept that we negotiate with Saddam who is an enemy of Islam; from the beginning, they were enemies of Islam and when I was in Najaf, I knew that they were enemies of Islam; the late Ayatullah Hakim excommunicated these same². They are pagans; they are apostates. Do you accept that we sit at the same table with them and negotiate for peace? Should we negotiate and say that well, now you have done the things you must ask for forgiveness and we say that we have done these things? Will any human conscience accept to do

¹ Usamah Bin Zayd was one of the youthful companions of the Prophet whom His Holiness appointed commander of a division for battling the faithless.

² Mr. Sayyid Muhsin Hakim was one of the great Sources of Emulation of Iraq who died in Najaf in the lunar year 1389 AH.

this? Alternatively, no, what we have to say is the truth and the entire world if they are fair will accept and would accept what we want; we do not want anything more than our due and that is what we want. From the start of the war, we said that we were not warmongers; we are defending. To defend is an obvious right that is recognized by Islam and other than Islam. We are defending. Our youth have given so many martyrs and have given so much of their blood in order to lessen the mischief of the superpowers in Iran. Now that, thank God, we have reached the stage where the hands have been cut off should we compromise so that their hands extend again. I say to you that if we take a step backward, they will take a hundred steps forward. We must stand firmly opposite them so that the person who created this corruption in the region is crushed and those that urged this man, this devil to behave in this manner with people are disgraced in the world. It is they that claim to be supporters of for example, such and such organization, want to establish peace, and are supposedly using all their strength to establish peace.

Domination of the superpowers and being trampling upon of the oppressed of the world

We know both America and the Soviet Union; none of them wants peace. Both of them are warmongers and want to destroy others with their armaments. However, both of them are in confrontation with one another and "God keeps the oppressors preoccupied with the oppressors." Neither that one has the guts to do something nor this one has the courage. However, as a result, all the oppressed of the world are feeling their blows; they are being trampled upon. We do not want that God forbid, Iran becomes like that again and these serpents rush in from all around and plunder whatever you have and engage in whatever corruption they want and compel your youth to immoralities that they wanted to attract them to during the reigns of Rida Shah and Muhammad-Rida Shah. When we are right and want to establish the truth in this land and in other lands, what do we care if for example, fruits are expensive! If fruits are expensive, it is expensive for both you and us; or for example, there is a shortage of so and so item; well these if a person recalls, in these previous wars, food shortages were wreaking havoc on the people; not inflation but food shortages! Thank God, now there are no food shortages and in this respect, people do not have to worry that goods are not available. From the aspect of inflation, we also are concerned about it; all are concerned but what is the solution? What can we do? Of course, they are thinking and God willing. I hope they succeed to solve this problem. I hope both the parliament and the government consult with each other and find a

way out so that God willing, this problem is also resolved. I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the health, success, honor and glory of all of you. I pray that the martyrs of Khordad 15 and those martyred from Khordad 15 up to now who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Islam, be granted the most exalted status and God willing, patience and reward for their families. I want that all the sirs in their meetings, pray for this nation and not be negligent of reciting the supplications that have been attributed to the Immaculate Imams. The blessed month of Ramadan lies ahead, in the blessed month of Shaban in which we are now, recite the supplications of the Immaculate Imams, and pray for the good and health of this nation and for the defeat and disgrace of the enemies of Islam.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Message

Date: June 5, 1983 [Khordad 15, 1362 AHS / Shaban 23, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: From the bloody Khordad of the “*Taghuti*” era to the Khordad of Islamic rule

Occasion: Anniversary of the Khordad 15 (June 4) uprising

Addressees: Nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Anniversary of the Khordad 15, 1342 AHS has arrived. The glorious nation of Iran has gone through many a “Khordad”; and despite the criminals of the world and their agents that with various weapons had threatened Iran with collapse and were seeing wild dreams of swallowing the country and pillaging of the era of the oppressive monarchy, yet today which is Khordad 15, 1362 AHS we are witnessing the consolidation of the pillars of Islamic rule. The power of the republican order and the armed forces and of the security forces, right from the army and the combative Revolutionary Guards and the *Komitehs* and the Gendarmerie and the police and the *Basij* volunteers and other massive popular forces is increasing daily. With the exclusive favors of the Almighty God and the backing of the Twelfth Imam—may our souls be sacrificed for him—the courageous nation of Iran has successfully negotiated problems, each of which would have been sufficient to destroy a powerful country. Like a great barrier and unconquerable row, it is resisting the criminals and their remnants, has nullified the conspiracies of the great and small demons inside and outside the country, and has negated the decadent thoughts that the ill-wishers and opportunists had bred in their empty heads.

Today, we can see the panorama of the spread of the Islamic Revolution in the world of the oppressed and the innocent more than before. The movement that has started by the oppressed and the innocent of the world against the oppressors and bullies and is spreading, gives hope of a bright future and brings ever closer the pledge made by the Almighty God. It is as if the world is preparing for the arising of the sun of religious guardianship from the horizon of the great Mecca and the Kabah of the aspirations of the deprived and the rule of the oppressed. From the fifteenth of Khordad, when the rule of the arrogant oppressors reached its peak in this land and the evil

hollering of “*I am your great god*”¹ emanated from the throat of the pharaoh of the time² until Bahman 22, 1357 AHS when the foundations of the tyrannical rulers of the era collapsed in this land and the throne and crown of 2500 years of pharaoh-like monarchy was rent asunder by the capable hands of the slum-dwellers and the oppressed of history; and the scroll of lootings and reign of the Great Satan and the dependent and lesser devils allied to it came to an end, it was not more than a short-lived period. From Bahman 22, 1357 AHS until today that we embrace Khordad 15, 1362 AHS, it is no more than a few hours, but the transformation that would appear to be impossible to achieve in less than a hundred years was with the will of the Great God realized in this short period and few hours³ and a manifestation of the promise of the glorious Quran spread light. It is possible that this transformation and upheaval shall be realized in both the East and the West and across the globe. “*The power of God is undeniable*” and it can fill an eternity in a few hours and entrust the world to the oppressed who are the inheritors of the earth; and the horizon of the Divine manifestation of the supreme custodian of God, the Imam of the Time—may our souls be sacrificed for him—be lit and the banner of monotheism and Divine justice is hoisted in the world over the white and red houses of the centers of oppression and atheism and polytheism. “...and that is not at all difficult for God.”⁴

It is necessary that the glorious nation of Iran express its gratitude for the infinite divine bounties on the anniversary of Khordad 15 with its heart and soul. It must regard all that has occurred in the past and is occurring to be the exclusive favors of the Almighty God for everything is from Him and returns unto Him. The key to victory of Islam over global faithlessness in this century that began on Khordad 15, 1342 AHS and should be explored in the twelfth of the Husayni Muharram for the Islamic Revolution of Iran is a reflection of Ashura and the great Divine Revolution. Our great nation must

¹ *Surah an-Naziat*, verse 24 wherein the pharaoh hollers that, “I am your great god”

² Muhammad Rida, the deposed Shah.

³ With the fleeing of the Shah on Dey 26, 1357 AHS the countdown for the collapse of the ancient monarchy in this country began and with the arrival of Imam Khomeini to his homeland on Bahman 12, 1357 AHS and establishment of the interim government of the Revolution, the remnants of the monarchial order was rendered ineffective and in the afternoon of Bahman 21, 1357 AHS with the historic decree of Imam Khomeini to the people to disregard the martial law and to pour onto the streets, in less than a few hours, the defense and security centers and pillars of the monarchy regime collapsed one after the other and on the morning of Bahman 22, 1357 AHS news of the victory of the Islamic Revolution and disintegration of the monarchy order in Iran reached the entire world

⁴ Reference is to verse 20 of the *Surah Ibrahim*.

safeguard the memories of Ashura with the Islamic teachings as splendidly as possible. With its blessing and the invaluable worth of the Helper of God and with their presence in the arena, they should maintain their great Revolution as firmly as possible; and with their backing of the armed forces on the fronts and behind the frontlines, cut off the hands of the criminals from their homeland and sever the greed of the oppressive plunderers once and for all. With their backing of the police and security forces, they should reveal the plots of the minor groupings deviated from Islam and inform the relevant authorities.

On the fifteenth of Khordad 1362 AHS that thank the Almighty God, the power of Islam and the government of the Islamic Republic in the region is exemplary, I warn the governments of Muslim countries to refrain from repeating their past mistakes and join hands of brotherhood with one another. With humility in the presence of the Almighty God and relying on the power of Islam, they should cut off the tyrannical hands of the tyrants and global plunderers especially America, from the region. They should condemn and in practice negate this American, Zionist, Lebanese agreement that strengthens the domination of America in the region and imposes Israel on the Muslim country of Lebanon and thereafter on the rest of the Islamic and Arab countries. They should know, and I have repeatedly said and you have heard that Israel shall not observe these agreements. It regards the rule of the Arabs from the Nile to the Euphrates to be usurped occupation and eventually with the help of America, it will implement its evil design if God forbid it is given the opportunity and the Arab rulers do not awaken from their slumber. Is it not shameful for the governments of the Muslim and Muslim countries that America should come from the other side of the globe and determine their fate and to lure all of them with the help of the faithless usurper Israel and wreak havoc on them? Is it not time that they understand the depth of the plots and evil designs of America in persuading the evil Saddam to attack a powerful Muslim country? Do they not know that to incite the governments of the region directly or indirectly by means of financial, military and propaganda assistances to Saddam the enemy of Islam is a satanic design so that you with your own hands destroy yourselves and facilitate the destruction of the Muslims of the region? Do the zealous Muslims of the region continue once again with their deadly silence and present the opportunity to America and Israel to gamble with their destiny and bring Islam under the control of America? Is it right that the Soviet Union bring the utmost pressure upon the Muslims of Afghanistan and occupy the Muslim country of Afghanistan while you remain silent? Should

the devoted clergy, writers and enlightened intellectuals devoted to Islam and fate of Muslims again continue with their silence and count days for the downfall of Islam? What reply are these clergy-like men that with the endorsement of the moribund Saddam gather in Baghdad and in the name of Islam and in favor of polytheism arise in betrayal of Islam, going to give to God on the Day of Resurrection? The respected authorities of the Islamic Republic has repeatedly reminded that the government and nation of the Islamic Republic desire fraternity in religion with the Muslims of the world and the region and desire peaceful coexistence with all the countries of the world. Today, that it is the regional power, it repeats the same theme and regards the interest of the Muslims to lie in being united in the face of the global plunderers and colonialists; while it regards discord and difference as commanded in the glorious Quran, to result in their defeat and extermination.

Today, which is the anniversary of the fifteenth of Khordad 1342 AHS and is fifteenth of Khordad 1362 AHS, the nation and government of Iran, more united, more determined and more powerful than ever before is resisting in the face of the aggressors and their assistants. In case the aid to the infidel aggressor continues, it shall pursue a path, which they never desire; and in the same manner that they reduced the Baath Party of Iraq to misery and begging and recourse to this one and that one, they can also act in the same manner with the other aggressors and their assistants. The governments of the region must know that in times of their need, neither America nor any other power will support them. The Blessed and Almighty God commands that, *“Do not go to the help of those that have done injustice for the fire shall be yours; and except God, you have no friends and thereafter you shall not be of the assisted.”*¹ O God, we have observed what Thou has commanded and have acted upon the right of fraternity and advice to Islamic brethren and have invited them to peace and goodwill and have warned them of discord and disputes. You awaken them from the slumber of indifference for they are on the brink of the precipice and the depth of hell while handing over the destinies of Islam to the enemies of God and are unaware of its evil aftermath.

O God, you have favored us by transforming the bloody Khordad of the era of the evil *“Taghuti”* in to the Islamic rule in the country of the supreme Trustee of God—may souls be sacrificed for His cause. We humbly seek from Thy Blessed Court to continue to grant Thy exclusive favors to the nation that has arisen to earn Thy consent. It has not taken a break from the

¹ *Surah Hud* 11:113.

bloody Khordad 15 until now and has sacrificed its life, youth and wealth for the beloved Islam and its country. O God, grant victory to the armed forces of Islam over the forces of faithlessness and spread Islam in the world and cut off the hands of the arrogant oppressors from attacking the deprived and the oppressed. O God, enlighten the hearts of all of us with the light of Thy guidance and grant greater resolve to the beloved nation of Iran in advancing the Islamic Republic and crushing the deviant elements and opponents of Islam and its followers so that this Revolution perpetuates until the Revolution of the Twelfth Imam His Holiness Hadrat Mahdi—may our souls be sacrificed for him. Grant victory to our dear youth on the frontlines of defense of the glorious Quran and the great Islam as quickly as possible; and shower Thy abundant blessings upon the innocent martyrs of Islam especially the martyrs of the movement and the Islamic Revolution of Iran from the fifteenth of Khordad until now; and grant patience and infinite rewards to their parents, spouses and relatives; grant cure and good health to the injured of the warfronts and behind the frontlines. O God strengthen as much as possible the Legislative, Judiciary and Executive Powers and the rest of the administrators of the affairs and the servants of Islam and the Muslims and the creatures of God. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 6, 1983 [Khordad 16, 1362 AHS / Shaban 24, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Demise of Mr. Angaji (One of the prominent and influential clergyman of Azarbayjan)¹

Addressees: Muslim Malakuti (Friday prayer leader of Tabriz) and the inhabitants of the province of Azarbayjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Tabriz—Hujjat al-Islam Malakuti, respected Friday Prayer leader—may His graces last,

The news of the demise of the honorable theologian His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Angaji—may God's peace be upon him—caused sorrow and regret to me. His past record and that of his honorable family during the reign of the evil "*Taghut*" and his opposition with tyrannical monarchy is well known to the inhabitants of Azarbayjan province. Please communicate my condolences to the respected residents especially the esteemed theologians and the Hujaj Islam clergy—may their blessings last—and to his honorable family.

I pray to the Exalted God to bless him and to grant health and patience to his respected family. I pray for the victory of the people of Iran and especially the respected inhabitants of Azarbayjan. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Muhammad Ali Angaji was a pious and combative clergyman of Tabriz. On the noon of Khordad 15, 1362 AHS (June 5, 1983) he died while attending a rally on occasion of Khordad 15 in the Imam Khomeini Prayer ground of Tabriz.

Decree

Date: June 9, 1983 [Khordad 19, 1362 AHS / Shaban 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Organizing a committee for attending to the files of the prisoners

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Sayyid jafar Karimi, Sayyid Muhammad Abaahi, Mahdi Qadi (members of the committee for attending to the affairs of prisons)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Herewith, Messrs. Hujjaj al-Islam Muhammadi Gilani, Karimi, Abaahi, and Qadi are assigned the task of organizing a committee for attending to the files of the prisoners of the high court and to look into their status and to inform me of your decision including setting free, commuting the sentences, suspension, change of location and other than these. However, regarding prisoners of the tribunals of the Revolution that are political prisoners, your eminences must personally investigate and the decision by means of balloting of three of the sirs can be put forward so that after studying them I put my signature on them.

Respected judges of the high courts, public prosecutors offices and judiciary and prison wardens and those involved in these affairs are duty-bound to cooperate in the best possible manner with the above-mentioned committee and the committees organized on their behalf. In case of a request, the files of the prisoners must be placed at their disposal without any procrastination. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of the sirs in this important affair.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 19, 1362 AHS

Message

Date: June 9, 1983 [Khordad 19, 1362 AHS / Shaban 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the arrival of the lunar month of Ramadan

Addressees: Shaykh Zaid Bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan (head of Government of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Sheykh Zaid Bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan—Head of Government of the United Arab Emirates,

Thank you for the telegraphic message of congratulations on the onset of the crescent of the auspicious month of Ramadan. Reciprocally, I would like to congratulate your Excellency and your brotherly and Muslim nation for the arrival of this great divine month. I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness and glory of the entire Muslim nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 27, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: June 11, 1983 [Khordad 21, 1362 AHS / Shaban 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Endorsement of the qualifications of the candidates for membership in the Supreme Council of the Judiciary

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed presence of His Holiness Supreme Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may His graces last,

After greetings of peace, following the order of Your Eminence regarding taking steps to assess the qualification of the candidates for membership in the Supreme Council of the Judiciary, a committee consisting of theologians and respected tutors is organized. After necessary investigations, the qualification of the named individuals is attached, and is being sent to Your Eminence for endorsement. I pray to the Exalted God for your good health and longevity. May your presence endure over the heads of Muslims.

Husayn-Ali Muntaziri
21/3/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

What the eminent sirs have judged is approved.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Beneath the handwritten copy of Imam Khomeini, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written that, "His Holiness the Imam wrote and signed the subject at twelve o'clock midnight at the time of going to sleep.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, June 11, 1983 [Khordad 21, 1362 AHS / Shaban 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Hosseiniya Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Manner of revelation of the Quran in the heart of the Prophet of God, the crucial mission of the clergy

Occasion: On the eve of the blessed month of Ramadan

Audience: Abbas Waiz Tabasi (Representative of the Imam and custodian of the Astan-e Quds-e Radawi), Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi, Friday prayer and congregation prayer leaders of the provinces of Khorasan, Bakhtaran, Fars, Qum, Tehran; clergy—Supervisory Council of the non-Iranian clergy residents of Qum, officials of the representative office of the Imam in the Revolutionary Guards Corps and clergymen.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Uncertainty about the manner of revelation of the Quran on the night of Qadr (Ordainment- Night of Power)

I thank the respected theologians, the scholars and the sermonizers that have taken the trouble to come here. I cannot name all of them as it is not necessary and I appeal to all of them to pray for me in this blessed month of Ramadan and for the victory of Islam and for severance of the hands of aliens from Islamic lands.

In the month of Ramadan, an event has taken place whose dimensions and essence is shrouded in ambiguity until eternity for the likes of us—and that event is the revelation of the Quran. Revelation of the Quran in the heart of the Prophet of God on the night of Ordainment; the manner of the descent of the Quran and how it happened and how the Trusted Holy Spirit revealed it in the heart of the Prophet while on the other hand God commands that, “*Verily, we have revealed the Quran on the night of Qadr.*”¹ What was the manner of revelation in the heart of the Prophet on “*Laylatul-Qadr*”? I must say that except for the honorable Prophet himself and those that were reared in the bosom of the honorable Prophet and enjoyed the exclusive favors of the blessed and Almighty God, for others the question of its revelation is absolutely shrouded in ambiguity. What is revelation in the heart; what is the Holy Spirit; in what manner the Holy Spirit along with the Quran penetrated the heart of the Prophet of God; what is *Laylatul-Qadr*?

¹ *Surah al-Qadr* 97:1.

These are questions that on the surface appear easy and at times some statements are made but I tell you that the manner of the revelation of the Quran remains uncertain for the likes of us as does the manner of descent of the angels of God on *Laylatul-Qadr* and also the nature of *Laylatul-Qadr*.

Feast of the Prophet (SA) on the night of Qadr of the revelation of the Quran

What was the invitation that the Almighty and Exalted God based on the narrative of the honorable Prophet that “*You have been invited to the feast of God*”¹ and who accepted this feast? What were the preliminaries for its acceptance, this pilgrimage, this feast and what was the feast itself? I must say that except for the honorable Prophet—may God’s peace be upon him and his household—no one has honored it like he had done.

An invitation has stages; its honoring also has stages. The sublime stage of its honoring is what culminated in the Blessed and Almighty God, after observance of preliminaries and undergoing self-abstinence that the Prophet of God—may God’s peace be upon him—underwent, inviting him to the feast of revelation of the Quran.

Quran is that blessing of an invitation to the Prophet of God to a feast that is laid out from the beginning until eternity. The honorable Prophet benefited from it and its preliminaries are those for which he underwent long years of spiritual self-abstinence until he reached the point where he merited the feast—the important aspect being shunning the world.

Shunning the world is the ticket to admission to the divine feast

The thing that admits a person to the place of feast of God is that he sets aside other than God and this is not possible for every person. It is possible only for a very limited number of individuals headed by the Prophet of God. That previous devotion to the Source of Light and avoidance of those besides Him has enabled him to merit the invitation to the Feast of God and to merit revelation of the Quran into his heart all at once and extensively. One of the probabilities of the blessed night is that it is the physical being of the honorable Prophet himself, which is the lamp of the Light of God while there are other possibilities, too. The important point is understanding of this subject that the stages of perfection of human beings for admission to the Feast of God are many and one must start from the preliminaries. The preliminaries are that one should not be devoted to other than Him and not to see other than Him and to see Him alone and not focus on anything other

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

than Him. Here I must say that this objective is required of all people and if they want admission to the Feast of God, they must shun the world to the extent of their ability and turn away their hearts from the material world. However, for the society of the clergy that also includes sermonizers, there is another requirement.

Anxiety of the Prophet (s) in relation to the lack of endurance of his “*ummah*”

In one of his statements that, “*The surah Hud caused me to age*”,¹ the verse that has been mentioned in the *surah* “*Hud*” has also been mentioned in the *surah* “*ash-Shawra*” with the exception of one word. Yet he states that the *surah* “*Hud*” has caused him to become old. This is because therein the Prophet of God himself and his companions and followers were commanded to stand firm. It is this resistance of the nation that bore heavily upon the Prophet and made him anxious vis-à-vis their ability to endure lest his “*ummah*” not be able to endure. There is a strong possibility that it was this that caused him to make that remark. Resistance in every affair and this follows that a person focuses on the Blessed and Almighty God and the Prophets of God and especially the last Prophet, how they lived, and how they endured sorrows and tragedies. In the twenty-five years that the honorable Prophet of Islam was among the people, what tragedies he saw from these people and what tragedies he predicted. Thus, considering that he was the trustee of the affairs of this nation and the resistance of this nation was also demanded of him in the verse, “... *so stand firm in the affair that you have been commanded and those that turn to God with you...*”² This is what caused the anxiety to the Prophet of God.

Critical responsibility of the clergy and having the last word with them

Today, if the society of the clergy throughout our country—whether the clergymen that are working on a job that is critical for the Islamic Republic and whether those that are not employed; whether the Friday Prayer leaders and whether the congregation prayer leaders; whether the theologians that are doing something else beside these two jobs and are engaged in enlightening the people and whether the respected sermonizers—Islam now is entrusted to them. The honorable Prophet is devoted to this nation. All the smallest of our deeds are being under scrutiny of the Blessed and Almighty God. The letter of our deeds according to the narratives are presented to the Imam of the

¹ *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

² *Surah Hud* 11:112.

Time—the Twelfth Imam—may God's peace be upon him—and he follows our actions and he follows the deeds of the clergy. Today, that Islam has been entrusted to them and all there are no excuses at all, they cannot say that we could not; they cannot say that we did not know; they cannot say that the monarchy regime did not allow us to do anything. All of these have been eliminated and Islam has been entrusted to you; to the clergy throughout the country and you are under scrutiny; you are under scrutiny of the Blessed and Almighty God and scrutiny of the angels that are assigned for this task as in this verse, “*God has control over them from all directions.*”¹ The month of Ramadan arrives and departs and the months go away one after another and the lifetimes also finish; what remains are the pages of your deeds that have been recorded in your heart—and perhaps this also is the Book of deeds. How was your heart in relation to the world? The day when you were incapable, you were pious and ascetic; the day you were capable, God forbid, were you quite the opposite? There is scrutiny involved. Today, the responsibility of the clergy and those that wear this sacred uniform is a responsibility that the clergy was never entrusted with throughout history. Throughout the history from the dawn of Islam until the present, the ultimatum that is on the clergy in this manner is unprecedented. Throughout history, such an opportunity has not been presented to any country; and Islam has been entrusted into your hands and it demands that you safeguard it. It has been entrusted to this nation and it demands that they safeguard it. You must reveal it in your propagations, in not paying attention to the glitters of the world—the important thing is sincere devotion. Possessing wealth, possessing homes and possessing things are not important. The important thing is these things take over the heart of human beings. The reason why accumulation of wealth and property are undesirable is that accumulation of wealth and affluence, their likes, and the glitters of the world attract the heart of a person towards other than God and deprive one of the feasts of God. It is impossible to attend the invitation of God to feast and be admitted to the feast of God without severing your hearts from this material world. What was important to the apostles of God was purification of the soul and turning away from other than God and full devotion to God. All the immoralities that occur in the world is because of this devotion to self in relation to devotion to God. All the perfections that were attained by the apostles of God and the Prophets of God was as a result of this rejection of all others and attachment to Him; and the manifestations of these matters becomes apparent in our deeds. In addition to being responsible for our self and personal

¹ *Surah al-Buru'j* 85:20.

responsibility in some form, we are also responsible for our nation. In the same way that the *Surah Hud* commanded the Prophet that, "... so stand firm in the affair that you have been commanded and those that turn to God with you..." it also tells you to be steadfast and make the people upright with your steadfastness. If the people see a wrong from us and if they turn away from the clergy because of the misdeeds of some of us, it is then not a personal responsibility, it is an Islamic responsibility; it is a communal responsibility.

Defeat of Islam in case of impiety of the clergy

If God forbid, we act in such a manner that this nation distances itself from us, and this nation raises a question mark and asks that today that you have a free hand, you are acting in a different manner and they distance themselves from you; this responsibility of Islam is on our shoulders. Islam shall be dragged to isolation and God forbid, those that are opposed to Islam take charge and come into power and this shall be our responsibility. The question is not a personal question so that a person says that I will do as I like and it is no one else's business—this is not the question. Previously also when a seminary student would do something they would generalize that all seminary students were like that. If God forbid, a clergyman would commit a wrong, they would say that all clergymen were like that. Now the issue is in this way that if Islam is defeated it shall be defeated by means of us. If you become straight, Islam shall not be defeated. With you following the straight path, the people will become straight; with your moral purification, the people shall become morally pure. If God forbid, you say something on the pulpit which you do not practice it yourself and preach something in the mosque that you yourself act contrary to it, the hearts of the people shall turn away from you and this shall gradually result in the defeat of Islam and this responsibility is of all of us. These immoralities that are present in the world and now this uproar that is in the world and they are fighting each other in this fashion is because they are focused only on themselves and pay no attention to God; they moral behavior is not divine; their behavior is animal-like and this animal-like behavior is increasing daily. If Iran gets involved in a war, it is not because they want to strengthen Islam that they are fighting Iran; it is because the carnal soul has grown to where it cannot see someone become powerful.

Chicanery of the leaders of hegemony for fooling the nations

If the world is burning in the fire of these two superpowers, it is because of that same carnal spirit that the agents of these two superpowers and they

themselves possess. If the Muslim countries are burning in the fire of these corruptions it is because those that are holding the reins of power possess the carnal spirit, are selfish, and want everything for themselves. Recently, I do not know whether you noticed that the president of America mentioned a subject while Saddam also mentioned a subject. The president of the United States said—meaning he proclaimed—that the nations under subjugation have one week for their people to earnestly strive to free themselves from the subjugation of those that have enslaved them and he has told them that he also agrees with them. I do not know for whom he has said these words. Is he saying it for the nations that are all under his hegemony? He knows the truth so who is he trying to deceive? Does he want to deceive the nation of America? The American people know in advance, what you have done to the world. Does he want to introduce the East bloc that are enslaving the people? All know that it is the two of you. He wants to say that the nations that are under subjugation are not his business. Well, perhaps the majority of these nations are under the hegemony of America, are they under hegemony of America? What does this man want to say? One week for the people under hegemony, it is asked that they must earnestly endeavor in this matter and if they want freedom, they must also want the freedom of others. What is he thinking? If the nations are under their hegemony—all of them or the vast majority are under your hegemony—who must liberate them? How must they be liberated? Should they be liberated with your backing? On the other side, Saddam has asked that in the blessed month of Ramadan, the war should be halted in order that he indulge in worship. This month—according to their interpretation—is the month of God; this month is the month of worship. Some of them also say that war is forbidden in this month. This is their knowledge. He says that the Prophet would give time even to the faithless; he would cease-fire. Would the honorable Prophet also give respite to the hypocrites? If the hypocrites would approach the honorable Prophet and ask for respite and say they have become Muslims and claim to be on his side and ask for respite in order to worship and so forth while he would see that they were plotting and use this respite to strengthen themselves and prepare for an attack, would the Prophet still give them respite? The Prophet would give respite to the faithless because the circumstance of the faithless was obvious; their file was open and clear. But the hypocrites who on the surface want to worship and like those that during the period of His Holiness Hadrat Ali—may God's peace be upon him—had foreheads that had scars on worship on them, would he still give respite to such persons? Was he permitted to give respite to the conspirators for them to reequip and rearrange

themselves for a bigger attack? We know these individuals, we know the Baath Party; we know Saddam; we know that he has never extended his hands for reform. In the name of reform he wants to engage in evil; he wants to deceive us and to tell the world what a nice person he is and that he does not engage in war during the blessed month of fasting and prayer and month of obedience of God. At least we should not endanger the seas so that he can easily ship the crude oil and import armaments and no one should disturb him so that in the middle of that same month of Ramadan when he sees that he has become strong enough, he launches his attack. Which sane person would accept this? The nation that has sacrificed its youth, including those that were killed and martyred and disabled and has now reduced the other party to impotence and pleading should again be deceived and give you respite to reequip and reinforce yourselves for an attack and to create an Arabia and convert Khuzestan into "Arabia" and so forth? We must be alert and not be fooled by these deceptions; neither be deceived by the president of America and nor be deceived by these people. They too speak the same words and say that we want to liberate the nation under hegemony and asks the nations to cooperate with them. I do not know that the nation of Iran should cooperate with it. Is it in order to be liberated from their hegemony; that it is doing in Iraq; doing that in Lebanon; doing that in Palestine? Everywhere you have a hand and everywhere you are engaged in corruption and you are subjugating every one. While on that other side, the Soviet Union is sitting in wait and saying the same things that we are preparing ourselves for peace. That one also is saying that we are for peace. Of course, in one aspect, they are right because if any one of them shuts its eyes the other will swallow it; but they must not fool the other nations and we must not be fooled by these statements.

War at the head of all issues

Today also, war is at the top of our issues; if we are neglectful for one day, he will attack and will destroy our everything. Unless those same issues that we mentioned at the start of the war are not realized, we are committed to firmly defending our positions. If we are negligent in these matters or if some of the deviant elements and the *munafiqin* get in the midst of the people and tell them that we should accept to end the war because he has asked to end the war and in this way attempt to weaken the resolve of the people, then know that Islam is faced with the danger of faithlessness. If today we retract from one word, if our nation allows its resolve to weaken and retreats, then

its honor, wealth, lives and youth shall all be thrown to the wind of destruction.

We must advance forcefully and fight forcefully with all those that want to attack us and invade us. Death is a thousand times more honorable than for a person to live a dishonorable life and to live under subjugation.

I say to the nation of Iran, to all, to all strata, to the armed forces, to all strata of the armed forces, to be determined and be armed and to make your selves stronger day by day. The nation should be more determined day by day to support and defend Islam and be better prepared for war, which is in defense of Islam; it is defense of honor of Muslims; it is defense of the glorious Quran; it is defense of the nation of Iran and of other nations. We must resist strongly and not retreat at all.

Month of Ramadan is the month of insuring Islam

I hope that in this blessed month all the sirs direct their efforts in keeping the people prepared and in equipping the people and sustain Islam with the help of the people. You also should call upon the people in the mosques, from the pulpits to arm themselves and call upon them to follow the issues and tell them that, *“... so stand firm in the affair that you have been commanded and those that turn to God with you...”* which caused the Prophet to be worried. Know now that the apostles of God are taking notice and are worried that God forbid, this nation of ours should not become lethargic in the path that it has traversed. Thank God, until now all of you have been united and cohesive; and all the clergy are united with others; people are together and united with the clergy and I am optimistic that from now on, they stay cohesive and become more cohesive.

A word of advice to those that in the sermons, congregations that they hold, in the religious theatres and such things pay attention to the poor. Among the people, there are the sick; among the people, there are the weak; among the people there are individuals that are aged, old men, old women and the feeble, the sound should not be too loud to annoy the people. Keep the loudspeakers inside the mosques so that it does not happen that you want to obey God and God forbid, commit a wrong. One of the conventions of the month of Ramadan is to make the people calm. They want to fast; some among them want sleep early at night and fast the next day while some among them are indisposed, ill—the hospitals are filled with them. There are the disabled who could be annoyed by them. They should in these matters have some consideration for their coreligionist brethren. I hope that the various strata of the clergy wherever they are located remain united; it should

not be such that the Friday Prayer leader makes his own arrangements and the Congregation Prayer leader also makes his own separate arrangement and the other clergy also their own.

Socialize with one another for you are brothers. You are the guardians of Islam and it is not possible to be the guardian of Islam and not be together. You should all be together; hold meetings; it is now the month of Ramadan. Hold sessions in the nights. Invite the people to attend these sessions and become familiar with them; hold sessions on the commandments; hold sessions of supplications. It is the month of supplication, the month of connecting to God. God willing you all succeed in insuring Islam in this month of Ramadan with your prayers and your tears and lamentations and the matters that you always observed for Islam and for the sermons that you would deliver with devotion. Sustain those traditional mourning sermons and keep alive those sermons of tragedies for it is from them that we receive the bounties; and we receive these bounties from Karbala. Keep alive Karbala and the blessed name of His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs for it was his life that kept alive Islam. All the strata that are in Iran should have fraternal ties with each other. They should take note of the fact that now there are individuals that are opposed to Islam and are spreading certain issues with the intent to create discord between the Shiite and the Sunni. They want neither the good of the Shiite nor the good of the Sunni. Together we must attack this common enemy and not allow them to God forbid, to infiltrate our ranks and create a rift.

May God grant success to all of you and enables you to be better equipped to serve Islam and be better prepared to serve the frontlines.

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

Message

Date: June 18, 1983 [Khordad 28, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Martyrdom of six members of the family of Ayatullah Hakim in Iraq

Addressees: Nation of Iran and Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“We are from God and to Him shall we return.”

The extremely sorrowful and shocking news of the martyrdom of six members of the family of the late Ayatullah Hakim—may God’s peace be upon him—at the hands of the savage criminal of the world Saddam in the manner that his honorable son His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Hakim reported cause every person with a conscience that has not deviated from human nature to become aggrieved and sorrowful. We live in an era in which the destinies of the subjugated and oppressed nations is in the hands of a bunch of seasoned criminals over whom the brutal nature predominates. In our era and the epoch similar to it, the world has suffered from regimes that rule only with the law of jungle. We are in an era the criminals are praised and endorsed instead of being punished and reprimanded. We are in an era in which the so-called human rights organizations are the guardians of the oppressive interests of the super criminals and defenders of their tyranny and of their dependents. We are continuing with our deadly existence in a region in which the majority of its leaders, all eyes and ears under the command of America, and endorse and legalize the crimes of Israel and the Baath Party of Iraq and strive to destroy Islam and the glorious Quran. We are living in an environment in which the oppressed whose only crime is to defend the truth, are being crushed under the boots of the oppressors and the dirty courtier clerics give an Islamic aspect to these actions. We and the world of Christianity are in an era in which the leader of the Catholics, the pope, instead of condemning America for the crimes it has committed against humanity and calling upon its followers to confront the oppressors, gives its backing to America and advises the other oppressors to cooperate with it. Now in this poisonous world in which to breathe is to die gradually, what is the duty of the nations under hegemony of these superpowers and their parasites? They must sit down, watch these criminal scenes, and with their silence allow the world to

burn in the fire? In this era, do the clergy, the writers, the intellectuals, the thinkers from every nation and creed not have a humanitarian, religious, national and moral duty and must play the role of spectators in their respective countries? Alternatively, these leaders and rulers must with their speeches and writings mobilize the oppressed nations so that the tyrants are eliminated from the scene and the government is handed over to the oppressed in the same way that it occurred in Iran with the struggles of the honorable nation. Was there in the region a power on par with the tyrannical monarchy and despotism and a nation as subjugated as this oppressed nation? You saw that with bare hands and sacrificing their lives and strength, in a short period they liberated themselves from the chains and either enslaved the oppressors and the thieves or banished them. The deprived and the oppressed in history must arise and not wait for the oppressors to liberate them from the chains of hegemony.

I express my condolences for this great tragedy that befell the Eminent Hakim family and the brutal and horrific manner of martyrdom of six of the offspring of the honorable Prophet at the hands of the executioners of Saddam, to their great forbearers and to the great Islam and the pious Muslims of the world and the nation of Iran and Iraq.

The nation of Iraq must know that the question is not of the honorable Hakim family. They who were martyred with those tortures were martyred in the path of beloved Islam and in the interests of the nation of Iraq and were resurrected in the proximity of their glorious ancestors and returned to God. However, the important issue is Islam so that if the atheist who is in essence an opponent of Islam is given respite, he will crush the great Islam and the beloved nation of Iraq under the boots of his brutal executioners and he will not content himself with the generations and offspring of the nation of Iraq. Until when will the Iraqi army whose cadres belong to that very nation and are the sons of that soil and land tolerate these disgraces? It is surprising that the well-wishers of the region are actively engaged in making efforts, in their own opinion, to create peace between the Baath Party and the government of Iran unaware that peace between this sharp-toothed leopard is injustice to the poor and Islam and the Muslims. They are also unaware that the person who because of defeat in the war and losing his all has become such a lunatic that he does not respect any agreement. The nation of Iran, considering the amount of pain and suffering that it has seen from this executioner under no circumstance agrees to peace and will save the beloved Islam so that in the name of peace, the oppressed nations are not made to bear injustices that are beyond their ability to tolerate.

Once again, I express my condolences for this great tragedy to all Muslims and especially the Honorable Hakim family and His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Hakim. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 6, 1403 AH /
28/3/1362 AHS

Permission

Date: June, 1983 [Khordad, 1362 AHS / Shaban (or Ramadan), 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in acceptance and expenditures of religious payments

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Musawi Barzaki Kashani

[The one requesting permission has in a letter while pointing to his past record of propagation and leading the Friday prayers has reminded that based on this record and his position, the pious believers should refer to him for making religious payments. In continuation, he has written "... I am handing over the amounts to His Holiness Hujjat al-Islam Pasandideh or to Your Eminences legal representative Mr. Tehrani. Do you give permission to spend one-third of the portions be spent locally after determining the subject. However because problems and needs and the needy are in large number, one-third is not enough. Please grant permission to spend to the extent of the needs while observing caution and circumspection be spent locally. In addition, affairs concerning expenditures of religious payments, which is contingent upon the permission of the religious judge, is needed in many instances, in case according to the opinion of His Holiness it is expedient and for the good please oblige and grant permission.

Sayyid Ahmad Musawi Barzaki
Kashani—Shaban al-Muazzam 16,
1403 AH—8/3/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Eminence is permitted to consume one-half the religious sums locally in instances determined, needed, and also undertake acceptance of religious payments. May God willing, you are successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini¹

¹ The name contained in the seal of Imam Khomeini that are stamped under such requests and receipts of sums has been registered.

Decree

Date: June 21, 1983 [Khordad 31, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Unauthorized Individuals not permitted to answer religious questions (in the office of Imam Khomeini); saving on usage of telephone

Addressees: Staff of the Office of Imam Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

1. This is to emphasize that individuals that are in the office have no authority to answer religious questions whether verbally or in writing and or over the telephone except Messrs. Rasuli, Sanii and Tawassuli.¹ These sirs should also in questions that are unclear and ambiguous refer to the treatises and thereafter give the answer. If the previously mentioned sirs appoint any person that is familiar with religious issues and who does not give the answer without reference, it is alright.²

2. As far as possible, try not to use the telephone³ excessively because it is paid from the blessed share of the Imam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Messrs Sayyid Hashem Rasuli Mahallati, Hasan Sanii and Muhammad Rida Tawassuli.

² About this verdict of Imam Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written that, "The Imam came to know that sometimes the answers given over the telephone to religious queries were incorrect. Thus, he wrote this and after this writing, a number of the clergymen who were familiar with religious issues entered the "Inquiry" department of the Office of the Imam.

After the demise of Imam Khomeini also, based on the requests of the followers of the treatise of the Imam, an "office for answering the religious questions of people" was organized and at present also, this office gives answers to the religious queries of people based on the religious verdicts or "*fatwas*" of Imam Khomeini.

³ Implying that the telephones operate in the Office of Imam Khomeini, Imam Khomeini would regularly check the monthly telephone bills of the Office and in cases where he would feel that the amounts was excessive he would give reminders and this reveals his concern regarding spending of public wealth and religious payments.

Order

Date: June 25, 1983 [Tir 4, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 13, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the head of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting; rejection of the rumor of interference of the members of the family and office of the Imam Khomeini without his opinion.

Addressee: Muhammad Hashemi Rafsanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Contrary to expectations, there have arisen certain differences in the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting that has caused worry. As a result, I appoint Mr. Muhammad Hashemi as my representative for taking over all the duties of the Managing Director of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting so that this huge organization is not left without responsibility. Because the respected Supervisory Council have certain things to say and they have written some of them to me ; and Mr. Hashemi also has certain things to say, it is necessary that the respected President, the respected Prime Minister—may God assist them—investigate the statements of the parties without the least bias and take the final decision.

It is necessary to remind that I have heard that some of my family members are doing certain things that are against my liking and without informing me. Because this matter is contrary to the truth, the one who has said this should seek forgiveness at the Court of the Almighty God.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 4, 1362 AHS

¹ Throughout the leadership of Imam Khomeini, usually those whose views and needs differed from the stances of the Imam, would point fingers at the Office of the Imam and the members of his household and especially at the well-known face of the Imam and the Revolution, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini. They would talk of canalization of the household and the office and even the person of the Imam. Unfortunately, these unworthy accusations—that however were never accepted by the followers of the Imam and the nation of Iran—resurfaced after the demise of the Imam through persons that at some point during the Revolution could not see eye to eye with Imam Khomeini.

Decree

Date: June 26, 1983 [Tir 5, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of the Supreme Court)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Blessed Presence of His Holiness Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may His sublime presence endure,

Respectfully, attached herewith is the list of two prisoners, which, His Holiness Ayatullah Muntaziri and four prisoners that Mr. Muhammadi Gilani, the religious magistrate of the Tribunal of the Islamic Revolution have requested for amnesty, are presented to Your Blessed Holiness.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is approved.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
5/4/62 AHS

¹ Based on the duties and authority of the leadership as contained in article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Decree

Date: June 26, 1983 [Tir 5, 1362 AHS / Ramadan14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in Lorestan province

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Kazim Husayni Miyanji—may His graces last,

Your Eminence is herewith appointed as my representative for the Lorestan region, May the Almighty God willing, you take measures to meet the religious needs and solve the religious problems of the residents and in matters that require the permission of the religious jurisprudent, Your Eminence is authorized on my behalf to take whatever measures that they deem suitable regarding acceptance of sums and expenditures of religious taxes.

It is hoped that the respected residents and the revolutionary bodies make the utmost effort to coordinate and cooperate with you. I pray to the Almighty God for your success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Ramadan 14, 1403 AH

Letter

Date: June 26, 1983 [Tir 5, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Opinion of Islam regarding capitalists and the poor

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpayegani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Golpayegani—may His blessings last,

After extending greetings of peace and good health and praying for your good health, your respected letter that dwelt on valuable subjects has been received. I have sent the same text to Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Ardebili.¹ Perhaps he will mention certain subjects that pertain to these sorts of affairs from all over the country. However, I would like to assure you that most of the persons that are entrusted with these sorts of affairs especially like His Eminence, strive with their heart and soul for advancing the objectives of Islam and are devoted to Islam and its life-giving commandments. The likes of him never intend to act against the commandments but they know of the problems of the society about which you and I are unaware and preference of one evil over another evil and one priority over another even with his own understanding of the problems of society. The extremely disagreeable problem of housing that sometimes results in loss of respectable lives and above that, the propaganda of the destructive elements against Islam and its teachings which mars the face of Islam all over the world and similar problems albeit at a much lower level that existed at the dawn of Islam. This has resulted in some of the most important commandments such as drinking wine not to be communicated and leniency to be shown regarding some of them such as usury. I wish those that mentioned the issues in a latent form to Your Holiness and only dwelt on their negative aspects and caused anxiety to your respected eminence would pay attention to the other side of the issue and would dwell on the positive aspects so that with the jurisprudential assessment of His Holiness, many of the issues that in their opinion are contrary, would be resolved. I wish that the manner of behavior and thinking of the big capitalists and also illegal land-grabbers and owners of several apartments that had without obligation to the commandments of Islam had accumulated them in an illegal manner. Today, with precise calculation,

¹ Sayyid Abdul-Karim Ardebili, head of the Supreme Court.

property belongs to Islam and must be used in the interest of Islam and Muslims and the poor that are living in abjectness and misery, must be taken care of and these they should have informed Your Holiness in order to make evident what tragedies is befalling Islam and the Muslims. Almost all the rented housing are of this type, which with jurisprudential review must be confiscated. There are few persons that believe in Islam and are devoted to it that are prepared to throw out a bunch of women and children from the homes and endanger the lives of the children in the cold of winter and the debilitating heat of summer in order to make more profits. Those strata that manifest this inhuman action in the name of Islam are those that do not believe in Islam or do not act upon the commandments and by resorting to Islam and the law, they want to continue with their immoral actions.

I do not say that what is happening and the officials especially the knowledgeable clergy are doing is hundred percent Islamic. However, I say that it is not in the manner that your holiness has been informed and has caused your honorable self to become anxious. I have a fear that these indifferent well-wishers cause Your Noble self to be misled and the Islamic Republic that must benefit from the knowledgeable existence of your self, is God forbid, not able to benefit as much. I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the good health and happiness of your respected existence. Mr. Ardebili shall bring to your notice a part of the problems. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: June 29, 1983 [Tir 8, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in the Revolutionary Guards Corps of the Islamic Revolution and emphasizing the observance of laws and the chain of command in the Guards Corps

Addressee: Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi—may His graces last,

In pursuance of the visit that Your Eminence has undertaken, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Fakir¹—may Almighty God assist him—has been appointed to look into the condition of the Guards Corps. While thanking Mr. Fakir for bearing the hardships in your absence, I appoint your holiness to your former position. Please take action with care and detail with regard to the duties of my representative stated in the memorandum of association of the Revolutionary Guards Corps of the Islamic Republic.² I am optimistic that with the help and sincerity of Hujjat al-Islam Fakir and Hujjat al-Islam Mahallati³ and His Excellency the Minister of the Guards Corps and Mr. Muhsin Ridai, for whom I respect and whom I approve, you shall attend to the condition of the Guards Corps in a better way.

It is necessary that the Minister of Guards Corps, the commander of the Guards Corps, other commanders and those that occupy senior positions in the Guards Corps, endorse my representative Mr. Tahiri. In matters related to him, they should follow his advice so that the Almighty God willing, the affairs of the Guards Corps, which is the potent arm of the Islamic Republic, is managed in accordance with the religious and legal regulations and in keeping with the lofty interests of the country and the Islamic Republic. It is necessary to remind that obeying Mr. Muhsin Ridai, the commander-in-chief of the Guards Corps and other commanders based on the chain of

¹ Mr. Muhammad Rida Fakir is one of the members of the Association of Teachers of the Qum Theological School.

² According to article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the leader of the Islamic Republic holds the rank of commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

³ Mr. Fadlullah Mahallati, representative of Imam Khomeini in the Revolutionary Guards Corps.

command and regulations of the Guards Corps is a divine religious duty in the Islamic Republic of Iran and that to infringe them has religious responsibility in addition to legal prosecution.

I pray to the Almighty God for the success of all in serving Islam and the Islamic country.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 8, 1362 AHS / Ramadan al-
Mubarak 17, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: July 2, 1983 [Tir 11, 1362 AHS / Ramadan20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of members of the Theologians of the Guardian Council

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Imami Kashani—
may His graces last,

Based on article ninety-one of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic that in order to safeguard the commandments of Islam and the Constitution from the viewpoint of deviation of approved bills of the Islamic Consultative Assembly with them, a council is being established. According to the stipulated conditions, the selection of the theologian members of that council is in my jurisdiction and, I herewith appoint Your Eminence as one of the six jurisprudents to the membership of the Guardian Council. I pray to the Almighty God for your ever-increasing success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 11, 1362 AHS / Ramadan al-
Mubarak 20, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: July 2, 1983 [Tir 11, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of members of the Theologians of the Guardian Council

Addressee: Muhammad Mumin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Mumin—may His graces last,

Based on article ninety-one of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic that in order to safeguard the commandments of Islam and the Constitution from the viewpoint of deviation of approved bills of the Islamic Consultative Assembly with them, a council is being established. According to the stipulated conditions, the selection of the theologian members of that council is in my jurisdiction and, I herewith appoint Your Eminence as one of the six jurisprudents to the membership of the Guardian Council. I pray to the Almighty God for your ever-increasing success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 11, 1362 AHS / Ramadan al-
Mubarak 20, 1403 AH

Decree

Date: July 3, 1983 [Tir 12, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 21, 1403 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of members of the Theologians of the Guardian Council

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani—
may His graces last,

Based on article ninety-one of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic that in order to safeguard the commandments of Islam and the Constitution from the viewpoint of deviation of approved bills of the Islamic Consultative Assembly with them, a council is being established. According to the stipulated conditions, the selection of the theologian members of that council is in my jurisdiction and, I herewith appoint Your Eminence as one of the six jurisprudents to the membership of the Guardian Council. I pray to the Almighty God for your ever-increasing success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 12, 1362 AHS / Ramadan al-
Mubarak 21, 1403 AH

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (compilation of 22 volumes) vol. 18, p. 27 below the date has been mentioned as Tir 11, 1362 AHS (July 2, 1983) but on the basis of the written manuscript, the above date is correct.

Decree

Date: July 7, 1983 [Tir 16, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Anxiety of the Imam about shortage of bread and mismanagement

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Engineer Mir Husayn Musawi,

Some reports have reached me concerning the shortage of bread that has made me profoundly concerned. Your Excellency is assigned to solve this problem as soon as possible. If some persons create disruptions in this matter, prosecute them. If some persons are procrastinating and are of the employees, dismiss them and replace them with pious individuals. The second priority is to solve the problem of rice. You are also assigned to solve that issue. Inform me of the cases after their performance.¹ I pray for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 16, 1362 AHS / Ramadan al-
Mubarak 25, 1403 AH

¹ In addition to, the factor of the imposed war of Iraq against Iran and economic sanctions of the Islamic Republic of Iran by America and Western governments, the differences of opinion and sometimes disruptions by some factions that were opposed with Mir Husayn Musawi becoming prime minister, despite the support of Imam Khomeini for him, also at that time resulted in occurrence of problems in distribution of bread and rice whose procurement was at a low price was one of the main policies of the Prime Minister throughout his eight-year term. With the directive of Imam Khomeini, the above problem was solved speedily although opposition with his government continued until the end of his term.

Message

Date: July 7, 1983 [Tir 16, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid Bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan (Head of government of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Shaykh Zaid Bin Sulaan Al-e Nahyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

Received the telegraphic message of Your Excellency on the sighting of the auspicious moon of the Feast of *Fiar* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, the brother nation, and the Muslims of your country for the arrival of this great Islamic feast. I pray to the Almighty God for the sagacity and unity of the Muslims of the world in the face of the plots of the enemies especially the global plunderer America. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 25, 1403 AH

Message

Date: July 7, 1983 [Tir 16, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Addressee: Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum (Deputy Head of government of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum, Deputy Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

Received the telegraphic message of your Excellency on the sighting of the auspicious moon of the Feast of *Fiar* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, your Muslim and brother nation, for the arrival of this great Islamic feast. I pray for the salvation of all the deprived and oppressed of the world and especially, the Islamic nations from the clutches of the enemies of Islam especially the world-devourer America. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 25, 1403 AH

Message

Date: July 7, 1983 [Tir 16, 1362 AHS / Ramadan25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani, Emir of Qatar,

Received the telegraphic message of Your Excellency on the sighting of the auspicious moon of the Feast of *Fiar* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, your Muslim and brother nation, for the arrival of this great Islamic feast. I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness and glory of the Muslim Nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 25, 1403 AH

Message

Date: July 7, 1983 [Tir 16, 1362 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad (Secretary General of the Socialist Party and Head of the Assembly of Yemen)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ali Nasir Muhammad, Secretary of the Socialist Party and Head of the Assembly of Yemen,

Received the telegraphic message of Your Excellency on the sighting of the auspicious moon of the Feast of *Fiar* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, your Muslim and brother nation, for the arrival of this great Islamic feast. I pray to the Almighty God for the victory of all Muslim nations over the internal and external enemies especially the world-devourer America. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 25, 1403 AH

Message

Date: July 12, 1983 [Tir 21, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Addressee: Ahmad Secoutoreh (President of the Republic of Guinea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Ahmad Secoutoreh, President of the Peoples' Revolutionary Republic of Guinea,

Received the telegraphic message of Your Excellency on the sighting of the auspicious moon of the Feast of *Fiar* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, your Muslim and brother nation, for the arrival of this great Islamic feast. I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness and glory of all Muslim nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 1, 1403 AH.

Message

Date: July 12, 1983 [Tir 21, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to telegraphic message felicitating the auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Addressee: Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (President of Maldives)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

Received the telegraphic message of Your Excellency on the sighting of the auspicious moon of the Feast of *Fiar* for which I thank you. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, your Muslim and brother nation, for the arrival of this great Islamic feast. I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness and glory of Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 1, 1403 AH

Permission

Date: July 12, 1983 [Tir 21, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Yadullah Rahimiyan Dastjerdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, 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.

Next, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Yadullah Rahimiyan—may His graces last—is permitted on behalf of this person to accept religious payments and to undertake what is contingent upon the permission of the fully qualified jurisprudent during the absence of His Holiness the Master of the Age—may God hasten his glorious advent. He is also permitted to accept the blessed portions of the Imams and spend half of the blessed portions in specified religious instances and send the other half to this person for expenditures towards propagation of the lofty ideals of Islam; he is also permitted to accept “*zakaat*” religious tax and to spend them on specified instances.

“And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 1, 1403 AH

Speech

Date/Time: Morning of July 12, 1983 [Tir 21, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Spiritual purification and focus on spirituality

Occasion: Auspicious *Fiar* Feast

Audience: Officials of the Islamic Republic; state and military authorities¹ and various strata of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ultimate perfection, understanding inability to worship God

Reciprocally, I extend my felicitations on this auspicious feast to all the sirs that are present here and to all the oppressed nations of the world. I do not consider it impossible that after this blessed month in which the Muslims were invited to the Feast of God and have passed the period of the banquet, this Feast is for this very purpose—for the Feast of God.

¹ Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Head of Supreme Court), Yousef Sanii (State Prosecutor General), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Musawi Tabrizi (Prosecutor General of the Revolution, Qasim-Ali Zahirnejad (Joint Chief of Staff), Imami Kashani (Head of the State Administrative Justice Organization), Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi, representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Members of the Guardian Council, members of the Supreme Council of the Judiciary, members of the cabinet, judges of the Islamic Revolution Courts of the capital and the military, heads of the Courts of Administrative Justice and State Inspectorate Organization, Joint Chief of Staff of the Army and commanders of the police and security forces, members of the Higher Council of the Revolutionary Guards Corps and representatives of the Imam in the Guards Corps, Society of Teachers of Qum Theological School, Central Council of the Friday Prayer leaders, members of staff of the Cultural Revolution Council, Association of Combatant Clergy of Tehran, heads of Political-Ideological Departments of the police and security forces, members of the Central Council of the Construction *Jihad*, officials of the Islamic Revolution *Komitehs*, Martyr Foundation, Mostadafan Foundation, Fifteenth Khordad Foundation, Housing Foundation of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Relief Committee, Endowment Organization, *Hajj* and Pilgrimage Organization, Red Crescent, Central Bank, Municipality, mass media, War Propagation Organization, Islamic Republic News Agency, Managing Director and Supervisory Council of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting, Sermonizers of Tehran, members of the staff of Cultural Revolution and University *Jihad*; officials of the Central Bank; Governor of Tehran; central municipality; members of the family of late Ayatullah Hakim; Organizing Committee of the Third Anniversary of the Imposed War ceremonies; coordination council of government bodies; Board of Trustees of Jamiah as-Sadiq (a); authorities of the Defense Industries Organization.

It has been quoted from Sayyid Bin Tawus—may God be pleased with him—that when he reached the age of adolescence and was given permission to worship the Blessed and Almighty God, he celebrated the event. If it were not for the commandment of the Blessed and Almighty God, I do not know how we would have gathered the courage to eulogize God and praise Him.

You see, the daily mandatory prayers that are placed at the top of all worship, how is its circumstance. It begins with “*Takbir*” or expression of glorification of God and it ends with repeating it thrice; the contents of the mandatory prayer are also expression of glorification of God or “*Takbir*” and are eulogizing and praise. This is because that perhaps it wants us to understand, it wants all of humankind to understand that in the very first one that you want to enter the greatest worship of God, you be aware that the Blessed and Almighty God is greater than that you worship Him. In every verse of the verses, either He is praised or glorified. Praise is because God is more immaculate than you worship Him at the same time that you glorify and has permitted you to glorify Him and therefore, He is praised and He is glorified. You begin the mandatory prayer with His glorification; you begin the praise and you regard praise to be solely due to God. I do not think that the understanding of this subject and the passion of this subject that praise is exclusive to God has become apparent and that the essence of praise cannot occur for other than God. Even you that praises a flower, which praises an apple is praising God. The apple is nothing of its own. You that praises a perfect human being are in fact praising God.

The human being is nothing; not even the Prophets. The ultimate perfection of human beings has been to know that they are helpless, to understand that they are incapable of worshipping God. The one who was at the head of the lineage of Prophets and saints confesses that we have not understood You—and it is right—and have not worshipped You¹—and that too is right—because worship is secondary to knowledge. This knowledge is to the extent of humans; to the amount that is the limit of humanity, they have knowledge and the biggest of them is the Honorable Prophet. However, knowledge of God is in excess of this amount which is the limit of humans; only He can grasp Himself, understand Himself and praise Himself. If human beings did not have the permission to enter worship, all worship then a human being would have felt ashamed to stand before God and want to praise God in front of Him. A human being is more insignificant than to stand before God and want to praise God, to glorify Him; this is a claim. Praise and glorification implies that I have come to know you while a human

¹ Reference is to the narrative of the Prophet, *Bihar al-Anawar*, vol. 68, p. 23.

being is incapable of understanding but there is no alternative because He has said it Himself; He has commanded it Himself and because it is His command, all must obey even if they are to blame for praising God; for endorsing His infallibility. In the mandatory prayers, wherever a glorification is mentioned, it is followed by praise in this manner that, "Glory is to God" and follows it with "God is the Greatest." First, it endorses God than it praises Him, next it glorifies so that the praising of God occurs between one endorsement of infallibility and one glorification. When you want to bow in "ruku", you glorify Him by saying "Takbir". When you stand upright after bowing in "ruku", you say "Takbir" while in the bowing position of "ruku" you endorse His Infallibility. When you want to prostrate in "Sujud" you again glorify Him by saying "Takbir"; in the prostrate "Sujud" you endorse His Infallibility and after prostration you again you glorify Him and say the "Takbir". Next again you say the glorification of "Takbir" and prostrate in "Sujud" and endorse His Infallibility. All of these are in order to make you understand that the subject is far higher than this. He is above guilt that you should glorify Him; you glorify Him; You endorse His infallibility in order to glorify Him. You endorse His infallibility: He glorifies the one that endorses His Infallibility. This is how the mandatory prayers are and other worshipping. If it was not for the command of God and the need to obey His commands, I must say that a human being with that weak knowledge that he has would not dare to stand in worship of God. However, He has given the courage.

Revelation of the teachings and the truths for more understanding

In the same way that He has sent down all the teachings until it has reached to this stage; He has sent down the Quran, behind the camouflage are coverings one behind the other. He has sent down and sent down until it reaches to words that are agreeable with the comprehension of human beings; yet these words are not in agreement with the understanding of humankind. The Quran starts from the beginning with the "Fatihah al-Kitab" or "Opening of the Book." At the very beginning, it makes praise exclusive to Him; from the start, it makes a human being understand that you are helpless in understanding it. All praise belongs to Him and no one deserves to be praised; no one is praiseworthy. Some are of the opinion that, "*Your Creator has commanded you not to worship any beside Him*"¹ implies that it is a verdict of God that no one should be worshipped other than Him. They imagine they are prostrating before the idol; they imagine they are eulogizing

¹ Surah al-Isra 17: 23.

a human being; they imagine they are worshipping the sun whereas all praises are from Him; all are also praising Him and they perceive not. The problems that a person faces in the afterlife are because of this same foolishness and for this reason, there is a curtain between a human being and the truths. If a human being takes a look even if at this material world around, at this same instruments that are present in the material world, to the volume that his hand has reached it and the extent that his hand has not reached, there are billions that his hand has not reached.

See the language of the Quran when it commands, “*We have decorated the nearest heavens to the earth with the decoration of shining stars.*”¹ Opposite of the theory of Bartholomew² the heaven of the earth meaning that this galaxy that you see are all of the lower heaven; they are the heaven of the earth. Lower down, the heavens and these galaxies to the extent that is visible, meaning that it has been decorated contain millions of suns and more and beyond these, there are billions of galaxies and billions of other things that God alone knows. It is this material world that humankind has so far discovered; not at its peak but at its lowest level about the particles to the extent that he has discovered it is that with these instruments it can observe small particles. However, it has not been able to comprehend those smaller particles. The manifestation of the weakness of human being is in flaunting the self and worship of power; and how weak human beings are to think that in this world in which they are living and in this city that exists and in this country that exists, he must now flaunt himself. How ignorant must a person be to regard these as power and how weak a soul is he to regard these rules and regimes as authority. These authorities, whether spiritual or non-spiritual authorities, these that hold the positions of power, when we observe their prayers we notice that they are more helpless than we—because they have understood. When you read the *Kumayl* supplication, when you recite the *Shabaniyyah* Supplication and other supplications that have been received from the Immaculate Imams—may God’s peace be upon them—you will notice that their language is not the ordinary language that we use. Whereas when we come to know of a theological theme, we think it is a great achievement. If we subjugate a country, we think something great has been achieved; if we achieve a spiritual status we think we have reached to some great position. When one observes the words of those that attained those high

¹ *Surah as-Safat* 37:6.

² Bartholomew was a great scholar who was born in the second century B.C. in Alexandria. He was of the opinion that the earth was fixed and the rest of the planets and stars revolved around it and this hypothesis is famously known as the Hypothesis of Bartholomew.

positions, we notice helplessness through and through; they are helpless and they must also be. They shall not reach and they will never reach but the needy that supplicate have been commanded by Him to supplicate; have been commanded by Him to praise Him; has commanded us to eulogize Him; has commanded us to recite our daily mandatory prayers.

Mission of the prophets: Manifestation of spirituality and liberation of human beings from captivity

The Prophets that were appointed to Prophet ic missions were appointed in order to cause the spirituality of the people and those talents to bloom and that in that blossoming they would know that they were insignificant. In addition, it was to liberate the people from the control of the arrogant oppressors. From the start, the Prophets held these two jobs; the spiritual job to extricate the people from captivity of the carnal soul; from the captivity of the self—for Satan is great—and to liberate the people and the oppressed from the clutches of the oppressors. These two tasks are the jobs of the Prophets. When a person observes His Holiness Moses and His Holiness Abraham, and the things that have been quoted in the Quran from these two Prophets, he notices that they held these same two positions. One was to invite the people to monotheism and another was to rescue the people from under oppression. If in the teachings of His Holiness Christ—peace be upon him—this job is less noticeable, it is because His Holiness Christ did not live for long and had less contact with the people otherwise his style was the same as that of His Holiness Moses and all the Prophets. In the highest of them all who is the Prophet of God—may God’s peace be upon him—we see these two tasks manifestly in the Quran and the practicing of the tradition of the Messenger of God himself. The Quran has invited the people to spirituality to the extent of the ability of humankind can attain and beyond and next is establishing justice and equality. The Prophet also as well as those that was the language of revelation also followed these two methods. The knowledge of the Prophet himself was such, that until the day he had not formed an administration, he would strengthen spirituality. As soon as he was able to establish a rule, he would establish justice in addition to spirituality; he formed a government and rescued the poor from under the yoke of tyrants to the extent that the era permitted. This is a common feature of the Prophets that those that are the followers of the Prophets must sustain this feature. Both from the aspect of spirituality that individuals acquainted with spirituality must strengthen and all the people—the people themselves—must also strengthen this spirituality and the second subject that

is the establishing of justice. The rule of Islam must establish justice at the same time that it reforms and propagates spirituality. If we are the followers of Islam and followers of the Prophets then we should know that this was the permanent feature of the Prophets. If the Prophets arrive until eternity, again this holds true; again the spiritual aspects of humankind to the extent that humankind merits and the perpetuation of the establishment of justice among humankind and cutting off the hands of the oppressors holds true—and we must strengthen these two subjects.

Strengthening the Islamic government in order to establish justice

We must—all people must, all human beings must—strengthen the Islamic government in order to establish justice. The government must also consider the spiritual aspects meaning that because it follows Islam, it must be styled in the manner of Islam. Styled in the manner of Islam implies these two objectives; the same two paths that Islam has which is safeguarding spirituality and strengthening spirituality of the people and the establishment of justice among them and the salvation of the oppressed from the hands of the oppressors. Now it makes no difference whether they are the oppressed that are being oppressed by governments or the oppressed that are being oppressed by the masters. Islam has arrived for these two reasons and we are followers of Islam and must safeguard these two reasons. The Islamic regulations must be safeguarded to their highest level for if the Islamic regulations are safeguarded to their highest level, then these two objectives that are the objectives of all the Prophets shall be—the objective of spirituality of the people and the objective of the establishment of justice in the society. From the one who is at the top to the individuals that compose the three powers and on to those that are outside these but are devoted to Islam, all must lift this burden and there should be no differences among them. The objective is one and all must participate in this singular objective. The nation must participate in this objective; the government must participate in this objective; the Parliament and the Judiciary must participate in this objective; all must participate in this objective; the theologians of the land wherever they are must participate towards realization of this objective.

Ambition is the result of lack of purification of the souls

The objective is that Islam should get moving; the objective is not that I should implement it. Of the things, that a person suffers from is these internal evil, which urges him to take charge of the affairs. If the job is performed in a better way by means of another person, makes him unhappy and he says

that it is good that he stays. This arises from the internal mischief of a person. A person with a holy attitude prepares a plan to attain such a reward. If he calculates with himself that a greater reward would be given to him should he assist the person who is in charge and does a better job, he will not accept. The question is not that he wants the reward; the question is that he wants the material world. If difference arise among individuals, seek it within the individuals themselves to discover the issue; is the issue the interest of Islam and the interest of the Muslim or the issue is his own interest? Is the carnal soul involved or is God involved? If a person can do a better job than me, will I be happy if he takes charge of the affair or will I be unhappy? If one minister can do a better job than another minister and assists him, will his carnal soul permit? If it is for the sake of God then it must give him permission. If it is for the sake of God then there must not be discrimination among the various strata and thank God, there is no discrimination. We must be a singular hand as interpreted by Islam. We should be united in the face of strangers. A single hand; not even two; one hand; do one task; again if it had stated two hands, sometimes this one hand does not agree and do the same thing as the other hand. We must be one hand; a single hand means that you should repress your carnal soul; repress your aspirations, which you think are important. Think who we are and what this solar system is and what are these galaxies in relation to the greatness of God so that you understand that you are involved with a dirty evil and not an evil that is something worthwhile. We suffer from certain evils within ourselves that is dirty and mean. Save yourselves and save ourselves. If you rescue yourselves from this chain, what follows becomes easy; unity becomes easy provided you save yourself from these constraints; from this constraint of selfishness, that wants everything for the self; self-centeredness, me and no one else. This is present in all souls except those that are purified. This matter is present in all souls because it is the nature of Allah; the nature of Allah is to focus on the absolute perfection and until absolute perfection is flawed, it wants everything for the self. It wants power for the self because it is flawed; but it is in pursuit of the power of Allah and is not aware that its nature is devoted to God. It is the essence of monotheism that all people incorporate in them this nature of monotheism. Perhaps one of the biggest reasons for monotheism is this same essence. It is impossible for a person to attain a position of power and not want the higher position; he is always seeking what he does not have.

The more capital the capitalist has, he nevertheless seeks to add to it and a regime however extensive seeks to add to its expanse. You notice these big powers are like this; all are in this manner except that they are on a vast scale

while others are on a smaller scale. Otherwise this nature is present in everyone so that if the whole world is brought under your hegemony meaning that all powers of the world bow down before you and then you are told that there is a power beyond here and would you like to have that also, it is impossible for you to say no'; you will say yes'. Unless you have reached to the source of perfection, unless you have torn away the coverings and reached the source of perfection—and those are very few.

Strive to strengthen spirituality and repress carnality

We must strive to strengthen this spirituality and to crush this carnality as much as we can. If this is resolved then everything will be solved. The differences are based on this subject. No difference occurs in the world except that it originates from this. On the very first day, Satan said that, "*Thou hath created me from fire and created Him from mud.*"¹ I am better than him; he violated the command of God and told God that he was better; and this satanic inheritance is for all of us. We see everything in ourselves to be superior to others. If that same subject is present in others, he sees it small while if it is present in him he sees it big; we disregard our own flaws while regard the minor flaws of others to be big. These are the same essence—the Divine nature that we have diverted it on the wrong path. "*Every person is born on the basis of pure essence.*"² Unless that, "*Except that their father and mother are of the Jews or the Christians or the Magi.*" Likewise, everything is based on the essence of monotheism but when Satan lays his hands on human beings, he causes them to deviate.

If this Islamic government were for example, in the hands of someone else, they would say that it was very good but now that it is not in their hands, they say it is very bad. If this Judiciary that has rendered so much service was in the hands of some other group they would say that they had rendered a lot of service; now that it is not in their control, they say that this is not a Judiciary system; that it is injustice and not justice. This is because of the same reason that the inner essence of a person has not been purified so that it wants justice for its own sake and not for himself. If we want justice, we want it for ourselves—we should not deceive ourselves. Whatever we want is for our own selves. We want justice not for its justice; if this justice is meted out to us and is opposed to us, we become the enemy of that justice. If some injustice is in our favor, we become the friends of that injustice. All of these are rooted in the person himself. If this root is eradicated or at least

¹ *Surah al-Araf*, 7:12.

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

weakened, the matters shall be solved; all will become friends of one another; they will not find fault with one another and they will also become helpful. If a person does something, others will help him out when they see that he wants to do something. If an organization takes a positive decision and others see that it is a good one, they will pursue it. If that corrupt root is present in the heart of a person and he regards an issue to be one-hundred percent fair, he will say that it is not right. That corrupt root cause a person to deviate.

Islam the well-wisher of all nations

The nation of Iran must take note that it is placed in an era in which deviation has overtaken the entire world. This deviation has also always existed but in the way that it has increased at present, it had not spread in the rest of the eras because there were not so many instruments, so many tools to work with. Now the tools have increased to such an extent that if it was not for the fear of one another, the powers can set the world on fire; and this is a fire that has been lit and must be extinguished with the blessings of the nations. Nations must take note that the superpowers want them for their own interests. The big powers look upon those that present their all to them as something to be thrown away after use. They do not understand that they are not interested in their welfare; they want to secure their own interests. The one that wants the good of all is Islam. The one that wants good to be realized in the world is Islam and that righteous doctrine of the Prophets—a doctrine that has not been corrupted. For this reason, they are deceived; either because of the carnal soul that exists in them or for the few days that they want to reign or the few days that they want to build palaces—they surrender their all for these few days of worldly existence. They become the dishonorable servants of some person in order to impose themselves on their nations and bully them—and this is a mistake that they commit. If all of them return to the embrace of Islam, Islam is for the good of all of them. Islam both trains the inner self and safeguards the worldly interests. If only they become friends with their own nations, this enmity that they have with their nations, no person has with another. Worse than enmity is the fact that they are giving away their resources to their enemies and they place the destructive tools of repression with their crude oil at the disposal of the enemies. This is the highest form of enmity that humankind is faced with at present and the oppressed nations are suffering from it; and unless the nations awaken and become alert, the task shall not be performed.

Carnality is the source of oppositions and disruptions

However, we must start from ourselves. If we reform ourselves then surely that objective that we have in mind shall be realized in the world also—as it has been realized. If God forbid, our carnalities result in grievances to become complaints and complaints to end in oppositions, on that day we must mourn the entire country and we are to blame for not having crushed our carnalities. All be together; the entire world is opposed to you except a very few. If all of you are not united and decay from inside, then have no doubt that those same issues of before will occur in a much worse form; that same Islam of aristocracy shall return once again. They know that they must talk Islam; America also sympathizes with Islam; but American brand of Islam existed during the monarchy. It was American Islam; no one had the right to interfere in any affair. American Islam was such that the clergy must go to study theology; what had they got to do with politics? They would say this openly. This had been brainwashed to such an extent that we had come to the conclusion that we must go to the seminaries to study; why should we bother about what was happening to the nation; the affairs of the people is the responsibility of the king and was none of our business. The theory of yet another group was that allow immorality to increase so that His Holiness the Messiah would arrive. For what purpose should His holiness the Messiah arrive? His Holiness the Messiah should come in order to eliminate immorality, should we commit sin so that he comes? Do away with these crookedness. Do away with these factionalisms for God's sake if you are Muslims and for your country if you are nationalists; do away with these factionalisms and ride on this wave that is now carrying this nation forward; do not swim against the tide for your hands and feet will be broken.

Thank God, at the same time that it is faced with all oppositions, both locally and externally, Iran is traversing its path vigorously. The government is doing the job that is for the cause of God with all in its power. The Judiciary is reforming the judicial machinery with all in its power. The Parliament is fulfilling its responsibilities with all its power. The nation must also strengthen all of them.

Existence of deviations and efforts to eliminate them

To support the Parliament, to support the Judiciary, to support the government is to support Islam because they are serving Islam. At the time of the Commander of the Faithful—may God's peace be upon him—also there were deviations but they were minor. At the time of the Honorable Prophet, also, there were deviations; if you refer to the Quran you will notice that

how much it complains about those people. Differences meaning deviations are not something that is exclusive to this era but we must compare between the deviations before the Islamic Republic and the deviations of the present. They say that it is good that it is not in the name of Islam. If it were not in the name of Islam then they would throw out everybody with a single kick. Why should it not be in the name of Islam? Does Islam want other than to have a good Judiciary; that also implements the Islamic laws? They are toiling for this reason. Now an infringement does occur somewhere so what would it not occur during the time of the Prophet? During the time of Hadrat Ali? What did the people do with Imam Hasan? What did those same companions do with him? Are the people of Iran better or were they better? Is Islam better off now or when they were torturing the Prophet in the name of Islam; and were slaying the offspring of the Prophet in that fashion, in the name of Islam? Why must they cause the inner feelings of a person to deviate and carnalities to push aside everything and only focus on the shortcomings? That too when they come across a shortcoming they raise a hue and cry and say the entire world has been destroyed; that Islam is finished. If a judge shows some deviation in some place, they say that no, Islam is finished and that this Islam is useless. Is that Islam is useful in which there is prostitution all over the streets; that too open prostitution?! You are satisfied with that; you are dissatisfied with this. If God had given them respite, God alone knows what they wanted to do to Islam; in what manner they wanted to introduce Islam. An Islam that is not opposed to alcoholic drinks; an Islam that had nothing to do with the prescribed religious punishments; that it must not be enforced; an Islam that must also not interfere with centers of vice; this after all was the Islam of the aristocracy. There was Islam but the centers of prostitution was filled throughout Iran; there was Islam but the centers of vice abounded throughout Iran; there was Islam but they would abuse Islam; they would abuse the Prophet of Islam. In those days during the damned reign of Rida Shah, no one asked why and it was even worse in this time. They were more demonic than him; and if they had been given a respite, God alone knows where they would have taken this nation to and where they would have taken our youth. Thank God, today everything is proper. The government is working hard; there are shortages but these shortages are all over the world. With all the pressures that has been brought on this nation and on this government; and with all these disruptions that are occurring against Iran from all over, nevertheless, Iran is standing on its own two feet, is advancing vigorously, and is solving the problems. The nation should know that they must be patient in times of hardships and should help. If you

want to be honorable; if you do not want to be subordinated; if you want that an America should not come and rule over you and if you want to safeguard your honor and Islam, you must tolerate some of those hardships that the Prophet of Islam tolerated. Tolerate a little of the hardships that Hadrat Ali Bin Abialib tolerated; you, too, should tolerate. You are his Shiite followers and are his nation. Help this government and help this country and the Islam that has set its blessed foot in your country. God grant success to all of you and we all surrender humbly to the will of the Blessed and Almighty God and act upon His commandments.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.