



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

SAHIFEH-YE ***IMAM***

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

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Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا، آ، ء	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

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

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters



Figure 1. Map of Iran

Note:

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

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

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Decree

Time: July 13, 1983 [Tir 22, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of superintendent of 15 Khordad Foundation

Addressee: Hasan Sanii

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Hasan Sanii, May your blessing last,

I hereby appoint you as superintendent of 15 Khordad Foundation. The foundation is duty-bound to investigate into the situation of the oppressed and deprived people. Obviously, the foundation should accord greater attention to the families of the esteemed martyrs and dear disabled of the war. It is hoped that with the confidence and trust I have in you, the affairs of the foundation will be handled in most efficient manner.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 22, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 3,¹
1403

¹ The difference of Shawwal 2 and Shawwal 3 is due to the discrepancy between the calendar date and the moon crescent.

Telephone Message

Time: ?

Subject: Opinion about the venue for holding the Assembly of Experts meeting

Addressee: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani's telephone inquiry:

Some gentlemen in Qum hold opinion that the meeting of the Experts Assembly should be held in Qum, while Messrs Mahdawi, Jannati and Imami¹ and some other gentlemen that it should be in Tehran. Obviously, *Sepah* and security officials cannot provide for the security of Qum, particularly air security. What is your Eminence's opinion?
Ansari²]

[Imam's reply:]

In His Most Exalted Name

I have no idea, yet if their security is not ensured, the venue should be selected where the security can be provided.

¹ Messers: Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani, Ahmad Jannati and Muhammad Imami Kashani

² Mr. Muhammad-Ali Ansari Kermani, member of the Office of Imam Khomeini.

Message

Time: July 13, 1983 [Tir 22, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 2, 1403 AH]

Subject: Guidelines to the representatives of the leadership Experts Assembly and the future leaders

Occasion: Inauguration of the leadership Experts Assembly

Addressee: Representatives of the Experts Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

With confirmation of God the Almighty and support of the Imam of the Time (May our souls be sacrificed for him), in view of the Article 107 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran the blessed Assembly of Experts composed of a number of prominent *ulama* and Hujjat al-Islams—May God preserve their presence—elected by the honorable people of Iran for determining the leader or leadership council was inaugurated. This assembly has a fundamental role in maintaining the Islamic Republic and its legitimacy. This is the assembly on which these interested in Islam and the Islamic Republic have pinned their hops, while the opponents and adversaries begrudge a lot. The former group hopes that their elected representatives, who are among the ranks of committed *ulama*, aware of vice and virtue, will, with their blessed vote, elect the most competent, knowledgeable and committed *faqih* or *fuqaha* for this position on which protection of the Islamic Republic establishment and its direction in conformity with the pure *Shariah* depends, believing in the presence of God, the Almighty, and His supervision over their votes and deeds, and preferring His gratification to that of any others. However, the opponents are gazing covetously at the Experts Assembly wishing to, God forbid, create deviation through their agents and reverse the Islamic establishment in the long run.

We know that the superpowers and the states dependent on them are not opposed to the regal and royal Islam and that they, in fact, support it. The Islam presented by their diabolic agents and the pundits—as if ignorant suggests that *ulama* of Islam and Muslims should not participate in political and social affairs of Muslims. They overlook the clear rule of reason that is in conformity with the Quran and belittle the *hadith* or narration reading that the works progress at the hands of the *ulama* of the religion of God¹ and the noble statement “refer to our transmitters of *hadith* in the events taking

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 97, p. 80, h. 37.

place¹ and other corresponding narrations, which they consider baseless or interpret erroneously. These *ulama* are completely sanctioned by the exploitative powers. So much the better that these court clerics and the beguiled *ulama* heedless of the games played by the devils outdo the committed *ulama* and wakeful Muslims, opening the way for plunder and domination by big powers! These powers are not afraid of the Islam, which approves of them—they fear the Islam preached by Ali Bin Abitalib (peace be upon him). If that martyr who was enamored with Islam and that true Islamists—through like these court clerics and engaged in the worship of God in seclusion trading no path except that between mosque and home neither battle of Siffin² nor that of Nahrevan³ or the battle of Jamal⁴ would occur and Muslims would not be murdered and martyred in multitudes. If the Doyen of Martyrs (*a*) contemplated like the court clerics and was engaged in *Zikhr* (remembrance of God) and supplication beside the tomb of his grandfather, the great tragedy of Karbala would not happen and the lovely friends of God would not be cut into pieces nor his family and friends would be taken captive. Above all, if the Messenger of God (*s*) thought like them and was merely engaged in advice and preaching the rules of worship, he would not be afflicted with so much pain and suffering, nor were those many Muslims martyred. As regards the contemporary *ulama*, if the late grand Ayatullah Aqa Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi⁵ with that high rank and prominence in knowledge, *taqwa* and piety thought as these court clerics do, the war between Muslims and the aggressor British forces would not occur in Iraq and those Muslims were not martyred nor would the independence of Iraq be secured. The contemporary governments under the guise of Islam, are wholeheartedly at the service of superpowers, particularly the US and serve as agents to secure their interests in the world. The ignorant court *akhunds* or clerics who advocate these governments and oppose Islamic regime and struggle to annihilate the Islam that clashes with oppressors working to undermine the life-style of the Messenger of God (peace be upon him) and set up monarchical and royal Islam deprive the committed Muslims of performing the *Hajj* ritual for complaining against the oppression committed

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 2, p. 90, h. 13.

² Battle of Siffin occurred between the army of Imam Ali (*a*) and Muawiyah.

³ The famous battle fought between Imam Ali (*a*) and the Kharajites.

⁴ The battle fought between Imam Ali (*a*) and Talha and Zubayr and their friends near Basra.

⁵ Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi known as Mirza the second, of prominent *fuqaha* who led the Iraqi people in the war against British forces in 1920.

by the US and Israel. These court *ulama* are favored by Russia, America, and Israel.

Now, you O *fuqaha* of the Experts Assembly! O, elected men by the nation oppressed during the long history of tyrannical monarchies! You have undertaken responsibility, which is the most crucial and second to none. You have embarked on a measure around which the destiny of Islam, the oppressed nation and the bereaved families of the martyrs revolves. History and future generations will sit in judgment on you. The prominent saints of God supervise your opinions and deeds: *God is thoroughly conversant and watchful of them.* The slightest nonchalance, negligence, expression of personal prejudice and, God forbid, following carnal passion, which may derail this noble divine act, will give rise to the greatest disaster in the history of Islam. If the dear Islam and the nascent Islamic Republic is led astray and nipped in the bud feat, Islam will, God forbid, slide into oblivion for centuries to come, and will be replaced by monarchical and royal Islam. You chosen ones by the oppressed people know that by curtailing the influence of plundering powers from your Islamic country, these powers and their associates have realized the nature of Islam and the divine power, sitting in the lurk like a wounded serpent to deflect this Divinely establishment through their ignorant followed. The biggest deviation that culminates in deflection of all organs is the deviation of the leadership, in whose selection you play the leading role. You saw and heard what voices were raised against Article five of the Constitution and how much uproar they provoked, but were not able to complete their mission. Lately, they objected to the election of the experts and tried to poison the public opinion, but suffered defeat. Still you should not be heedless of the trick of the tempters. Carry on with your path with divine power and commitment to Islam and power of faith and spirit and think nothing but the interests of Islam and Muslims, in which case God almighty will support you.

I deem it advisable to give some brotherly and sincere advice to the respected would be leader or council of leadership. Leader and leadership in divine religions and Islam is not something to be of value by itself, provoking one to pride and delusion of being prominent. This is what our commander Ali Bin Abi Talib has warned against. Basically, prophets of God (peace be upon them) were sent to serve the servants of God, guide them on the spiritual path and lead them out of darkness into light and rendering service to the oppressed by dispensing justice—both individual and social.

You who consider yourselves to be followers of the people of revelation and grand saints and are hopefully so do not view yourselves as anything but

servants of the oppressed nations. You should know that criminals and malefactors are gazing covetously at you and may cause disaster through interlopers in your names under Islamic and revolutionary guise, leading the Islamic establishment astray with a devious act and slapping on the face of Islam and the Islamic Republic with your hand. Beware of selecting your friends and hasty decision-making, particularly in important affairs. You should know that man is not immune from error. As soon as you commit a make, shy away and admit your error. This indicates human perfection, while insistence on error is imperfection and a practice endorsed by the Devil. Consult the experts in all crucial affairs and observe caution.

I have written materials in 30 pages in the form of last will and testament and pledged it with the blessed Experts Assembly to be distributed after my death.

I implore God to grant greater majesty to the great Islam; to grant unity to the Muslim nations so as to be able to safeguard the integrity of the Islamic land and countries; to strengthen the Islamic Republic more than before and help us meet the approbation of The Imam of the Time (May God expedite his arrival and May my soul be sacrificed for him.) Peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Tir 22, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 2,
1403 AH

Message

Time: July 14, 1983 [Tir 23, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulation message on the occasion of auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Muammar al-Qadhdhafi (President of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I acknowledge the receipt of your message on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast. I implore God Almighty to grant prosperity and dignity to Islamic nations and destruction to the enemies and especially the world-devorer America. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 3, 1403 AH

Message

Time: July 14, 1983 [Tir 23, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulation message on the occasion of auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Hamad Bin Muhammad ash-Sharqi (governor of Fujaurah)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hamad Bin Muhammad ash-Sharqi (governor of Fujaurah),

I acknowledge the receipt of your message on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast. I implore God Almighty to grant prosperity and dignity to Islamic nations and destruction to the enemies and especially the world-devorer America. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Shawwal 4, 1403 AH

Decree

Time: July 15, 1983 [Tir 24, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 4, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Coordination among Friday prayer leaders across the country

Addressee: Sayyid Hashem Rasuli Mahallati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Hashem Rasuli, May his blessing endure, is delegated to take action for coordinating and integrating the Friday prayer leaders and executive and non-executive forces across the country. He should make every effort to create rapport among them. In addition, he is expected to promote unity of expression at a time when rapport and unity are top priority and can contribute to strengthen the dear Islam and Islamic Republic. If, God forbid, the attempt failed after making efforts and Mr. Mahallati arrives at the conclusion that the Friday prayer leader of some province, city or district fails to yield to this important Islamic duty, he should report to the esteemed Central Council of Friday Prayer Leaders, citing reasons thereof. May God Almighty grant us success in this vitally important issue!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
24/4/1362 AHS

Decree

Time: July 1983 [Tir 1362 AHS / Shawwal 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Order to investigate into complaint of the Housing Ministry regarding unprincipled transfer of urban lands

Addressee: Supreme Judicial Council

[His Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, May his presence endure,

As you know according to urban land Act, transfer and taking charge of urban lands for construction of residential units is vested with the Ministry of Housing and Urbanization. However, the religious judge of the public prosecutor's office stationed in Tehran Municipality in collaboration with officials of the municipality interfere in transfer of land and have ceded land to a special group without any regulation and standard despite explicit text of law and numerous objections, notifications and complaints to high judicial authorities and executive officials (which have so far had no result)... So, in order to put an end to this trend which will pose irreparable problem for Tehran, and gradually afflict other cities, and also in order to cut losses of people, I hereby ask you to enjoin the the 8-Article-Command Follow-up Committee, Supreme Judicial Council, Inspectorate Organization, Justice Tribunal, and Disciplinary Court of Judges to collect all order issues for seizure of land and nullify them, to stop land grab or acquisition until settlement of the issue and prosecution of the violators, and give top priority to the case brought by this ministry against the religious judge based in Tehran municipality and its officials and deal with it urgently.

Muhammad Shahab Gonabadi
25/4/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

The esteemed Supreme Judicial Council has to investigate carefully and quickly into what has been reported so that the violations would be prevented and keep me informed of what has been done.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, July 19, 1983 [Tir 28, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Difference and disrobing clerical garb source of defeat of the clergy

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Member of Experts Assembly), Ali Meshkini (Chairman of Experts Assembly), representatives of Experts Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Defeat of the clergy lies in disrobing the clerical garb

First I feel ashamed that I am sitting here and the gentleman over there—not you gentleman, actually, you are the apple of my eye—and do others. I feel ashamed of this and hope you will forgive me. I thank the gentlemen who have come here so that I can meet them closely and mention some issues befitting this session. In my part, I have no concern over the revolution. The revolution has found its path and it will proceed without being dependent on anyone. I hope that this revolution will remain protected. No one can harm it from outside. However, what makes us slightly concerned is two cases to the clerics in general:

Firstly, I fear lest, God forbid, performance of some clergymen and turbaned people should bring about laxity in the ranks of the clerics who have led the revolution which should be strengthened by the clerics. If we divest of clerical grab and withdraw from the garb donned by our doyens in the course of history and Immaculate Imams (peace be upon them), there is fear of clerics suffering a defeat, which in turn translates into defeat of Islam. Excluding the clerics, it will be impossible for Islam to continue with its path. The clerics introduce Islam and push it forward. It has been like this from the outset.

If we disrobe the common clerical garb and, God forbid, pay heed to the material things while we introduce ourselves in the name of clerics, this treatment may lead to defeat of the clerics. The concern always lingering in me is that I fear lest people go to Paradise by means of the like of me while we ourselves go to hell. People respect the clerics for the sake of God and you and we invite people to virtue and piety. I fear lest they go to Paradise for hearing our words and we go to Hell because we have not refined our soul. My great concern is that we face them while we are in Hell and they are in Paradise and overlook us. Where can one go to hide from this humiliation

of having been reduced to the lowest rank because of our carnal passions while they have soared up to those high stations with our help? This is a fear I frequently remind clerics of. I was once told a story which goes like this: a businessman visited one of the prominent *ulama*—I don't know who—and asked if something has been written at the back of the book and you are aware of it, tell us as well, because we see you invite us to good and you do not act accordingly. Obviously, something else is at work. The prominent *alim* started weeping. As has been related, the *alim* replied; There is nothing more; we are corrupt. Man should not think that Satan invites man to become arrogant at once. Satan does not say so. It pushes man forward systematically and inch by inch. If one prevents it today, Satan will withdraw its greed; if one fails to prevent it, tomorrow one will go forward one more step. Once one will see that the pious student of theology who lived at the school in condition we all know will transform to an arrogant man and from the qualifications followed by our mentors to a man who is devoted to worldly gains. These things will gradually appear. From the first step, one should prevent them. If one is, afflicted, other afflictions will follow suit. When love of the world takes root in one's heart, it will not be easy to uproot.

Necessity of self-purification in youth

Among the tricks employed by Satan is that it suggests that you are now young and it is time for pleasure and when you grow old you will compensate—something that will never happen. If one purifies the self in youth, he will be successful. If he waits for old days to come, his capacities will be sapped, and the tree Satan has implanted in man's heart will grow stronger and could not be uprooted with a weak resolution. This is something about which I am worried. The gentlemen should also be worried. Everywhere, recommend the knowledgeable people and warn them to beware. Do not imagine that the world I mean denotes the world of nature, which God Almighty has not warned us against. In some narrations,¹ it has been acclaimed as one of divine manifestations. That world is within us, keeps us aloof from the source of perfection, and entangles us in carnal self and sensuality. One should beware of this censured world. One may be engrossed in a rosary or a book. Many a time one who is more attached to rosary or book might be more inclined to the world than one who is attached to a park, garden, etc. Man should appreciate that the world is transient. It is not clear if one would reach old age. Few people who reach the rip old age.

¹ Such as the *hadith* (narration) handed down from the 4th Shiah Imam who observed: "The world is of two types: the world that leads to happiness and the world that has been crushed."

Significance of conformity of words and deeds among clerics

Man should therefore heed this concept, particularly this class that is engaged in preaching people. Their words should conform to their deeds. It means you who advise people to avoid worldly gains if, God forbid, are greedy and pay attention to the worldly gains, people will no longer trust you, and you may cause them to go astray. The question asked by that *Haji* (pilgrim to the House of God) as to whether a different thing had been written at the back of the book is moving.

If, God forbid, due to the deeds of clergymen any fault arises in the belief of some individuals who are weak, we have to suffer a lot as a result. This is a vast arena that pious individuals familiar with the verities of Islam in theology schools should educate theology students. The gentlemen in cities should preach the young theology students in their locality lest they should, God forbid, discard the clerical garb and thus bring about ideological instability among people.

You who have been delegated to guide people and have joined the ranks of those who preach people be aware lest the performance of some cause you to do the opposite of you believe in. that calls for lengthy discussion and all should pay great heed to this subject.

A second cause for fear and concern is that this revolution may, God forbid, be hurt due to differences among gentlemen in various areas. If in the union of, let us suppose, truck owners and those with different jobs any difference emerges, this will not affect other unions. If the truck owners differ among them, it has nothing to do with bazaar; it would not spread to other places yet if the clerics conflict, this conflict will spill over into bazaar as well as to the streets, because you are people's guide and people respect you. Naturally, a group follows you, one group follows your opponent, and you will suddenly see countrywide gap stemming from us—the same people who invite all to unity.

Unity of expression has brought the nation to this stage. Now we give way to difference! I tell you that we should not deceive ourselves. The root of difference lies in love of self. Everyone imagines that he disagrees with for God. One should sit, contemplate and explore where the root lies. One should not have a good opinion of oneself but should suspect one's self. The root is the same satanic root and that is love of the self. If, God forbid, difference emerges among the gentlemen in any city, this difference will naturally spread to the streets, and to bazaar. Unity and integrity of the populace have helped to preserve this republic so far. Since people were all united, they could work such a miracle. If because of our discord once this

difference spreads to bazaar, as it will, or the streets and other unions, we have to shoulder all the blame. If you imagine that you are doing a certain thing against a gentleman for God, you are mistaken. It is not for God. One is deceived by one's tempting self and Satan. One is deceived by things others do, imaging that a very bad things is underway and Islam is being destroyed because a judge has done so and so somewhere. This is not for Islam. We should not deceive ourselves. Mediate late at night. Computation is one of the issues contributing to the course of human perfection. One should think late at night—I do not say I do, as I am lower than others—about reasons he has disagreement with ascertain person, or why they have split into different group, each following a gentleman. One should ask about the roots, ask if this for God. Don't you have the same flaw you see in others? Doesn't it amount to a satanic act that you magnify defects in other people—while concealing or belittling them in yourself? Is this for God? Is the flaw you highlight in that person absent in you? Is this act not satanic to magnify a defect in others, conceal, and belittle it in you?

Discord and defeat of Islamic Republic is an unforgivable sin

If our discord, which no doubt is over worldly issues and not for God, leads to difference among people and defeat of the Islamic Republic so that it would not raise its head, do you think God will forgive us for this crime? We should be mindful. We should not be proud of ourselves and have good opinion of ourselves believing that we are such and such and others are not. We should have good opinion of others and consider deeds of those to connote good intention. We should suspect ourselves and scrutinize our acts and their causes. We ask why I raise objection. Those who oppose the Islamic Republic should bear God as witness and think if Islam has a more say in Iran today or at the time of the arrogant regime? Are Islamic manifestations greater today or at the time of the arrogant regime? If they raise objection and argue that the Islamic Republic is such and such, the root of this objection is satanic and has infiltrated his heart. The one objecting does not understand; he imagines that he is weakening the Islamic Republic for God. This is a mistake that overtakes man unless one really takes care of oneself, computes one's self and struggles so as to distinguish if I who am raising this objection, were in their place would I know everything well? Therefore, the root lies in carnal desires. A gentleman who was once with me in the distant past had come to meet me. I found that all his words about the Islamic Republic were that his fatwa was not cared. He complained that his ruling was not practiced. The criterion is my ruling; the criterion is not God's

ruling. This is a disease found in everyone unless God protects human beings. God will not protect one unless man himself provides the means. One cannot sit and wait for God to purify him. God has provided us with the means of purification, which is a practice we should carry out. This cannot be devolved upon anyone else; it is entrusted to us to do.

Concern over discord among clerics and discarding clerical garb

I am worried for two reasons: one is what I already pointed out that clerical garb might weaken or disappear and the other that, God forbid, difference may emerge. These are important objects since you are in a position that people look up to you since you want to guide people. Beware lest our removal of clerical garb may cause people to divert their attention from us, and separation from clerics leads to separation from Islam.

Beware lest the difference that might emerge among us infiltrate other places and cause people to divide into two groups: one supporting this gentleman and the other that one, forgetting Almighty God and the revolution. These two subjects concern me. It hurts me a lot when I hear at times that for example there is difference between some people. Know that the difference is not concerned with Islam. The difference is over "I". I should strengthen Islam; I accept the Islam that I strengthen; I do not accept the Islam my friend strengthens. This mentality exists in man's essence even if one does not utter it. One may not say so but it exists in man's essence unless God Almighty grants us the capacity to purify ourselves.

Due consideration to truth and satisfaction of God in selecting the leader

I hope that God Almighty grant success to you who are the chosen ones of the nation to heed the subject in the Constitution for determining leader or the council of leadership. While selecting the leader you should be careful and see whether you are doing this for God or because that certain person is your friend. Is one who says certain person is not competent making this comment for God or because one is involved in competition with him. Undoubtedly, we should not conceal things among ourselves. Rest assured that the root cause of this mentality lies in man's carnal self. This root remains with man up to the deathbed when it might emerge in greater force. One of the *ulama* in Qazvin (may God's peace be upon him) related that he went to meet a dying man who told him that the injustice done to him by God had not been done by anyone else because he had brought up the children delicately and now God is taking him. It is a dangerous issue for man and has serious danger for man to imagine that Satan will let go of him at the end of

his life. Strive from now that there is time. When you grow old like me, you will not be able to do anything. Now that you are young and youthful strength is there, you should endeavor to drive out the carnal passion from your soul. All troubles emerge from this carnal self. In selecting the leader, they shouldn't be any faction or horse-trading and none should favor a person just because of friendship with you; also, it should not pose as a problem if the nominee is not a close friend of you. Consider the truth and consider what generates God's satisfaction and not that of our satanic soul. The issue is important; it is vitally important. This important matter is now vested with you. You have accepted this responsibility and should fulfill this important mission by trusting God and entreating God almighty to protect you against the slightest deviation, as there are some incongruities and conflicts between man and his carnal self. You should empty your mind from all worldly allurements by sincere devotion to and prepare yourselves for this daunting task the slightest deviation in which will cause deviation in the course of the Islamic Republic, for which you will be responsible. This is a divine duty entrusted to you who have accepted it. When you accept, you should manage it. Whatever you think to fulfill this duty should be for God. Select the more competent one and, not the one who might be on friendly terms with you. Select one who is better for Islam. Of course, I have good opinion of the gentlemen and know many of them closely. I hope the gentlemen will fulfill the notions efficiently and be successful. May God Almighty help you and guide you towards the path leading to His gratification! May God protect you and grant you success! I beg you all to pray for me.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: July 1983 [Tir 1362 AHS / Shawwal 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a letter by a devoted lady, accepting her gift and offering her the same

Addressee: Zahra Jafari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the great leader of revolution and rightful vicegerent of the Imam of the Time, I hope you will accept my warm and humble greetings from miles away—greetings brimming with love and affection and rising from the depth of my heart and flying towards you, greetings that have crossed these meandering tunnels of roads evoking thousands of memories to tell you and greeting uttered from the bottom of my heart to you dear Imam. God willing, you are fine, in good health under the protection of Almighty God and have a happy life for the sake of the Imam of the Time. I am a 32-year-old woman with six daughters. Hereby send you a necklace, which is the product of my own labor, and hope you will accept it.

Dear Imam, we love you and wish to meet you closely, but since we cannot come to meet you, I wish to have something from you. I request you to send the response to this letter by your own handwriting along with a note of prayers to eat to remain healthy. I have no more to say except praying for your health. O, God! O, God! Preserve Khomeini up to the revolution of Mahdi, deduct from our lives and add to his.

In the hope of victory of Islam
Zahra Afar
26/4/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

My sister, I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter and the gift. I thank you and hope God Almighty will keep you and your children healthy and grant you good health and prosperity in religion, this world and that next world. Since I like you yourself to use the gift you sent me and I accepted, I send it back to you. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: July 20, 1983 [Tir 29, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 9, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a letter of complaint by Mr. Shirazi

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi (one of the renowned *ulama* in Mashhad)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Ayatullah Shirazi May your blessing last long—holy city of Mashhad,

I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter indicating your health and highlighting some points and I extend my appreciation. I ask God almighty to grant you health and success.

You might be aware that I have given recommendations on such unpleasant issues and have been averse to such matters or the conduct, which may give rise to them. You know well that a revolutionary nation is different to control, and people cannot put up with wrong behaviors by anyone. Since I have concern for you, I do not like some relations of your noble household to carry out actions intolerable to by Hezbollah. Tell some of those people who complain loudly “Do not cry over spilled milk.”¹ I expect you—near of that holy shrine—to pray for me. May God’s peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ “In summer you spoiled the milk.” A proverb famous in Arab literature applied to a person who wishes something he has destroyed or person who hastens in a job and then repents.

Permission

Time: July 25, 1983 [Mordad 3, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mirza Ali Thabiti Hamedani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

And then, Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Mirza Ali Aqa Thabiti Hamedani—May his blessings last long—who has devoted some part of his noble life to acquisition of religious sciences is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs which is pending the permission of *wali-ye faqih* in occultation of the Imam of the Time (May God hastens his reappearance). He is also authorized to handle *dastgaran* and *amhal* and collect religious dues spend the holy share of Imam (may God's peace be upon him) on his livelihood in economical manner and spending half of the excess for revival of the pure appellation of Islam and the prescribed cases, paying the half of the share of *sadat* to the needy *sadat* and returning the remaining shares to me to spend on revival of the holy appellation of Islam and theological seminaries.

In addition, I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and after-world affairs have admonished us. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers. May peace be upon him and God's pious servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 14, 1403 AH

Decree

Time: July 27, 1983 [Mordad 5, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in Zanjan Province

Addressee: Sayyid Mir Aqa Zanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mir Aqa Zanjani, may your blessings last long,

I hereby appoint you as my representative in Zanjan Province so that you can take measures to remove the religious needs and settle the problems of the residents of the region. In cases calling for permission of *wali-ye faqih*, you are authorized on my behalf to take charge of the affairs.

It is hoped that respected residents and revolutionary organizations will spare no effort to cooperate with you. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 5, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 16,
1403 AH

Permission

Time: July 27, 1983 [Mordad 5, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1406 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Asadullah Arshi Najafabadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

Then, Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Asadullah Arshi Najafabadi—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs which is pending the permission of *wali-ye faqih* in occultation of the promised Savior (May God hastens his reappearance). He is also authorized to collect religious dues and holy shares spend the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) for his sustenance in an economical manner and one third of the remaining shares on the prescribed cases and promotion of the sacred Shariah and return the remaining two thirds to me to spend on the advancement of the pure word of Islam.

In addition, I advise him—may God the Exalted assist him—to what pious predecessors did, to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in religious and worldly affairs. May God's peace and mercy be upon him and all the believers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 16, 1403 AH

Memorial

Time: July 30, 1983 [Mordad 8, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 19, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Prayers for the late Mr. Maliki

In His Most Exalted Name

May God bless the late Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Maliki who was among committed servants of Islam!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 19, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, August 2, 1983 [Mordad 11, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Characteristics of aristocracy and government of the deprived

Addressee: Staff of Road and Transportation Ministry including railroad, aviation and related departments staff of Energy Ministry, director generals of Education Ministries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ignoring the deprived is a feature of aristocracy

First of all, I should appreciate the gentlemen for taking the trouble to come here to meet each other and discuss some issues. The issues pointed out by the gentleman regarding the services rendered by the Ministry of Road and Transportation and the Ministry of Energy as well as the services rendered by the Education Ministry and the other ministries are some blessings of the rule of oppressed people. In the course of history, the aristocrats have always had a major say in the government and formed the skeleton of the governments, whether the government itself or the parliaments—the only exception being the first term of parliament after the constitutional revolution in Iran—the army and other organizations. Since they belonged to well-to-do social class and the skeleton of government was formed by such aristocrats. They were not aware of the sufferings of the poor, and did not understand the meaning of poverty. They would never think of these issues. Those who had been raised in the lap of luxury as of their childhood up to the time when they gained power in the government did not thought of the fact that there is another class, the oppressed class. In addition, if such thoughts crossed their mind, it was just a passing one. They thought as if this class did not exist and never spared a thought for those people. Therefore, in the course of history this oppressed and deprived layer throughout the course of history of monarchy and the period you experienced in the reign of Muhammad-Rida and some of you in time of Rida Khan, you see that government was the government of aristocracy. If in the assembly one or two people from deprived class would be found, they were in a tiny minority and could do nothing in the face of that absolute majority. Essentially, the essence of aristocratic government is disgraced for the needs of people. Hence, all the villages of Iran were deprived of almost all facilities a government should provide for these remote villages. There were few

exceptions, but even in these cases, the landowners and aristocrats were at work. If there was, a village not owned by one of the aristocrats or one of the government agents, that village was deprived of all facilities. There was no electricity. Only recently, efforts have been made to supply power the villages. There were neither health care center nor any roads. If one became ill or a woman was about to give birth, there was no facility. They had to travel to a city or town but as there were no roads, the patient or that poor woman would die and only few of them could be cured. This is the situation of aristocrat governments in the world.

Rule of the deprived a great gift of God

One of the great gifts God almighty has granted our nation is that the government is the government of the oppressed and the deprived. That is, those at the helm of government, when you notice, its president has come from a theology school and become president, its parliament Speaker has been a theology student and become parliament speaker. The head of government has come from bazaar and his father seems to be still working there. He has come from bazaar and how heads the government. All ministers, their deputies and representatives of people have the same background. Among officials, whether in the parliament or in the government you cannot find anyone like those people who were in charge of affairs in time of the monarchy. What distinguishes the government of the deprived and poor, a popular government is that parliament, the government, and ministers understand poverty and deprivation. They suffered deprivation and are aware of what the destitution and deprivation signifies. Therefore, the features of the deprived government are what I point out. One is that since they have felt deprivation, they can think of the deprived. They can understand that if there is no road and a patient in a village needs to be taken to a city, what troubles may ensue, because there is no road and the patient has to be taken on donkey or horseback. They understand what this means. This deprivation comes to their mind. They understand what deprivation from clinics and health care centers means. They understand what deprivation from waterpower means. Since they have felt these problems, they can understand—and in contrast to the layer who was formerly in charge of these affairs could not understand such sensitivities. That is to say, one who was brought up in the cradle of so-called aristocracy at that time and since the time he opened eyes, he would only see servants thought of this as the way of life in the country same. One cannot understand that there exist a

class, which has no bread to eat, and there is a class cannot eke out a living. This is one of the features of the government of the deprived and poor.

Starting up great powers, a feature of government of the deprived

One of the great features is that the government of the deprived no longer fears the powers. The feature of so-called nobles, aristocrats and the elite is for fear that they may lose their position or have their aristocratic title damaged, try to oppress the subordinates while bowing down to the superiors. One who was a prime minister, minister and in the course of history was among those in charge of affairs of the country did oppression to the subjects in every sense and when confronting a foreign ambassador, as the case might arise, he displayed utmost servitude. This is the feature of aristocracy. The so-called aristocracy displayed this concept and the feature of welfare-stricken government was their servility before the foreign embassies; on the other hand, they mistreated their own subjects and the deprived. As I have heard, Muhammad-Rida at the closing years of his crimes when Iran revolted and mounted that movement and revolution and foreigners found that they could no longer keep him in power and that no longer this puppet is of avail (useful), they said—some people from among themselves who were present there were quoted as saying—that when representative from the US came and said you should leave, he was sitting with a pen in his hand, trembled and the pen fell off his hand. He was so desperate (abject). However, in dealing with the nation, you saw what he did. The government of the deprived is characterized by the fact that today if the US president comes here and wants to speak harshly to one of the staff of our offices, our government, he will receive a slap. In the former government, government officials did not think of the fact that it was possible to treat the American embassy or the Soviet Union's embassy in a way done by the government of the deprived. It was impossible for them to think of this subject. Today the feature of the government of the deprived is that they have no fear. The US is sitting on the other side of the oceans, gives order to the bullying governments, and these governments obey them all. However, in Iran where the government of the deprived rules, nobody cares a fig about the US. In the story of Iran's oil when Saddam or one of his ministers had threatened to hit our oil installations threatened to purchase French fighters and hit the oil installations of Iran, Iran and the Iranian employers stood and said if such a thing was done, we would close oil to all countries. This is a fact. The US is sitting on the other side of the world and says they will ensure the security of the Persian Gulf. Before they think of this, it has already been

done by Iran. The US should try to cut his servants and the likes of Saddam down to size. The US should not think of inflicting a blow on Iran. (Show a masterwork). Iran is the rule of people and popular government is not afraid of what the US says. It is the government of the oppressed and deprived. They fear nothing. They are not afraid that due to some events they may lose their position. There is no position at work. No one of them thinks of holding a position just to boast of. No one of them has an aristocratic life style to fear to be deprived of. Since it is the rule of faith, they martyrdom. Therefore, the US and the likes of the US do not imagine that if they gave orders in the past, in time of the Shah and Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Khan and were carried out are also applicable here now. Not at all! No such thing is possible. If today an ambassador of yours wants to insult our employees, if he is not punished here, the least is to expel him. The government is the government of the deprived and the deprived have no fear of these affairs. It was the government of the aristocrats, which would flinch when you browbeat them. It is now the government of the deprived, the masses of people, the deprived, bazaar, street, workers, and farmers. The government is theirs. Such a government, with this composition it enjoys, has no fear. What is there to fear? Should they fear martyrdom? There are many who wish martyrdom. Should be they afraid of losing their position? There is no position at work to be taken. Do they fear, I don' know, the parks, villages, etc. to be taken from them. They have no park, no village. This is the feature of the government of the deprived that is afraid of neither this superpower nor that one. It is not afraid of war either. Do you think if such a war broke out in the past, our country would have the same situation it has, with people defending both the fronts and behind the fronts, delivering the US a slap in the face? Saddam is a nonentity, and this is a slap in the face of the US, which removed the collar of this wretched creature, tempted him and louded him in such a state. Today is a day when our people do not fear the war. Why should they fear war? Do they fear that anyone may enter their land? Right! They will drive them out. No one can enter here. Do they fear coups? Who is there to stage a coup? Who can launch a coup in this country? A country in which all are equipped and prepared, even women? This is another feature of the government of the deprived that they do not fear. No longer, can embassies denigrate government of Iran. Formerly, the government belonged to embassies. Once there was the British Embassy that controlled everything followed by American Embassy. Now no embassy here can say a word that may offend our staff, whether the Soviet Embassy or the American Embassy or the others. This is a characteristic of the government of people compared

to the government of aristocrats. A popular government's greatest property is that they have no fear at all.

People's support of the government a characteristic of the deprived

Yet another feature of the government of the deprived is that people support the government. If people, half of the people, backed Muhammad-Rida, would these disasters befall him? People whole-heartedly support this government. If the government turns into trouble, it is the people who remove that trouble. If the government is dragged into a war, it is the people who will rush to the fronts and render services behind the frontlines. This is a salient feature of popular governments. Today since parliaments is a popular Parliament, it can think of the deprived. The Parliaments in the past could not think of the deprived because there were no deprived members among them. If there were, there were only one or two who could do nothing. Today, however, Parliament is the one whose deputies have suffered deprivation. There is none of those aristocrats and nobles and their likes among them. Although some devious ones are among them, there is no news of those aristocrats and nobles. Such a government can serve this country. Such a Majlis is backed by people in the street and bazaar. This is one of the big properties of popular government that they have not fear of events. Big powers should note that today they do not enjoy the fraud cure they used to have at the time of Muhammad-Rida or Rida Khan.

Islamic state feels proud against big powers

Today there is no demand for those words; they are empty. We have been recommending the gulf sheikhs and those who rule in other Islamic countries for several times that they should beware not to treat our country like this. One day they will wake up and that time will be late. The government of Hijaz will come to its sense a day when the story is over. It should start to revise its actions now. Prevention of the Iranian Hujjaj (pilgrims) is not something the government of Hijaz can do. The government of Hijaz is not that strong to prevent our pilgrims, yet it can create trouble. By causing this trouble, it will awaken a day when the time is over and can no longer apologize. Those who claim they are the custodians of the Kaaba and those living a country where the House of God is located, should not think that the House of God belongs to them and that they are the custodians of it. The House of God belongs to the entire Muslims. American advisors in Hijaz live in great comfort and take from the money and oil of the deprived people to their heart's content, but Iranian Hujjaj are detrimental to them. It

is clear why they are harmful, because when a government is puppet of a state it has to preserve the interests of that state. We ask why to be an underdog? We want Islamic states to be proud and master over the world in the same way Iran's government is today. Why should you degrade yourselves so much against the US, that you do not dare to hear others say a word against the US or Israel in Mecca, asking Iran not to send its Hujjaj-100,000 pilgrims to Mecca? Iran will send all its pilgrims or will not send any one at all. I advise the government of Hijaz not to treat Muslims like this and not to side with the enemies of Islam and the Holy Houses. I advise them to come to their senses before it is too late. Do not wait until it is too late to apologize. Study the situation of Saddam. Saddam and the government of Iraq was stronger than all governments of the region and has become so desperate today that it does not know what to do, extending a begging hand to this or that but to no avail.

Warning the regional countries against supporting Saddam

I warn the states the Persian Gulf, and the regional states to stop their animosity towards Iran and their support of Saddam so that the Baath Party falls into ruin and Iraq is ruled by Muslims. Let Iraq be controlled by people as the people of Iran are doing so Iraq should have the same situation. Islamic government is better for all sheikdoms of the region than the hallow US power.

You should reconsider your words. Don't sit in your big palaces and think that now that you are in the palace you can do anything against Iran. I fear that Iranian pilgrims may not be allowed to go to Mecca, which might cause all Muslims to burst into rage against the Sheikhs. In that case, there would be no trace of sheikhs or of American relations, in which case there will remain nothing of the sheikhs or of the US relations. Come to your senses and note that this story is the story of Islam, this is explicit objection to the Quran. How can one who the Quran have Islamic government and serve as custodian of Mecca? Since I would like to treat all Muslims and governments moderately and never like to treat them violently, I ask them to reconsider their view and revise their ideas. The day when you are in trouble the US will not be of any help to you in the same way that the US is of no use for Saddam and constantly says we are neutral. It does not say, "We are also involved." Basically, they want to pit Muslims against each other and take advantage of it. They do not want to see their troops are killed for Saddam and others. Other regional governments should wake up and Saddam's affliction can serve as a lesson to them. If they return and embrace

Islamic method, God Almighty will forgive them and we are obedient to the rule of God.

I hope that God will keep this believing people of Iran healthy and grant success to the government- the Islamic government to serve this oppressed class. Those who are engaged in ministries or in the Parliament should serve the nation. May God grant success to you all!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Decree

Time: August 3, 1983 [Mordad 12, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence, abatement for prisoners

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of a Islamic Republic of Iran, May your presence last long,

Please find enclosed the list of 296 convicts of the Islamic Revolution Public Prosecutor's Office and 96 convicts of the ordinary Public Prosecutor's Office confirmed by the religious judge and the Amnesty Department as being eligible for amnesty or sentence abatement as being liable to amnesty or litigation of punishment.¹

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Ardebili
10/5/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 12, 1362 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader mentioned in Article 110 of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution.

Speech

Time: Morning, August 3, 1983 [Mordad 12, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Duty of governors is to support and back the government and Majlis

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri (Interior Minister), all provincial governors

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity of understanding between governors and clerics

Although the subjects I highlight are repetitive, they are necessary to be reiterated and recommended. I would like to stress two subjects. One is to get on with the clerics. I have also given this recommendation to the clerics repeatedly. Since you are here today, I want to remind you of this. By getting along with the clerics, try to attract people and this way no harm will come to you since it is mostly caused by discord. You and the clerics should be in good terms. You know that whatever has been accomplished has not been by way of accident. Our progress has been due to the agreement reached among all social strata. If foreigners want to do something, they first create discord among us and thus spread corruption. After discord takes root, they will inflict harm on us. They do not interfere directly. We are responsible to preserve Islam and today protection of Islam lies in understanding, understanding among all social strata; between people and the clerics; between the clerics and governors; governors with people and clerics and this is a Divine duty, which we should fulfill.

Duty of governors is to support the government

The second subject is that all governors everywhere should back the government. Today governors should strengthen the prime minister, the government and the Majlis and if they disagree, they will create a gap and inflict damage on Islam. If Islam suffers damage God forbid, it will not recover so soon. If those who have been slapped by Islam and realized that it is Islam, which can emancipate nations, rise up and damage Islam, what answer do we have? Governors should support the prime minister and government and all the ministers. You should be united and support each other. I stress that if the heads are in good terms, no harm will come to our country. Moreover, if the country suffers any damage, it is due to discord among the heads as has been mentioned in the holy *Shariah*. The

government, the Majlis and the judiciary should feel that they have one duty—and avoid any discord. Today discord can permeate the warfronts and if God forbid it pervades calamity will ensue. Today, almost no one is on good terms with us. Those who side with us only express their support in words. In spite of this, the *pasdars*, the military, the *Basij* and other forces have been able to achieve these victories. It is because there is no difference among them. Difference of the clerics with governors or among themselves spreads to people and is constantly reflected on the warfronts. Then you cannot evaluate the disaster that will ensue. The great calamity will be the fact that Islam cannot recover soon. You should bear in mind that this is a duty to be with one another to bring the burden to destination. Render services efficiently and attend to the needs of the deprived. You are responsible to fulfill the needs of the deprived in remote places, the same people who have been under pressure and trouble in the course of history. Struggle to work out a solution to their problems. Be serious about development and road construction. Today you should serve the deprived and slum-dwellers who are our benefactors. Before God Almighty, no service is more useful than rendering service to slum dwellers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: August 6, 1983 [Mordad 15, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of congratulation on the occasion of auspicious Fitr Feast

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shawwal 26, 1403 AH

Your Excellency Mr. Shadhli Bin Jadid, President of Algeria,

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on auspicious occasion of *Fitr* Feast dated Shawwal 24, 1403 AH with appreciation. I would also like to congratulate you and the brotherly Muslim people of Algeria on this occasion. I ask God Almighty to grant to Islam and the Muslims happiness and grandeur. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: August 6, 1983 [Mordad 15, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of congratulation on the occasion of auspicious *Fitr* Feast

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shawwal 26, 1403 AH

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

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on auspicious occasion *Id al-Fitr* Feast dated Shawwal 24, 1403 with appreciation. I would like to congratulate you and the Muslim nation of the Maldives on this occasion. I ask God Almighty to grant all Islamic nation honor and glory. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: August 8, 1983 [Mordad 17, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Aqa Shaykh Ismail

In His Most Exalted Name

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Ismail—May his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious dues and use the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) for his expenses economically. He is authorized to spend one third of the excess on promoting the pure word of Islam, half of the share of *sadat* on prescribed cases, and return the rest to me for promotion of the pure word of Islam.

Moreover, I advise him, may God the Exalted assist him—to what the pious predecessors did, to adhere to piety and to avoid carnal desires. May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 28, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, August 8, 1983 [Mordad 17, 1362 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The role of MPs in creating rapport in the Majlis

Audience: MPs from oil, Islamic guidance and art commissions

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Resolving problems thanks to the Islamic nature of revolution

I thank the gentlemen for coming here so that we can discuss problem. The important issue is that we should pay attention to our situation and that of other revolutions taking place in the world. For example, a country may launch a revolution backed by the Soviet Union, the US and their likes, which is a different revolution. Sometimes a country like Iran carries out a revolution and separates itself from all western and eastern powers, which want to interfere in it. However, we see that those having conducted revolutions with the support of big powers are in worse situation than we are. With these two features, it is impossible to expect all the problems to be settled overnight. If it were not for the Islamic nature of the revolution, our problems would not have been resolved forever. Since it is Islamic, people are together and love Islam. Despite the massive propaganda, war and problems imposed on us Iran has firmly resisted in the years following revolution and continues to move ahead. The duty of the deputies is to try to remove problems everywhere and not expect problems to be resolved immediately.

Observing codes of ethics in Majlis debates

It is important that the MPs have rapport among themselves, with the governments and other officials. Majlis, which is the foundation of a country, should be a venue for debate and strengthening morality in society. Criticism and impeachment are the rights of the Majlis. However, treating the offender calmly and using ethical means settle the difference more efficiently, than sarcastic words or violent argument. Therefore, pre-sermon speeches or the subjects dealt with in the Majlis should push forward people towards improvement such as sermons of *Nahj al-Balaghah* and sermons of Immaculate Imams. In their speech, the gentlemen should have the feeling that they are speaking into interests of society, not for confrontation. They should consider themselves, as preacher intending to give admonition to

people and people should feel that these gentlemen seek their good and interests.

Duty of the youth in war and fight against the enemy

I am aware of the issues you touched upon, but problems should be resolved gradually. Today our major problem is war, and you see that almost on all fronts we are engaged with it. We should redouble our efforts to bring this war to victory. If God forbid this war does not end in victory and we suffer defeat, do not assume that it will be limited to Iran, all deprived peoples of the world will undergo defeat. Today, people from all over the world casting a look at us to see how Iran fares in this war. All the gentlemen should bear in mind and I tell the entire people of the country, particularly the youth that the war, which is raging, is a fateful one. It is a war on one side of which the enemy has come with all equipment and support of all superpowers and on the other side, there is Iran that has separated itself from all big powers and relied upon God Almighty. Therefore, our youths should determine the fate of the war. These Iranian youths should keep the passion for war excited. Thank God, our combatants are victorious everywhere and you know that if God forbid Saddam emerges victorious what he will do with the people in this country.

It pales in comparison to Islam sustaining damage and not being able to recover soon. Once again, I remind the people of the country that today utmost attention should be given to the war. Today the entire Islam has stood against the entire blasphemy. If we capture somewhere, we should not feel proud. We should continue this victory to the point that the aggressor gets a good lesson; i.e, it is vanquished. Human losses are not reparable, but all the financial damages to this country should be compensated. The point I would like to stress is that today all our youths are obliged to keep the warfronts warm and join their brothers who are involved in war. If the war problem is over and ends in a clear-cut victory, other problems are secondary and their settlement is easy. People will past things aright. The government also finds the opportunity to resolve the problems. We should be together in war and other affairs. If we are together, we will be able to go ahead with our tasks. Thank God, there is no difference in the Majlis and almost all deputies are righteous individuals who should develop understanding among themselves and others. They should strengthen other forces, the government, the warfronts and the armed forces, and encourage people to help the armed forces on both the home front and warfronts. Thank God, so far they have done so.

I thank the gentlemen and the people present on warfronts and home front, serving for the sake of Islam. I hope that the problems will be resolved through the efforts of the gentlemen and confirmation of God Almighty soon. I pray for your success and approval.

May God's peace and blessings be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, August 10, 1983 [Mordad 19, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for members of Sepah-e Pasdaran to avoid involvement in political currents

Audience: Muhsin Rafiqdust (Minister of *Sepah-e Pasdaran*) and some deputy ministers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Non-intervention of *Sepah* in political matters

Sepah is a newborn ministry. You should be careful from the outset so that you can forest the entire situation prevailing in the former ministries. Dismantling the former ministries takes much time, but this ministry is in your own hands. Try to observe Islamic aspects well. The important point is that you should not give rise to anything that may undermine the moral of *Sepah* (member of *Sepah* or revolutionary guard). The main thing in the republic next to preservation of Islamic aspects is that no difference should creep into *Sepah*, people, *Sepah*, and the army, as it is the case today thank God. You should try to shut the door on political issues in *Sepah*. If political ideas find their way in *Sepah*, its military aspects will disappear. Always recommend members of *Sepah* to consider themselves as warriors at the service of people, not as warriors shirking services, and to treat the army in a brotherly manner. The goal is one: preservation of Islam and the country. You should fulfill this goal and treat each other, people and the army properly.

Deprived people, servants of revolution and guardians of warfronts

A Muslim should treat everybody in a humble way and regard himself to be lower than others. When I think about our youths who struggle diligently on warfronts, I feel ashamed of sitting here. I hope that with the situation in *Sepah* and the army, the problems will be resolved soon. Now Saddam says “since we retreated for the purpose of peace and friendship; maybe he also means their withdrawal from Khorramshahr. I hope that the Muslims will soon get rid of Saddam. I pray God to grant you victory. You should try not to be overtaken by bureaucracy in your ministry from the beginning. People should feel at home in your ministry. All people are equal. Of course, we are

more indebted to the deprived class. Now that you go to warfronts, you will not find a single well-to-do person. If you see, there are a few. The rest are from among the deprived class. It is these very deprived people who carried out the revolution, emerged victorious and the same people will render service and forward the revolution. I pray for their protection and progress. I hope that this country will not suffer any damage. Consider the country as yours and the deprived people as your brothers. People will not be disappointed with *Sepah*. *Sepah* should be safeguarded with its popularity and the best way to ensure this are to get along with people. I wish you victory and glory.

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

Speech

Time: Morning, August 11, 1983 [Mordad 20, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Repercussion of Saddam's crimes after bombardment of Gilan-e Gharb

Audience: Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Foreign Minister), deputies and director generals of the ministry, charge d'affairs and ambassadors of Islamic Republic of Iran in Asia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

As regards the disaster caused by Saddam on Iran, on the entire Iran, particularly people in Gilan-e Gharb and families of the martyrs there, I express my profound condolences and ask God Almighty to associate them with the saints of Islam and grant those wounded in this appalling crime cure.

A point that I would like to make is that Saddam has imagined that with such crimes he can impose peace on us; each crime will keep him aloof from peace and make us more resolute. Iran, which stood up for God, is now standing firmly. Maybe there were odds in favor of seeking peace in the past, but with such crimes, no wise person will think of peace, because the families of martyrs and bereaved ones will stand against them. Now you see the same bereaved ones cry "war, war". A criminal cannot away with his crimes by committing more crimes. We warn him and the likes of him and his cohorts that with any crime their list of felonies will grow thicker and have to compensate in time being called to task. Such crimes will not weaken the resolution of the families of the martyrs. Saddam who has suffered defeat on the battlefield cannot escape his responsibility by bombarding innocent people. Incoming reports indicate that they have used cluster bombs in Gilan-e Gharb. Such acts cause their crimes and indemnity to pile up. If we suppose he remains in power, an impossible assumption, he should bear all these. Moreover, his accomplices should be tried. That day is not far away.

International organizations at the service of big powers, not the oppressed

What answer do the US and its likes that claim to be neutral but are obviously accessories to the crimes have to provide? International organizations and human right, these puppets of the US and superpowers, overlook the crimes committed against humanity. The individuals who came and saw the crimes carried out by Saddam testified in their reports but why

did international organizations keep silent? International organizations are bodies at the service of big powers, not at the service of oppressed and deprived peoples. Each nation should stand against crimes on Iran proved that it will stand against the crimes of big powers. Our people stood against that criminal and drove him out without any remissness. Today, our people will not also show laxity against these crimes. These crimes make the people and officials more determined and firmer and help them understand their duty towards such a criminal. People of Iran should note that they are serving Islam and that guardians of Islam have offered great martyrs to God.

Significance and sensitivity of work in the foreign ministry

Regarding the story of foreign ministry, the ministry is more sensitive compared to other ministries, because it deals with all countries in the world. No doubt, you are rendering service, because it is your own country. Previously, the country was dependent on the west and the east; was oppressed and harmed by the foreigner, and had monarchical propaganda. In such a country, it is clear that the foreign ministry has to undertake daunting tasks. However, diligent and resolute men make awesome jobs look easy and perform them later you who are giving services to gain God's satisfaction try to stand against all troubles and struggle hard. Now that all are together in the Islamic Republic and government and people are friends, it is easier to tackle the problems. Embrace problems warmly and persist in solving them.

Pursue the embassies abroad in a way that anyone visiting them would sense that he has entered an Islamic and moral atmosphere. I appreciate Mr. Wilayati and other gentlemen who devote their time to Islamic and human goals. Regarding propaganda in foreign ministry, you should know that propaganda has priority over all issues and has to be increased day by day. Now that we have stood against the entire world, at least our propaganda should be healthy and we ought to have the right kind of propaganda. I hope you all will be healthy and build the foreign ministry in a way that is useful for Islam and the country. I know you are thinking of settling the problems. God willing, you will resolve the problems.

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

Speech

Time: Morning, August 16, 1983 [Mordad 25, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 7, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Philosophy of *Hajj* and its political dimensions

Audience: Musawi Khoeyniha (Imam's representative and superintendent of Iranian pilgrims), Khatami (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance), clerics of *Hajj* caravans, officials of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance and *Hajj* and Pilgrimage Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Political dimension, most important philosophy of *Hajj*

I should thank the gentlemen for coming here to talk over some issues. I would like to tell them to some extent about some subjects and hope that all gentlemen will succeed in making this blessed journey in good health and triumph and return to their places of origin.

You perform *Hajj* in a year when the situation of the world and the region is as you see. The world has been afflicted by big powers, the deprived are suffering at the hands of satanic powers, and our region has been reduced to this situation due to intervention of big powers. You travel to the House of God at a time when due to disgraceful defeats of Saddam, he has targeted our residential areas and hits our cities with missiles. Recently, you observed what they did to Andimeshk. I express my condolences to the people and respected, brave residents of Andimeshk and hope that God Almighty may associate their martyrs with the martyrs of the early days of Islam, and grant their families health and patience.

You are making this blessed journey in a year when big powers in the region are engaged in corruption and plunder. On the other hand, the Soviet Union interferes in Afghanistan wherever it can and suppresses the oppressed Afghan people. Thank God, the people of Afghanistan have put up a manly resistance against that big power. Furthermore, the US is on top of the criminals, and interferes in, and transgresses upon all oppressed countries, particularly Islamic countries. The US has extended its hands from the other side of the world and oppresses the nations supposed to be independent. Unfortunately, these governments have succumbed to oppression.

One of the philosophies of *Hajj* is its political dimension. The hands of criminals from around the world work to crush this dimension.

Unfortunately, their extensive propaganda has also impressed Muslims many of whom consider *Hajj* journey a hollow ritual in blatant disregard of Muslims interests. Since its birth, *Hajj*'s political significance has not been less than its devotional dimension. In addition to its politics aspect, it is also an act of worship.

Review of Muslims' situation and their problems in *Hajj*

Problems of people from different nation whose rich people and esteemed clerics are present should be reviewed in *Hajj*. The situation of Muslims should be considered. It should be examined how Islamic nations fare with their governments; how their governments deal with the satanic powers; how Islamic nations treat each other; a—how clerics in different countries deal with the issue of *Hajj*. These are the cases, which should be taken into account, and *Hajj* is just for these issues. In *Hajj* people should try to identify the problems facing Muslims during the year and then take action to overcome them.

At the court clerics in the region and elsewhere assert, *Hajj* should be devoid of its political aspect. In fact, by say in this they condemn the prophet of God, the Islamic caliphs and the Imams of Guidance. They do not know that *Hajj* is for such issues. It has been for people's uprising; for appreciating Muslim problems; for effort in solving these problems, and for creating amity and fraternity among Muslims.

Isolation of Islam by separation of religion from politics scheme

Unfortunately, the propaganda of the enemies of Islam is and has been so vast and extensive in all Islamic issues that Muslims and clerics have come to believe that they should not interfere in politics. Many of the clerics have come to believe that clergymen should not interfere in politics and that clergyman should simply deal with non-political questions. Islam's political questions are several times as many as its devotional ones, because those political issues are devotional at the same time. Islamic literature and books on jurisprudence are full of political and social questions. Now a number of ignoramus people think that Islam, like other devious religions-, which were not like this in their pristine form, but were reduced to their present state by the colonialists—expects clerics to. It is suggested that clerics should only sit and perform two rakats, go back home and take a nap until the time arrives for the other prayer. This propaganda has raged ever since the birth of Islam, gained strength at the time of Umayyad Abbasid Caliphs, and subsequently fell into the hands of reactionary governments. Now, big powers take

advantage of the same propaganda to isolate Islam and have succeeded in doing so. The Islam that fails to address the problems of society and problems of the state is an isolated Islam. The isolated Islam was limited to mosques. They have isolated Islam in the name of Islam and limited it to the walls of lifeless mosques. Masjid al-Haram and other mosques during the time of our noble prophet were war headquarters and political and social centers. It was not that in the mosque of prophet, they only performed devotion duties such as prayers and fasting; in fact political issues outweighed other aspects. Whenever the Muslim leaders wanted to send people to war and mobilize them for battles, they started these activities from mosques. Unfortunately, due to propaganda which started in early days of Islam and last up to our time, the mosques were converted into places in which Islam has condemned. It does not mean that people openly condemned Islam. Condemnation means trampling the Islamic rules in the mosque. Islam wants people to be active in mosques and consciously struggle for their interests and the interests of Muslims. Moreover, *Hajj* is among the practices whose political aspects are greater than its devotional ones. You gentlemen who will make a pilgrimage to the House of God should note that this colonized mentality ingrained in the mind of some even clerics in Islamic countries, should be rooted out. In your speeches and gatherings, remind people that the true essence of Islam is not what we are experiencing now. It is not true Islam to only make a pilgrimage to Mecca, to circumambulate the holy Kabah and perform other rituals, while you do not care what the arrogant powers are doing to the people and the Muslims, stay indifferent and condemn those who speak in the interests of Muslims. The damage Islam sustains from the court *akhunds* is worse than the damage inflicted on Islam by the US, because the former isolate Islam with an Islamic guise, while the latter cannot act thus. The latter impels the former. When Muslims make a pilgrimage to the House of God, *they* should perform a dynamic *Hajj*, a crushing *Hajj* and a *Hajj* in which Muslims should condemn the criminal Soviet Union and the criminal US. This *Hajj* is the one that is accepted. If we make a pilgrimage but fail to consider the interests of Muslims, act against the interests of Muslims, cover up the crimes, do not allow Muslims speak out the crimes committed against Muslims and refuse to highlight the crimes committed against Muslims by governments and big powers, this is not *Hajj*. It is a meaningless form.

Awakening and unifying Muslims in Hajj

The Hajj expected by God Almighty and by Islam is one in which Muslims from different nations are awakened and unified. You should make them understand why over one billion Muslims are under the pressure of two powers about a few hundred million people. All the problems are because Muslims have been derived from the path Islam has prescribed. Even if they converge, they don't do anything. Perhaps you have heard about the congregation of the clerics somewhere failing to condemn. They refused to denounce as wrong act the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet Union by mere words. The Christian clergy were not ready to express their condemnation of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. They were scared of even oral protest. This is the Christian clergymen. We thought the Christian clergymen were American. Now it became clear that they are both American and Russian. In addition, many Muslim clerics are on a par with Christian clergymen. Those who condemn any objection by Muslims against Zionists or the US. These Muslim clerics are like the Christian clergymen who say one should keep silent, or those clerics who support the US. They are also supporters of the US. Muslims should be awakened. This one billion Muslims should certainly be awakened and get rid of the two big powers and other powers that are indulged in corruption in these regions.

Muslims' submission to domination stems from inattention to the Islamic rules

Is not it drying a shame that Islamic countries and governments are standing by while Israel is treating the Palestinians in that manner, and committing crimes in Lebanon? One billion Muslims are just like bystanders, what are they afraid of? Why are they incapable of doing anything? They have control over the lifeblood of the east and the west. Oil is their lifeblood. If Muslim countries cut oil for ten days, they will become humble. While this lifeblood is in the hands of so-called Islamic governments, they offer it in a begging way. Is not this disgrace? Is not it disgrace for Muslims to give everything they have sincerely to foreigner and beg them to accept their offer? When Muslims do not pay attention to the divine and Quranic issues, disregard proper Islamic rules and ignore Islam's call for unity, they will perforce offer all things and beg them to accept. Is it not time for us to be awakened? Should they not draw lessons from Iran? Today all big countries of the world ranging from the Soviet Union which is unceasingly helping Iraq to the US and is doing the same and France has turned into the center of corruption in the world claiming to be the cradle of freedom and other things

has accommodated the terrorists, provides assistance to Saddam and take pride in this. Muslims should give them a punch in the mouth and if they become united, they will be able to do so. The world knows, though pretending to ignore it, that Iran has slapped the Soviet Union, the US and other big powers thanks to Islam. Islamic Iran will no longer let them find their way into this country. Those who are waiting for the US and Soviet Union to return are under illusion. They should not cherish this dream at least as long as we are alive. Up to then the US and Soviet Union cannot enter this country.

Iranian people never tired of war against aggressors

Now our youths go to the war from all over the country and put up heroic resistance on the fronts. As long as these youth are there, no one can do any harm to this country. Those who are retreating to their homes, say that people have grown exhausted of the war, and are tired of such and such should know that they themselves weary. They were weary from the outset. Who are the people? In Andimeshk which has been bombarded people shout “war, war until victory” slogans. There is the same story everywhere, from Dezful to wherever you see. As soon as there is a case of corruption or and Saddam commits a crime people stand up and shout “down with this; down with that” and “war, war until victory.” Are not these the people! Those people who congregate in mosques and Friday prayer venues shout a lot in support of war, and volunteer to go towards the warfronts—are not they Iranian? Have they come from Mars? The people of Iran consist of a number of individuals who are sitting idly and neither of them have gone to the battlefields, nor any of them have rendered any help to warfront despite the fact that some of have such and such things! Are the people of Iran and few individuals who only watch the country moving, God forbid, towards destruction if our youths show laxity? Are the people of Iran you few individuals who say that you have become weary of war? When have you been engaged in any battle to become tired? Which one of you has been in the battlefield so he might have a feeling of weariness? Which one of you has been ready to condemn the US and the Soviet Union? You are that sort of men who sit there and constantly nag about people. These are the nation. The nation consists of the people in the street and bazaar, the people of villages and—I do not know—towns and provinces. They are contributing to the war, the warfronts and home front. Their wives, children and entire members of their family are engaged with service. They are not exhausted. What is there to be weary of? Should they turn their back on Islam? Today we are engaged in a sacred defense. We are

not at war with anyone. We are defending our country. A part of our country is still under the occupation of Saddam. If we who are defending Islam feel tired, it means that we are weary of the holy Quran and Islam. Which of these individuals in this country, excluding a corrupt minority, has been exhausted of these matters? Our youth know that if, God forbid, Saddam wins, what he will do to this country and people. Do these zealous youths who have such feelings sit at home and complain of being exhausted of war? What is there to be weary of? Have they been tired of defending their principles? Have they been tired of defending their country? Have they been tired of defending Islam? What has made them feel exhausted? A certain group has been sitting and criticizing every correct thing they done. They criticize any service rendered by the government. From the beginning they did not want this situation; they want to restore the situation to the times of pleasure when the youth idled away their time in coffee houses and cabarets and did such and such. The elderly liked to have winning and dining parties. They want to enjoy themselves without restraint, but their dream will not be translated into reality. Your dream will not be fulfilled.

Inward development of Iranian nation and sacrifice for Islam

This nation is a living nation, a nation to be reckoned with in the world. This is the same Iran, which even its neighbors did not heed. This is the same Iran, which was introduced just in words of Mr. Aryamehr and beyond that, it has nothing. It was all dependence, all ruins. The entire country had fallen into ruin except major cities and primarily Tehran, which received attention, because there were nobles and aristocrats there who wanted to have fun. The villages, small towns and remote places were in disfavor. The poor people of these areas had to ride donkeys too go from this place to that place. They also had to carry their patient, many of whom would die on the way—on donkeys. Today, however, the government is busy building road, hospital, and school. Several thousands of schools have been made and several thousands kilometers of roads are been built. The gentlemen have been sitting at home growling that nothing has been accomplished. What do you want to be done? What has been done has been done at the time of Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida who had transformed the streets into centers of corruption. Do you consider their achievements right? Review the achievements in the past few years from all aspects. Many developments have taken place in our youths: they were driven out of cabarets and steered towards battlefields; they were dragged out corruption centers and led into centers of improvement, prayer and supplication. Our women who had undergone

oppression are today engaged in teaching, training, and struggle in the cause of God. What do you wish to be accomplished? Why you gentlemen have closed your eyes and opened your ears to the propaganda campaigns of the US and Europe? Open your eyes and see what has happened in Iran. Should others tell you? Of course, at times they call our attention to the transformations. You should promote Islam, the religion and this country and defend this country with your pen, tongue and other means. Instead, you nag and grumble all the time, why? What do you lack that causes you to complain? These people, the oppressed and the poor people__living in slums across the country are making such sacrifices for Islam and they never complain of being exhausted. Now you see they move towards the warfronts in great numbers to defend Islam. Are not they from this nation? Are not the youths who go to the battlefields part of this nation? Do you expect these people to come from the US? Wake up a bit and pay attention to the developments a bit.

Power and glory of Muslims lies in refusing to obey superpowers

You gentlemen who are going to perform pilgrimage to the great House of God should try to tell rituals of *Hajj* to people, many of them aren't familiar with these rituals, before they decide to perform any one of them. Wherever you are, invite people and remind them of *Hajj* rituals in an orderly fashion; tell them about obligations, forbidden acts of this journey and other issues. Moreover, you should associate with pilgrims to exchange the issues with them. of course, you should do so in a good manner. You should make them understand the disadvantages of sitting idly while the US has stretched its hands from across the world in order to control you and the Persian Gulf. What are you up to in the Persian Gulf? Who are you to provide security of the Persian Gulf from remotest part of the world? We should do it. Is it your business? Muslims should do it. The Gulf States should do it. We would like to be on brotherly terms with all Islamic countries and all the governments if they redeem their crooked treatment and shake hands of brotherhood with us. We want everyone's interests and wish them to be honored. We want them not to be servants of the US. The US should not lord it over you from across the world, nor should the Soviet Union. You should be together. If your governments become together, the people will soon follow suit. If you treat people well, they will follow you. If you treated them well and observed Islamic rules, the nations will stay with you. Then you will be invulnerable. Today Iran's government is invulnerable because it is serving the people, people follow it and people protect it. When

people saw Rida Khan in trouble or Muhammad-Rida Khan in trouble, they would get happy to see them having run trouble. Today, however, if a trouble befalls the government or the country, the people settle it. The government is their servant and should be so. Majlis is a servant and should be so. We all should be servants of this nation. We all should thank those managing the war despite all the pressures and while everyone is against us and wants us to be isolated. Thank God, Iran is reckoned with in the world and has the Muslims on its side. I hope this blessed journey will help you succeed in making the world Muslims the clerics from different countries and the court clerics who will not doubt come there aware of that why they should look for their glory in serving the US and the Zionists. You should find your dignity in Islam, obtain it from the House of God. Come together around the banner of Islam and the House of God and promise solemnly that your gatherings will not run against the interests of Islam and that all of them will be in conformity with the interests of Islam. It is hoped that you will curtail the influence of big powers. This great Islamic congregation will expectantly arrive at desirable conclusion for Islam and you will perform pilgrimage in good health and good luck. Pray for Islam and Muslims. Pray for Muslims and Muslim leaders to awaken and notice the interests of Islam. Pray for this nation who has offered all things sincerely and generously for Islam and is active. Pray God to guide the blind-hearted people occasionally found in Iran and elsewhere to return to the fold of Islam, to consider the interests of Islam, to stop obstructionism and to join the nation.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, August 17, 1983 [Mordad 26, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission of print media in information dissemination and guidance of people

Audience: Duayi (the Imam's representative and managing director of *Ittilaat* Institution), members of management board

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I have known Mr. Duayi¹ for a long time. The services he has rendered in Iraq and Iran should not be forgotten. I hope God almighty grant you success to be able to continue with your services there. I should not thank you and hope God almighty will appreciate you all.

You saw what the situation of our country was like in the past. Everything was aimed at removing Islam. The print media were in such a position that if they had enough time they would destroy everything before long, it would not last long to destroy everything. I hope that through the efforts of the gentlemen all those deviations would stop. Print media should be a mobile school so that they can acquaint people with all events, particularly the developments of the day, and prevent the deviations in a proper manner. If one notices some deviation, he should try to remove it calmly. sparingly, print media should serve as a guidance agency in a way that if someone gets a newspaper, he will be guided. I particularly stress dailies such as *Ittilaat*, *Kayhan*, Islamic Republic and Azadegan. I would like to repeat that you should not be appreciating your work. My appreciation is feeling and transient. What we should all bear in mind is God's gratification and what is my duty is to pray for you. I wish you success.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

¹ Sayyid Mahmud Duayi, *Mailis* deputy representing the people of Tehran and the Imam's representative and superintendent of daily *Ittilaat*.

Decree

Time: August 21, 1983 [Mordad 30, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 12, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty for prisoners

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

[In His Most Exalted Name]

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader and Founder of Islamic Republic of Iran, May your presence last long,

Please find enclosed the list of 1140 convicts of Islamic Revolutionary Public prosecutor's office in 29 cities being confirmed by the religious judge and the local public prosecutor general as being deserved amnesty or sentence abatement.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 30, 1362 AH

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader mentioned in article 110 of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution.

Permission

Time: August 21, 1983 [Mordad 30, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 12, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission for spending religious funds

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Nur Mufidi

In His Most Exalted Name

You are authorized to spend cautiously on prescribed religious cases.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 30, 1362 AHS

¹ Mr. Nur Mufidi in a letter requested Imam Khomeini to give permission to spend the cash entrusted to him on religious affairs.

Reply to a Query

Time: August 1983 [Mordad 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reaffirming Friday prayer leader in Klastal city, Germany

Addressee: Members of Islamic Association in Klastal, Germany

[In His Most Exalted Name

Since we Iranian Muslim brothers living in Klastal in West Germany perform the religious-political Friday prayer every week with non-Iranian Sunni brothers, one of the Iranian students leader the Friday prayer every week and in view of the fact that in Islamic Iran all Friday prayer leaders should be appointed by Imam Khomeini (may our souls be sacrificed for him), what is our situation? Is the leadership of this brother as Friday prayer leader authorized? What is this case like in general? And success is from God.

Your brothers in Islamic
Association of Klastal city]

In His Most Exalted Name

In the way you have written, perform the Friday prayer with the same brother as leader as before and the prayer is correct. I wish you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Confirmation

Time: August 23, 1983 [Shahrivar 1, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Right to withdraw from current account No. 500 (Imam Khomeini's Office)

Addressee: Bank Sadirat, Jamaran branch

[In His Most Exalted Name

Bank Sadirat Jamaran branch,

It is hereby announced that as of 1/6/1362 in addition to the right to these three gentlemen Sayyid Hashem Rasuli, Shaykh Hasan Sani and Muhammad Hasan Rahimian who have the right of withdrawing money and sign documents and checks of current account no. 500, Mr. Shaykh Hasan Sani is also authorized to withdraw and sign checks of this account on his own, in the absence of two other gentlemen.

Hasan Sani, Sayyid Hashem
Rasuli Mahallati, Muhammad Hasan
Rahimian—31/5/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, August 23, 1983 [Shahrivar 1, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of acquaintance with Islamic and patriotic duties

Audience: Commander of the Navy, Commander of Army Aviation, pilots and technical personnel of the air force, personnel from the navy and air forces, students participating in the universal gathering of Islamic movement of students

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Vigilance of forces and victory of revolution signs of Divine grace

In advance, I appreciate the dear guests coming from abroad and the dear students who continue with their struggle on foreign front in the cause of God and ask God Almighty to grant them success in achieving Islamic goals. I appreciate the dear students who rose in foreign countries in favor of Islam, Islamic Republic and the dear country with those troubles and obstructions. They are also *mujahids* (strugglers in the cause of God) who serve Islam on the foreign front. I hope that their blessed names will be recorded in Islamic books and that they remain as treasures saving their country from deviation. I further thank the personnel of air force, the army aviation and dear pilots who are in harmony with your brothers, are competently serving Islam, and curtailed the hands of criminals from Islamic countries. I hope that you will not give them the opportunity to continue with their plunder in this country. You know the situation of the military and our country in time of the deposed Shah. They repeated the terms independence and civilization, but we had no independence in any things, and did not allow any trace of civilization to be experienced by people in the country. God Almighty obliged our nation and Muslims by awakening these forces and the popular forces. At the early days when the popular forces launched the revolution, when the Islamic forces and Islamic army transformed from the arrogant army into human-Islamic army they returned to the fold of the nation and thanks to their efforts our country emerged victorious. Today we are still midway through. You should not assume that big powers such as the US and the Soviet Union will leave us alone. They still have their covetous eyes on us. They are sitting abroad and their agents in and out of the country are busy, casting their covetous eyes on the country and the military. However, the development that took place in this country thanks to the divine favors saved our youths and the armed

forces. I hope that this development will remain as it is. As long as this situation exists and present situation persists, no harm will come to our country.

Growing vigilance and coordination of forces defending the revolution

It is important that you and we be familiar with our Islamic and patriotic duties. We should not think that problems are over, Iran has been completely liberated and those waiting in ambush will become calm. Every day we should enhance our vigilance, unity and coordination. You should not regard yourselves separate from other Islamic armed forces. They should not also consider themselves separate from you. All of you are one and the same force under different titles. You are Islamic-divinely forces. The titles are different but meaning is the one and the same. As long as there is unity in meaning, unity among the military and the armed forces, and unity among *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and *Basij* and people, this country will be immune from any evil. God forbid the day comes when the deviants deceive you and create rift among you. There may, God forbid, come a day when people deviated from Islam try to sow discord between you and the dear *pasdars*. If discord creeps into your ranks and if your unity is destroyed, certainly they will fulfill their plan, and will bring you under their own command as in the case of the former regime when army was under their command. They will launch a purge that none of your, who are serving Islam will remain. You and we should be vigilant. The government and people should be alert. The nation should not neglect this fact that there are enemies on all sides from the US to the Soviet Union waiting in ambush to devour our country. We should not doubt this concept. We should trust God Almighty and our national power. Your unity, support of people and backing from all strata will safeguard you against any harm.

Disappointing the greedy aggressors and taking revenge on them

Thank God you delivered Saddam the slap promised just following his attacking Iran, a now he is a befuddled creature, has lost everything he once had, and foreign aids, regional aids and aids by the superpowers cannot save him. Today Saddam is in utmost disappear, asking everyone in the hope of an improvement. He even clings to devious individuals and groups begging them to suggest improvement—albeit—American ones. However, they don't know that development in Iran, the spirit in Iran and the force in Islam do not allow making peace with a creature, which has not shown mercy to the old and young his country and our country. The term improvement is a concept

that cannot be realized between Muslims and a tribe that did not believe in Islam from the beginning, with its founder being the same Aflaque who believed in no Divine religion. It is meaningless for the Islamic government of Iran to sit at the negotiation table with a government that has no faith in Islam and human ethics. Iran continues to slap Saddam in the face and on the back, in the same way it did to this miserable creature before, so that what they have to acquiesce to under Iran's military pressure and the nation's pressure will materialize. If the people of Iran wanted to make American-sponsored peace, they would not break with the US in the first place, would not cut relations, would not expel American spies, and would not curtail its hand from Iran. If today Iran stretches its hands towards American-sponsored peace, Saddam and the likes of Saddam will be removed, but the American advisors will enter the scene. We cannot accept a peace proposed by America and Saddam cannot accept what we demand. The person who at first wished to be the Qadesiyeh commander stipulated that he was attacking a Magi country. He called Iran a Magi country and his attack that of Qadesiyeh commander. He does not believe in Islam and Islamic ethics. Today he talks frequently about Islam on the radio and in his speeches. Now that he has become desperate, he pretends to be Muslim. If this wicked person is given the opportunity the day he finds the chance to rearm his forces he will attack your country more ferociously than the former one. Now that thank God power is in the hands of the army, the *Sepah*, the *Basij* and the tribal people, this power should be preserved. Preserve this unity and proceed, as God is with you. I hope that with your concerted efforts, all these plots will be foiled and Iran will preserve its independence and freedom. Those who want us to make peace with Saddam and stop the war, they want American-sponsored peace. Some of them are Americanized from head to toe, were the agents of the former Shah, have now converted to Islam, and are wailing and shedding crocodile tear for their country and for preservation of the blood of their fellow countrymen.

God willing, you and other armed forces should continue with your task strongly and by relying on God almighty. Protect your country from the hands of corrupt powers wanting to find their way back into Iran. I hope that they cannot fulfill and realize such a distant dream. Obviously, they have fixed their covetous eyes on Iran; their greed has not been served. They also propose peace, but the peace they want is an American peace, while we want Islamic peace. We want the one who has aggressed against Muslims and those who have shed the blood of Muslims in our and heir land and martyred the *ulama* of Islam in heir own lands, we want to take revenge from him

according the rules of Islam. We want to retaliate. We want to cut his hand. We want this detested party—the Aflaqi party—to be destroyed and Iraq be controlled by the Iraqi people themselves, not by others and the likes of Saddam who trampled upon all the prestige of Iraq, military credit of Iraq and national prestige of Iraq, wasting away all reserves of the Iraqi people due to his idiocy, reducing the country to destitution. The government agents take the gold and jewelry of women by force. They show a group of themselves standing in line to offer their savings. He is taking the gold from his people by force and sells in Kuwait and elsewhere to improve his condition or to fill the pocket of himself or others. Such a creature should no longer remain in the world and should not exercise control over an Islamic country. Islam does not permit such a compromise between us and him or between a Muslim and a transgressing infidel. We should tell the regional countries that Islam does not let us occupy even an inch of their land. We are defending you, your country, your principles, your *ulama*, religious people and your nation. After victory is ensured, your country will be yours and all regional countries belong to their owners. The Islamic country of Iran has no mai-intention against an inch of other countries land. However, Iran does not let those who look covetously at Iran's land and those who harried our country continue living. I beseech God Almighty to grant success to you youths and to the dear youths who are serving Islam outside of the country. You are *mujahids* who are sincerely serving Iran; you are *mujahids* who are serving your country; God is with you and you are victorious, God willing.

May God's peace and blessings be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, August 24, 1983 [Shahrivar 2, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 15, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Condition of seminaries in the past, publicity based on spirituality

Addressee: Members of the Supreme Council of Propaganda

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Strengthening *fiqh* and addressing other issues in seminaries

The figures and subjects you mentioned were promising. In the past, seminaries were confined to four walls from which no one could step out. Evil propaganda was so that if a theology student wanted to express his ideas and think of organization, he would be reproached. Always there was talk of “order lies in disorder”. We should regret that this revolution gained victory late. If this revolution had achieved victory 30 years ago, the situation of seminaries would have been different from what it is today. Of course, the clergy acted well and kept alive Islamic *fiqh* that is *Jafari Fiqh* thanks to their great struggles. Although they were confined to the realm of *fiqh* they did their utmost in that area. The problem with us was that we did nothing except performing the acts of worship prescribed by *fiqh*. Seminaries were inactive in other areas. Prominent *ulama* would not ascend the pulpit nor would carry out the propaganda that was the cornerstone of the work. The situation of philosophy was not like what it is today. Mr. Shah Abadi¹, peace of God be upon him, said when the late Aqa Mirza Ali-Akbar Yazdi who was both a great philosopher and a knowledgeable, honest and pious man died², an individual ascended the pulpit and began to admire him and said; “I myself saw that he recited the Quran.” This was the situation of theology students. Mathematics or other sciences were either nonexistent or on the sidelines. Essentially, no one thought what should be there and what should not be there. There was no movement in seminaries. Seminaries did not dispatch anyone as preacher. Of course, individuals themselves did preach but seminaries did not send anyone. Sending preachers abroad was never

¹ Mirza Muhammad-Ali Shah Abadi was one of the great *ulama* and mystics of the last 100 years. He was the most important mysticism teacher of Imam Khomeini, who kept him in great respect. He passed away in 1332 AHS in Tehran.

² He passed away soon after the establishment of Qum Seminary in 1343 AH.

dreamed of. No one thought of the possibility of sending anyone abroad. However, thank God, today these issues have been settled in seminaries. I stress that *fiqh* should not be forgotten. It should be in the same manner it has been. *Jawahiri Fiqh* should be strengthened. Seminaries should devote most of their time to *fiqh*, *usul*, philosophy, and discussion of these subjects, because *fiqh* is at the top of the lessons. Other subjects are also important and should be followed.

Export of revolution by publicity based on spirituality

The publicity efforts should be undertaken accord with the needs and condition of the seminaries. The gentlemen should bear in mind that they should always pursue real issues. Have your books read by some learned people ask for their comments and carefully review those yourselves. Dispatch of preachers is among the very necessary affairs that should be carried out carefully. We who say want to export our revolution do not want to do so with sword but with publicity. We want to foil the massive propaganda made by communists and others against Islam with correct publicity and tell them that Islam has everything. Islam is not like present Christianity. From the beginning, the plan was to confine Islam in schools as Christianity is confirmed in Church and. unfortunately, we ourselves contributed to this thought. It was a crime to utter the term politics because the idea had been inculcated that politics belongs to the deviants. Actually, Islam is based on politics. The Prophet of Islam formed government and so did others after him for sometime and they took control of all political affairs. However, in our time the term politics could not be used. You do not remember, in the past the situation was special. Philosophy and mysticism was regarded absolute blasphemy. It was almost blasphemous for men of knowledge to learn foreign language so that they could preach abroad. Minds were backward. If we know all languages for propagation of Islam, it is a great act of worship. With our language, we cannot explain Islamic tenets for American people or other countries. Today Islam has found a foothold in most countries.

I hope you can present Islam to the people of the world. I wish God grant you reward. Of course, popularity should be based on spirituality, which is the foundation of Islam. Strive to promote spirituality and diminish formalities as much as possible. Do not be always engaged with construction of halls or buildings, but think of Islamic spirituality.

Unfounded subjects should not be disseminated from the city of Qum

Take note that books and other things disseminated from Qum differs from books disseminated from other cities. Qum is the city of knowledge and Islam. If an offence spreads out of Qum, it will be made conspicuous in the world. May God grant all of you success!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: August 28, 1983 [Shahrivar 6, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 19, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Praising the status of martyrs

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Martyrdom in the cause of God is not something that can be evaluated by human measurements and ordinary incentives. Realizing the lofty standing of those martyred in the cause of truth and divine objectives is impossible from a materialistic perspective. Its enormous value calls for divine standard and its lofty standing requires divine perspective. Not only we, the terrestrial beings, are short of access to them but also the celestial beings are unable to find a way into it, as they are the characteristics of perfect human and the angels are distant from those mysterious stations. When the pen reached this stage, it failed to write. We, the laggards and stragglers are in the hope of this and that day in, day out, be buried while failing to achieve the desire of martyrdom and station of those martyrs and martyr-nurturing people who take pride in these living martyrs by lovingly offering the fruit of their life. We feel ashamed and humiliated at the unique braveries of the martyrs, the prisoners of war, those missing in action and those suffering damage, when we see their indescribable enthusiasm to return to the field of martyrdom. The exemplary women, men and children who sang the song of martyrdom under the bombardments and in beds of hospitals and wish to return to the human-making warfronts with amputated hands and legs are beyond our imagination and what philosophers, mystics, artists and painters can present.

What the latter group has found with scientific, deductive and mystical steps, the former group has attained with actual, objective steps. What they search amid the pages of books, the former group has discovered in the field of blood and martyrdom in the cause of Truth.

O, God! Grant us success in serving their path and great goal. Grant them special manifestations to our dear martyrs at the table of your spiritual banquet. Associate their honorable family with patience and spiritual reward. Grant cure to our injured ones and help our honorable prisoners of war and those missing in action return to the arms of the nation. Grant patience and perseverance to fathers, mothers and wives and shower them and the nation

with the blessings of Imam of the Time—May our souls be sacrificed for him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: August 29, 1983 [Shahrivar 7, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 20, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Khomein Friday prayer leader

Addressee: Haydar-Ali Jalali Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Haydar-Ali Jalali, may your graces last:

I hereby appoint you as Friday prayer leader of the city of Khomein and hope that in addition to performing this divine obligation, you will acquaint people with their important duty towards dear Islam and the bloody revolution of the noble Iranian nation. The esteemed local residents, organizations and institutions will have the necessary cooperation according to their duty in every more glorious performance of the unity-provoking prayer with you in order to perform this unifying prayer in an ever more magnificent fashion. I implore God almighty to continue granting you success. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah 20, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, August 29, 1983 [Shahrivar 7, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 20, 403, AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reasons for presence of people in the revolution—responsibility of officials in serving people

Occasion: Government's Week

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), cabinet ministers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Position of Islamic Republic in the world

In this "Government's Week" we have had bitter and sweet experiences. The bitter ones are due to the loss of some committed people, of whom one was the late Araqi¹ martyred just before this week. I knew the late Araqi from the beginning when the movement was launched. He had contacts with us. He was, to be honest, a man who devoted his life to serving Islam. This week we lost the late "Rajai"² whom everybody knows was so committed and dedicated to serve Islam. He was actually a morality teacher in practice. So was Mr. Bahonar³ who was a committed scholar and teacher. This is a cause of great sorrow and grief for you and us. This is bitter of course, but we have had many of other such cases during this period. In this span of time, we had sweet experiences as well. Thank God, in this week that is the Government's Week and should be truly counted as Government's Week, the government and its affiliates including the army and *Sepah* have found their foothold in the world. That is to say, today the world reckons with the Islamic Republic, the president of this country, the Majlis and all other organizations. Those lying in ambush hoped to see discord in the ranks of officials, to see people on bad terms with the government, and to see the story of revolution wrapped up in couple of months. Based on this assumption Saddam was deceived. It is now for several years that they are

¹ Mr. Mahdi Araqi, was one of the old friends of Islam, the revolution and Imam Khomeini who was martyred by Forqan terrorist group along with his son, Hessam. Before, martyrdom, he was in charge of financial affairs of Kashan institution. In that assassination attack, one of his friends called Husayn Mahdiyan, who was superintendent of the institution was injured.

² Martyr Muhammad Ali Rajaei—the second Iranian president.

³ Muhammad-Jawad Bahonar—prime minister.

still waiting in foreign countries for certain people to work for them and then they themselves come and reap the fruit.

Thank God, today the government has been established and our country is a secure, independent, and free country. I hope that it will proceed ever more towards independence, freedom and other improvements.

Islamic nature of revolution, the reason for people's presence in all arenas

The important question is what I have pointed out repeatedly. The point is that since the republic is Islamic and the nation is Islamic and Muslim, as long as the government, president, *Majlis* Speaker, judiciary, army, *pasdar* and all others are the path of Islam, this Islamic country sides with them. Essentially, the revolution gained victory due to Islamic nature of the movement. Do not think that if another motivation had been presented to people to the nation, the people would get together. The people are Muslim. When Islam was put forward, all clerics or most of the clerics and most of those who were at work made publicity, and brought the people to the scene. People openly embraced the offer, and up to now, all sacrifices are for Islam not for other considerations. The nationality issue is also important, but no so that the gentlemen imagine that we should stress nationality and have nothing to do with Islam, primarily being nationalist and then Islamic. Not at all! The Islamic nature pushed people to offer their youths and cry for war. There is nothing else except this.

People do not side with dictators

I have repeated frequently and will reiterate that you should serve people who cut the hands of criminals and put this trust under your care. You have now received a great trust from this nation. The responsibility to keep this trust requires you to keep it safe and hand it over to the next generations and governments. As long as you act accordingly, the nation will support you and as long as people back you, no harm will come on you and the country.

One of the factors giving rise to dictatorship is as they see that people are not in tune with them, they try to exercise arbitrary power. This is one of the reasons. There are others as well. If people are in tune with governments, there appears to be no ground to overbear their people. They rather get prepared to defend those attacking them. When the nation is separate from the government and the government wants to use the nation and milk the nation, dictatorship emerges. In these, former monarchical regimes people escaped from the government, the rulers wanted to keep them by force and

exploit them, and this way the dictatorship emerged. The king was a dictator and, let I tell you, so were the governors, the general governors, the police officers all of the army—all were the same. They saw people were not in tune with them and they wanted to exploit the people the main issue was exploiting people, no human motives were at work, they wanted to exploit, so these motives would lead to dictatorship, to harassing people. The days when you feel you want to exert pressure on people know you are turning into dictators. Know that people will definitely turn their back on you. As long as people help you, you are victorious. If people were not involved, you could not handle the war. No doubt! People managed it. *Sepah* is from people, *Basij* is from people and today's army is from people. If the former army were involved, as Saddam had imagined, his imagination would find reality. The army then did not have an Islamic incentive; their incentive was personal interest. As soon as they entered, this army would surrender. Well, we saw in the past, when the world war broke out, the allies wanted to cross our country without getting us entangled in the war. As soon as they crossed the border, all the army and gendarmerie forces escaped. In Tehran, I witnessed that these field marshals and their likes were packing their bags and fled from Tehran. Where did they want to go, I don't know? I saw the soldiers leaving the barracks were in search of something to eat. This state of affairs was because people did not accompany the government. People were grateful that with their coming here Rida Khan left. We witnessed this reality. They thank God for its grace that aliens—those aliens from Russia, from the US and from the England had come here and Pahlavi left. This was the situation. As you saw when Muhammad-Rida left, people took to the streets and held those celebrations. The monarchists living abroad said last night that the entire Iran are monarchist and that His Excellency Rida the second is so popular that people are all siding with him! Let them say so. I believe that these wily people have come together around this child to relieve him of his money. They want the money, which his father stole from the people and deposited to the account of this boy, they use such tricks to take his money then let him go after his business. I deem it advisable for him to go after education and business. He should know that the time is over for such things. Even if there is not the Islamic Republic, people will not favor monarchy. There is no doubt in it.

Popular backing result of serving people

Anyhow, the important thing for you is to serve all classes, particularly the oppressed and deprived people who have been in the course of our

history. You should serve them and tell them your services. Your words should be followed by action. If this is your incentive, you will be successful. If you serve this nation, the people will accompany you. Then, no grounds for dictatorship emerges you are not like profiteers who want to own gardens and villages. You are not the type of people who want to possess everything and cannot be so. If you want to build an extra house all start to criticize you, and you will receive many objections from people. Of course, you are not this sort of people and you cannot be like this. As long as you are popular, people will follow you and when people follow you, there will be no harm.

Cooperation and fraternity of officials in removing problems

My second recommendation is that the ministers and the government officials should treat each other in a brotherly manner. You want to serve Islam; you do not want to serve yourselves. You want to serve the people who have suffered deprivation in the course of history. You do not want to fill your own pockets. You are never like this. When this mentality develops, there will be no pretext for you to conflict and contend. God willing, you will not do so. I do not say you are conflicting because the opponents may pounce on it and say that you are controlling each other. Not at all, This is not the case. It is just advice, although I know none of you is like this. I hope that God will protect you and you will be successful in your work. I know some of the ministers who have resigned very well. For example; Mr. Asgar Awladi, who accompanied the revolution from the outset and suffered great trouble as did the late Araqi, I regard him as a very pious and devoted man. I came to know some of the gentlemen in the course of the republic such as the labour minister whom I know to be a plow man as I have realized in the course of his tenure. This is one the requirement of righteousness. When one notices that there is no concord between him and the government, he should quit the position, get another one and let the government act as it wishes. Thank God, the government tends to improve the situation, and control prices especially price of foodstuffs, as expensive foodstuffs can cause problem for people and are a source of wary. There are inconveniences. Of course, discomfort comes from the upper class. Those who are not worried about prices convey this idea to people that prices are not reasonable and there should be such and such. In any case, I hope this problem will be settled. The problem of war is almost resolved and expectantly will get better. I hope you will be successful in all aspects. Always direct your attention towards God. In private and open God is with you and watches your deeds. Moreover, the angels of God also oversee you. God Almighty is omnipresent. That which is

hidden to even the angels of God is open to God. Your unseen secrets are revealed to Him. Everything is under His watch. Tomorrow you will be called to account for whatever you have done. I hope that you will be prompt to render the accounts. I wish the letter of our deeds would be given to our right hand. I hope you will be successful and confirmed.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: August 30, 1983 [Shahrivar 8, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reshuffling the Cultural Revolution Board

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (then President)

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

Great Leader of Revolution Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, May your presence endures,

As the time to open universities approaches and as you have always paid attention to university and university people the need for effort to make further preparations for admitting students is felt. While appreciating the sincere efforts of the respected members of the Cultural Revolution Board and all the professors, researchers and students engaged in university affairs, I beg to call for reshuffle and completion of the Cultural Revolution Board and propose the new combination in the following order:

1) Esteemed Prime Minister, 2) Minister of Culture and Higher Education, 3) Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 4) Dr. Shariatmadari, 5) Dr. Ahmadi, 6) Dr. Soroush, 7) Dr. Muin, 8 and 9) two students selected by University *Jihad*. It is hoped that with the special attention of the great Imam inauguration of the university will coincide with an Islamic movement and with divine success.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
President of Islamic Republic of
Iran]

In His Most Exalted Name

Appreciating the efforts of the respected members of the Cultural Revolution Council and all those who have endeavored for making the university courses and curriculum Islamic and human, I hope that by reshuffling the esteemed board and through the efforts of the dear and committed students, coordination of the esteemed professors, attempt of all believing practitioners and support of the honorable nation, this Islamic-national base, on which the destiny of the country depends in remote and

near future, would continue with its service independently and efficiently. Today, when the country enjoys efficient independence and the university has been rid of the bonds of the east and the west and easternized and westernized elements, the dear university students should try ever more to acquire sciences and techniques for prosperity their dear country, decisively prevent devious elements affiliated with the right and the left from infiltrating the university and not allow the sacred university environment to be polluted by selfish motives of deviants affiliated with aliens. If they notice any deviation or inclination to east and west from professors or students, inform the cultural board and render the necessary cooperation with the board for eliminating it.

I ask God Almighty success for all to further independence and prosperity of Islamic country.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Concurrent with opening of universities, in an attempt to introduce multiplied motivation in admission of students, the then president submitted a written request to Imam in 7/6/1362 AHS calling for reshuffle and completion of the members of the Cultural Revolution Board. The text above is the Imam's response to the president's request.

Letter

Time: August 31, 1983 [Shahrivar 9, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Establishing criminal courts and public prosecutor's offices of 1 and 2 degree for military and disciplinary offences

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of Islamic Republic of Iran, May your presence endure,

After greetings, I would like to bring to your attention that in order to investigate into the affairs of *pasdaran* (guards) in terms of military and disciplinary offences and criminal issues of 1 and 2 degree and anti-revolutionary moves, the Supreme Judicial Council after deliberations has arrived at the conclusion that in centers of *Sepah's* 11 zones, 1 and 2 degree criminal courts and public prosecutor's offices should be established a separate circular be given to the members of courts and public prosecutor's office to investigate anti-revolutionary moves and military and disciplinary offences after working hours as court and public prosecutor's office of revolution. To give legal status to the measure, two drafts have been submitted to the Islamic Consultative Assembly (*Majlis*). However, before ratification of these two bills and their circulation there might be some interruption in affairs of *Sepah* Courts. If you agree, these affairs be handled with reference to Your Eminence's permission before the reply of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. If you agree during the span of time required for *Majlis* to reply, the process would be initiated by reference to Your Eminence's permission. May your presence endure!

Supreme Judicial Council,
Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: September 3, 1983 [Shahrivar 12, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 25, 1403]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A *Hajj* in the manner of Abraham, advices to pilgrims to the House of God

Addressee: Iranian and world Muslims, particularly pilgrims to the House of God

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I congratulate the entire Muslims on the occasion of the arrival of great Islamic feast of Qurban, the feast that reminds men of knowledge of the immolating altar of Ibrahim who taught the lesson sacrifice and struggle in the cause of God to the children of Adam and chosen friends and saints of God. The depth of monotheistic and political aspects of this practice cannot be appreciated by any but the grand prophets and honorable saints (may God's peace and blessing be upon them) and the special saints and chosen friends of God. This father of monotheism and idol-breaker of the world taught mankind that sacrifice in the cause of God is associated with political aspects and social values prior to monotheistic and devotional aspects. He taught us to offer the dearest fruit of our existence in the cause of God and celebrate this as a fest, to sacrifice our dear ones and ourselves and keep up the religion of God and divine justice. He taught all of us, Adam's offspring, that Mecca and Mina are fields of sacrifice for lovers. Here is the venue for dissemination of monotheism and rejection of polytheism, as attachment to life and dear ones is polytheism. He taught the children of Adam the constructive lesson of struggle in the cause of God so that from this sacred place the spirit of sacrifice and selflessness be communicated to the world. Tell to the world that in the cause of God and establishment of justice and curtailing the hands of polytheists of the age, one should spare no effort, and sacrifice all he has, even one's Ismail—the sacrificed for God—so that Truth would be eternal. This idol-breaker and his dear son and the other idol-breaker Doyen of Prophets, Muhammad Mustafa (may God's peace be upon him and his progeny) taught humanity that idols should be broken whatever they might be; the Kabah the center of Islam, and whatever expanded from it to the end of the earth up to the last day of the world should be cleansed of the idols, whatever they might be whether idol-figures, the sun, the moon, animals or human beings. What idol is worse and more dangerous than the arrogant powers in the course of history ranging from the time of Adam,

God's chosen one to Abraham, Friend of God and Muhammad, beloved one of God—may God's peace be upon them and their progeny—to the end of the time when the last idol breakers call people to monotheism from Kabah. Are not the superpowers of our time, which call people to obey, worship and bow down to them big idols? They impose themselves on people by force, gold and trick. The great Kabah is the sole center for breaking these idols. Abraham, the Friend of God, at the beginning of time and the beloved one of God and his offspring the Promised Mahdi (May our souls be sacrificed for him) at the end of time proclaimed and will proclaim monotheism.

God Almighty told Abraham: "Call people to the *Hajj* pilgrimage and you will see them come to you on foot, and on very lean camels, from far and wide."¹ Elsewhere, God said, "And purify My House for those who make the round (thereof) and those who stand and those who bow and make prostration."² This is cleansing of all impurities the worst of which is polytheism mentioned at the beginning of this noble verse. We read in Tawbah: "And a proclamation from Allah and His prophet to all men on the day of the Greater Pilgrimage that Allah is and His prophet despite the polytheists."³ The expected Mahdi, as put by religions and unanimously accepted by Muslims, will proclaim from Kabah, calling mankind to monotheism. He proclaims all the calls from Kabah and Mecca and we should obey them proclaim the call for unity of expression and the term monotheism from that sacred place. We should break the idols with our cries, calls, revelations, complaints as well as living and crushing gatherings among the Muslims in holy Mecca, throw stone at and reject the devils, headed by the Great Satan, in *Aqabas* so that we would have performed the *Hajj* prescribed by the Friend of God, Beloved of the God and the Promised Mahdi. Otherwise, they will tell of us: "Many are those who wail, but few are the real pilgrims."⁴

It is hoped that the esteemed pilgrims to the House of God from any school and denomination pray collectively for victory of Islam over international blasphemy when meeting in *mawaqif* and *mashair*. They should cry and pray to awaken the Muslims and their governments. Perhaps, thanks to prayer in environment of revelation and the place where the idols of the Age of Ignorance were shattered, God almighty would favor Muslims to regain their glory of the early days of Islam. I hope the influence of aliens,

¹ *Surah al-Hajj* 22: 27.

² *Surah al-Hajj* 22: 26.

³ *Surah at-Tawbah* 9: 3.

⁴ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 27, p. 181.

world-devourers over the lands of Muslims would be curtailed, and Muslim would experience the downpour of blessing and forgiveness.

Now, it is necessary to remind the pilgrims to the House of God and the all Muslims of some issues, although they have been repeated several times.

1- Of important issues that respected *Hajj* pilgrims and *ulama* of the caravans should devote more time to be teaching and learning *Hajj* rules and regulations. Dereliction of this duty might cause numerous difficulties including invalidation of *Hajj* or being stuck in the stage of *ihram*. The prominent *ulama* of the caravans should invite the pilgrims of their caravan and hold session on rituals for them. The pilgrims are obliged not to hesitate a moment to learn and learn the issues with all their power, thus performing the rituals with comprehensive knowledge of them.

2- We all know and should know that what has befallen Muslims since centuries ago, particularly in the last two centuries when alien governments found their way into Islamic countries and their evil shadow looms over the lands of Muslims darkening their countries, cast their sinister shadow over the land of Muslims and plundered their treasures was due to the Muslims' negligence of social and political issues in Islam. This state of affairs was imposed on the deprived masses of Muslims by the colonialists and exploiters and their westernized and easternized agents. This mentality was so dominant that even most of Muslim *ulama* thought and still think that Islam is separate from politics and that a Muslim should not interfere in politics. The cunning plunderers struggled to isolate Islam like the deviant Christianity through the so-called intellectuals, and confine *ulama* in the framework of devotional issues. They tried to isolate the prayer leaders in mosques and at marriage contract parties, engage the pious people with *zikhr* (remembrance of God) and prayers and indulge the dear youth in feasting and drinking thus dissociating them with political and social concerns and attending to the problems of Muslims and troubles of Islamic countries. They achieved great success in this attempt. They took advantage of our ignorance and negligence, colonized and exploited the Islamic lands, employed many of the Muslim kings and rulers and impoverished the Muslim nations through them. The masses had to grapple with dependence, poverty, destitution and their consequences. Today Muslims continue with their negligence, as do agents of colonialism with their propaganda and superpowers with their domination and plundering. Mercenary and court *akhunds* foment contribute to backwardness, ignorance and negligence of Muslims. We are from God and to Him shall we return.

3- One of the issues that does not allow the Muslims and deprived people of the world to make any effort to cut the cords of colonialism, and keeps them in inertia and backwardness has been the full-scale propaganda launched by westernized or easternized people on the order of superpowers or due to their own short-sightedness throughout Islamic and oppressed countries. That is why science, civilization and improvement are exclusive to the two wings of imperialism and communism. They, especially the western countries and recently the US, consider themselves to be the master race and other the low, imperfect race. The development of the former is due to the master race and the backwardness of the latter due to their racial deficiency. In other words, first group are perfectly developed while the second group will evolve relatively after millions of years. It is therefore futile to make any effort for improvement. Liberal people should be affiliated to either the western capitalism or eastern capitalism. In other words, we have nothing of ourselves and should borrow everything from superpowers of the west or the east: science, civilization, law and development! You see our wretched state today when as the result of this mentality that has been imposed on us whatever we make, even of high quality, has few customers. If the same good has a western brand name, the customers rush to buy. Iranian textiles should bear foreign and Latin letters to find customers. The diseases that can be cured inside the country in an efficient manner is treated abroad. This mentality comes when some non-Muslim scientists and writers have demonstrated with living evidence that science, knowledge, and civilization were transferred to Europe through Islam and that Muslims had been pioneers in these respects. It should be said that our universities were run by a bunch of westernized mercenaries, while committed scientists were in minority and were divested of authority. That westernized majority filled the youth with love of the west and sent them abroad in great numbers. In the west, colonialists did their work and trained the youth in a way that were desired by colonialists and sent them back to the country with westernized, non-Islamic mentality and devoid of patriotism. This was a disaster for Islamic countries in the past century, for which they have to blame. The full story can be deduced from this evidence.

4- Among the things, deterring Muslims from defending their countries is the extensive propaganda for magnifying foreign powers. In the past, Britain had been presented as a monster by the so-called westernized intellectuals and educated people. This idea had been forced down the unknowing governments and shackled nation's throat that if someone spoke harshly with the servant of British Embassy, Iran would be annihilated. If the

British flag flew over an offender's house, that person would be immune from punishment. A hint of the British ambassador to the government or chancellor would be sufficient for implementing his orders indisputably. Nowadays these two powers, and especially the US, has been presented as even bigger and more sinister monsters in the lands of Muslims and people think that if any of these two poles is ruffled, their country will be destroyed. They disappointed Muslims from their righteous defense by naïve illusions, by comparing the present age with previous ages, and by westernized agents fuelling such rumors. The crime of these bankrupt pseudo nationalists is not less than that of the main criminals.

5- What is the remedy today? For breaking these idols, what duty should be taken on by the Muslims and oppressed people? One of the remedies—the most effective ones—that puts an end to these troubles and uproots corruption is the unity of Muslims, and by the same token, the unity of oppressed and shackled people of the world. This unity, which the noble Islam and glorious Quran have underscored, should be achieved by calling to unity and massive propaganda. The center of this invitation and propaganda is the holy Mecca at the time of congregation of Muslims for performing the *Hajj* rituals which were initiated by Abraham, Friend of God, and Muhammad Beloved one of God and will be pursued by the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him) at the end of the time. Ibrahim, the Friend of God, will be addressed to call people to *Hajj* to come together from all countries to witness their interests. These are the interests of society: political, social, economic and cultural interests. Let them come and see you who are their prophet and offered your dearest fruit of life in the cause of God. Therefore, all offspring of Adam should follow you. They should see that you broke the idols and discarded other than God be they the sun or the moon, idol figures, animals or human beings. You really meant it when you said: "I turn my face towards the creator of heavens and the earth as a monotheist and I am not from the polytheist."¹ All should follow the father of monotheism and father of grand prophets. In Surah Tauba that was ordered to be read out in public gathering in Mecca, we read: "This a proclamation from God and the Prophet of God to people on the day of the greater pilgrimage' that God and His prophet despise the polytheist."² The cry of disavowal from polytheists in *Hajj* ceremonies is a religious and political call which the holy prophet (peace be upon him) enjoyed us to perform. Now, that mercenary *akhund* who considers the cry of death to the US, Israel and the Soviet Union

¹ Surah al-Hajj 22: 28.

² Surah al-Anam 6: 79.

to be against Islam should be asked whether following the prophet of God and obeying the command of God Almighty are against the *Hajj* rituals. Are the likes of you, American-oriented *akhund*, impugning the deeds of the prophet of God (may God's peace be upon him) and the command of God? Do you consider following that honorable one and obeying the command of God almighty to be wrong? Do you purify *Hajj* rituals from disavowal from infidels, and forget the commands of God and the messenger for your worldly interests? Do you consider disavowing and cursing the enemies of Islam and those fighting and oppressing Muslims to be disbelief? We hope that the Saudi government will not listen to the temptations of these ungodly *akhunds* and let Muslims perform the *Hajj* rituals and disavowal from infidels and polytheists as it has promised. I hope they will cooperate in this divine order with all pilgrims with Iranian, Palestinian, Lebanese and Afghan pilgrims who have been victims of aggression by infidels so that they would introduce the common enemy of all oppressed people to the world in one voice.

I emphatically ask the Iranian pilgrims and other pilgrims of the House of God to observe order and peace and act according to the instructions of my representative Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Khoeyniha and consider all Muslims as their brothers and treat them in a way that deserves a committed Muslim. It is hoped that the Saudi government will cooperate with Iranian pilgrims who want to air their grievances against oppressors attacking and interfering in Islamic countries. Expectantly with concerted cooperation and unity of expression, they can condemn infidels encroaching on the Islamic sanctuary so that this year *Hajj* would be performed in a way that wins God's gratification and consent of the messenger of God (may God's peace be upon him).

6- One of the things that is worth mentioning for uprising of Muslims and oppressed people of the world against global plunderers and world-devouring arrogant powers is that oppressive powers generally enforce their evil intentions through intimidation and threat or by their propaganda trumpets or by their treacherous native hirelings. If, however, nations stand against them vigilantly and concertedly, they will not be able to implement their intentions. There is ample evidence for this claim. The most striking evidence in the regional countries is Iran and Afghanistan. As you and we know, Iran succumbed to the US with tied hands. The treacherous deposed Shah had made this country dependent on the US in all aspects. Iran was one of the military bases of the US. The military was in the hands of American advisors; culture was in the hands of hirelings; the Shah, the government and

Majlis were like servants and mercenaries. Economic dependence was even worse. The deposed Shah was the most powerful gendarme in the region. He was backed by the US and other affiliated countries. He was rich in terms of military equipment. In spite of this, the noble people of Iran who did not have any military power or weapons miraculously shattered the illusory idols of the west and our people terminated the 2500-year old tenure of oppression with empty hands, strong faith emanating from Islam, firm resolution, reliance on God Almighty, and self-confidence in a short span of time. They crossed out the epoch-making and idol-making myths. Afghanistan crushed the savage attacks of Soviets with their mythical power, and the strong army of the usurper government and treacherous part with the power of faith, trust in God and self-reliance. The Soviet Union lingered in distress and repentance of its cruel aggression and wonders how to retreat from Afghanistan without losing its image. In addition, the powerful nation and committed *ulama* drove out usurper France and England from Algeria and Iraq. These and the likes of them are sufficient to shatter the frightening images projected by colonialists and exploiters; to waken Muslims from deep slumber and to counteract the effect of the talismans and satanic witchcrafts. They can rid Muslims who number around one billion, who have control over the lifeline of the west and east, and live in vast rich countries from magic and intimidation. They can get lessons from which with a population 30-odd million people curtailed the influence of all powers over its country, cut the bonds of colonization and expelled the advisors and hangers-on from the dear Iran. Do not listen to the colonialist trumpets that through rumors and lies have been unanimously trying since the victory of revolution up to now Iran as a bankrupt collapsing country. Appreciate an Islamic power whose goal is to bring honor to the Muslims and curtail the influence of oppressors over their God-given treasures and unceasingly attempts to create peace and amity among Islamic brothers. Beware that powerful opportunist countries whose ultimate aim is to gain control over Islamic countries and the oppressed people will leave you in the lurch in time of trouble. The term loyalty cannot be found in their lexicon.

7- If the unity among Muslims and governments of Islamic countries demanded by God Almighty and His honorable prophet is attained, the governments of Islamic countries can, with the support of their nations, from a joint defense God prevails backed by they can form a joint-defense reserve army of over 100 million trained people, and a conscript army of tens of millions of troops, they comprising the biggest power in the world. Now that this is not possible, the regional and neighboring Islamic governments can

make use, for the defense of Islamic countries; form a reserve army of tens of million of troops and a conscript army of over 10 million people, which surpasses the superpowers. It is hoped that regional governments irrespective of language, race and religion and under the banner of Islam will think this idea over, and plan it out and so that they can get rid of the disgrace of humanization before the superpowers and enjoy independence and freedom. To gain such a power, each government is required to study this plan in concert with its nation for defense of their country. They are recommended to get the inspiration from the Islamic Iran in this respect since Iran is the defender of itself and its Muslim brothers.

Today, Iran with all its problems, obstruction and embargoes plans to give all its youth's military trainings. So far, as reports indicate, approximately one million reserve combatants have undergone such trainings. These forces can be mobilized and armed to defend the Islamic country at short notice. If Islamic and regional governments treat their people the way the Iranian government does and stand beside their nations such that the people feel their governments are serving them, such a thing will also be applicable in their own countries. This is a prelude to what the great Islam has ordered and charted out. It is regrettable that Islam with all its dimensions has remained unknown under colonialist curtains in the course of history. We beg God to remove these black curtains and open the eyes of Muslims to the beauty of Islam so that the world would know what Islam has brought for the world. The ultimate goals of Islamic teachings are peaceful co-existence worldwide which we hope will be achieved by expedite return of Mahdi the promise one at the end of the time (May our souls be sacrificed for him) as well as pursuit of human perfection and eternal happiness—may God grant everyone.

8- Muslims, particularly the oppressed ones in the region, Israel change of political figures is a ploy to distract the Palestinian and Lebanese combatants, and it will never give up the sinister idea of ruling over Islamic countries from the Nile to Euphrates. The US that is showing its teeth to the region will fully support a puppet such as Israel that implements its crimes in the region. Their political ploys should not be forgotten. Those supporting Israel should know that they in doing so are nurturing a deadly viper which if God forbid finds the opportunity would systematically destroy plantations and generations in the region. This dangerous stinging viper should not be given the opportunity. Likewise, if the criminal Saddam finds the opportunity, his danger is not less than that of Israel's to the region. It is necessary that for peace of the region, now that with the help of God almighty the Iranian

armed forces, may God support them, have pushed this source of corruption to the verge of destruction and turned the Commander of Qadesiyeh into a desperate creature, the regional governments should stop supporting him, as therein lies their religious and worldly interests. If he finds an opportunity, he will not show mercy to any of the governments of the Persian Gulf and others. You saw that now that he is facing a disgraceful defeat, he addressed in a speech: "Arabs should accept the leadership of Iraq!" Undoubtedly, if he finds the opportunity, he will not be content with leadership. The propaganda campaign of governments that have received a slap from Iran, they will frighten you from Iran to ensure their own interests and fetter other nations. The governments should, however, know that Iran, in accordance with the Islamic teachings would treat them in a brotherly equal manner if they succumb to Islamic rules. However, Iran will never allow itself to compromise with one who has inflicted those damages and crimes. The dear people of Iraq are expecting Iran's victory to be rescued from the stings of this deadly scorpion. It is hoped that with the help of God this expectation will realize before soon. "Is not the morning nigh?"¹

9- The respected Iranian pilgrims to the House of God and the holy shrines should bear in mind that they are going towards the House of God, the noble shrine of the prophet of God (peace be upon him) and the glorious tombs and the prophet's offspring (peace be upon them) from a country, which has risen up to establish Islamic goals and expel the oppressors, so they are under the limelight of their Muslims brothers from all over the world. The news agencies and propaganda campaign of the enemies of Islam are the lurking, watching their deeds and words, intending to make a mountain out of a molehill and fill the world with rumors. In such a condition, a minor deviation, offence and slip is not only before the Great God and His honorable messenger but also other pilgrims to the holy shrines, thus being counted as a big sin and enormous offence. Some deeds and words are in contrast to the sanctity of holy shrines, and may result in weakening the Islamic Republic. God forbid, the republic that has been established for the rule of Allah and enforcement of the sacred divine rules of Quran and Sunnah may be presented in a distorted form due to some deeds and manners of this. Moreover, there are faultfinders who at the slightest excuse try to spread rumors against the Islamic Republic and tarnish the brilliant image of Islam and the Islamic Republic. The pilgrims should be aware because the sin of those faultfinders may be written in their book of deeds. They should

¹ *Surah Hud* 11: 81.

be careful so that no improper deed or word is allowed. Everyone should take care of his/her own friends and intimate ones, obey the correct human-Islamic programs drawn up by my representative Hujjat al-Islam Khoeyniha and not violate these programs as it may lead to chaos or cause inconvenience for the pilgrims.

The Saudi police, those in charge of *Hajj* affairs and the Saudi government should note that the Iranian pilgrims who are coming from a revolutionary country which was oppressed by the west and east and plundered by them, which rescued itself from the clutches of superpowers with God's assistance and public uprising, attained freedom and independence thanks to the great efforts of men, women, the young and elderly, transformed the tyrannical, regime dependent on the US to an Islamic popular one, and faced out the American and Soviet advisors and spies, want to make a pilgrimage to the House of God, the noble shrine of the prophet of God (peace be upon him) and the great Imams (peace be upon them). They are the guests of God and His messenger. Insulting them is like affronting their great hosts. These guests have come to respond to the call of Abraham Friend of God and Muhammad Prophet of God (may God's peace be upon him and his progeny) along with performing *Hajj* rituals. Response to these prophets is to respond to God Almighty. Treat those who "come from every deep ravine."¹ Treat kindly, lovingly and with Islamic fraternity. Do not harass the guests of God and His prophet. They have come to perform *Hajj* rituals and proclaim disavowal from polytheists and infidels whom God and His messenger detest. Endear these committed guests, use the power of a powerful Islamic regime for suppressing the enemy of Islam and Muslims, the usurper Israel, and curtail the influence of its master, America that stands on top of the list of enemies of Islam and Islamic countries. In coordination with pilgrims from across the world, transform the Holy Mecca in the center of protest against the oppressors, as this is one of the mysteries of *Hajj*. God is needless of *labbayks* and worship of human beings.

O, God! Protect us against following Satan and the tempting self. Protect us from the love of worldly post, position and the self. Save the governments of Islamic countries from fearing the two powers of the right, left, and acquaint them with Islamic-human duties. Guide the Muslim nations and governments of Islamic countries to achieve unity and brotherhood. Shower your special mercy and manifestation upon the Iranian pilgrims who are suffering troubles, insults, imprisonment and torture in your cause. Curtail

¹ Surah al-Hajj 22: 27.

the influence of plundering powers from Muslim lands. Guide us towards what brings your gratification. Grant victory to the army of Islam in defending their lands and oppressed people of the region. Humiliate the usurper and aggressive Israel and tyrannical US and Soviet Union. Strengthen Islam and Muslims and protect them against the evil of aliens.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: September 4, 1983 [Shahrivar 13, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Observing disciplinary regulations in *Sepah-e Pasdaran*

Addressee: Muhsin Ridai (Commander of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps is authorized to implement with utmost caution the disciplinary regulations of *Sepah* offenders confirmed by my representative in an attempt to preserve order and prevent chaos in *Sepah-e Pasdaran*. In this regard, and with approval of the council of *Sepah* permission can be given in necessary cases to commanders who will not make a misuse of this permission.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
13/6/1362 AHS

Speech

Time: Morning, September 4, 1983 [Shahrivar 13, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The need for seminaries to develop and expand activities in Islamic issues and *fiqh*

Occasion: Second martyrdom anniversary of Mr. Quddusi

Audience: Martyr Quddusi's Family members and theology students from Quddusi School

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Harm to Islam due to impious *ulama* (scholars)

The great loss of the martyrdom of the late Mr. Quddusi caused sorrow and grief. I was acquainted with him for long years. He was a knowledgeable, programmatic man and was martyred in the cause of Islam. I hope God will bestow His bounteous blessings upon him. God willing, his son will also follow his path.

Regarding seminaries, I have repeatedly said that if knowledge minus piety is not harmful, it is not useful either. Islam may have not suffered as much harm from layman as it has from the impious *ulama*. Piety is the principal factor, but an ignoramus with piety may occasionally cause harm. People with righteous appearance might make mistakes due to lack of acquaintance with principles of Islam but if knowledge and piety come together in one, one will be happy in both this and the next world. Mr. Quddusi was both a scholar and a pious man.

Duty of seminaries in Islamic order

Nowadays seminaries should make more effort than previous times in introducing Islamic issues and *fiqh*. *Fiqh* should remain intact in the same way our mentors provided. Since Iran needs men of knowledge at this moment, the gentlemen should go ahead with their services, however temporarily. Although studying *fiqh* is a priority, all our efforts are for safeguarding Islam. If today for safeguarding Islam the gentlemen are required to join the warfronts and encourage the combatants, they should do so. So are judicial affairs. Judgment and its mastery had been denied to theology schools, and no one would think of getting involved with it. As result there was and is much to be desired. Despite the fact that formerly I

did not let judgment to be made by emulation, but since we have shortage, those who can manage it by emulation, there is no objection today. You might know that the holy *Shariah* has put great emphasis on judgment, but in the past some, even communisted exercised judgment. The gentlemen should participate in this matter so that the impious people cannot grab this great position. We are duty bound to safeguard the Islamic judgment and other aspects until the Islamic Republic finds its right track. Then the *ulama* will be able to return to their posts that are noblest of all. From the outset, I reiterated that it is beneath the dignity of *ulama* to accept government responsibility. I thought things would go ahead smoothly without them, but after a while, I realized if the same condition prevailed, Islam would be at stake. Therefore, we had to go back to square one, retracted my words. As long as competent individuals have not been found to replace them, they should remain. I hope God will protect you so that you can continue with your education and service.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: September 6, 1983 [Shahrivar 15, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyeh Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for educating young theology students for judgment and propagation

Audience: Mahdawi Kani, Imami Kashani, Musawi Tabrizi; officials, teachers and members of the Jamiah al-Imam as-Sadiq (a); members of the Cultural Revolution board, teachers and theology students of Martyr Mutahhari School, educational and judicial affairs graduates from Qum, officials of Dar Rahe-Hagh Institute and the staff of Amir Kabir vocational school of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Propaganda to separate theology schools from social and political affairs

I would like to thank the learned gentlemen who are in the business teaching in Qum and Tehran. I hope all are useful for the future of Islam and property fulfills what is their duty.

Unfortunately, our universities and seminaries had many shortcomings from one aspect. They could not remedy those shortcomings. If universities had not originally intended to push Iran into the trap of big powers, they were gradually dragged towards this matter. Those in charge trained our dear youth the way they desired and then sent them abroad to be worked upon it. When they returned many of them were entirely opposed to religion and many of them could not do anything even though they were not opposed. At any rate, this was the situation of university. Religious sciences schools, which we collectively called Faydiyyah, were lacking in other respect. They did not directly take control of seminaries as they did in case of universities, and they could not do so. Despite all difficulties during Rida Khan Reign and there were grave difficulties, seminaries tolerated the situation and trudged a long. In the next regime, the situation was the same. Actually, we had been confined to a series of books and certain beliefs. The books would often deal with issues such as cleanliness, trade and prayer. Nothing beyond these was mentioned. Judicial sciences and canon of punishment or compensation were considered exotic disciplines. Of course, our mentors have written about such issues in detail, but since they were out of the jurisdiction of seminaries, and they did not exercise judgment, canons of punishment, compensation or relation were not practical, so they were not discussed; we were confined to books and, to the same extent, to education. On the other hand, although the aliens and their agents did not have any

direct control over the seminaries, a special propaganda had been carried out in long years to the effect that seminaries should be totally separate from social and political affairs. We could not mention the term politics in seminaries. Affairs of Muslims and things related to the Muslim community were out of the question.

Seminaries need to learn living languages of the world

Now that we are, thanks God, free from those shackles, we should note that today seminaries differ from the past ones. Today, the world has undergone drastic changes and looks as if it is a single family. The speech I am delivering might be reflected in the US after two hours. This is the case with other events taking place in Iran, which soon spread, all over the world. For instance, if someone makes up sound in this gathering, the voice of his sound reaches the US sooner than it reaches the end of this hall. This is the situation. It looks as if the whole world has been compressed into a very small area

Today, we cannot think as in the past. Formerly, our propaganda was restricted to Iran. At times, the *ulama* visited other places. This rarely happened. We need more propaganda abroad than we do here inside the country. You see that today all propaganda is against Islam. In the name of opposition to Islamic Republic, Islam is condemned. Islam has been presented differently. Formerly, there was not much need to foreign languages; today this need is urgent. In fact, the schools' curriculum should include living languages of the world. This should be one of the things to be seriously considered in seminaries that want to propagate. This is an urgent need of our time. It is not like in the past when our voice did not go beyond the borders of Iran. Today we can remain in Iran and propagate in all parts of the world. We can preach our faith everywhere. Moreover, today visiting all parts of the world is an easy and ordinary matter. Preachers should be trained. Our seminaries and universities should be ones that can propagate worldwide, in all countries of the world.

Necessity of training preachers and judges seminaries

Thank God, those bonds fastened to our beliefs have been undone. Today, all strata of the nation are engaged in education. Many women have now joined seminaries in Qum and other cities. Wherever they are, they are busy with educational activities. This is something, which has been realized in this revolution. In those days, restrictions were so tight that women were denied the right to join a ten-member gathering to discuss ideological

questions. Today, they can preach Islam in all parts of the country while observing all aspects of Islam. They can do so in foreign countries! We lagged behind in these matters. Today, we should compensate; we should remove the shortcomings.

Nowadays neither do we have enough preachers nor enough judges. There are only a few. Our country does not have as many preachers as it needs. The seminaries cannot keep up with demand. There are not enough judges either. The seminaries do not have, they have not trained judges, there are a number of old people who do not seek such careers. We should now train the younger generation to practice judgment and to preach. Judging is a sufficient obligation and we must train enough people so that this obligation is met. It is also necessary for us to preach. It is one of our obligations to preach Islam. What is there in the Quran should be preached everywhere, and it requires a good command of languages.

You cannot go to England and preach for them in Persian language. Can you do so in neither the US nor the Soviet Union. You should preach in the language of the native people. This is among the necessary things that we could not mention in the past. Now this is among the necessary and obligatory things that should be practiced.

While I appreciate the gentlemen who are engaged in such affairs, render services and make sacrifices, I request them and all the theological seminaries wherever they are to gird up their loins and make up for the failings of the past. I request them to train preachers and judges. Islam needs these things. Without these, it is not possible to preach and practice Islam. So, with all this propaganda against us, we should carry out our own propaganda. We should send as many preachers abroad as we can afford. I hope you will all succeed at university and seminary to train a large number of men and women for preaching.

Superpowers take a dim view of man

You see that the world has now risen up against us. You see that what commotion they made for shooting down a South Korean plane. Obviously, shooting an aircraft and killing ordinary people is an unforgivable crime. Yet the US is siding with such things. One should see what the matter is. The US is preaching, its president is making speeches and talking about an unforgivable disaster that has occurred. This same America has caused similar disasters in other countries. This is the same America that forces Iraq to commit worse kinds of crime in Iran, while keeping mum. What has Iraq so far done against Iran? How many people of these two countries have been

killed? How many residential area has the Iraqi regime bombarded? These civilian places had nothing to do with the war. Subsequently, they claim Iran targeted certain places which is just a lie. Different radios quote Saddam as saying, "since Iran targets civilian places we have to retaliate and hit the military places." But all the radios know that they have targeted the cities which have nothing to do with the military. After any defeat, Saddam has launched an attack, killing innocent women, men, children, the young and old. The US has remained silent, because they are philanthropic! They like American-type of people. They favor the people who are of use to them. If this practice had been done by the US itself or Iraq that shot down the Algerian aircraft and killed a number of civilians and one of the ministers, the US would have shown no reaction. However, the US is now mourning because a plane belonging to South Korea has been shot down. This mourning is to condemn the Soviet Union, not at humanitarian purposes. Human beings are not of any value in the view of these two superpowers. These powers do not care a fig about human beings unless when they bring them profit like milky cow.

The US welcomes Israeli crimes

You see today what is going on in Lebanon. Now that you and I are sitting here, they are making a bloodbath in Lebanon. The usurper and brutal government in Lebanon, this treacherous Amin¹ has afflicted the Lebanese people. Israel has also afflicted people there. Instead of the US, they are causing this blight. However, we have not heard the US saying a single word. The US has send its marines to help the criminals but in a different guise. Perhaps they themselves create the sceneries. They throw two crackers, injure one or two people, then these Israelis search the houses and arrest the youth, put them in prison or kill them. These crimes are committed everywhere in the world and the US is aggravating the situation.

More deplorable is that Muslims are sitting idly and watching. This second puppet that has come, the Yitzhak Shamir² who has come and wants to be prime minister has explained his program from the outset. He has announced that greater Israel should find reality and that Palestine should vanish. All the places now in the hands of Israel is now separate from Israel. Greater Israel stretches from the Nile to Euphrates covering all the Arab-populated regions including Hijaz and Egypt. All these countries just stand

¹ Amin Jamil Former President of Lebanon. He is the son of Pier Jamil leader of Lebanese Phalangists.

² Yitzhak Shamir former Prime Minister of the Qods occupying regime.

by and watch; a large number of them cooperate with Israel, or want to recognize it.

Big powers are contributing to a stifling atmosphere

These are the disasters, which have occurred in our century. Unfortunately, Muslims, i.e. Islamic governments are indifferent. These governments don't let their people talk about such matters. The world is indeed in a suffocating climate caused by the two superpowers. Look at Afghanistan wherein Soviet troops create disaster every day. Of course, Afghan people have so firmly stood against them that they may regret occupying this country. It's the same story in Palestine and Lebanon and everywhere: America is present and involved in crime. Now a plane has crashed with a death toll of 160 or 260—and we are sorry about this—but the US is not sorry like you. You are sorry although you did not know them, because they were humans, innocent people who became victims of the Soviet. You regret because they are human beings, innocent people, and victim of Soviet Union. However, the US is not sorry because they are human beings, but because it has found an excuse to force out the Soviet Union from the scene, and provoke the world against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will also find an excuse tomorrow and will do the same to the US. O, God! Engage the oppressors with the oppressors. Plot of the aliens to undermine Islam in Iran has failed and we should pay close attention to world issue.

Today we should not think what Iran is like. We should think what is going on in the world. We should think of our duties towards the world. They created this imposed war, a plot that the Zionists hatched. On the one hand, they struggle to prevent Islam from being realized. If Islam takes root in Iran, it will naturally find its way into other countries in which case the programs of the Zionists will be disrupted. The US and Soviet Union will no longer be able to hold their grip over Islamic countries. Therefore, they struggle to restrict Islam within the borders of Iran. If they can, they will try to deflect public opinion in Iran. They are now struggling to obtain their first goal of overthrowing Islamic Republic and replacing it with an American-style Islamic Republic. Of course, there will be no talk of monarchy. The name of Islamic Republic will remain as it is, but it will be of the American type. This is what some people dream, but will never succeed to realize. Iranians are all determined, men, women, the old and young are resolute not to let the US and Soviet Union into Iran. Their second goal is to confine Islam to Iran. They have embarked on massive propaganda to the effect that in Iran

children below the age of 15 or 14 are forced to join the battlefields and the Human Rights Watchdog has raised objection. These people are sitting to listen to VOA, BBC and other radios. They know about everything, but they raise such issues to condemn Iran. These foreign radios know what is going on in Iran; they know all about Iraqi aggression against Iran and the oppressions inflicted on Iran and Iraq. They know all these issues, but humans are not important to them. They want to realize their own dreams. Their purpose is to malign Islam, the Islamic Republic the Iranian people so that the idea of spreading Islam will never cross someone's mind. I hope they will fail in this attempt too.

The ill-treatment of Islam and our duty is promoting it

We are duty-bound to preach Islam in the world. Islam has been ill treated. It is estranged in the world. We are a small group. Our propaganda is imperfect. We are short of money. However, they command all the mass media apparatus. They lavishly spend on propaganda against us. Nevertheless, we should not be disappointed. With this small number, we defeated that satanic power, Muhammad-Rida, who was backed by all powers. We defeated him with the effort and diligence of the Iranian youth and were able to dethrone him. We will implement Islam in Iran as wanted by God. We are making progress in this attempt. We no longer allow others to dominate Iran. I hope that in the same way that these changes took place, through the efforts of universities and seminaries we will be able to have extensive propaganda, so that in a short time all the world will be filled with the Islamic manifestations.

I implore God almighty to grant health and happiness to the gentlemen. I hope that the gentlemen will be successful in the lawful attempt they are engaged with. I pray God to curtail the hands of criminal big powers from Iran and hope that the true Islam will reverberate in the world.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Decree

Time: September 10, 1983 [Shahrivar 19, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty tp prisoners

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, May your presence endure,

Please find enclosed two sheets of paper containing the names of 432 prisoners of Islamic Revolution public prosecutor's office of 17 cities, which have bee presented for amnesty or sentence abatement.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili
17/6/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 19, 1362 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in Article 110 of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution.

Letter

Time: ?

Subject: Offering of condolence

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah Shirazi, May your blessings endure, Holy city of Mashhad,

I present my condolences to you and the sons on the tragic event and pray God almighty to grant happiness to you and the family of the bereaved. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: September 16, 1983 [Shahrivar 25, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph

Occasion: Auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

Addressee: Rashid Bin Said (Deputy-Emir and Emirate)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Rashid ibn Said, Deputy amir and Majlis Speaker of Dubai Emirate,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious Feast of Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your emirate on this great Islamic feast and implore God Almighty to grant Islamic nations dignity and prosperity. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH

Message

Time: September 16, 1983 [Shahrivar 25, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulation telegraph

Addressee: Soharito (President of Indonesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Soharito President of Indonesia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious Feast Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast. I implore God Almighty to grant prosperity and dignity to Islamic nations and destruction to the enemies of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH

Decree

Time: September 1983 [Shahrivar 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence abatement

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may your presence endure,

Please find enclosed the list of seventy convicts of the Justice Department, who at the discretion of the amnesty commission, are considered eligible for amnesty or sentence abatement on the occasion of the felicitous Feast of Sacrifice.

Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi
Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran.

Message

Time: September 16, 1983 [Shahrivar 25, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the occasion of auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamd Al-e Thani (Qatari Amir)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamd Al-e Thani, Amir of Qatar,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious Feast of Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate this great Islamic feast to you and the Muslim people of your country and implore God almighty to grant prosperity and dignity to Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH

Message

Time: September 16, 1983 [Shahrivar 25, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the occasion of auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

Addressee: Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (Maldivian President)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious Feast of Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate this great Islamic feast to you and the Muslim people of your country and implore God almighty to grant prosperity and dignity to Islamic nations and destruction to the enemies of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, September 18, 1983 [Shahrivar 27, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Spiritual blessings of the Feast of sacrifice—explaining the sacrifices of combatant youths

Occasion: Auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

Audience: Officials of Islamic Republic of Iran, civil and military officials and people from all walks of life

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God's banquet a prelude to God's proximity

Reciprocally, I congratulate all the gentlemen, the Muslim people of Iran and the deprived people of the world on this blessed feast. In Islam, there are two occasions have been recognized as Islamic feasts: the holy Fitr Feast for Allah's banquet and the holy Sacrifice Feast for proximity to God. The former is prelude to proximity to God. Prophet Abraham was ordered to cry so that people would gather around him, because the path should be traversed with the help of a guide from God. The path should be traversed with the help of God's guides. Prophet Abraham (peace be upon him) was the guide of the time for all generations and the holy messenger of God the guide for the entire world. With their help one can reach wherever they wish.

After Abraham (peace be upon him) traversed some stages, he said: *"I have turned my face towards Him Who created the heavens and the earth."* Abraham says, *"I have turned away my face, and for the Prophet of God"* it reads *"then he drew near and come down until he was the length of two bows away."* Although these two are the apotheosis of perfection, there is difference between them.

Blessing of supplications handed down by Imams

Of the blessings we have are the supplications handed down to us by Immaculate Imams. Supplications of Immaculate Imams as well as the holy Quran can be likened to a table that has been made for all strata of people to use. As you see, the Quran contains noble verses which the majority of people can use, and there are verses that prominent Ulama use, some verses are used by philosophers. There are some verses, which have attracted the attention of mystics. There are other verses that some chosen saints use, and

verses that the holy prophet has benefited and transmitted to competent individuals who have put them at our disposal. In this respect, there are many verses, which the Gnostic people can use such as: *"Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth."* *"He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward."* *"He is with you whosoever you may be."* There are other verses of this type which, on the face of it, can be interpreted, but it is very difficult for the people except those who have received relations to understand their true sense and derive pleasure from them. He is the Manifest and the Hidden. When the verses were handed down to us, we said He is the Revealer, but this is not the case. *"Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth."* When the verses were handed down to the ordinary man, it was interpreted as *"the one who brightens the heaven and the earth"*, but this is not the case. It is the same with narrations. The supplications handed down to us are tables that have been opened for all to use - everyone according to his understanding. Mostly there are things which common people use. There are items in supplications, which philosophers use, items which mystics use and items which the chosen saints use. The supplication, which the doyen of martyrs (may God's peace be upon him) has recited on the day of the feast, on the day of Arafah, mostly consists of things which can be used by people reciting it. There are, however other things, which are difficult to use even for, noted mystics. *"Is there any manifestation for other than You."* This is different from *"He is the Revealer."* *"Is there any manifestation for others, which You do not enjoy."* Means that all manifestation originates from You, everything is Your manifestation. When have you been absent that you may need a guide to lead towards you *never have been absent*. All should deduce their manifestation from you, not vice versa. This is among great blessings that have come for creatures of God and which everyone can use proportionate to their capacity. There are many who think they have used these blessings, but the fact of the matter is very difficult. That is to say, there are some matters, which are easy to verify, but difficult to visualize. There are some concepts that man cannot visualize but can verify. The issues related to the Gnostic people are of this sort. It can be verified that He is the Manifest, but visualization of this concept is very difficult, except for those who are chosen saints of God. In the glorious Feast of Sacrifice, people were called upon by Abraham to gather around him and around the messenger of God when he is delegated as prophet and move towards the *wali* when there is one. Moving towards him signifies moving towards God. Moving towards him is exactly moving towards God. It therefore signifies inviting people towards God. However, this is the path and the way of reaching God. Feast

for Abraham (peace be upon him) is due to his sacrifice who was the fruit of his existence. Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son. The messenger of God also made a sacrifice for the nation. Sacrifice has also been interpreted as ransom, and in some narrations to Imam Hussein the Doyen of Martyrs. Abraham proceeded to the extent of sacrifice, but God almighty sent him a ransom. The holy prophet also proceeded to the extent that he achieved, because sacrifice was made. Instances of this are found among humans, but with differences, which are due to the stages of gnosis.

Sacrifice of the youths and crimes of superpowers

Now in this era, you see there are youths who actually make sacrifices; they actually move towards martyrdom. There are those who actually send their youths to achieve martyrdom and are happy for that. This is of the same type. However, the difference lies in the fact that knowledge in the case of prophets is a sublime knowledge, while the knowledge of the second group is at a lower stage. This is the sample of former one. The sacrifices of our dear youth and their fathers and mothers are the same as the prophets. These are sacrificed in the same way that Ishmael was and in the same way that Ishmael's ransom was reportedly sacrificed. We should admit that we are unable to imagine the sacrifices these people are making. Thank God. These sacrifices have created such pride for Islam that will remain in the course of history. They made sacrifices for their country that will remain through the history. We hope that all nations will be able to feel this sense of pride. I also hope that all nations and all oppressed people will be able to achieve like ours. On the other hand, despite all these sacrifices for Islam, lots of crimes are committed in the world. Big States against humankind carries out many appalling crimes. Nowadays the world is suffering at the hands of two poles, and the humanity is suffering at the hands of these two. Wherever they can, they interfere and wherever there is apparently a reason not to interfere, they instigate others to do so and to spread corruption. Look at Saddam and what he did to this nation, Islam and the people of Iran in this span of time. Meanwhile, you see he considers himself to be peace-lover. Mass media everywhere introduce him as such. This story of Saddam put me in mind of An Arab poet's anecdote. It is narrated that once a person asked a poet who the foremost Arab poet was. The poet said, come along with me to show you. They entered a house and saw a disheveled old man sitting and sucking the udder of a goat. The poet said the man you see is my father. The reason he is sucking the udder is that he is so miserly that he does not want a drop of

milk to be wasted in the bowl. The foremost Arab poet is the one who, in these long years, glorified Arabs for such a father!

The most eloquent Arab orators

I think, well I guess one should ask Saddam who the foremost Arab orator in his time. Maybe he would take the person to Khorramshahr, Howizeh and Sosangerd to show the signs of defeat they suffered at the hands of Iran. The most eloquent Arab orator is one who awards medals of bravery to his army men despite all these defeats, and trumpets their courage. He can go further and say the foremost Arab orator is the one who has inflicted all these damages, one who attacks people with and ask all governments for help to wreak destruction. The foremost Arab orator is one who has presented himself as peace loving.

The circumstances have changed so much that a person who is procuring arms from everywhere to attack targets, which have nothing to do with the military, tries to present himself to the world as peace loving and trumpets it loudly. Ha cannot withstand our army so after each defeat he starts hitting the poor Arab-populated and Kurdish-populated cities with long-range arms. Saddam is providing arms every day from here and there to areas irrelevant. Recently, one of the presidents- President of Guinea- had a peace proposal. He (Saddam) had written a lengthy letter in which he had expressed readiness for any form of peace. From the beginning, he said he was ready for peace. What peace; Peace between who and who? While he is hitting, he calls for peace. While he escapes, he is brave. It seems that words have lost their meaning in our age. It appears that a development had occurred in words and meanings. France also presents itself as a civilized, liberal, to name but a few. People might be so, but the French government also sends arms, Fighter and bomber plans to prevent Iran from overpowering. I believe that if the French top officials were wise enough, they would not provide Saddam with such arms, because his foolishness brought him to this state. If he had a little prudence, he would not be deceived by the US into attacking Iran, the US assumed that the story would be over I just a few days. Saddam came and realized it was impossible and has been so until now. As you know, our youths started advancing into Iraq in the last two; three days are doing so now. With all these expertise can those jet fighters of mirages sent by France, numbering 60 as has been said, do anything? These weapons should be commanded by one who has the men. One who has not the men to employ these weapons cannot do anything but waste them. When a number of our dear *pasdars* attack a regiment of them, they escape. They cannot do these

things. They are sitting in their cities and borders and hit Abadan and other places everyday with their long-range missiles. We are embroiled in this world situation. All are helping him while they see he cannot do anything. Are the things Russia has given Saddam less than those France has? He had those weapons as well but could not do anything. Of course, he caused damages but no advancement; he suffered defeat everywhere. This defeat is because that they don't have what our *pasdars* enjoy. He only tries to imitate the things we do here, as soon as he hears Iranians make donations, he brings his men to show up that people are donating. The foreign radios there have revealed in their writing that the agents search houses and ask for donations and vouchers. If one does not have the voucher-indicating donation of gold or jewelry, he will be taken as offender. He has heard that people here donate their gold and wants to imitate. They make a queue of their forces to show people are donating. However, the fact is that his agents take these things from people by force. He has heard that our children compete to participate in war and he once said that a child told him he wanted to join the battlefield. But there is a great difference between these two. Anyhow, we are today embroiled in such a situation in the world, which is deplorable.

Victory by *labbaik* to prophet Abraham

Our forces advance because they follow Prophet Abraham (peace be upon him) and said yes to prophet Abraham (peace be upon him). What do they call when they want to advance? They said yes to Aflaq. Right! One who says yes to Aflaq and one who says yes to Abraham friend of God are different. That is why they escape and our forces can, if the need arises, advance as far as it is deemed advisable.

Well! You see today that Lebanon is in trouble and so many crimes are being committed there. Yesterday, these crimes were perpetrated directly by the Zionists, but today by Jomail, Amin Jomail. In other words, the US is committing these crimes. The US does not want to see a peaceful region in which countries can think and decide for themselves. Wherever possible, the US directly intervenes, and when it is difficult, it sends its agents so that they can at least create discord among people. The *munafiqin* (hypocrites) who wanted to bring about those events, who wanted to commit crimes and they did, who escaped from the country, and those who remnants still exist are following the same route. Before going to France, perhaps there were doubts about their true nature, but now every thing is clear. These *munafiqin* who claim to be popular have formed a friendship with Saddam who is pounding this Islamic country everyday. Although they are in utmost disgrace, they are

staying abroad instilling. The only thing they can do is to insult. Anyhow, we should say yes to Abraham and to the prophet of God and make sacrifices by saying yes. We should preserve our glory and the glory of Islam.

Uprising for God the only preaching for God

The youths, the elderly, men, women, children and all should make sacrifices in the cause of Islam, for the glory of Islam, the country, people and the holy Quran. One of the sacrifices is that they should try to avoid discord and if there is a petty difference, they should settle it among them. Thank God, there is unity among our army, *Sepah* and others. They are advancing on with this unity. As long as this unity persists, victories will be followed by victories God willing. We should always bear in mind that whatever we achieve is from God. *Is there any manifestation for others than You do not enjoy?* Everything comes from Him. If this concept takes root in our heart that everything is from Him, we will fear neither defeat nor anything else. Everything is from Him. If this concept is ingrained in our heart, there will be no defeat. Uprising for God! *"I recommend you to do one thing: rise up for God. God Almighty has chosen among all preaching this one. Tell people: I recommend you to do one thing."* He recommended this, because everything lies in here. Everything lies in uprising for God. Uprising for God creates knowledge and awareness. Uprising for God generates selfless people for God and for Islam. Everything is found in this uprising for God. Therefore, the only exhortation God has selected among others is *ye rise up for Allah's sake, by twos* and on your own. The latter is for attainment of knowledge of God and the former is for achieving God's purposes. I hope God almighty grants success to you, the nation and we to traverse this path and do our works for God.

US and Israel are unreliable

I hope God almighty draws the attention of these nations to these issues and awakens the governments in Islamic countries from their slumber. They think Israel is backing them and are helping it. They think Israel, which intends to seize all Arab countries, is a staunch Arab supporter of them and they may assume that the US supports them. The US wants your oil. The US wants to reap benefit from you. The US wants you to be market for it. So is the Soviet Union. They don't differ. They want to exploit you. They want to bleed the resources God has given you and you serve them as coolie. However, if you are in trouble, none of them will come to your aid. At that time, they say, "We don't know them." These people who are engrossed in

their interests and worldly issue accompany someone as long as he can serve them. the moment they drive no benefit, they will leave him—even if he is their best friend—in the lurch. Have you heard the story of Churchill? In World War II, Churchill was the British Prime ministry. The Soviet Union was in their camp. In war with Germany, the Soviet Union accompanied them. The US was also their companion. As soon as they defeated Hitler, Churchill said it is now time for us to attack the Soviet Union, which was their friend, joined them in war against Germany and helped them clinch victory. He said that the time was ripe then. However, the British parliament did not allow it. When this scheme was revealed, the British parliament turned it down. This is their situation. When they realize that they can make better friends and that their former ones in their interests they will discord and get rid of him... This is their station. One, who does not believe in God, in the resurrection, does not know human values cannot be relied upon. Should we accompany the US until it stabs in the back? The US wants your oil. The US wants oil from government of Hijaz. The US will not bring any benefit to you. He bleeds you. Why do you put yourselves and us into trouble for the US? I hope God will awaken all and make all vigilant and this feast blessed. It is blessed when the hands of big powers and criminals have been curtailed from the oppressed peoples of the world. I hope such a day will be near.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: September 19, 1983 [Shahrivar 28, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the occasion of auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

Addressee: Hamad Bin Muhammad ash-Sharqi (ruler of Fujayrah)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Hamad Bin Muhammad ash-Sharqi (ruler of Fujayrah),

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on the occasion of the auspicious Feast of Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim brotherly people of your country on this great Islamic feast. I beseech God almighty to grant happiness and dignity to the Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, September 19, 1983 [Shahrivar 28, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Saddam's numerous crimes and superpowers support for him

Occasion: Third anniversary of the imposed war

Addressee: Kamal Kharrazi (Head War Propaganda Headquarters) and several members of the committee for holding ceremonies marking the third anniversary of the imposed war

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Impossibility of collecting statistics of the crimes inflicted on Iran

Of course, the attempt is a very fruitful one, but I don't think that by human statistics the crimes inflicted on Iran can be collected. You can reflect a small amount, but the spiritual dimension of the disaster cannot be presented in statistics. How do you want to show in statistics the heart palpitations, those bereaved hearts that endured the disaster courageously and the weeping eyes? These are the crimes perpetrated by superpowers. If the war ends in the victory of Islam, all these disasters will be redressed. If not, we still will have the "Week of War". God forbid the war may continue for another year and we may have one more "Week of War". These ravenous wolves that try wholeheartedly to keep Saddam and continue to support him have surrounded us but one who has committed treason against his country, Iran and Islam cannot be kept. Today Saddam professes Islam and performs prayer, which cannot recite correctly. Even these expressions are blessings of war; otherwise, they are anti-Islam and the Baath Party was founded on negation of Islam. They are disgusted with Islam as is Islam with them. They have arrested a number of the *ulama* in Iraq of whom I know some such as Haj Sayyid Yusuf Hakim and killed some others. These cannot be put down on paper or displayed as they are, but you should try to present those facts that can be introduced. The important thing is introducing these facts to the world.

Presenting Islam to the world through the war

Today, the US, the Soviet Union, France and other big powers feel a sense of threat from Islam and thus they have launched a propaganda campaign in favor of Saddam. They think- and they are right- that if Islamic

Republic gains foothold and remains, they would not have any foothold. They are afraid that their hand should be may be curtailed from the entire region. Although the war was unpleasant and destroyed our cities, it had its blessings and Islam was introduced to the world. In the war it became clear which individuals and powers stood against Islam, which people were afraid of Islam and which powers rose up against Islam. Everything became clear in the war. The superpowers neither want to keep Saddam nor do they want to pound us. They fear Islam and want to crush Islam. For this reason, they are opposed to us and support him. They know that people of Islamic countries stand against them and that people of non-Islamic countries such as the blacks tilt towards us.

Hence, we should try to reflect and disseminate what is going on in Iran for two reasons: First, the crimes against us will be disclosed; Second, those who have committed these crimes against us and, above all, those helping and backing them as well as those giving them tanks, plans and missiles to attack us can be introduced to the world. We should make them understand that if they continue to support Saddam, we will curtail their hands from oil. If they help Saddam hit our economic resources, they will not see oil. I hope such a thing may not happen. The main thing is the crimes of these superpowers as well as France, but the one inflicting greater damage is the US.

Criterion of human dignity

I hope that the Iranian people will continue to stand tall in the same way they have done so far. I hope the people of Iran are together and preserve their dignity. Previously, we were abjectly dependent. Muhammad-Rida had succumbed and we were like a wretched servant before the US, but Iran cast aside this wretchedness and gained dignity. Food, bread and water are not good measures; the important thing is the human dignity. It is below dignity to bow to a person in the hope of getting some pennies. Human dignity lies in standing against bullying. Our youths did so, but they, in return, imposed economic sanctions on us. These sanctions helped awaken our youths and they realized that to cut dependence they were required to make great efforts. May God grant you success in cultural and propaganda activities!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: September 20, 1983 [Shahrivar 29, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the occasion of the auspicious Feast Sacrifice

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Shadhli Bin Jadid, President of Algeria,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph on the occasion of the arrival of the auspicious Feast Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate this great Islamic feast to you and the Muslim people of your country and implore God Almighty to grant prosperity and dignity to Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, September 20, 1983 [Shahrivar 29, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Establishment of government to implement rules of God

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Hakim (Spokesman of the Supreme Assembly), members of the Supreme Assembly of Islamic Revolution in Iraq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Sincerity source of victory

I thank you for coming here to talk to each other closely. What you know but need to be reiterated is that the Supreme Assembly comprised of Iraqi *mujahidin* should try to do things for God and completely consider Islamic and religious aspects. You should try to pay all your attention to God Almighty. Man's inner nature is interwoven with things from which guidance and deviation emanate. You should be careful that carnal passions in your mind do not overpower you. In your mind, you should not develop the idea to overcome and rule; you should think of establishing Islamic government and implementing the rules of God. The Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him) was a leading ascetic and a ruler at the same time, but his rule was not for himself. All his efforts and struggles were for Islam. You should struggle so that impurities in your hearts would be erased. If you purify yourselves for God, it will be contributed to your victory. You should only rely on God. This is not possible unless you debilitate your carnal passions, which are the source of discord. Wherever you notice discord in your ranks, be sure that it stems from carnal desire. Of course, difference between prophets and their opponents and between Islam and blasphemy has always existed, but this discord emanates from servitude. You should destroy the discord stemming from carnal passions. No doubt if your efforts do not originate from divinity and step beyond the limits of Islamic unity, you will be unfortunate and crestfallen.

Unity, the mystery of Iranian revolution's victory

I hope you will be successful in struggling for liberation and independence of Iraq. Struggle to free Iraq from domination of tyrants. In the same way, that Moses revolted against Pharaoh and had in mind to establish the truth and in no way did he intend to rule for himself, you should also

develop the idea to turn your assembly into a divine one. If discord emerges in your assembly, all of you will be destroyed. If you are together, you will be triumphant. Since you want to uproot this oppression for God, I hope you will be successful. This success comes when there is no concern among the gentlemen.

The mystery of Iran's victory was that unity prevailed among all individuals. There was not a power struggle among groups or individuals. You should unify your ranks as you are. When unity prevails in the first assembly, there will emerge no discord in other assemblies. Try so that in the depth of your heart nothing is found against divinity. If you find any trace of disharmony, you should suppress it. I have repeatedly if all the prophets gathered in the same place, no discord would ever emerge among them, because they all have one divine purpose, goal and destination. If in your assembly monotheism is realized in its true sense, naturally the individuals connected to you will not have any discord. Real unity means that your hearts should beat for one object and that is Islam. If this is the case, you will have God's approval.

People of Iran, model for Iraqi people

We should regard everything we have from Him. You are rich neither in number of people nor in weapons, but your opponents are backed by the entire world. In such conditions, the party that has nothing should confront with their spiritual aspects. In such cases, it is not possible to apply material aspects.

You know well that the deposed Shah was equipped with military equipments. The US filled Iran with weapons and ammunition, because the US wanted to turn Iran into its base. Shah enjoyed everything: support of all superpowers and a well-equipped, disciplined army, but the people of Iran had nothing. The story began from Faydiyyah School. When people saw there is no discord, they assembled and achieved victory by the power of faith. The Iranian people had no arms; they only gained victory by clenched fists and crying at the enemy. They cried so much that they defeated the heavily armed enemy. Later, people formed Sepah and disciplinary forces of Sepah. Today Iran has a divine condition. When our youths make those sacrifices in warfronts or come here and talk to me, I envy their Great Spirit and purity. Wherever this state prevails, victory will ensue and God's favor will follow. After God's favor, victory is inevitable. I hope God will rectify us to that we can render services.

What brutes have stood against you! When one sees how they Martyred Mr. Sadr, that erudite scholar, and his sister; what they did to the household of Mr. Hakim, who had rendered great services, the way they treated Mr. Yusuf Hakim, whose face reminded one of the Day of Judgment, and their arrest of 90 members of the late Hakim household one is greatly grieved and realizes their brutality. I know that the people of Iraq are disgusted with this situation. Which man can observe these pressures and yet not be impressed?

I hope the works will get along soon. The powers imagined that they could keep them all in place. In the former regime, the US, the Soviet Union, France asking me to let Shah be the figurehead monarch. It was impossible and he left the country. Now all powers are trying to keep Saddam, but it is of no avail. You should try to awaken the Iraqi people. I hope the Iraqi people will be careful and consider the situation of Iran. I hope God will grant you success to be mujahid (striver) in the cause of God. I wish you will return to Iraq and we will be able to join you in the holy shrine of the Doyen of Martyrs (peace be upon him).

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Decree

Time: September 1983 [Shahrivar 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty to prisoners

Occasion: Auspicious Feast of sacrifice

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, May your presence endure,

Please find enclosed the list of 53 convicts of the Justice Department as well as 124 convicts of the public prosecutor's offices who, on the auspicious Feast of Sacrificed are deemed eligible for amnesty or sentence abatement. Enclosed is also the list of 395 convicts of Islamic Revolutionary public prosecutors office who, according to circular no. 62/3/29-1/15595 have been fully pardoned.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this. ¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leadership stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran.

Speech

Time: Morning, September 21, 1983 [Shahrivar 30, 1362 AHS / Dhul Hijjah 13, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Resistance and firmness of the Iranian nation against the US

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Qaradi (Oil Minister), experts and workers in charge of containing Nowruz oil well

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Firmness of Iran against US

I am very glad to see the dear brothers who are a cause of pride for us today. The spiritual dimension of this issue is more important than its material aspect. From the material aspect, some oil used to go to waste, which thank God, the waste eliminated. However, the spiritual aspect is what you pointed out—they are always fighting us of such issues. They tell us not to touch anything because we are unable to do anything, because only the Americans, the French and others can handle these things. However, our youths, our workers and all those engaged in the industry demonstrated that what they considered impossible is possible. We should try to blaze a trail for bigger accomplishments in the future. We should not be gripped with the fear that we cannot do something. Actually, we can.

Right, Last night I watched the film showing the repair operations. Of course, I cannot understand those issues properly, but know the difficulty with which the job has been done. It has been accomplished with much difficulty. As I said before, they argued then none except Americans or their likes could achieve such an accomplishment. In doing so, they wanted to push us towards their camp. This approach should be brought to the attention of the Islamic countries, particularly countries on the Persian Gulf. They should be reminded to rise up and release themselves from the big powers' captivity. They can do things on their own. They have control over the lifeline of the US and its likes. They can accomplish things on their own.

Islamic governments try in vein to bring Iran into their own fold and make it affiliated to the US. These efforts are useless and Iran will never—God willing—stretch its hand to the US, even if it is annihilated. Do they think that we surrender to the US for, let's say, oil or anything else? We will never succumb to others to even if we are threatened with annihilation. They can rule over us after over annihilation. Of course, it is not like this that they

can do whatever they wish. This is not the case. They have shown their performance in Afghanistan. That Soviet Union that is bigger bully than the US, though the latter is more sinister, tried its strength in Afghanistan and saw the results. The US also has, in other places such as Vietnam and its likes has seen the results. However, there are profound differences between there and here. Governments of those countries sided with the US. In Afghanistan its party, its army and almost everything sided with the Soviet Union. However, those strong guerillas stood and slapped on their face and are stilling doing so. Here thank God the entire nation is together: workers, civil servants, the farmers, the government, the president and, let me see, *Majlis* are all united. The military, *Sepah*, *Basij* and all are one entity and constitute one organization under different names. You see that these gentlemen themselves settled all the things they brought about for us; solved all problems they created for us. The future problems will also be settled by the same gentlemen. We can remove our problems through our own efforts and by preserving our honor.

Reliance on God and turning away from other than Him

Why should we stretch our hands before others for such affairs? We should put our minds into operation. All the country should do so. All universities, factories, etc. should apply their mind. They will be able to do so and God opens the way. At first, one might think something is impossible, but as one gets involved; he gradually realizes that God opens the way and things will be done. God will open the way. Well! Such a job done by our dear youths was important; it was not a trivial thing. They struggled and diligently accomplished that important job. They can do other jobs. We should not be despairing. We should disappoint ourselves from other than God and do not count on them and only rely on God Almighty and our national and Islamic power in order to push forward our works. The works will thus go forward; some might be accomplished sooner and some a little later. We should decide definitely not to stretch our hands before the US, the Soviet Union or any other power. It is regrettable to see that the governments around us in the name of Islam are struggling to tighten the bonds of their servitude. It does not mean they do not understand; many of them know that if they are on good terms with Islamic Republic, it is good for them. However, there is a satanic temptation in their hearts, which prevent them from raising voice against the US. They used to say formerly that it is not possible to confront the US and the Shah. Well! Our people confronted and

managed it. It is possible to curtail the influence of the US, the Soviet Union and all and you saw nothing happened and nothing else will come about.

The question is that if a nation resolute to do something, nothing can be imposed on it. It is possible to impose on a group, on a party or other related entities, but not on a nation. When a nation plans to go a way, it is not possible to dissuade them. By force, one cannot dissuade a nation from the path it traverses. It is possible for powers to suppress a nation, but they cannot continue with this to the end; they will be paralyzed on the way. Thank God, is in such a situation that they cannot impose anything on us from the very beginning let alone continue with this until midway. God willing they cannot from the start. We trust God and God will protect our youths, our government and our nation. I should really appreciate you dear youths whose spiritual dimension is great for Islam and for Iran. You were the ones who proved everything. May God grant you the reward of *mujahidin!*

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: September 22, 1983 [Shahrivar 31, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: *Munafiqin* allegiance to the Iraqi Baath Party and support of big powers for aggressor

Occasion: The Imposed War Week

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Three years have elapsed since the savage and foolish attack of the “Commander of Qadisiyeh”.¹ Experience of the last three years and studying the military, political and economic condition of Iran, which based on the calculations of the Aflaqites, the *munafiqin*, the Tudeh Party affiliated to the Soviet Union and other servile groups were supposed to be defeated in the first few weeks or months, are enough to open the eyes of myopic people. They were waiting to see the defeat of Iran and collapse of Islamic Republic, but now the reverse of it has been proved to the world. The myopic people had better repent their paranoiac acts done so far. Nowadays they are left with nothing except the weapon of telling lies and idle talks. They should show repentance and ask forgiveness from God, if they believe in Him, and admit to their ignorance and myopic before the great nation of Iran. Today, despite falsifications and hollering, what have remained for Saddam are consecutive defeats and savage crimes against border people, particularly Arab-populated and Kurdish-populated regions as well as other cities of Iran and martyring innocent women, children and men.

What has remained for the enemies of Islam and the revolution, whether those on top of disbelieving countries and atheistic governments or those who have sought refuge in these governments is obviously false rumor-mongering which none except a number of people unaware of the situation in Iran may believe. Undoubtedly, it has been proved for Saddamites and their domestic affiliates that full-scale support of the superpowers and their affiliates as well as their round-the-clock propaganda campaign have not so far been useful to them and will not be so in the future by the grace of God. If they open their eyes, it is clear to them that big powers, that is, the US and

¹ Saddam Husayn, the overbearing president ruling Baghdad promised victory at the outset of the imposed war against Iran in three days and called its offensive against Iran “Qadisiyyah”.

Soviet Union have taken advantage of their foolishness and foster the illusion of creating inconvenience in the region or in Iran through them.

All these problems and disgraces are because they don't understand Islam and its spiritual influence on millions strong masses of people, and have closed their eyes and ears to understand the truth. Have not they seen that the brave Iranian youths miraculously rescued themselves from the precipices made by oil-sucking iniquitous powers and soared up the peak of faith and commitment to Islam within short period in light of Islam's spirituality? With their unique courage, these selfless youths lunged at the global blasphemy and Aflaqites, drove them out of their dear country, saved their Islamic land from the clutches of eastern and western plunderers, suppressed their scum, and put an end to their disgraceful existence. Are not the several-year-long experiences sufficient to bring those who claim power and pretend to be aware of military, political and organizational issues to their senses and wake them up from slumber so that they are not deceived by the empty promises of superpowers and no longer used as irresolute puppet in their hand?

What is ridiculous is that while meeting his commanders, who have tasted the bitter savor of defeat at the hands of the valorous Iranian youths and fled the ammunition dumps teeming with modern weapons, Saddam said that they were now equipped more than any other time and would continue the war for many years. What he says about advanced weaponry he has obtained from big powers by begging or by extorting, the property of the unsheltered Iraqi people is verified. However, this is a good omen for our combatants who, without losing prestige or wasting our resources, take these weapons from the clutches of fleeing Iraqi army and use against them. We are delighted at this method. The self-sacrificing combatants of Islam are now attacking the enemy with its own weapons, vehicles and tanks.

As regards the continuation of war, all know that the initiative is in the hands of our youths and defense of Islam and the two Islamic countries of Iraq and Iran will continue until the falls of the Iraqi Aflaqi Baath Party. After the destiny of the country fell into the hands of the suffering Iraqi people, the war will come to an end. A matter of great regret is that the superpowers, by duping Saddam into attacking Iran, engaged our powerful country in self-defense to provide the usurper, criminal Israel with the opportunity to implement its sinister plan to form the greater Israel extending from the Nile to Euphrates.

Isaq Shamir, the US new pawn, disclosed the Israeli scheme before all else as soon as he applied as candidate to replace Begin, another US puppet.

He said Palestinian Liberation Organization should be wiped out. He stipulated that he would remain a supporter of the greater Israel. Is not it regrettable that the heads of Arab states have either remained silent about this disaster, thus opening the way for materialization of the sinister plan, or have expressed support for Israel so as to please the US or keep their ephemeral posts? To fulfill my Islamic duty, I have conveyed the cry of the heart of the deprived and oppressed people of the region to the world including governments of Islamic countries at any opportunity and I will continue to do so in the future if I find the chance. Perhaps this attempt will impress the governments of these countries some of which are preoccupied with debauchery, some are engaged in quarrel with their brothers and some others have been cowed by the US. I hope that their slumber is transformed into an Islamic-human awakening, that they terminate their wretched conditions and turn down the superpowers as the heroic Iran did. Now, our Lebanese Muslim brothers are in a plight brought about by Israel, the bloodthirsty government of Lebanon, and even worse than the aggressor US. Every day a number of them are martyred or rendered homeless. Most regional governments are trying to compromise with Israel, approve of the Lebanese government, and condone the crimes of Saddam and provide him with military or financial assistance so that he will be able to perpetrate these crimes against Iraqi and Iranian nation.

They imagine that Saddam can be rescued by these aids and that if he is rescued he will press their hands warmly. They are unaware that with his domineering, ambitious and brutal disposition, Saddam will not give respite to them to breathe and attack their countries using false excuses. The US and the Soviet Union are employing different scheme such as spreading discord, crating civil unrest through their gullible mercenaries, escalating war between countries and other colonialist ploys in order to debilitate Islam and Islamic countries. These governments of Islamic and oppressed countries of the world should open their eyes and ears in order to defuse these plots.

The people of Iran and the brave and devoted armed forces have left behind the third year of defending the attack of the uncultured Aflaqites so as to hoist the banner of monotheism and consolidate the pillars of Islamic Republic. Endless gratitude to God's unseen and open aids for the land of the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him) and for the defense put up by the people of Iran in all arenas and the victories achieved. In the arena of the imposed war, the impudent aggressor who was duped by the promises and glad tidings of the US and plunged into this pitfall was given such a good lesson by our country that he seeks help from any government and turns no

stone unturned to save him from this self-made trap. He will not, however, be rescued, thanks God. Now that the Islamic Republic has slapped him and his hopes have been dashed, he has resorted to the French government so as to be able to inflict damage on Iran's economic resources using destructive weapon; thus adding another page his crime records. I warn the regional countries and the countries that use oil in some way that the government of Iran will strenuously against this crime and is determined, in case such a crime is carried out, to block Hormuz Strait with full power thus preventing even a drop of oil to be exported from there. France is responsible for the consequences of this great event.

Saddam's fall is so impending that he has even shaken hands of brotherhood with fugitive *munafiqin* who are more wretched and object than him. In order to cover up their infamy and disrepute, *munafiqin* resort to any means. Only to be mentioned by Baghdad radio station, these so-called liberators of the nation shake hands of brotherhood, in the most impertinent way, with the criminal Saddam, who has martyred thousands of women, men, the young and old with mortars and missiles, and targets the cities of this innocent people every day with long range missiles. They are officially spying for Saddam. Although the ringleaders of *Munafiqin* have a life of debauchery in the US and France, they have, unfortunately, been able to deceive a number of teenagers with various tricks and ploys, and totally brainwashed them. I hope that after seeing the crimes of *munafiqin* and their complicity with Saddam, these deceived teenagers will no longer follow them blindly.

Now is the Week of War and this year's week of war differs greatly from those in previous years. I congratulate the Iranian nation on having such brave, committed and devoted youth that are unmatched in the world. History has not shown such youths. I also congratulate the great Islam for having such combatants in the cause of truth who sacrifice everything in the cause of Islam and their Islamic country. They are an honor to not only Iran but also the future generations in the world. They are also an honor to the great Islam that, through its teaching and revelations, fostered such an enormous development. Today all are unable to picture these spiritual and human scenes. I recommend the writers, speakers, analysts, artists, painters and all and all to, always especially in this week, offer the best of what they can do to these warriors, the Iranian nation and great Islam, so that they may be able to fulfill part of—although insignificant—their Islamic, human, national and patriotic duties. Certainly, God the grateful will exalt the name of these great people in this world and portray their stations in the heavens, because they

have conveyed the voice of Islam to the remotest part of the world, and demonstrated its grandeur all over the world. No one except the holy essence of God the Exalted can truly appreciate this great feat

Likewise, we are unable to pay tribute to and appreciate the great mothers who brought up these committed youths in their laps and valorous fathers who sustained them to become young adults and sympathetic wives who stood alongside them and willingly send them to the battlefields to defend the truth. This is also under the jurisdiction of the Beneficent God. Nevertheless, the noble Iranian people should prove in this week that they are loyal to Islam to the point of sacrificing their lives, fruits of their existence and property, although some desperate myopic people inside and outside the country might be hooting and wailing to somehow their wounds.

Let me now give a few words of advice to the dear youths who are making sacrifices on the warfronts and home fronts for dispensation of divine justice, to the dear ones who have sustained injuries for divine purpose, to the families of the dignified martyrs who achieved the greatest blessing, martyrdom, in the cause of the holy Quran, to the fathers and mothers and wives and intimate relations of the living martyrs and to those who render help to their defending brothers behind the frontlines. Notice lest the pride of victories fame and braveries permeates your heart. This pride is an ailment of the self and one of the traps of the Satan to distract the servants of God from attention to Him. It is among the tricks of the tempting self, pushing man towards polytheism and servitude of idols, particularly towards the chief idol; that is, the idol of self. Beware lest you consider other than Him the Exalted as being effective. Only God is the One to bring victory; victory is not achieved except by His will. *“Ye (Muslims) slew them not, but Allah slew them. Moreover, thou (Muhammad) threwest not when thou didst throw, but Allah threw, that He might test the believers by a fair test from Him. Lo! Allah is Hearer, Knower.”*¹ Whatever you and we have is from Him.

O, God! We are weak and powerless. Protect us against overt and covert polytheism by your grace. Save us from obeying carnal desires, which is polytheism, and guide us towards monotheism and Unitarianism. Let Islam, the religion of monotheism and Unitarianism brighten the world; break the banners of polytheism and hypocrisy; acquaint Muslims with their Islamic-human duties; protect the lands of Muslims and oppressed people from the evil of arrogant powers and world-devourers; shower Your bounteous blessings and special manifestations upon martyrs in the cause of the Truth

¹ Surah al-Anfal 8: 17.

beginning from Adam, God's chosen one, to the age of the seal of prophets Muhammad (peace be upon him and his progeny), up to the present time and to the age of the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him), associate the dear Iranian martyrs who honored Islam and Islamic country with the martyrs of the early days of Islam; grant their families - committed fathers, mothers and wives patience, reward and perseverance; bestow health on our prisoners of war and return these celebrated men of Islam, who brought honor to the Islamic country of Iran, to their Islamic land; grant cure to the war wounded—these living martyrs—and associate them with the multitude of martyrs; bestow patience and reward upon their mothers, fathers and wives and grant power, health and dignity to the combatants in the cause of Islam and defense of the Islamic country, whose tremendous efforts brought the enemies defeat and infamy, and put an end to their aggression, crimes and treason. O, God! Grant them health, power and greatness and number them among those striving in your cause.

Peace and blessings of God be upon His prophets, especially the last and noble one, Muhammad Mustafa (peace be upon him and his progeny) and upon the Immaculate Imams and saints, particularly the last of them the Promised Mahdi (May our souls be sacrificed for him). May God's peace be upon the righteous servants of God!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Time: Morning, September 26, 1983 [Mehr 4, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1403 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for athletes to strengthen spiritual and moral dimensions

Occasion: Feast of Qadir

Audience: Dawudi (Superintendent of Physical Training Organization), athletes and weight lifters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am glad to have met you gentlemen and pray for you. God willing, the athletes will have spiritual training in the same way they have physical training. Since remote past Iranian athletes have remembered God and Ali (peace be upon him), which is one of their outstanding characteristics. I wish wherever you go you are victorious and successful in exporting the revolution in all its senses. I hope you will be champions when it comes to ethics. Thank God, ethics is found in abundance among athletes. Notice that all the propaganda carried out against Iran aims to restore the country to its previous situation. Try not to be impressed by such propaganda. Today your country is outstanding in the world because of your power. Your country today is one of the most powerful countries in the world. We should struggle to preserve this power.

[Then Imam Khomeini referring to one of the athletes who had lost two legs and an arm in the warfront said; we are proud of having such youths. I wish God would grant him two wings in the hereafter to enable him to fly in Paradise.

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur* the date 3/7/1362 AHS has been published.

Speech

Time: Morning, September 26, 1983 [Mehr 4, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: How to cling to the leadership of the Commander of the Faithful (a)

Occasion: Feast of Qadir

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President), Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Hakim (Chairman of the Supreme Assembly for Islamic Revolution in Iraq), Husayn Bonakdar (Mayor of Tehran), families of the orphans of Tehran, Islamic Revolution's wounded and war disabled ones, staff of municipality and farmers of Najafabad, southern residents of Tehran, personnel of army, *Sepah* and *Basij*, members of *Constitution Jihad*, employees of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization, War Propaganda Headquarters, Islamic Republic News Agency, Red Crescent Society, Health Ministry, educational affairs specialists at schools, foreign reporters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Regretting the loss of bearers of the knowledge of Immaculate Imams (a)

Reciprocally, I congratulate the audience, the Iranian nation and oppressed and innocent peoples across the world on this great feast.

What a good assembly is this that on such a feast the real owners of the revolution, i.e. the slum dwellers, farmers, workers and strugglers have come here and we get spiritual benefit from their presence. A matter for regret is that the Commander of the Faithful did not have or was not given the opportunity to implement the rule of God in the world the way he desired. He wanted to establish this rule so that the world understands what Islam had brought, and what personalities it has. When the government was not in his hand, he did not have the opportunity; when the government fell into his hands, still he did not have the opportunity. They waged three big wars during his rule, so he did not have the opportunity to form the government he desired. We should regret this situation for good. If such an opportunity had been found for him, his government would have served as a model for all those who want to establish justice and divine affairs. Such a government would have been a model. Unfortunately, it was not realized. However, even that forms of government he established, is still giving out rays. Even now, that slight impact we inherited from him concerning rule and governance is sufficient to clarify what the situation should be like. Another thing to regret

is that he did not have the opportunity to find the right people who were able to pass down all sciences he had in his heart. No doubt, the science he could not find a good transfer for was the science of mysteries of *wilayat* and monotheism. All mystics should regret that he did not find the opportunity to reveal all the mysstries ha wanted to. This is the cause of great regret that he ddid not find the opportunity. And all, especially mystics, philosophers, *ulama* and scholars have to live to regret this.

Meaning of resorting to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful

Today is a blessed day and one of the greatest Islamic feasts. In proporation to ourpopulation, it is the greatest feast because it is the corollary of prophethood, spirituality of the prophet of God, and the divine rule. So it is the greatest of feasts. On this auspicious feast, one of the things related is that we should recite “*Thanks God Who placed us among those who resort to wilayat of the Commander of the Faithful and household of the prophet Muhammad (s).*”

What is resort to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful? Does it mean we just read the above and pay no hed? It means resorting to *wilayat* of the Commander of Faithful in the true sense of the term *wilayat*. It does not mean resorting to the love of the Commander of the Faithful. That kind of resorting is meaning less. Resorting to position of *wilayat* of that great man means that since we are himan beings we cannot fully implement that true social justice he had in mind. We and no other people are able to implement justice, but try to find that model. Now that we have power to a small extent, we should resort to him. This is thw meaning of resorting to the position of *wilayat*. One of its meanings is that we should be like the shadow of that *wilayat*. Wilayat is custodianship of the affairs of Muslims and ruling over them. When a government is formed, it should resort to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful and it means that it should try to implement justice as much as it can. The government should resort to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful and implement the justice enforced by the Commander of the Faithful as much as we can. Merely professing that we resort to the Commander of the Faithful is not sufficient. This is not resorting. When the government sets the Commander of Faithful (peace be upon him) as model, it has resorted to *wilayat* of the Commander of Faithful. If the Imam is not taken as model or that great model is violated, our repeated recitation of “O, God place us among those resorting to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful” will not be anything but false statement. If Majlis that is one of the highest authorities of the country sets what the

Commander of the Faithful wanted as model and the justice that the Imam implemented at that time with the small opportunity he found and implement the rules and affairs the way did by the Imam or pass it and care for the model of the Imam, then it can be said our Majlis is the one that has resorted to the Commander of the Faithful. If the Majlis cannot do it or does not want to do it or some individuals do not let these works to be done, then we cannot say that we have a Majlis that has resorted by the Commander of the Faithful. Such is the case with other branches of the government such as the Judiciary. If the judiciary does not follow the way of judgment of the Commander of the Faithful and the judgment of Islam and fails to resort to Islamic judgment, whatever it says we are among those resorting, is false. Resorting is true when the judiciary acts in accordance with the model of Ali (a) that is the very Islamic model. Our nation, who recites this item: “*O, God place us among those resorting to wilayat of the Commander of the Faithful,*” should note that resorting to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful entitles following his goals.

Not tolerating oppression even against non-Muslims

Simple pronouncement that we are followers of Ali and resort to *wilayat* of the Commander of the Faithful is not sufficient, this is not the way. Such things are not verbal. We cannot actually be the Imam’s follower by words and phrases. We have to practice and actually follow the wisdom behind such following. Those who claim to be followers of the Commander of the Faithful should obey him in word and deed and whatever the Imam did. If this obedience is absent and we simply say we are followers of the Imam, we have said idle talk and nonsense.

During his rule, which was brief and full of unpleasant events, you see when he writes that letter to Malek Ashtar he reiterates important political and social issues. It was a circular or a letter to one of his followers in which it has been related that if a person dies to prevent forcefully taking off an ankle-ring from the leg of a—infidel woman living in the Islamic country—his death is beyond reproach. This is *shiah*, it should be like this not like us. *shiah* is that if in Islamic government, Islamic country injustice is done to a *Dhimmi*, and that a trifling oppression of removing ankle-ring from the leg of a *Dhimmi*, the Imam says if one dies, he should not be blamed and his death is beyond reproach. This is important!

The obligation to rescue the oppressed from infidels

Today we see that in different lands of Muslims, injustices are being done to Muslims. In Lebanon the fire they have kindled, America has kindled, and that military expedition organized by the US and France and their other servants for a handful of innocent shiites and oppressed Muslims there. Other Muslims are just standing by. The ultimate thing this year governments did was not to celebrate the feast. Is it sufficient? This is a thing they have done, but the aggressors are continuing with their oppression. They are killing our youths in Lebanon and Palestine in great numbers. They are committing those crimes in Afghanistan. They are committing those crimes in Iraq. They have afflicted Iran with these crimes. Does it make any difference if we do not celebrate the feast? Does it absolve the governments from their responsibility? They are advancing with bayonet and cannon and tank and the oppressed people have been left alone and are still slapping the aggressors on the face, but the governments are just standing by: The ultimate thing they do is not to celebrate the feast. Do not celebrate the feast, the US and Israel will have the festivity. Your position has been undermined to the extent that you cannot do anything else except refusing to celebrate the feast. What effect the acts of yours have in the world? When you should stand against the US and Soviet Union and Zionists and other criminals with clenched fists and confront them with all the resources you command, this refusal to celebrate may I have some impact. But when you give them oil free, render them moral support, try to utmost to fette the Muslims and not let them utter a single word, you do not need to do with our celebration what effect can it have? This is an act to deflect minds and conceal the truth. They want to conceal the truth and instill the idea among their nations and Muslims of the world that they are standing against Israel. Is refusing to celebrate anything against of guns and tanks? You don't have the power! If you cut your oil to the world for ten days, the world will humiliate before you.

These are the calamities befalling Islamic countries. All consider themselves followers of Islam, but what Islam prescribes is not at all performed. Islam says outright in the Quran that oppressors of the world and infidels of the world should not dominate Muslims. You struggle and help them dominate Muslims. What is the situation in Lebanon today? What is the situation of Lebanese shiites and Muslims? These governments still want to compromise with the US and follow it compromise Israel and Amin Jamil.¹

¹ Phalange Lebanese President.

What does this compromise mean? You who have the power to punish them and rescue a group of innocent people, and Islam has obliged you to protect the innocent people against infidels, now all the thing you have done is to cancel celebrating the feast. You make feast for Israel and for the US. They are celebrating all their days because they see they have done something in the region to contain Islam, with Muslims being unable to make a step forward. Everyday they are celebrating and everyday we are mourning.

Disseminating Islam by invitation not by bayonet point

We want to spread and disseminate Islam all over the world, but not at bayonet point, we would like to do so by inviting all.

We intended to introduce a model, although imperfect, of Islam in the world so that all wise people of the world—excluding those criminal by nature - and all oppressed nations understand what Islam has brought and what it plans to do. What does Islam want to do for the deprived, oppressed and afflicted people to save them. You the gulf and non-gulf governments are trying hard to prevent Islam for spreading beyond Iranian borders. However, to your humiliation. It has been able to spread beyond our borders and will do so in the future. Honestly, one should say that these Islamic governments excluding a few of them are not at all concerned with Islam. For them Islam is an instrument for gaining position. Islam is nothing but an instrument. They orally professed Islam, as did Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Khan. With their version of Islam, they even printed the Quran. Rida Khan had commemoration gatherings for Iman Hussein, the army held mourning ceremonies, and even the mourners would take to the streets. I saw all of them, but he had taken aim at the basis of Islam. This way he wanted to destroy the basis. More insidious than him was Muhammad-Rida who worked with scheme. Their activities aimed to destroy the basis. Now the Baath Aflaquitoes Party is doing the same. It has now become pious and Muslim, but the pious and Muslim as put by Ubayd Zakani.¹ They do not accept the basis. They consider Islam inconsistent with their purposes and it is. Their aim is to beat and pound and press people, plunder, and take away whatever people have and reserve in foreign banks for their personal purposes the way Muhammad-Rida did. Islam does not approve of such

¹ Ubayd Zakani (died around 772 AH) Nizamuddin Ubaydullah Zakani, of satirical poets and writers' contemporary of Hafiz. He has produced numerous works including elegy, lyric poem and satire. The most important of his poems are Asheq Nameh, Akhlaq al-Ashraf, Rish Nameh and Mouse and Cat. In his Mouse and Cat, he efficiently describes the pseudo Muslims in the frame of a satirical story.

schemes. They know Islam is not like this; therefore, this basis should no longer exist.

Serving the deprived manifestation of *wilayat* of the Commander of Faithful

We hope that a manifestation, however imperfect, of *wilayat* of Ali (peace be upon him) has occurred in our country. [We should note that just chanting slogans and pretending are not sufficient. The government should deeply sympathize with the deprived people the way Ali (a) did with the deprived, like a father who is desperately trying to feed his hungry children, the government following the Commander of the Faithful should try to serve its subjects. There are many like this thank God. Of course, I don't say anyone can be like the Commander of the Faithful. He himself said we couldn't. Actually, we cannot. However, we can help him with self-restraint and piety. We can help as much as we can. Everyone has some extent of power to keep one and the Islamic Republic. When these small powers are put together, they constitute a big power.

Today Iran, with a population of forty million is a big Islamic power. God willing, if the condition is as stable as it is now, if people continue to support the government and Majlis, if they help with the wars waged against this country and these conditions persist. Then definitely one of the manifestations of *wilayat* will appear in this country. All organizations and Islamic institutions should try to emulate and preserve the goals of Ali (peace be upon him). They should keep on going along this path. They should not feel content with what they have achieved. They should not be satisfied with that.

Victory of Islam with the help of slum dwellers

Man has no limit. Man is limitless. In spirituality, there are no limits for man, and he goes until he returns to the source of absolute perfection. Such is the case with regard to power. Islamic human power is limitless. Therefore, all our country should note that if they were dilatory, the wolves would rip them apart. The power that is now prevailing in warfronts and thank God bringing victory for Islam every day should be preserved. If these powers are sluggish and if the nation is tardy, the wolves sitting around will seek the opportunity to swallow the entire nation. It is you who should protect the nation. You slum dwellers to whom we are indebted and who brought victory for Islam and you who lost your health for Islam and we are indebted to your struggles should note that this divine unity should be preserved. Beware of

the devils that will tempt you by arguing that today no change has been made for the better. These devils want to restore what was there in the time of Muhammad-Rida such as dancing parties—I do not know—orgies and the perverse cinema. Of course, nothing of this source has taken place and will never take place. Those who argue that nothing has changed in this country and that the situation is the same as the past and have even worsened consider it worse in their own view. They want the former conditions. They want to see alcoholic drinks stream in the entire country like water. They want absenity to prevail permeate everywhere. These things will no longer be here. Obviously, they are discontent. Nevertheless, you slum dwellers, farmers and workers who are the powerhouse of this country and pillar of this country should not submit to the temptations of the devils that might dissuade you from doing your duties.

You see what tasks have been accomplished in this short span of time. Following the oil leakage, which was caused by the Baath Party missiles, there, was a commotion in the world and blamed it on us. They raised a tumult and announced that all should get together and do something, that an international fund should be established, that America should do this and Britain should do that. Our youths who are committed to Islam and have come to realize that they should work for themselves did the job. Let them sit and talk idly. Our youths worked this miracle. Therefore, you can do. Our friends, these slum dwellers and these workers have put factories into operation. They can do all works. However, they should not be negligent of God for a single moment.

Negligence of the source of power annihilates man. God is the source of power, everything is controlled by Him, and we are nothing. We are grateful that God Almighty showed us favored and granted this country a slight manifestation of His imperishable power.

Services rendered by the government and Majlis to people

Today your power is a divine, invincible one. It will be so as long as you are like now, and are not impressed by propaganda trying to inculcade that something is missing. Well, you may not knowwhen there is war—civil war, external war—there is every kind of problem such as economic sanctions. In such conditions all countries are opposed to us, big powers are at loggerheads with us and the government is in straintned circumstances. Nevertheless, the government has not borrowed a single penny and is handling the affairs. The Majlis with its power is passing Islamic laws in the interests of Muslims and Islam. Others are busy get working to build up the country and have so far

accomplished many works. Though they have talked much, they have done numerous works. Iran has now felt that it should stand on its own feet. When such a feeling emerges among the population, these miracles will follow. At that time, we were led to feel that everything was impossible for us to do; that foreigner should come; that everything should come from abroad; and that we had to be westernized from head to toe. After such a feeling had prevailed, minds were frozen, and people thought they were unable to do things and needed a foreigner to take their hands. Others did not help you; they took away your property and treasury. Today, we feel we can. This feeling generates power and reminds us that one should work wherever he is, and give services wherever he is. As long as this feeling persists, you will be able to proceed.

I hope that this feeling will always prevail and your country will move forward and a day will come when you can do whatever used to be done in other countries. I hope God will place you as followers of the Immaculate Imams and Ali (a). May God mend the way of your enemies or destroys them.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: September 28, 1983 [Mehr 6, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Accepting changes in articles of association of Hamedanian Charity

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Khadimi Isfahani

[Dhul-Hijjah 17, 1403 AH,

In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of Islamic Republic of Iran, May your presence endure,

After greetings and felicitation on the occasion of auspicious Feast of Fitr, in view of the authorities you had entrusted me with to handle Hamedanian charity, and considering the interests of the charity and guidance of the respected director of finances, etc. the changes attached to the letter were made in the articles of associations of the charity by consent of trustees of this institute among whom are Hujjat al-Islam Haj Kamal al-Din Faqih Imani, Mr. Tabesh and Mr. Haj Aqa Hasan Faqih Imani, and you are requested to confirm. May God's peace be upon you and may God grant you long life.¹

Husayn al-Musawi al-Khadimi]

In His Most Exalted Name

After greetings, what you have written is confirmed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The primary request to change the constitution of Hamedanian Charity was submitted to Imam Khomeini in 1/9/1359 AHS by the managing director and member of board of trustees of the institute and His Eminence accepted the change under the guidance of Mr. Khadimi. The Imam's response has been quoted in this collection under the above date.

Letter

Time: September 29, 1983 [Mehr 7, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 21, 1403 AH] ¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Condition of non-Iranian theology students

Addressee: HasanAli Ibrahimi (Secretary of Council of Superintendents of Non-Iranian Theology Students in to Qum Seminary)

In His Most Exalted Name

I implore God Almighty to grant you success in this important Islamic matter. It is hoped that with divine assistance and under special favors of the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him) you will be ever more successful in enhancement of Islamic propaganda and spiritual export of Islamic Revolution in the world. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!²

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 21, 1403 AH

¹ In *Sahife-ye Nur* (22 volume series), vol. 18, p. 143 under the date 18/7/1362 is written, according to the hand-written copy the correct date is 7/7/1362.

² The above text is the Imam's reply to letter of the secretary of the council of superintendents of non-Iranian theology students, Mr. Hasanali Ibrahimi. He submitted an account of the warm reception and growing demand of theology students from Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, and other countries for receiving religious education in Qom Seminar in detail, informing the Imam of the measures taken by the members of the superintendence council and the council's future plans and programs.

Message

Time: September 30, 1983 [Mehr 8, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 22, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the auspicious Feast of Sacrifice

Addressee: Muammar al-Qadhdhafi (President of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 22, 1403 AH

Your Excellency Mr. Muammar al-Qadhdhafi, President of Libya,

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on the occasion of the auspicious Feast Sacrifice with pleasure. Reciprocally, I congratulate this great Islamic feast on you and beseech God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, October 4, 1983 [Mehr 12, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Struggle for Islamization of universities

Audience: New members of the Cultural Revolution Board, Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Sayyid Muhammad Khatami, Sayyid Abdul-Karim Soroush, Muhammad Ali Najjafi, Ali Shariatmadari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The decision was adopted to appoint new members instead of the gentlemen who were absent due to some reasons and did not participate in board meetings. All the gentlemen who are today on the board are my representatives. There is no difference between these gentlemen and the old members. However, the story of university is among the most important concerns, as it is important for our enemies and those who want to deflect the mind of our youths. University is the center of all developments, even establishment of government. We should pursue the efforts to Islamize universities to be useful for the country. Attempts should be made so that the universities do not tilt towards either one of the powers. This calls for time, energy, and close supervision. You should be cautious lest the deviants may correct our youths with preserve ideas after inauguration of universities, and many people are required to supervise the process.

I hope that we have universities that are useful for the nation. To give reality to this idea, it is necessary to use experts and in case of shortage of committed experts use experts who are not antagonistic to the Islamic Republic. God willing make efforts with ever-greater power in this matter and proceed to achieve the divine purpose.

Message

Time: October 5, 1983 [Mehr 13, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory telegraph

Occasion: On the eve of the new lunar year

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan (Head of the UAE Government)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Shaykh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan, Head of the UAE Government,

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegraph on the occasion of the new lunar year with pleasure. I implore God almighty to grant Islamic nations victory over their enemies, particularly the usurper Israel and the great Satan—the criminal US in the New Year and curtail the hands of their hirelings such as the criminal Saddam from the region. I also hope Muslims restore their peace and honorable life and promote the sacred and brilliant laws of Islam across the world. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, October 5, 1983 [Mehr 13, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1403 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The rule of Islam in Iran and duties of the clergy

Occasion: On the eve of Muharram

Audience: Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani (Secretary General of Tehran Society of Ruhaniyat Mubarez), Rastgari, members of Tehran Society of Ruhaniyat Mubarez, representatives of offices of Islamic Propaganda Organization across the country, members of the Qum Propaganda Office, foreign theology students in Iran, representatives of theology students of Qum, clerics of Turbat Haydariyah, sunni clerics and border people of Khorasan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Whatever we have is from God

On the eve of the great month of Muharram, I am happy to have found the opportunity to meet the prominent *ulama*, dear preachers and learned men of seminaries. On the even of the month of Muharram, we experienced big calamities. Our youth, brothers and sisters, our dear ones in Dezful and Andimeshk were martyred at the hands of the US and those who do not believe in Islam and who are against Islam, with the world keeping silent in this respect. [The world mass media go as far as saying that Iraqis accuse Iran of bombing them while the Iranians accuse the Iraqis of bombing them. Despite the fact that they come and visit the disasters, these so-called human rights organizations condemn the oppressed rather than the oppressor. I hope that God Almighty gives power to this nation to resist all the pains and sufferings. We are on the threshold of a month, which teaches us to be like Husayn Bin Ali (peace be upon him) who made sacrifices and offered everything he had in the cause of Islam. It teaches us who are followers and lovers to emulate him and offer whatever we have. We have nothing. Whatever we have is from God Almighty. We have nothing to offer in His cause. Whatever is His we will offer in His cause. We are all from Him. Our youths are from Him, our property is from Him. All things are from Him. We sacrifice these things in His cause. All are from Him and are sacrificed for Him. There are many subjects to highlight here but I am not able to express them. Nevertheless, I consider it necessary to touch on some of the issues that are of paramount significance at this juncture.

Charting out different lines, the enemy's new design

Don't be negligent of the deviles. They resort to all means and want to infiltrate into the nation in any possible way. The issue of military attack is not so much important. The violant combatants of Islam have responded and will respond to it. The mass media have also lost their influence in the world because it has become clear what they are and people do not believe their stuff any more. They can no longer deceive people. What they have embarked on nowadays is to sow discord. For instance, they say a certain official pursues this line and the other officials follow the opposite line. But, actually these two and other officials are in total agreement with each other and are like intimate friends in every issue, and they well know that only one way is open to all of them, but some simple-minded people may believe the mass media. They say this seminary has one way, to other seminary has a different way; this gentleman has this line that gentleman has an other line that gentleman has another line; this group of clergymen have this line, that group has another line. They present different lines and want to lead people to believe that such things exist in Iran and that all pursue different lines. This is not, however, the case. No line other than that of Islam is dominant in Iran; all are in the same line. The gentlemen who ascend a pulpit in Muharram and Saffar have great duties with respect to the issues we are now involved in. One is to condemn those who say that this gentleman has this line and that gentleman another line. People should be told that those making such statements are their enemy and present such idea to disappoint people with some or all officials.

Today all officials and those on power are together, all sincerely work, and move for Islam. We have no different lines in Iran. These are the accusations made by our enemies and their agents. After they became disappointed with military uprising, armed attacks and other methods, they tried to adopt this new approach. They say that Qum Seminary advocates this mentality and Tehran Society of Combatant Clerics that one, that a certain official with a group follow a certain path and the other with another group a different path and that each clergyman has his own path. However, this is not the case. I know and you know this, but simple-minded people might come to believe.

Learning a lesson from the Constitutional Movement

History is a lesson for us. When you read the history of constitutionalism, you see at first the Constitutional Movement proceeded, but later hands came in and divided the entire people of Iran into two groups.

Not only Iran but also the prominent clerics of Najaf were classified into two groups: one siding with the movement and the other opposing it. One group of Iranian *ulama* supported the constitutionalism and the other was against it. One group of the preachers spoke against the constitutionalism and the other against despotism. In many houses if there were two brothers, one supported constitutionalism and the other one despotism. This was a scheme that produced its effect and did not allow the constitutionalism materialize in the manner distinguished *ulama* had intended. The situation went so far that the constitutionalists were crushed by a certain group. A man like the late Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri¹ was hanged in Tehran and people danced and applauded at the gallows only because he said that there had to be religious constitutionalism and rejected the one prescribed by the west or the east. While at early stages of constitutionalism there were not such problems, those who saw they would suffer from constitutionalism and their interests would be lost did not let it succeed. The constitution that should conform to Islam and that is illegitimate if it runs counter to Islam does not let them do whatever they wish. One group of the despots disguised themselves as constitutionalists and went among the people. Those despots later came, seized control of the constitutional movement, and led it where you and we saw.

In time of Mirza Shirazi,² too they wanted to repeat the same process. As soon as the late Mirza who boycotted tobacco, the devils started to tempt people to the extent that some of the men of letters in some cities ascended the pulpit and reportedly smoked hookah to show their opposition to the late Mirza's verdict. However, since Mirza commanded extraordinary power and his supporters such as Mirza Ashtiyani³ were powerful, the opponents could not do anything in this case. However, the constitutional movement was a different story. In constitutionalism, the two sides were strong. Some first class *ulama* in Najaf were opposed and some first class *ulama* favored the constitutionalism. In Iran too, they sowed discord among the *ulama*. The discord did not emerge by itself; it was created among them. We should learn lessons from history lest certain groups infiltrate among the clerics or tempt the people and give rise to the events like those in the constitutional movement.

¹ Prominent *alim* (learned man) favoring constitutionalism, offering his life for legitimate constitutionalism by being hanged in Tehran in Rajab 13, 1327 AH.

² Among prominent Shiite authorities who passed away in Samirra' in 1312 AH.

³ Mirza Hasan Ashtiyani, among the distinguished students of Shaykh Ansari and great *ulama*' of Tehran in Nasiri age. He passed away in Tehran in 1319 AH.

The enemy may strike us through sowing discord

Some time later elections will kick off. As I have heard, some people are working seriously. There are persons who have no faith in the Islamic Republic, but who want to participate in election campaign in an attempt to break the Islamic Republic. They do not want to become parliamentary representatives; they just intend to defeat the Islamic Republic. There are also individuals who tempt believers to participate seriously in these affairs. If intelligent persons fail to warn participants and enlighten them, this election will possibly trigger schism among groups. This is the same as that of constitutionalism. People, particularly the clerics, the Tehran Combatants Clerics, Teachers of Qum Seminary, clerics of Mashhad, Isfahan and elsewhere should bear in mind that constitutionalism would not happen again. One group should not slam another because of their candidates and vice versa.

If everything is for God, you should have rapport with each other. Of course, there is no objection to advertisement, but beware lest the events of constitutionalism recur. One group should not slam the other and give rise to what our enemy seeks: creating conflicting lines in the election. You all want Islam to take root in this country and the Islamic Republic to proceed. For this to materialize, you need to foster mutual understanding among yourselves when the devils are plotting to pit you against each other, thus disappoint them. Your opponents and the opponents of the Islamic Republic are today hatching plots to split your ranks. This is a threat to our country.

They cannot do anything by force. Neither the US nor the Soviet Union can harm a country whose people close ranks. However, by hatching plots and provoking their domestic agents, they can create discord and the election is the breedy ground.

All are duty bound to avoid discord

People are people are duty-bound, and bound by Sharia to give up all those crushing differences. This rule applies to all and is every one's duty including me as a theology student sitting here, you *ulama* and all *ulama* in other cities as well as people from different walks of life, not to mention the intellectuals, writers, speakers etc. All should work to prevent constitutional events repeat themselves. Take lesson from those events. If it is repeated, those who are opposed to Islam and the Islamic Republic will take over.

This is one of the important issues, about which the gentlemen should warn people.

The gentlemen should bring the first subject I noted to the attention of people. Let the people know that those who are in charge of affairs whether in the Majlis, the government, the judiciary and all else follow the same line. There are only a few among them doing mischief. Although duties of each differ, they all follow a single line. There are no conflicting lines.

Defuse the plot that in the name of different lines, some people want to make one group support a certain front and another group backs the other front. While they are not at loggerheads, their votaries may fall out with one another. Gradually, the same words in the constitutional movement would repeat when in one city one group of the preachers sided with constitutionalism and the other favored despotism. The same was true in houses. So was the case in bazaar. Beware! This idea may cause people to be at each other's throat, one supporting this political figure, and are supporting that figure while the whole story might be just an illusion.

Likewise, notice that in the election, you should attract the attention of people to the fact that you want to preserve Islam. Your candidates should be the ones who heed and are committed to Islam; they should not be players affiliated to the east or west. People should be religiously obliged to act efficiently when election approaches. The clerics and preachers should work, with people following them so that we can have a parliament in which there is no one opposed to republicanism.

Necessity of clergymen's presense in warfronts

Among the subjects to be highlighted is that the battlefields stand in need of clergymen. In fact, all people need the clerics to guide and preach them. If there is a plot underway, the clerics should thwart it. Clerics are needed in border cities and in warfronts. Let the clerics join the warfronts for the sake of God. The clerics should visit border cities and guide the people. Devils are present everywhere. The army of God should stand against them. Reports from warfronts emphasises that clergymen are urgently needed there. It is not fair that our youth, who are making great sacrifices in battlefields, call on us to guid and show them the way and we spare them this. This is one of the matters which should be noted by the gentlemen. The days of Muharram and Safar are opportune for the gentlemen to visit the battlefields. They can go to border cities—some of which even do not have clergyment for concluding the marriage contract—in turn and stay there for a month and so. You can guide the people and tell them the religious affairs. I would like to appreciate the dear youths across the country for protecting the revolution and the Islamic Republic against each harm. Yet, they should note that they are just

midway through. Today, we need these youths. We have not attained the purpose Islam has prescribed. The gentlemen should advise the youth to fill the warfronts wherever they go for preaching.

Unprecedented stifling atmosphere in Iraq

Thank God, today power is in our hand in warfronts. Yet, we should not become proud of commanding the power. We should always seek the idea that we should advance. We have to get rid of this evil enemy. I have pointed out repeatedly, as have the esteemed officials, which we do not and will not have any intention of aggression, and our advance in Iraq is in self-defense and defense of the Islamic country of Iraq. Today, Iraq is a worse plight than our country. The tribulations of Iraqi people are worse than our people's. The stifling atmosphere reigning in Iraq is second to none. People own nothing in that country. Those oligarchs know nothing of the real Islam, but talk a lot about it. They have only heard about the term of Islam and speak about Islam. They have trampled upon Islam, imposed pressure, and suffocating climate on the Muslim people of Iraq. There is no security in Iraq today. Some of the gentlemen who have recently come back from Iraq said people were denied security. They don't know what the Baath Party will do with them tomorrow. We defend Islam. Islam is being trampled upon in Iraq. This Iraqi army is not entirely composed of Baathists: only a number of them are Baathists and the rest are Muslims. They should not sit and watch the Baathist Party trample upon Islam and destroy Islamic rituals. If a day comes when these Baathists find it opportune, they will ruin these sacred shrines in the same way that tombs of the saints of the God in Baqi were destroyed because of stupidity and perversion. These Iraqi Baathists will behave in un-Islamic manner in Iraq; they will not let these sacred places remain intact if they are capable of doing so. Why do not Iraqi people and its military take no note of this fact? Saddam is on the brink of a pitfall, the Baath Party is on the brink of destruction; only an uprising—even a limited one—is enough to push them down.

American domination due to inefficiency of regional rulers

We don't want to impose our ideas on Iraq; we respect Iraq in the same way that we do Iran. We hold Iraq in more esteem because the Commander of the Faithful and Imam Husayn has been buried in Iraq. We want people live peacefully beside these sacred places. We don't want the present situation in which people do not know what may befall them, their children and *ulama* the next day. I hope God help the Iraqi people and save them

from corrupt regime—the way He helped and saved our nation - and enlighten all people, the Iraqi army, employees, workers and farmers so they can experience the kind of developments we had in Iran. Today we observe that due to incompetence of the regional governments, the US is governing them from the other side of the world. Here we cut the US hold, Persian Gulf is in our hand, and as soon as the US wants to take any action against us we will not let a drop of oil reach them. However, inattention of these governments has emboldened the US to stretch its hands from the other side of the world and hold the rein of these governments. The power is in the hands of the regional rulers, but they have not the acumen to exercise it. At the beginning, Iran had no power. All power was vested in the deposed Shah and his American friends. The army was in the hands of Americans. Everything was in their hands. However, our people were vigilant and the leaders of the country were intelligent and succeeded in awakening the people, bringing about what the nation really deserved. People in other countries are good, but they do not have a leader to direct them and motivate them to put an end to the domination of America and the Soviet Union. You have the arms, but a person who bears the arms must know how, where and when to use them. You are aimed just to harm Islam. You know that Islamic Republic wants Islamic rule in this country and in all countries. However, you have held your weapons and act against Islam and the Islamic Republic. You have the arms, but you do not know where to use them. If you get united, if these Arab states get united, other Muslims will accompany them. We will also accompany them. They should get united and ask the US why it is here in the Persian Gulf and wants to rule over it. We should tell the US to mind to its own business. We should ask for what reason the Soviet Union has invaded Afghanistan and wants to bassir around. On what occasion? It is because they take advantage of ignorance of a number of people and treason of a number of others. One group are ignorant and another one traitorous. The poor people are in their grip and cannot do anything. I hope the Almighty God will favor us and the oppressed people of the world to save us from the hegemony of these tyrants who are sucking the blood of the people.

Need for highlighting the political dimension of Karbala

You gentlemen who on the pulpit or elsewhere show people the right way should redouble your efforts in these two holy months should heighten your preaching in the two holy months and explain Islamic and political issues to them. Karbala events that stand on top of political issues should remain alive in the same form. The wording should change. The afflictions

are the same and will doesnot change. The political aspect of Karbala should be explained to people. The Doyen of Martyrs, according to our narrations and beliefs, knew what he wanted to do from the time he left Medina. He knew he would be martyred. Prior to his birth, this information had been prophesied as put by our narrations. When he came to Mecca and left Mecca in that state, this was a big political move. When all people move towards Mecca, he left Mecca. This was a political move. All the acts were politically motivated. His moves were politico-Islamic and caused the fall of Umaid dynasty. If it were not for these moves, Islam would have been trampled.

Warning people against enemy plots

When people understand that Islam is exposed to threat, they should do what Imam Husayn did. When we think Islam might be under threat, we should all make sacrifice to remove the threat. If we consider it likely that due to our election campaign, Islam and the Islamic Republic will be at stake, we should stop that dangerous campaign because of being against Islam. Sometimes in the name of Islam or with an Islamic illusion something is done that is against Islam. Such was the case in the constitutional movement. It had been inculcated in a group that they had to do such and such. They had been indoctrinated so much that they promoted despotism. A group of *ulama* followed suit. Today is the same. Devils may infiltrate the society inculcating a kind of religious obligation in people and order them to oppose certain people or issues. Be vigilant! They are acting with satanic plots. Satanic plots are different from these military expeditions. The latter is not important. What is important is the satanic plots by which they might create discord in your ranks. These plots lead the country to ruin and help restore the former situation—not monarchy but on Islamic system of their preference.

The US agents should abandon their mischief. Gone are the days when they could do anything. They should sit in their places and do something else. If as claimed by the agents residing abroad and constantly propagating against Iran, people of Iran side with them, why don't they come back? Why did they escape? They are living in strongholds. If all Iranians or the majority of Iranians favor you and participate in Friday prayer or make sacrifice at gunpoint and all, sympathize with them, why are they residing abroad? Why don't they dare to return home? These ones want to infiltrate the simple hearts of people. I hope they will not succeed. Islam has showed a manifestation in the world and the people of the world have been attracted towards the Islamic Republic. I hope we also care for Islam and the Islamic

Republic. It is hoped that you will be successful in serving people and the oppressed. The government should serve those who are making sacrifices in the cause of Islam, the people in Dezful, Andimeshk and Khuzestan who have lost everything they had. This is a religious duty for all of us.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Decree

Time: October 6, 1983 [Mehr 14, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Setting up relief centers to help people in bombarded areas

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi Kani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Mahdawi Kani, May your blessings last,

Considering the extraordinarily unpleasant events caused by the savage missile attacks and repeated bombardments of residential areas in cities and villages by the agents of global imperialism and the Aflaqi Baath Party of Iraq, the need to urgent and immediate aid is felt. In this respect, a centers need to be set up to supply the provisions and emotional needs of the aggrieved people immediately and with full authority. It is worth mentioning that those in charge of these Islamic activities should be emphatically ordered and advised to treat these innocent victims with highest regard.

It is expected that Mr. President, at the esteemed government - may god assist them - should make every effort in this regard, and consider ever attempt to improve the situation of these dear people a religious duty. The center must form resue and relief teams, quickly set up temporary settlement and provide people with fundamental needs to fulfil a part of their human and Islamic duties.

All government and revolutionary organizations including ministries and affiliated departments, especially commerce and industries ministries are obliged to render the necessary cooperation. It is hoped that the honorable people and clerics and Friday and congregational prayer leaders across the country win God's special favors and satisfaction of the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him) by their assistance and cooperation.

You are required to keep me informed of the process of the works. In case you may come across a barrier in your efforts to realize that goal, do not hesitate to let me know. I implore God Almighty to grant success and assistance to all. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mehr 14, 1362 AHS

Message

Time: October 6, 1983 [Mehr 14, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of new lunar year

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1403 AH

Your Excellency Mr. Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al-e Thani, Emir of Qatar,

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on the occasion of the new lunar year with pleasure. Unfortunately, the threshold of the New Year, our nation at is mourning for hundreds of innocent women, children and men who were slaughtered by the criminal Saddam in Andimeshk, Dezful and. More deplorable is that many of the leaders of Islamic countries are simply watching these savage crimes, passing by indifferently. I implore God Almighty to curtail the hands of all criminals, particularly the world devouring US and his irresolute mercenaries such as Saddam from regional Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: October 7, 1983 [Mehr 15, 1362 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1403 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of superintendent of Narmak Islamic Institute and Friday prayer leader of Jami Mosque of Narmak (Tehran)

Addressee: Abbas Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abbas Shirazi, May your grace last,

With the expertise and experience you have in promotion of Islamic sciences, you are required to the Narmak's Educational and Islamic Institute, officiate the Friday prayer in the mosque, and attend to the needs of the local people and officials. Obviously, the esteemed residents and officials will render the necessary cooperation with you and not spare any assistance in this regard.

I implore God Almighty to grant you and your esteemed colleagues' success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1403 AH

Permission

Time: October 1983 [Mehr 1362 AHS / Muharram 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Husayn Shariati

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

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

And then, His Eminance Shaykh Husayn Shariati is authorized to take charge of the financial affairs, spend the religious funds and collect the holy share of the Imam (peace be upon him) of which he should spend as much needed for his sentence and the return the rest to me in grand Najaf:

“I advise him to cautious in doubiuos cases and not to forget in his prayers.”
May God's peace and blessings be upon him.

In His Most Exalted Name

He is authorized to act as has been written. I pray for his success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Time: October 15, 1983 [Mehr 23, 1362 AHS / Muharram 8, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Performance of congregational prayer in offices, factories and banks during working hours

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Founder of Islamic Republic of Iran Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, May your presence last long,

After endless greetings, considering that in some bank branches and departments attending constitutional prayers may cause misuse of or damage to the public treasury, the following queries have been raised:

- 1- If attending congregational prayer at the earliest time causes reduction in production of a factory or disorder in the manufacturing process, can the manager of the factory ask the staff to attend the prayer after working hours?
- 2- If the government's circular, which calls for performing congregational prayers in bank branches and departments is misused and people's affairs are delayed, can performance of prayers be postponed until the end of working hours around 2 PM?
- 3- Is the government authorized to override the circular in case it may undermine the prestige of the Islamic Republic or cause a loss to the public treasury?

Mir Husayn Musawi
Prime Minister
23/7/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

[Answer] 1- Prayer should be performed after the end of work hours and if it is a state factory, the official cannot give such permission.

[Answer] 2- It is necessary to perform the prayer after working hours.

[Answer] 3- Government can, and in such a case has to override that circular.

Permission

Time: October 19, 1983 [Mehr 27, 1362 AHS / Muharram 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abdul-Ali Bahari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

And then, his Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Abdul-Ali Bahari—may his blessings last—who has spend a part of his noble life studying religious sciences is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs, collect the religious funds and the two holy shares. He should spend half of the *sadat* share on realated cases; economically use half of the Imam share for his own sentence, spend the extra one-third on promotion of the holy religious; and send the remaining two-third to me to spend for the dissemination of the pure word of Islam.

“And I advise him, to what our pious predecessors have advised to adhere to piety, and to evade carnal desires.” May peace be upon him and God's pious servants!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: October 1983 [Aban 1362 AHS / Muharram 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abbas Rahimi Najafabadi

[Your Highness Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of Islamic Revolution of Iran, may your presence endure and may soul be sacrificed for you,

After greetings and wishing you good health and a long life:

I work in the remote and deprived region of Dashtestan, in Bushehr Province, and very often, I encounter cases, which require the permission of *wali-ye faqih*. As times it is difficult to contact Your Eminence or Qum; likewise it may cause you inconvenience or be impossible to have any access. Therefore, I request you to, if it is possible and you admit advisable, grant me this permission. Of course, some 12 years ago in Najaf I obtained your oral permission, but the quality and limit is not currently clear for me and prompts misgiving. Meantime, Hujaj al-Islam Rasuli, Shaykh Hasan Sani, most of the members of the secretariat such as Mr. Abaei and Dashti and Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Muntaziri are slightly or completely family with me. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Friday prayer leader of Borazjan
Abbas Rahimi Najafabadi
29/7/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are authorized to take charge of financial affairs and collect religious dues and spend one third of the holy share of the Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the share of *sadat* on related cases. I wish you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: October 23, 1983 [Aban 1, 1362 AHS / Muharram 16, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Iran's outstanding claims on the US and other countries

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (then president)

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Khamenei esteemed President of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Carry out a thorough investigation into the subject written.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Aban 1, 1362 AHS

Speech

Time: Morning, October 23, 1983 [Aban 1, 1362 AHS / Muharram 16, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The move towards the self-sufficiency and dependence, appreciation the victories of combatants

Audience: Behzad Nabawi (Minister of Heavy Industries), staff of manufacturing units affiliated to the ministry of industries, inventors and innovators affiliated to the country's Scientific Research Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Compensating deficiencies by relying on God and self-confidence

I appreciate you brothers who struggle for further the goals of Islam and the country. I hope God will grant you success to be more useful for your country. You know that the former regime was, I should say, preventive, deterring our youths from progress. The former regime did not want to help the youth grow. In fact, it worked to deter their progress in favor of the superpowers. As such, the country was dependent from all aspects. The cornies of the regime fled the country after they had plundered it, and left a semi-bankrupt country for the youths of this land and should strive hard to make up for the devastations and ruins which our country suffered during the reign of the criminal father and son. What counts is that you should consider two aspects, as I have pointed out repeatedly. One is trust in God almighty, which will help you if you want to work for Him. God will pave the way for you and inspire in you the ways of guidance in whatever field you are engaged. The other is self-confidence. Rely on your own resources. You are able to do everything. Our inventors can come up with brilliant inventions. Our innovators can also do the same if they rely on their own resources and believe in their capabilities. In the former regime, the phrase "we cannot" prevailed among all layers of people. It had been instilled in people's mind that they could not do anything, and that the capable people had to come and teach them. Those who came would not teach, but tried to make people dependant. Today, thank God, their influence has been curtailed and they have no foothold in the country. You young people in this country, wherever you are, should contemplate the future of your country and the present condition of your country. You are required to proceed with these two characteristics: trust in God Almighty and self-confidence. After a short while, you will see that the ways leading to prosperity have been opened

before you and big powers will not longer covet your country. God willing, this country will become a model country for other countries, which are subject to the propaganda ploys of superpowers. The propaganda is meant to inhibit the development of those countries.

Efforts to make the country self-sufficient

Today you should gird up your loin to develop the country's industries and production. Your activity for progress of an Islamic country is today an act of worship. Today, your efforts for this Islamic country is regarded as an act of worship, whether you are working in factories or any branch of industry, in agriculture or elsewhere. When in the cause of God one renders services to the people, who undergone oppressions, who were kept backward and whose spiritual and material development was inhibited, it is as if one is serving Islam and striving on the homefront. When you serve with this in mind, you are mujahid behind the frontlines. In the same way that our combatants struggle in the warfronts and thus worship God, you should also worship God by your works behind the frontlines. I hope that the activities of you dear ones, the Iranian youths and all layers of the nation including women and men will be immune from damage of the time and all superpowers will be unable to harm you.

You see that these days we are being embroiled the schemes and plots of superpowers. They have mustered up their powers and attacked your country, whether propaganda attack or military attack. It is because they feel that Iran can save the country and other countries from the bondage of servitude to superpowers and their acts of plunder. We should be ready to deal with them further bows in future. We are still midway through. What you, the youth, did is unprecedented in the world. You cannot find any country that has been separated from a superpower and not been associated with another power. Without the exception, all countries of the world are either under direct or indirect influence of this or that superpower. You are unique in the world for sounding the death bell for the two superpowers and curtailing their influence. You want to be yourselves. You want to be independent. You want to be free. You want to be free to the end from the bondage the tyrannical regime had imposed on you, which you removed. This liberation hinges on your efforts. With your efforts in all fields, you can ensure this liberation. Everyone who is engaged in any field whether studying in universities, farming in deserts and farmlands, fighting in warfronts, working in factories is struggling in the cause of God and should cocontinue with it till the end. I wish you will finish the job. If you wish, God almighty will favor you. You

should be determined in working for your country and for welfare of all oppressed countries. God willing!

Tolerating of hardships for preservation of values

You know that the disasters our country has suffered since the outset of the revolution are numerous. These hardships are offset by the great victories you have achieved so far. We lost our competent youths and efficient men, but what we have achieved is more valuable than this loss. This is what the Doyen of Martyrs (peace be upon him) sacrificed his wife and children for, the messenger of God (peace be upon him and his progeny) devoted his life to, and the Immaculate Imams suffered afflictions for. We who claim to be- I hope this claim is correct- their followers should also tolerate the disasters, as they did, for the sake human values and Islamic values. We should stand against all calamities in order to achieve that human value and implement Islam that is on top of all values in our country and in other countries.

Saddam's braggadocio

You know what notable victories these dear young combatants have achieved in warfronts these days. The big powers are now thinking to avert Saddam ignominious defeat so that they can keep him longer. You see that Saddam's mental status has turned into hysteria. Whenever he suffers defeat in the theater of war, he hits our country and our youth with long-range missiles. You saw what he did to Dezful in the past, yesterday and today. Masjid Soleyman, Marivan and Baneh have been similarly subjected to his frenzied attacks with long-range missiles. We defeated him in the war and he cannot confront us. He viciously attacks the ordinary and defenseless people. Strangely, in the past two or three days ago- prior to this crime- he said he had told one of the international organizations that they reserved the right to hit all parts of Iran and that they would do so. The international organization, which is charged with protection of so-called human rights, remained silent and thus encouraged him to commit such a crime. He cannot harm our military men. He can only fire missiles from afar. He can only fire long-range missiles, which the big powers such as the US, and Soviet Union gave him. He can only fire these missiles from afar and destroy the houses of oppressed people and their families, then brag about doing such and such and killing so many Iranians. It is not worthy of bragging when you fire a missile cross the Iranian borders and kill a number of innocent women and children sleeping in their houses. On the other hand, you cry out, denying that

Iranians have not entered Iraqi land even for an inch, while Iranians have advanced 700 kilometers deep inside Iraq and God willing complete it in the coming days. I would like to appreciate these dear youths who are serving in warfronts selflessly, all branches of the armed forces as well as the Construction *Jihad* forces who are greatly active. We are honestly indebted to them. They are in the warfronts under those circumstances and win your victory and pride.

Modal of courage due to defeat

While many of their cities are within our range and our combatants can bombard them, they have not done such a thing nor will they do so, because the people of cities are innocent. We should stop him in the war theater. We should inflict damage to him and crush him in battlefield. I hope that war will come to a close very soon, that this regime will collapse and Iraq will be run by its people in a proper Islamic manner.

Among the items I was informed of today was that Saddam has given a medal to one of his commanders who claimed he had achieved victories in warfronts. He gives medals, as in his wont. When we retook Khorramshahr and drove the Iraqis out of the city, Saddam gave bravery medals to some of his commanders. Now that they have been ignominiously expelled out with around 700 of them taken captive and 3500 killed or wounded, some of whom are military commanders, Saddam is reportedly giving them medals. It is better to give him a medal, a medal of bravery. With all the brutality, he goes here and there, and resorts to anyone to rescue him for the plight. On the other hands, he hollers for war and if the poor guys he has sent to warfronts make a mistake, he will execute them. In the past few days, he has reportedly set up a field court and executed many of the commanders who displayed laxity in this matter. He has found this mental state. He is now in a mental state that he resorts to every means and commits every crime. I hope that the Iraqis and the Iraqi army do not tolerate more than this so that God willing Iraq will continue living proudly and comfortably with its Islamic way of life.

I beseech God Almighty to grant health and success to the youths in warfronts, behind the frontlines, and to you dear youths who are active on the homefront. I hope you all will be healthy and happy and continue with your work with power, and efficiently rendering services to your country. We also pray for you, God willing.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, October 26, 1983 [Aban 4, 1362 AHS / Muharram 19, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Standing and significance of Friday prayer; care in electing the best in the elections

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Friday prayer leader of Tehran), Friday prayer leaders of provincial centers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Friday prayer stands on top of all affairs

One of the most important fruits of this revolution is the Friday prayer which was abandoned practice among us, left much to be desired among the Sunni Muslims and was performed under the influence of big powers. Thank God, in this revolution Friday prayer was realized in its true sense. The gentlemen should recommend people and future generations that Friday prayer is important and stands on top of all affairs. You should unite people so that no rift appears. The Friday prayer leader has a position in which the clergymen come into direct contact with the Majlis and government. This is something that can be accomplished with the powerful hand of the Friday prayer leaders. It is hoped that every day the prayer is performed more efficiently than the previous day and greater number of people will participate, turning it into a good tradition to be practiced by future generations.

Today differs from the former times when the clerics could not do anything. Today, the clerics are responsible; they cannot stand on the sidelines engaging themselves with saying prayers. Our needs are many and varied. We stand in need of propaganda and good judges. Although the Supreme Judicial Council has made great efforts, we still do not have enough judges. Seminaries and *ulama* should strive to give lessons on judgment and acquaint the judges with techniques applied in the former times such as the time of the Commander of the Faithful Imam Ali (Peace be upon him). Judgment is not simply a scientific matter; it is also a technical subject. At times, the judge discovers the solution with confidence that is valid proof in judgment.

In summary, these questions is vested with the *ulama* particularly Friday prayer leaders who should back each other to safeguard the revolution. It should not be done as in the time of the constitutional movement when

men of action were disappointed and left the scene. They did so during the constitutional movement, and despotic men came to be called constitutionalist and discarded the true constitutionalists. Beware lest a certain group that have nothing to do with Islam come to power in the name of Islam and pretend as followers of the Islamic etiquette.

Allegation of violating human rights

You know that today the world is in special condition. The International Amnesty Organization has listed a number of countries violating human rights. Absent on the list are France, the Soviet Union and the US, while the latter to countries have been the cause of great calamities in Afghanistan and Lebanon respectively. They call their deeds improvement of the situation of people. What business do they have to improve the situation of people? Now they have caused a commotion about Iran's killing of some corrupt people, and all the world mass media have turned on our country. Of course, they well know that if Iran's revolution pervades everywhere, it will sound the death knell for their bullying and exploitations, curtailing their influence. Unfortunately, Islamic governments are either inattentive or deliberately keep silent for their ephemeral rule, cooperating with them. We should stand against them so that the revolution and Islam would permeate everywhere.

Participation in elections and electing the best

As regards the upcoming elections, the event is of great significance and all are responsible. You know that the enemies of Islam plan to disrupt the good performance of the elections, stripping Muslims and committed people of ascending power. However, you should exert all your power to perform it efficiently. The election is a good criterion to see whether you want to elect the best for yourselves or for Islam. If it is for you, it is satanic. If electing the best is for Muslims, there should not be any objection to who and wherefrom he is. It makes no difference from which group or party he is. If he is not affiliated to any party, it does not mean he is not fit nor is one fit if he is affiliated to a party. Electing the best means that we should choose a person who feels committed to Islam and its prestige, and who understands everything. In the Majlis, simply being a Muslim is not sufficient; one should be a Muslim who understands the needs of the country, knows politics and is aware of the interests of the country and what leads it to corruption. He may not be affiliated to your group. If you choose the best, you have done an Islamic practice and it is a good criterion to see whether you have done so for Islam or for your own interests.

I hope this is the case up to the end and every term the election is held more competently than the previous one. Therefore, you should muster up all your forces so that the players cannot emerge again. The Friday prayer leaders should be in contact with other *ulama* from Tehran and Qum, in addition to the seminar they hold among them, so that the election takes place in the best way possible. This is not a personal matter; it is for Islam and of important matters. Today all responsibilities are vested in you. No one should retreat and shirk. Cooperate with the government and strengthen the governors. Let *munafiqin* say whatever they wish. I hope you will succeed in effectively fulfilling all the affairs.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Permission

Time: October 27, 1983 [Aban 5, 1362 AHS / Muharram 20, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abbas-Ali Muqaddam

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

And then, Thiqaat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abbas Ali Muqaddam—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs and everything that requires the permission of *wali-ye faqih* during the occultation of Imam Mahdi—may our souls be sacrificed for him. He is also authorized to collect both holy shares, use a third of Imam's share for his own sustenance and other relevant cases, pay half of the *sadat* share to the local *sadat*, and send the remainder of both shares to me to spend promoting the pure word of Islam.

“And I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—to what our pious predecessors, have advised to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and after-world affairs.” May God peace and blessings be upon him and our believer brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram 20, 1404 AH

Decree

Time: October 29, 1983 [Aban 7, 1362 AHS / Muharram 22, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Investigating the report of commander in chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps concerning the condition of warfronts and future operations

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President and Chairman of the Supreme Defense Council)

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Excellency, Mr. Khamenei, Chairman of the Supreme Defense Council,

Investigate the matter in the Supreme Defense Council and inform me of the result.¹ May God's peace be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
7/8/1362 AHS

¹ Imam Khomeini's order was issued following the report of Mr. Muhsin Rida'i, Commander in chief of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, on the condition of warfronts. In his report, Mr. Rida'i briefs Imam on the operations, advances of our combatants and seeks Imam's guidelines on continuation of the work.

Reply to a query

Time: October 29, 1983 [Aban 7, 1362 AHS / Muharram 22, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Use of the emblem of Islamic Republic coins in circulation

Addressee: Rida Mughulzadeh, Abul-Qasim Aziziyyah (officials from the Central Bank Mint House)

In His Most Exalted Name

To the office of Hadrat Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of Islamic Revolution,

Respectfully, by virtue of the fact that Central Bank of Islamic Republic of Iran is going to mint the emblem of Islamic Republic of Iran on the current coins, you are kindly requested to give your thought on possibility or impossibility of this case. Wishing victory of the combatants of Islam and longevity of the Imam,

Rida Mughulzadeh —Abul-Qasim
Aziziyyah
7/8/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Don't mint this emblem on coins.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Emblem of the Islamic Republic of Iran bears the holy name of Allah and according to religious laws, touching the name of God without making ablution is not permissible.

Permission

Time: October 30, 1983 [Aban 8, 1362 AHS / Muharram 23, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammadi (Friday prayer leader of Ilam)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of Islamic Revolution of Iran, May your presence endure and our souls be sacrificed for you,

After wishing you health and longevity, I would like to bring to the attention of Your Eminence that in the past Ilam Province used to grapple with two types of severe poverty: material and cultural. However, thanks to the presence of the honorable leader and effects of the revolution, material poverty is gradually being eliminated. However, removal of cultural and spiritual poverty calls for clerics. By the grace of God and your holy self, we have built a theology school. At present, we have 30 students who need tuition. I hereby request you to write something, in whatever manner you deem proper, to both reaffirm your permission to me and remind people so that they can help the students with their expenses. Meantime, I reiterate that I had full permission of Your Excellency, but the paper was lost along with my personal property in Khorramshahr. In conclusion, I implore God to grant you longevity. May God peace, mercy and blessing be upon you!

Truly yours
Muhammadi, Friday prayer leader
of Ilam
4/8/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are authorized to collect the holy share of the Imam (peace be upon him) and spend for yourself, the students and the theology school. The respected believers are required to pay their religious dues to you to be spent on the administration of the theology school and its students and expenses of students of theology school.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram 23, 1404 AH

Speech

Time: November 5, 1983 [Aban 14, 1362 AHS / Muharram 29, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission and duties of an Islamic Majlis

Addressee: Members of domestic and foreign commissions of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Deviation appears gradually

I have repeatedly talked about the Majlis in general and now say that our Majlis should differ from previous ones. No doubt, it differs. However, deviation of everything is a gradual process. Nothing is deviated all of a sudden. This is true of man. Satan and the tempting self persuade man to carry out venial offenses, then minor sins and later to commit cardinal sins. If we look at the previous Majlis, we notice that the first one was good, but each year something is added or subtracted from it, and this degradation reached a peak in the Majlis of the past regime. If you do not stop corruption from the outset, our Majlis may head in the direction of of the previous ones. Of course, you should take calculated measures in order to avert serious problems.

Leniency more effective than violence

In dealing with problems, leniency and affection have more influence than violence. In the stifling time atmosphere of Rida Khan reign, when I delivered a speech in Faydiyyah School, and talked about the hell and divine retribution, I would see the audience stunned. On the other hand, when I projected God's mercy, I would see hearts growing tenders and tears trickling down from their cheeks. This is the effect of compassion. Problems are settled better through compassion and harshness.

Majlis is a venue for debate and should be like a theology schools in which students argue over different issues are still friends at the same time. It is clear that they are discussing the topics. Islamic Majlis should guide the nation and others since issues are reflected abroad and impress people. Thus, responsibility of the Majlis as a mentor and guide for people is great. This is of great significance. I hope this Majlis in the early days of the revolution will set a good example for future ones. You will have a share in whatever improvements are made in future. The subjects you mentioned concerning

the commissions, I believe that let them be as they are; no change should take place them. On impeachment, I have no idea. I only recommend you to deal with it mildly and with understanding. The opponents and proponents should raise their points and then what the Majlis votes on is valid.

Tenderness with friends; harshness with enemies

I hope the gentlemen will be able to secure the satisfaction of people when their terms expire, so that people will vote them again. Of course, I do not know all the gentlemen, but I hope that Majlis is directed by a committed absolute majority. I would like affairs to be handled mildly and based on good morality. This is much better. When two people are having quarrel, and one of them speaks mildly, the quarrel tends to end soon. Essentially, everything can be handled better by leniency and mildness.

I pray for your success in a country that has been subjected to attack from all sides. Today, whatever blast occurs anywhere is attributed to Iran, arguing that they have evidence of Iran's involvement. They support their claims by saying that some blasts occurred in Iran too. What type of argument is this? If people are dissatisfied with Israel, what it have to do with us? Of course, we wish Israel burn down entirely and if God grants us the success, we will go and save the people from the evil of Israel, but this does mean that we carry out bomb attacks there. They further say things, quoting eyewitnesses. This eyewitness may be a *munafiq* or a robber who has escaped the country or perhaps the quote Baghdad radio. They claim many things, which later serve as eyewitness. What is the situation in the world? You should only note that we should be together and stand firmly against them. We should treat ourselves leniently and treat the enemy adamantly. Wisdom requires that when we have numerous opponents, we should brush aside our differences so that the country reaches, thanks to unity of expression, where all of us dream.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, November 6, 1983 [Aban 15, 1362 AHS / Muharram 30, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Power in the hands of unrefined individuals and the ensuing dangers

Occasion: Bombardment of the cities of Nahavand, Masjid Soleyman, Andimeshk and Behbahan

Audience: Mahdi Karrubi (the Imam's representative and superintendent of Shahid Foundation); Muhsin Rafiqdust (Minister of *Sepah-e Pasdaran*); families of martyrs in the missile attacks on the cities of Nahavand, Masjid Soleyman, Andimeshk and Behbahan, members of different units of *Sepah* and directors of centers affiliated to the Shahid Foundation across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We are from God and to Him shall we return

Risk of power in the hands of oppressors

I express my condolence to all Muslims, the Iranian nation, people of Khuzestan and the cities recently subjected to the aggression of the oppressors on the disasters successively befalling Islam, Islamic *ummah*, friends of Islam and the household of the holy prophet. I hope that God almighty will associate these martyrs with His friends and martyrs of the early days of Islam will, grant their families patience and reward and the Iranian people resistance.

First, I would like to thank all the gentlemen for taking the trouble of coming here so that I can raise some issues in your presence.

Two groups of people are counted as mujahidin: first those who are active in the fronts and behind frontlines and the second Shahid Foundation. God almighty will reward you for your struggles. We should appreciate the two groups. We appreciate the *pasdaran* and *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and whatever is from them as well as other armed forces and those helping these dear ones behind the frontlines and the oppressed people who have lost their dear ones. [The Iranian people are also grateful to them. As we suffer these afflictions, we should try too strengthening our defensive power. They may assume that this way they can bring about a kind of disruption in the fronts or behind the frontlines. They, however, should have realized their mistake by now. A point worthy of note for dear *Sepah* and other armed forces and for all and for measurement of the situation of the world is that if power is in the hands of unrefined persons it is threatening. Power itself is perfection. God

Almighty is omnipotent. However, if power is entrusted to corrupt individuals, this perfection will undergo corruption. Today, the world is afflicted by the fact that power is in the hands of individuals deprived of humanity. Superpowers and big powers think of nothing but adding to their power and trampling the oppressed people. Those who are affiliated to these powers act correspondingly as they are of the same ilk. If power is in the hand of perfect people, nations will achieve perfection. If power is in the hand of prophets and saints, the world will move towards health and perfection. If power is in the hand of unwise and unrefined bullies, it will bring disaster. Today you observe that the two or several big powers govern the world and deem it their right to bring other nations under their own domination, this mentality is disastrous if coupled with power. Power in the hand of oppressor leads the world to corruption. If at lower levels power is in the hand of an individual who does not enjoy sublime powers, he will corrupt the environment he rules over. They lead the world to corruption. They lead a country or two countries and smaller areas to corruption. If power is in the hand of a person in a district, he will lead that area to corruption. If this is the case in a family, that family will be led to corruption. Power is perfection and can manifest its perfection when it is in the hands of wise and erudite man.

Power minus humanity causes corruption in the world

The late Mudarres (may God's blessings be upon him), as I heard, quoted Shaykh ar-Rais¹ as saying that he was afraid of cows because they had horns but not intellect. This is a question worthy of note. If we suppose the Shaykh has not made such a statement, the question is noteworthy. Cow have horns but not intellect; they has power and no intellect. Those who are now spreading corruption in the world are of the same ilk; they have butt, but not wisdom; they have power but not humanity. Notice what the US is doing in the world. So is the Soviet Union. God has so willed that the two powers stand against each other and interfere in each other's affairs. If there were only one of them, this single power would swallow the world. If they do not fear each other, they will destroy the world. Their claims that they want to bring peace are false. They have entered Beirut and Lebanon claiming that they want to make peace in Lebanon. They are not peace loving. If supposedly they are, what is the reason for their presence in other countries? The governments in some of these countries are not national governments and they are not popular at all. If they valued humanity and moral

¹ Avicenna.

considerations and human values, they would have consideration for the destitute and weaker nations. They forcefully enter another country on the pretext that they intend to strengthen government, which has come to power against the will of a nation. This treatment indicates that you are not refined. There is no talk of humanity. There is power and butt but no intellect.

As you noticed, any case of corruption in the world is because there is someone who holds power but has no wisdom and humanity. The wisdom that I mean is the one by which God the beneficent is worshipped. But they have tact and mischief in abundance. However, they do not treasure the sound wisdom that can help man achieve human values. Merely being a scientist is of no use. One may be a great scientist but lack wisdom, thus devoting his knowledge to deteriorating nations. They are using their power to degenerate and tyrannize nations. If we move down from the peak of power hierarchy to lower levels, we realize what crimes Saddam and Israel are committing in the region. Their acts are similar to each other. Whenever Saddam suffers defeat in war, he inflicts a blow on ordinary people and innocent women and children. In the last couple of days, I was waiting to see Saddam retaliate against the innocent civilians in Behbahan and other places including the cities recently hit by missile due to the damage he has suffered—the greatest damage he has suffered so far. This was what we expected, because we have seen the likes of such crimes from him. As following abomb explosion in a debauchery center in Israel, which has carried out, by an unknown group, may be a group who wanted to take revenge; his government has started to bombard and the oppressed people. When Saddam is defeated somewhere, he stated hitting the oppressed people from afar. The explosion in Israel, the revenge of the oppressed people. Although they do not know the identity of the assistant, they send plane to target the oppressed people wherever they are. This is the condition of those individuals who lack wisdom but have power.

The importance of intention

I would like to draw the attention of the gentlemen to the fact that we should not always criticize others. We should find out our own failings. The pasdars and the armed forces that are dear to us should note that when they hold arms they should not feel proud. One might be refined but he may gradually degenerate into an oppressor. When you hold power, you should be more careful and be humble. When you become the head of a group, you should be more attentive and humble. If you show laxity, you will suffer defeat at the hands of Satan in this spiritual campaign. Those of you who are

struggling in the cause of Islam, who are on battlefields or homefront, those working in the industrial sector, those giving services the oppressed and the ones who work for the Shahid Foundation, should know that your services are valuable. Preserve this value. Form of action is not the criteria; what is criteria is the intention behind an action and meaning of action. The sword in the hands of the Commander of the Faithful (*a*) kills Amr Bin Abduwad.¹ This form of action is the same as that of one's who carries the sword and kills a person. Both use sword to kill, but what counts is their intention. Imam Ali's action of killing has been described as superior to the acts of worship of the *Thaqalayn*.² It is because of the meaning the action, not the form. It is the intention that promotes the action to that height worthy of the following narration: *the worship of the jinn and ment is not equal to that*. It is the intention of giving away some loaves of barley bread to the poor and the captive by the household of the prophet for which several verses are revealed.³ If the intention is divinely inspired, it will be compensated by divinely favor. You dear youths who are now serving for Islam, you should be sure that you are greatly valuable. Care for your mental states lest the Satan dominate you. You command the power. Beware of applying this power in wrong places. Take care of yourselves. This advice does not apply to you only; it is applicable to all of us. We all should watch our acts.

Our nation and all human beings should heed this concept that they should apply power in its own place. Prophets applied their power in right places. Prophet Moses used his stick against Pharaoh, while treating others kindly. The holy prophet of Islam used his power to suppress people who had trespassed on the border of humanity and led people to destruction. If power is to be used, it should be employed to prevent corruption, not to generate corruption.

The difference between you dear ones and those who are engaged in war in battlefields and those who stand against you is not the form of the action. They kill; you also kill. However, your killing is an act of worship, while their's is a criminal act. It is because of the intention behind the two actions, not the form. You are fighting for God; they are fighting for Satan. They are following Satan and you obey God. There is great difference between the two. Take care to preserve this state.

¹ One of the Arab champions and infidels of Quraish known as "Fares Yalyal". He was killed in the battle of Ahzab at the hands of the Commander of the Faithful Ali (*a*).

² Reference to the famous prophetic narration, *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, p. 1-2. h. 1.

³ Reference to the Verse 8 of surah ad-Dahr.

Proper use of power

I tell the brave men who are fighting in the battlefields and have rendered Saddam and his supporters helpless that they should be careful lest this power cause them to take revenge in a manner, which is contrary to the divine rules. You have so far followed this mentality and will do so in the future, God willing. View the Iraqi cities as ours and some of their cities as superior to ours. The residents of those cities are afflicted by Saddam in the same way as we do. Saddam exerts more pressure on the Iraqi people and their families. The people coming here two or three days ago told that if ordinary persons grew beard, they would be detained; if they held rosary, they would be nabbed for fear of being Hezbollah (Party of God); if the fighters in warfronts showed any failing, their families would be suppressed. This is the mental condition of the one who commands power, who has horn but who lack wisdom. Someone bothers him and he harms somebody else. You should be careful lest the bombardments of your cities and the killing of your dear ones may cause you to get angry and try to retaliate. You should take revenge directly on Saddam and the Baath Party, as you are now doing. Be careful not to fire a single shell at their cities. These cities are innocent as is our Behbahan for instance. Basra and Mandali are likewise innocent. They are under oppression. We should observe human factors to the last. We should never get angry that he is hitting our cities and that we should target their cities. Never! This is in no way the case. Our standards are Islamic. Here is Islamic Republic. Here Islam governs. Therefore, you should observe Islamic aspects more than others. The government, Sepah, the military, Basij and others commanding power should apply this power in its right time and place. Do not transgress this standard.

Attack on residential areas, result of mental weakness

I hope that by preserving these human and Islamic aspects, you will be taken as model by countries wherein our ideas have found their way. This man is gone; he is dead now. He is at the end of his tether. The strong men grow mad at the end of their lives. When they command power, they fret and fume and when they suffer defeat, they grow weak. This is the mental weakness to attack a people who do no harm anyone and sit in their homes. A child cannot do any harm to him, but this mental weakness of such powers prompts him to treat weaker people like this in retaliation for the damage suffering in the war theater. Moreover, the last thing at his disposal as to send battalions, which were meant to guard him, to the battlefields. Many of them have been sent to the hell here. Well, he suffers damage, mental damage, but

retaliates against the residential areas. Since he lacks wisdom, he cannot calculate that they have suffered defeat in battlefield and should do something there. Being unable to do anything in warfronts, he targets Behbahan, Masjid Sulayman and other places. This is due to mental weakness and absence of faith. The believers do not show weakness in either case. These people do not fall prey to mental weakness to harras people when they enjoy power. Nor do they show weakness when they suffer defeat to molest people because of being slated by others. This is due to their weakness, which is the result of lack of faith and failing to know God. They do not care for divine matters and the Day of Resurrection. They lead an animal life, if not worse than animals and commit greater crimes than the latter. This is the example of people who late Mudarres quoted Avicenna as saying "Those having horns and no wisdom." I wish God grants wisdom to these horned people and mend the way of the powerful ones. If not, may God strip them of their power! May God endear you in the sight of people! You people revived Islam and rescued your country from the clutches of aliens. This achievement is because of the fact that you are standing against them and do not want to be held captive. They assume that all should be their servants. Now that you refuse to be subordinate to them, your cities should be pounded.

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

Message

Time: November 8, 1983 [Aban 17, 1362 AHS / Safar 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of new lunar year

Addressee: Shadhli Bin Jadid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Shadhli Bin Jadid, President of Algeria,

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on the occasion o

f the new lunar year with gratitude. I hope in the New Year, world Muslism will be able to—in light of unity—expel the arrogant powers and their mercenaries, and regain their lost glory. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 2, 1404 AH

Speech

Time: November 8, 1983 [Aban 17, 1362 AHS / Safar 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Huseiniyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Culture and art in the Pahlavi regime; efforts to replace the Islamic culture

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Khatami (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance), acting minister, deputies and officials in charge of different departments of the ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Content of culture in the former regime

The works you quoted is complimented and confirmed. Things, which normally start from zero in other places, should start from below zero here. Things dealing with culture and the guidance ministry should be started from below zero. We should make great efforts to get to zero, because in the course of the monarchy, especially during the reign of the last two monarchs, the development of everything and particularly the thoughts of the youths had been kept down. Those who were educated boasted of modernity by which they meant debauchery. Due to extensive foreign and domestic propaganda campaign and the efforts of newspapers, this concept had been inculcated in their minds that modernity was equal to modeling on foreign things. It was as if there were no other life styles. To change this situation, and steer the thoughts to a right path takes a long time.

Of course, with the development-taking place in Iran, many steps were taken without anyone's interference and our youths were rescued from this vortex of corruption by the grace of God and are prepared to work on them.

In the former regime everything, particularly culture and art had lost its content. That is to say, one who heard the name of cinema thought that cinema should be center of corruption and immorality or a venue for opposition to everything. The terms theater conjured up trite things in minds and corruption was regarded as being commonplace in there. So were other things. The important thing is to prepare the minds of these youths and even the old and pseudo intellectuals to realize that we are human beings capable of doing it. We should not stretch our hands before others to borrow everything, even our ethics and language. There are a number of people who have brushed aside their own language and regard it a value to master few English words in a book, even though they can get across the same idea in their own language. If a book does not contain some foreign words, it is

considered worthless. The aliens wanted all our existence to be at their disposal to act in whatever way they wished. Moreover, as you saw in the past, the store signs of most places ranging from drugstores to bookstores and other bore foreign names. The purpose was for us to forget our own culture. A number of others escaped from Islam in the name of the culture of ancient Iran. Some time ago, a number of them had a gathering in a foreign country. One of their arguments was, "Strangely, we should bow down before the Arab's Kabah and say prayer 17 times a day, while if we take back Iran's culture from the Arabs nothing will remain but camels." These statements are made while the European scholars maintain that Islamic civilization was superior to other civilizations. In the past, Iranians were made to believe from very early in life that they had to learn everything from Europe and that human values lay in greater westernization, and that they had to westernize from head to toe. These gentlemen do not sit to compare the difference between Islamic culture and other cultures. Should we object to Islam simply because it has come from Arabs? Is this not the racism by which the Europeans want to colonize us and separate the Arabs, Persians, and the Turks?

Therefore, we should toil for some time and come to believe that we have a great human culture with Islamic values. If today there is a shortage of man power it is because thoughts had been accustomed to the western mentality. Therefore, building a theater, which conforms to human-Islamic ethics, is a task that requires hard work. If cinema wants to be so, we need time. Cinema and theater are not necessarily centers of corruption. However, their art consisted of commonplace shows aimed to deflect our youths in universities and individuals here and abroad.

Foreign propaganda deplorable

God almighty favored this nation and freed us from the evil shadow of the Pahlavi regime. I hope we that through the efforts of these youths we will be able to go to our proper place, especially in the ministry of culture and Islamic guidance. God willing, we can do so and should not be disappointed.

Thank God, everything in Iran has been settled and we have no dependence. We should work in this direction so that the future generation knows its way. I hope you will be successful in all affairs, particularly regarding foreign propaganda, which is deplorable. What is going on in the world? What are they saying? Foreign radios disregard the good points in Iran and project the weak points. If they find a minor defect, they magnify it and use it against the revolution. We trust God and it is hoped that God will

favor us and purify our purpose. One who is with God, God will be with him and victory is with him.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, November 15, 1983 [Aban 24, 1362 AHS / Safar 9, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Vigilance against cultural schemes of the alien

Audience: Abdullah Jasbi (Superintendent of Azar Islamic University), officials of different branches of the university

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Richness of Iranian culture and literature

I appreciate you gentlemen who have taken the trouble to come here to meet you closely. It is the time to realize that we should do things ourselves. The erroneous notion that has been inculcated in the mind of our students, that they cannot reach anywhere without going to the US, France, England and elsewhere thus causing our youth to rush to these countries and become corrupt should be cleared from our mind. We know that the east and the west are not and will not be on good terms with us. The reason is the situation you see. Most political groups of all denominations carry out anti-Iran propagate. It is because they do not want Islam and any country desiring to act according to Islam will be subjected to their attack. We should therefore, provide the ground for our youths to study here. If there is a need to send them abroad, they should go to countries, which have no colonization record and do not want to dominate us. I hope the time will come when we no longer need to send students abroad. This depends on the activity of you gentlemen and other friends in this vital matter. We should use the good youths we have and educate them to serve God and people. We should clean the idea from our mind that everything we need should come from abroad. Sometimes, we have to import something out of necessity, but there is no justification to borrow culture and literature from abroad. We have a rich literature and culture. Is it correct to argue that since they make missiles, we should obey them? They are destroying the world with these industries. We want to have an industry that is not destructive but useful and constructive.

With the relations, you have with seminaries and you can render many services. Perhaps you may not have noticed that during the reign of Rida Khan and his son—I witnessed from beginning to the end—how they exerted pressure on seminaries so that no seminary could exist. On the one hand, they opened the doors and said they would so such and such for every one coming to them. On the other hand, they exerted so much pressure on theology

students that they could not stay in their chambers in the mornings. They had to go out prior to the sunrise and return after the sunset. Thanks God, however, they did not succeed. Theological seminaries remained and were preserved in the same pristine form and should be preserved in the same way. Universities should have good relations with theological seminaries and exchange views. In culture and most of the sciences, we do not need foreign countries. If in industry we are not as developed as they are, we should not lose hope and say since they are developed, everything we have should come from them. Not at all, This is not the case. If we acquire a type of industry from them, we should not become British, Russian or American. We should remain Muslim. Obviously, there is no objection to using the sciences and borrowing it from others, but we should note that we should borrow the sciences from countries, which do not intend to deflect us. In the past if they gave us some of the sciences and expertise, they wanted to deflect us from everything we had and orient us towards consumerism. I hope that God willing you gentlemen and others help so that the university established at the suggestion of Mr. Hashemi and was a very good idea broaden its activities and expand everywhere. May God grant you success, health and salvation!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, November 20, 1983 [Aban 29, 1362 AHS / Safar 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for strengthening judicial power; revealing the oppression and crimes of superpowers

Audience: Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice); members of Supreme Judicial Council; heads, advisors and assistants to the public prosecutor of the supreme court; heads of different branches of the administrative tribunal, jurists of the Guardian Council; judges of the Inspectorate Organization; members of supreme court of Qum; heads of branche 1 and 2 of the criminal tribunal, heads of provincial justice departments; General and Revolution public prosecutors; members of the Army Judicial Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Corruption of all organizations in the former regime

I appreciate the *ulama*, learned men and judges who honored us by coming here. I hope God Almighty will protect you and grant you success to serve people. After considering all issue and areas of the former regime, we come to realize that a criterion area was worse than others. When we go to look at others, we see that they are even in worse condition. When you look at the justice department and the judiciary, you see the only thing missing there were Islam and Islamic justice. When look back at the Majlis of the former regime, we see it had not developed any relation with the people. When we study the army, we see that the missing thing was activity in the cause of the country. Maybe the gentlemen are aware that when the allied forces attacked Iran, the same military forces which Rida Khan had trumpeted and boasted of, were able to resist against the invaders for three hours. Later on, when Rida Khan asked one of the commanders why only three hours he replied, "Sir, it was just empty rhetoric. We lift as soon as they arrived." This was the situation. The army was like this. The government was what you observed. Many of you can remember the events of recent past. Governors, commanders and governor-generals were those you observed. The justice department was what you know well. The Majlis was what you saw. The university was also the same. When we touch on judgment, we see it was worse than others. Improving the situation requires effort and hard work. God has definitely sanctioned the Islamic Republic, because in this short span of time following the revolution it has been able, despite the

opposition of big powers, their all-out pressure and their extensive propaganda; make remarkable progress in all areas. Thank God, university has improved and I hope it will continue to do so in conformity with the Islamic rules. The justice department and the judiciary have also taken long steps. It is a source of pride for a nation to succeed in rendering so many services in a short period with all problems and despite the fact that our *ulama* were not prepared to take on the job of judgment and were not familiar with it. I hope that all *ulama* in cities across the country and all the theology seminaries throughout the country see the Islamic Republic as their own and struggle to remove the deficiencies.

Importance of strengthening the judiciary

Nowadays, the country is yours and you should direct it. The judiciary is today an Islamic judiciary and is moving towards Islam and the Islamic *ulama* have to strengthen it send out people. The *ulama* who are in cities or people of their like who can make judgment should be engaged in the judiciary so that God willing the deficiency will be removed in all senses. We should not sit and expect the judiciary to be Islamic by itself. Never! Nothing can be accomplished by itself. Only through efforts, affairs would materialize. In fact, judgment is a religious obligation upon all unless there is sufficient number of judges. It is therefore a religious and Islamic duty. There is no excuse for us today to argue we could not or were not involved in the struggle. Not at all, all of you and all the gentlemen everywhere should be invited to enter the judiciary and strengthen it. Those who are in seminaries and those who have undergone religious education and no longer teach at seminaries should also come to strengthen the judicial power so as to it is free of problem. If this branch is rectified, many of the country's difficulties will be resolved. People deal with this branch and with justice department. You judges should consider God in your judgment. The judiciary handles the life, property, and principles of people and should always bear God in mind. Consider God present everywhere so that mistakes or errors cannot creep into your judgement. Your mistakes have serious consequences. A mistake may lead to a murder or disrepute one. You should carefully regard these matters. While the occupation is obligatory and necessary, it is a good job. If sufficient number of judges is not available, all should participate in this noble occupation, which also brings great responsibilities. All the gentlemen should strive to construct the judicial system the way prescribed by the holy Sharia. Obviously, seminaries were not prepared for the job and had no experience in this regard. Now, the

groundwork has been paved and the seminaries have stated to accomplish this goal. Courses on judgment should be imparted in theological seminaries so that, God willing, the personnel the gentlemen said of whom 500 are required can be trained very soon. This number is nothing if you consider the seminaries in Isfahan, Mashhad, Tabriz and elsewhere. The applicants can apply from these cities and Qum Seminary is there to help. I hope that God willing you will be successful. May God sanction you so that we can do the job by ourselves!

France, haven of terrorists

I should say that day we are being beset by these devils—these governments and big powers. We should deal with the situation by ourselves. You see that everywhere some trouble is brought about for Islam under various pretexts. Everywhere a ruckus is raised. At that time, we thought Saddam is a man who retaliates out of his senses. He suffers defeat in war; then he revenges on Khuzestan and Kurdistan. We thought this treatment is Saddam's habit. However, it became clear that all are like this. A few people who have suffered at the hands of big powers, the US, Israel and France and their likes sacrifice themselves for their nation and attack somewhere. Then, Israel acts in retaliation. Well! All expect Israel to act like this. Israel is essentially like this. It should act the way it is doing. However, why has France, which tries to project itself as a leading nation and has made great claims in the course of history, ended up as a terrorist country?

French people should feel the fact that the current government at this moment has discredited France that has been admired in the course of history in books. The French government defamed the French people and presented a tarnished image of French people among other nations. Majority of the nations cannot distinguish between government and people, particularly in the republic system. Where republic form of government dominates, people should have a say. It is not accepted by French people to argue the government is such and such. The French people should think out a way to preserve their prestige that is being lost. The French people should punish the government and lay it aside- the government that should be called the arch terrorist because every terrorist seek refuge there and the government itself is involved in terrorism. One beats it because of being criminal and France punishes another one and revenges on someone else. Well! The French people should think of this. So should other nations. Nations are are not to blame. The fault of nations with republic form of government is that they vote the ruling body in and transfer the authority to them. However, after the

leaders commit an offence, people should protest by mounting demonstrations and reject the offender. They can do so now. Save the prestige, you have built in the course of history for France. The French government is damaging this prestige. They have turned out to be a terrorist!

When the French government sees that Iraq is unable to pay back its debts to France, it tries to take revenge on Iranians. Why do they revenge on Iranians? If Iraq cannot pay its debts, you should demand it, the Iraqi people. Why do you supply Iraq with different types of plans to attack Iran?

Oppressing people in the name of reform

The situation has become such that we have been beset by big powers that act in contrast to the opinion of their own people. I do not think the American people are content with the fact that American government pokes its nose into every business and gets its youths killed. This is the same with French government and others. Now, Britain has also joined up with them. France wants to catch up with others and join the clique. France's story is like that of the packsaddle maker who accompanied the tailors. He was asked where he would go with the tailors and he replied "I am also in business of stitching." Now the big powers that have come together in the world to harrass the people, France and England have appeared and mixed in the affair to say they are part of the tailors capable of stitching. Why has the situation become like this? What did they win in this affair? What honor have they reaped in these crimes? Now that the US and Soviet governments commit these crimes and compete with each other in doing crime, in oppressing people and committing crime against people, what have they won that you have lagged behind, hastening to catch up with them? What do you want to gain? Muslims should think out a way. These Muslims and Arabs who constitute majority of Muslims and are embroiled in the scheme brewed for them should think out a way so as not to give in to them. They have rendered Lebanon destroyed and nothing much is left of this country. Well, why do not the Islamic countries set aside their differences so that big powers cannot treat them like this? Why should they (the big powers) come and beset people in the name of reform? This is not reform. If they were reformist and peace loving, they would not act like this. Do those who came to Lebanon and caused afflictions for people are peace loving? If they go after your own business, people would set things right. They do not let people improve. Every one of them interferes in a country under a different guise. For instance, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in the name of making improvements there. The US, France and England enter Lebanon to put

things right. This is because Muslims are not wakeful. Governments of Muslims do not know what power they command and how they can get rid of the invaders. If Muslims cut the profits to east and west for 10 days, they will get a good lesson. It is a shame they cannot. They do not understand what they should do. They have been frightened that if they do such and such, they may undergo negative consequences. Right, this “if” was true of Iran. However, Iran did as it deemed right and they could not do anything, nor can they do anything now. In the future, too, they cannot do anything. That is to say, as long as Iran is in such a state, as long as Islamic and human relationships prevails among all, as long as people constitute a single nation and as long as this condition exists among men, women, the young and old, no power in the world can do anything against us. Why should not Muslims be like this? Why should not Hijaz experience our condition? Why should not Iraq be like this? Unfortunately, owing to idiocy of some leaders Muslims are pitted against one another. Iraq is forced to attack Iran to suffer so many losses and sufferings, with Iraqi people sustaining those afflictions due to foolishness to become Commander of Qadesiyeh! On the other hand, Palestinians have been set against each other and internecine wars have erupted among different groups there. Difference has also appeared among us—Muslim governments. Why should we act like this? If they really awaken and come to realize what power they command and what resources, they have and find out that the life line of their enemies is in the hands of Muslims, they would improve relations—friendly relations. Well! We always want to make friends with other nations. However, they constantly argue that Iran wants to destroy all countries of the world. Why should Iran do so? Iran wants to improve the situation and wishes all Muslims to be united and brothers. Unfortunately, they do not understand. What is to be done? I hope the situation will improve gradually, people will wake up and the works will be corrected through nations. May God sanction you and those who serve in this country, Islam and the country! As long as the intention is pure and one bears, God in mind sincerely this country will be unquestionably triumphant. The waves will be released from here and get everywhere, as has been reached. Your revolution has been exported. I do not mean will be exported. It has already been exported and will be strengthened abroad.

Independence the judiciary

A point I would like to remind is that the judicial branch, as pointed out by the gentleman, should be an independent branch. Everywhere in the world judiciary is supposed to be independent. Now in our country Islam has given

independence to the judicial branch and judges. The judicial branch is independent in Iran and no one must interfere in it. The judges should not listen to anyone except God. They should do their job for God and consider the right. For instance, if they are certain that something was right, but the entire nation pressed them to have an opposite verdict, they must not listen to people. God has so ordained and you should establish the right. Do not be concerned with the fact that one is friend of such and such, the other is the son of that person or this is a certain person. You should judge as prescribed by the holy Sharia. You should be careful lest the right of an oppressed person is infringed on, or some one is fired more than it is due. You should be very careful because these issues very very complicated. You should be attentive, as you will be in trouble. I hope that the gentlemen who are now engaged and those to come later note that they are independent and no one has the right to interfere in their work. Obviously, things should proceed in accordance with Sharia rules. If there is a mistake in application of the Sharia rules, then you should use the same rules to amend it. May God keep you successful! I pray for you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: November 22, 1983 [Azar 1, 1362 AHS / Safar 16, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Formation of intelligence department under supervision of chief of joint staff

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (then President and Chairman of the Supreme Defense Council)

[Your Highness Great Leader Imam Khomeini, may your presence endure,

In view of the necessity and unquestionable significance of intelligence department in the army and considering the Majlis ratification which defines army intelligence as an independent body affiliated to the army staff and makes the appointment of its head by the chief of joint staff conditional on approval of the supreme leader, following lengthy debates in the Supreme Defense Council attended by all members of the council and chairman of the Majlis Defense Commission, it was approved to seek Your Eminence's opinion on formation of this department under the supervision of the chief of joint staff of army. Your Excellency is kindly requested to pronounce your view.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
1/9/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
1/9/1362 AHS

Letter

Time: November 25, 1983 [Azar 4, 1362 AHS / Safar 19, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Forming a delegation to attend to unclaimed farmlands

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (then President)

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

Your Highness Great Leader Imam Khomeini, may your presence endure,

Each year in the planting season, a delegation comprising concerned organizations under supervision of religious judge attends to the unclaimed farmlands and takes the necessary measure for cultivating them. You are kindly requested to order the judicial power to take action for formation of the said delegation if you deem it advisable.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
3/9/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Until final settlement, Hujjat al-Islam Ardebili¹ should act in the manner of the previous years.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
4/9/1362 AHS

¹ Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice).

Letter

Time: November 25, 1983 [Azar 4, 1362 AHS / Safar 19, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Mr. Hushang Sadiq as Commander of air force

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (then President and Chairman of the Supreme Defense Council)

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

Your Highness Great Leader of the Revolution, and the Supreme Commander of armed forces,

While appreciating the valuable and sincere services of colonel Moynour during this tenure as commander of air force, the Supreme Defense Council—in implementing the provisions of article 110 of the Constitution proposes to Your Eminence the acceptance of the former's resignation and appointment of Colonel Hushang Sadiq as commander of air force of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
President and Chairman of Supreme
Defense Council
3/9/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

While appreciation of his services and praying for his success in serving Islam and the nation, I agree with your suggestion.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
4/9/1362 AHS

Message

Time: November 28, 1983 [Azar 7, 1362 AHS / Safar 22, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Honoring the martyrs

Addressee: Honorable families of martyrs, war veterans and the Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If *Jihad* in the cause of God and defense of the realm of the holy Quran and the dear Islam and Islamic land to the border of martyrdom is a divine and human duty and ideal, thank God the committed and honorable people of Iran from different classes and layers, women, men, the young and old have fulfilled this duty in warfronts and behind the frontlines in the most efficient manner, bravely defending Islamic and human values by martyrdom and sacrifice. Among these martyrs joining the Truth and the living martyrs who registered their names in the front lines of *Jihad* and outstripped others there are a number of clergymen who achieved martyrdom along with their mujahid brothers mixing their pure blood with that of other martyrs.

May God the Compassionate grant those who have brought honor for the clerics as well as all martyrs and the war disabled who are a source of pride for the nation, spiritual elevation. May God invite all to the feast He has reserved for the martyrs in His cause, and grant the families of the martyrs especially their mothers, fathers and wives great patience and high rewards, and the likes of me who are struggling behind success

Peace be upon the martyrs of Islam beginning from the age of prophethood to the present time and henceforth, peace be upon the mujahid people of Iran and the peace of God and His saints been the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 22, 1404 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, December 7, 1983 [Azar 16, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Status of medical profession and duties of doctors and nurses

Audience: Manafi (Health Minister) and staff of the ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Impact of mental strength on health recovery

I hope that you gentlemen that are working in a ministry to serve the destitute, the patients, the incapacitated and the wounded will benefit greatly from God's favors. May God grant you purity of intention so that your works will be for God! You should make your valuable efforts for God and expect reward from the Almighty. Health care is one of the important services. Physicians, nurses as well as the staff working for the public health are important. What is of paramount significance for physicians, nurses, and those in contact with patients and the wounded is the spirit of affection in them. One of the factors contributing to recovery of patients and their recuperation is that the physicians and nurses should try to improve their moral. If one comes to believe that one will recover from sickness, this will help one restore one's health. If however one assumes that one will not regain health, this approach will bring one closer to death. Physicians and nurses therefore play an important part in both situations. It makes no difference whether nurses are from among ladies and take care of ladies or men attending men. The point that should be born in mind is that affection to them and inspiring hope in them and promise of good health with permission of God will contribute to their health. Your assistance affects the health of patients. If you treat well with them, you will receive reward from God Almighty. For instance, may assume that a certain patient will not recover from a disease, but first you should know that there is the unseen hand at work, which is beyond our ken, so you should not lose hope. Secondly, it is better that a patient who is going to depart from this world be hopeful and satisfied with you. Never tel a patient that he will not recover, because it can expediate his death, prolong his disease and cause hhim to die hopelessly. However, if you inspire hope in him, treat him kindly show him affection, serve him sincerely and cheerfully, most of these patients who are

despondent, will leave this world in a hopeful and pleasant manner. This is very valuable for you.

Iranian expatriate physicians and people's need

Physicians should give great care to the fact that their work is very important. You deal with the life of people and this is very important. You should pay careful attentions. Unfortunately, many of our physicians live abroad, have left Iran or have been living there, and not returned to the country. One of the points that the physicians living abroad should consider is that their own country needs them.

They have brought up here, received education at the country's expense, and are now living abroad. They are Iranians are indebted to people and Islam. This is the Islamic nation, which is on the receiving end of all sufferings and calamities caused by the superpowers. You physicians, who are living abroad, even if we suppose you live a long life in comfort, what then? Is not it more advisable to be at the service of the destitute and the patients of your own country, and serve this country which has been under oppression for long years? Now that our country wants to free itself from the burdens of the east and the west, all place pressure on it from all directions. Are not these pressures enough for your expatriate physicians to look at your country and see welack the likes of you here. Everywhere we have the shortage of specialized physicians. It is fair that you specialized physician of this land, where you and your parents were nurtured, live abroad indifferently and nomchalantly watch the sufferings of our patients and those who were wounded in battlefields. Given this state of affairs, is your conscience clear? I do not think if you contemplate an hour, your conscience permits you to remain there even though living in comfort. Thank God, the health care system is rendering services to people. Moreover, as I heave heard, they have provided great services in the warfronts for which they are being appreciated.

Onerous responsibility, great valuable

I hope that the situation of hospitals will be better than today and greater attention be given to hospitals. It should not be the case that a patient enters a hospital but is not admitted. These treatments are in contrast to human conscience, equity and God's gratification. Much care should be given to these issues.

Prevention is more important than the cure

Among the necessary matters is the prevention of diseases which is more important than the cure.

Warmongering in the name of peace

These big powers never think to do anything for the comfort of nations. See what is going on in Lebanon. What calamity has befallen on the people of Lebanon by these so-called peacekeepers? The US, France, England and Italy have come to secure peace there and but waged a war. They have waged a war in a place that will be more peaceful without them. If the US was not there and did not exert that much pressure on the poor nation, they would probably have done some thing themselves. After exerting all kinds of pressure on nations, the big powers should not expect people to just sit and congratulate them simply tolerate and watch. These blasts are obviously a result of those pressures.

It spells disaster when politician end up being ruffians. When a politician does not move on the track of human ethics, he will end up being a thug, not a hoodlum in the neighborhood, but an international thug. The narration reading that if a man of letters goes corrupt, the world will go corrupt clearly applies to the politicians who are corrupt and lead the world to corruption. Today the world has become corrupt thanks to the scientists - the scientists who make lethal weapons and those crooked politicians who employ these weapons. The world is unstable because of these *ulama* and scientists. If they are eliminated from the world, people will live in greater peace and comfort.

Big powers, source of all corruption in the world

Therefore, we should note that those powers claiming to have come for peace, are attacking Arabs in their homes, and the Arabs are just watching them. How can the Arabs put up with this utter disgrace? The aliens and infidels are attacking Arabs in their own homes and these Arab countries are just watching. If these countries block the way of big powers for ten days, they will surrender. If these Islamic countries, these regional countries and the gulf countries block outflow of their oil for 10 days, it will set off an uproar in the world, and they will give in to them. However, they offer their oil, their repute, their country and their people. What for; for a preserve carnal desire; carnal desire is destroying the world. Carnal whims propel them to put their people under so much oppression for four days of comfortable life as they imagine. Carnal passion drives the Soviet Union to

invade Afghanistan and do those crimes. It is this carnal desire that instigates the US to commit those crimes in Lebanon, and to order, its agents cause sedition in Iran. All corruptions in the world derive from big powers; otherwise, these small ones are insignificant.

Saddam a worthless carcass

Saddam is now a carcass left over there. He is of no value. Yet, they are doing corruption. An instance of their corrupt acts was deceiving him and tricking him into attacking Iran. Now he has been stuck in it, not knowing what to do. He constantly cries for peace and wants to find a respite to continue with his mischief. We know him better than others do. He does not want peace. He wants to find an opportunity in the name of peace and reorganize for a greater and stronger attack. Well, it is not possible to make peace with such a person. Who can give respite to one who is the enemy of Islam, God, his own people and our people so that he can rearm himself? The big powers will help him and he will be able to mobilize more people to launch a new attack? No one can give him respite. We should get rid of him so that the region can do well without him.

Big powers, source of international tension

The big powers and their agents who are treating the poor people of Lebanon in that manner should bear in mind that people would not tolerate this situation forever. Finally, the developments, which took place in Iran, will rock other places. The big powers should think as of today. The US should not think they can do injustice and people will be indifferent. The Americans saw their base was blown up. Such things exist now, no matter how hard you try to overcome them. People are utterly desperate. The people of Lebanon and Palestine are very desperate, and as a result, they resort to suicide attacks. If one is not desperate, he will not contemplate suicide attack to drive the invaders out of his country. People cannot tolerate any longer. Therefore, they should think out a way, and keep in mind that nothing can be set aright by hitting, killing, plundering and bombing. They should go away and let people handle their own affairs. They have to leave people alone. Finally, Muslims should think out a way and wake up; otherwise, they are international ruffians and will not let the world be in peace unless the people, the innocent people think out a way for themselves, the oppressed people of the world should find a way out for themselves. If oppressed people come to think of a way, they will curtail the influence of these international rogues. I hope God Almighty will awaken the Islamic nations

and oppressed peoples so that they can lead their own life, direct their own countries and curtail the influence of big powers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Statements

Time: Morning, December 11, 1983 [Azar 20, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Main goal-sovereignty of Islam

Audience: *Fuqaha* and jurists of the Guardian Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Meaning of recanting verdict among *fuqaha*

What is important is that we want to implement the issues in accordance with the Islamic rules. If we have made a mistake previously we should announce outright that we have made a mistake. Recanting one's fatwa among the *fuqaha* is the same. When a *faqih* recounts his fatwa, it shows he has made a mistake and admits to it. The *fuqaha* of the Guardian Council and members of the Supreme Judicial Council should also act like this. If they make a mistake, they should acknowledge it and take back their words. We are not infallible. Before the revolution, I thought that there would be competent pious people to run the affairs according to Islam after the victory of revolution. Therefore, I announced repeatedly that the clerics should go to perform their own works. However, I saw later that this is not the case. Most the individuals were incompetent and realized the words I made were not correct and immediately announced that I had made a mistake. It is because we want to implement Islam. In this connection, I may have said something yesterday and today something else and tomorrow another thing. It is meaningless that I argue that since I have said so yesterday, I should insist on what I have said. Today I say that as long as the rules of Islam have not been implemented and we have not competent individuals to act according to Islam, the *ulama* should be engaged in their works. It is not a dignity for *ulama* to become president or hold other posts. They accept these positions out of a sense of duty. Concisely, one thing should not be forgotten: we all want Islam to be implemented.

Concern over repetition of Constitutional Movement

Today I have no concern since I know most of the individuals and know that most of them are committed and religious. My concern is that we may show laxity and not give the necessary care in the process of implementing Islam. As a result, we can be in trouble later. Do not let the constitutional

movement be repeated. At that time, the gentlemen struggled and set up the constitutional movement, but a number of despotic politicians turned out to be advocates of the constitutional movement and took over the government. Each term of the Majlis was worse than the previous one. Today I have no fear. I am worried that maybe we cannot hand down these issues to the next group in a powerful manner. I am also worried that we maybe cowed by what foreigners say and show laxity in implementing the divine rules. We have to hand everything down to the next group in a powerful manner, and they have to try to deliver them to the next group with same vigor. We should reinforce the foundation and deliver it to the next group so that we are not to blame before God. We should not show a bit of laxity and not fear what certain radios and foreign government says. Radios should insult us. The day when the US admires us, we should mourn. The day when Carter and Reagan admire us, it becomes clear something wrong has been found among us. They should insult and we should firmly carry out our works. The Guardian Council should only consider God without regard for anyone. The primary laws should be implemented. The day when some emergency arises, the secondary laws that are also laws of God should be enforced. The foundation should be firm from today.

Preventing bullies from interfering in elections

The Guardian Council, the Supreme Judicial Council, Majlis and the government should act in a way to lay a solid foundation. If we want to be committed to Islam, we should consider the future and correct it. Try not to show laxity as they did in the case of constitutional movement. Thank God, today is not like the constitutional movement time when the good were in minority. You are in majority and a few are devious. Previously, I talked about the elections and said everything should be based on Islamic standards. The individuals to be appointed should be from among those who are useful Islam and Islamic Republic; they should believe in the fact that Islam is good. They may utter something without actually believing as in the case of the early days of the revolution when many professed Islam. Obviously, official non-Muslim minorities will be chosen according to the law. Therefore, people should try to identify the individuals whom they want to elect, consider their record before the revolution and then vote. Therefore, the point is that the person himself should be good. That he belongs to certain group or party; he comes from bazaar, or is a man of knowledge is not important qualifications. The major thing is the standards set by law and Islam. We should preserve the Majlis.

The first term of Majlis in the constitutional movement was not bad and perhaps it was good, but later it gradually reached where they themselves appointed the individuals. We should therefore way that the second term should be better than the first one. People should participate in greater numbers; they should be present in the political arena and not be impressed by anyone. People should consult with *ulama* and the people they trust. Then they should vote any one they like. People should not withdraw. If people withdraw us will all suffer defeat. People should not let bullies and incompetent individuals interfere. If a canon gets together and chooses incompetent individuals, people should not vote for them. If people do not realize, Majlis should not accept them. The entire people are obliged to participate in the elections and not be impressed by anyone. They should vote only after making sure who is useful for Islam. If one is in doubt or if deviants have applied to run for elections, people should not vote. We should preserve our Majlis so that it will serve as a basis for a good government. If people are dissatisfied with me, they should not be disillusioned with Islam. I have made a mistake; it has nothing to do with Islam. If people want Islam, independence, liberty and freedom from captivity to the east and west, they should participate in the elections and be present in the scene. If an oppressor carries out an offence, it should not be attributed to Islam. Therefore, we should act in a manner that both oppression and oppressors vanish. If we see some offences have been done in this period and some people have been wronged, we should redouble our efforts to eliminate oppression and wrongdoing, not retreat and leave the scene. If we leave the scene, oppression will increase. We should therefore strengthen our gathering and be present in the scene in greater numbers. May God grant you power and happiness!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Decree

Time: December 17, 1983 [Azar 26, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Increasing the scope of Mr. Mahallati's responsibilities in the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (*Sepah-e Pasdaran*)

Addressee: Fadlullah Mahallati (the Imam's representative in *Sepah-e Pasdaran*)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Hujat-el-Islam Fadlullah Mahallati, my representative in *Sepah-e Pasdaran*,

Since Hujat al-Islam Tahiri is going to have a travel, you are required to undertake all his responsibilities in *Sepah-e Pasdaran* in addition to your own responsibilities in *Sepah-e Pasdaran*.

I implore God almighty to grant you success in serving Islam and Islamic Republic.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 26, 1362 AHS

Message

Time: December 17, 1983 [Azar 26, 1362 AHS / Rabial-Awwal 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of the auspicious birth anniversary of prophet of Islam

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulation on the occasion of auspicious birth anniversary of the holy prophet of Islam (peace be upon him and his progeny) with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you on the auspicious day and beseech God Almighty to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabial-Awwal 12, 1403 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, December 17, 1983 [Azar 26, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Plot to debilitate Islam

Audience: Members of the Commercial and Distribution Commission for investigating into questions and organizations affiliated to Prime Minister's office

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Colonialist propaganda against clerics

I implore God almighty to grant you success to serve the Islamic Republic and hope that all the gentlemen are successful in serving the nation, which has been under oppression and pressure. All should speak with one voice and get united to be able to tackle the problems the country may encounter.

Today is an opportune time to take up a subject that is of concern to all. This is not something to concern you only; it concerns all people and the officials of our country. For the experiences, which have been related for us and from those we have gone through, there are good lessons to be kept in mind. All the gentlemen have heard about the constitutional movement. A group that did not want Islam to be strong in this country and sought to push here towards Europe provided an atmosphere in which people like Aqa Shaykh Fadlullah¹ who was an outstanding man in Iran and was accepted by all was hanged in public and people applauded. This was a scheme to do away with Islam and they did. From then onward the constitutional movement could not proceed as desired by the Najaf *ulama*. The story of late Aqa Shaykh Fadlullah was reflected in Najaf in such a bad way that no voice was raised there. They had spoiled the atmosphere in Iran and other places to the extent that some of the clerics here² condemned so Aqa Shaykh Fadlullah who was brought to the square and hanged. People stood by the gallows, applauded and defeated Islam at that time. People neglected this action; even *ulama* were negligent.

¹ Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri, among the distinguished *ulama* in early constitutional movement, being hanged in Baharestan Square in 1372 AH. He favored the religious constitutionalism to the end.

² Reference to Shaykh Ibrahim Zanjani the judge trying Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri.

Character assassination of Ayatullah Kashani

In our time, we saw Mr. Kashani. Mr. Kashani¹ lived in Najaf since his young days. He was a militant clergyman. He fought against colonial powers—England, to be more exact. When he came to Iran, he devoted all his life to this purpose. I knew him closely. At a time, he was in such a crisis that when he wanted to leave his house for, let us suppose, Masjid Shah, everyone would be informed of this. They kept a close watch on him and reported his every moment. They knew that if the clergyman took the lead, they would bring Islam to the fore. Moreover, they were right. For this reason, they began to position the atmosphere. They took a day with glasses to the streets—they brought the dog near the Majlis building—and called it Ayatullah. I myself was in a gathering where the late Mr. Kashani entered. It was a session for mourning the Karbala tragedies. No one stood up for him. One of the *ulama* from Tehran who is still living, and I were the only people to stand up, and give him a place to sit. No one gave him room. Such atmosphere had been provided for Mr. Kashani who could not come out of his house. He was confined to a room in his house in a way that he could not come out. He was detained on several occasions. At that time, Muslims were defeated.

I want to give a warning to the gentlemen. In the present situation, one can easily see that they are trying to spoil the atmosphere. They are gradually paving the way and want to work out their plans. They saw that by the problems they created in the world they could not do anything. They launched an attack, a military attack, imposed economic sanctions and did everything, but to no avail. They could not achieve the end they wished; that is, removal of Islam. They are scared of Islam more than the Soviet Union afraid of the US or the US is afraid of the Soviet Union. It is so because all their ill-gotten interests and abuses will come to an end if the order in Iran takes root. Nowadays, the question of Iran is not their major concern. In the past Iran was the talk of the town. However, the situation has changed much today. For example, if people in Pakistan demand in Islamic rule, the government has to be in tune with them. Elsewhere, this call has been resounded. American blacks have also raised voice. Now they see that in the Soviet Union voices have been raised. Well! Muslims are great in number in the Soviet Union. They see that if this country is given the opportunity, it might threaten their interests in the world. They cannot launch world war. If they want to launch such a war, the world will go into absolute chaos.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim Kashani, among the prominent religio-political figures in 1320's and 1330's. He had an important role in the popular revolution of 1920 in Iraq.

Therefore, they avoid it. They are wiser than launching a world war. Though various means and tricks, they want to start from here—Iran. To start from Iran, they do not target the clerics at first. They know that it is impossible to target and defeat the clerics all of a sudden. They start from lower levels; they make up atmosphere from lower levels. For example, they spoil the atmosphere for the government. They are spoiling the atmosphere for the government. Wherever one sees, the government is tampered with. The question is not that we believe that the government is unique. Not at all!

Psychological warfare of the enemy

Now you may notice the situation in Iran. Iran has been involved in war and revolution. Influx of different people from everywhere, for example, Afghanistan—one million and a half refugees—and Iraq with numerous refugees are two cases in point. So many refugees have flocked into the country, not to mention other complications. If a country other than Iran had experienced such problems, the order in the country would have been disrupted. However, since people are at the scene in Iran, such a thing has not taken place. But they really mean to bring about such a situation.

Let me now report to you gentlemen and the people of Iran that I will not live that long to see these things. I will go from among you, but you should be attentive. They have started to position the atmosphere to bring down the government, and later they will aim the president, the Majlis and the clerics. They have started their scheme in this way. You should be well aware of this issue. It is not by mere accident that one hears a similar rumor spreading from Qum, bazaar, mosques, pulpits and houses of *ulama*. If you see that a similar subject is circulating everywhere, be sure that there is someone behind it. These things do not happen by accident.

In the present situation, you see that some have forgotten everything except shortage and high prices. Is anyone denying high prices? They have forgotten but some of you may remember the time when the allied forces invaded Iran. You saw what the country was like in terms of staples such as bread, rice and high prices. With one rial at that time being worth 1000 rials now, rice was sold 120 rials and sugar at 400 rials. One sits here and sees that they have forgotten everything overcharges. This was the condition of our country at that time of which some of you may be aware. Now with the condition you have, the entire world is your enemy except a few of the world countries. All countries try to interfere in our country. Notice the radios. In Kuwait, an event has taken place. Now Iraq has announced that it has been part of Iraq. Nevertheless, they do not stop and say Iraqis are supporters of

Iran. Since they are supporter of Iran, so Iran is such and such. All people of the world are supporter of Iran. Iran has acted in a way that the oppressed people of the world favor it. So, whatever the oppressed person in the world do, Iran is involved? This is the situation that today all radios try to present a bad image of us. An event takes place in let us suppose Kuwait, one in Lebanon and one in other places and all are attributed to Iran. Now they have started this attempt in Iran.

Supporting the government

I want to tell you that members of the government are neither my relatives nor acquaintances. What I say is very general. The government has accomplished many tasks. I mean, with all the problems besetting the country, the government has kept it from falling apart. It has been able to stave off the disaster befalling the country and attend to those wounded in the war. It has also been able to ward off hunger and other problems. Of course, all accept and the government itself admits prices are high. Firstly, inflation prevails everywhere; it is not exclusive to Iran. Secondly, revolutionary situation necessarily creates inflation. The situation generated by war gives rise to this state of affairs. When we observe the situation of war, revolution and the enmity displayed by the entire world, we should not charge the government. Now we see the the Majlis is criticizing the government. In the presence of *ulama*, the government is being criticized. In bazaar the government comes under criticism. Television interviews criticize the government. When something occurs, they start to get at the government. This is not without reason. The gentlemen are not aware. For example, a certain person is a very man, but a dozen of people who want to realize these schemes go to him and try to change his mind. Such plotters are in great numbers: there are monarchists; there are pponents of the Islamic Republic, among the higher social classes, who want to go on with debauchery, but political parties are not given the chance; there are Munafeqin, political parties and fringe groups. These religiouslooking people go to some of these gentlemen and lament the destruction of Islam. They want to be modeled on the Soviet Union. the gentleman instantly believes and begins complaining about the performance of government departments. Although organizations are not highly efficient, we should protect the basis. If we fail to retain the foundation, neither departments nor Majlis and schools will remain. Nothing! If this time they exercise domination over us, they will not show mercy to anyone. Today is not like Mr. Kashani's time. It is not like the time of let me say Shaykh Fadlullah. Now it is a time when they have realized that if this

republic flourishes, it will not let them reap their benefits. They will be thus seriously engaged in eradicating this republic. If Islam is slapped here, it will certainly not be able to rise from its ashes unless another different situation emerges in the world. We are now responsible for protecting this republic. Iran is responsible for safeguarding its land. Majlis should also cooperate. I know there are complaints, and problems of every kind, but you should all cooperate with each other. Close ranks to prevent any organization from going under. Collapse of the government today is detrimental to clerics and Majlis. In the same way, if Majlis falls, it will be harmful to all. Such is the case if judicial structure collapses. I know there are many complaints. Where do you think there are no complaints? Do you think there is no complaint in the US? There are more complaints in the US than here. In every few minutes, there is a murder there. Moreover, in every few minutes one is sexually abused. Do you expect in post-revolution period and after hostility of all countries of the world to sit comfortably, work, and live in welfare? It is not possible. If bazaar sees the government cannot handle the affairs, it should come to help the government. Now the government has rice, wheat, and everything somewhere around some places, but there are no trucks. Well, the *ulama* in cities should sit and think out ways to obtain trucks. If in each city, four trucks go to these places and all cities cooperate, the problem will be settled. Beware that plans are underway to eradicate Islam. People, *ulama*, deputies and government should consider this. This way in case of complaints is voiced. They can put their heads together and work out a solution. Failing to respond to the complaints should not trigger us to exert pressure on the government, weaken it, and render it incapable. The government that has to carry out all tasks should not be debilitated. Majlis that has to facilitate all tasks should not be weakened. So is the judicial power.

The Majlis, government, judiciary or the clerics are not the main targets: the problem resolves around Islam. The point is that those who are hostile to us are the enemies of Islam. They are not opposed to the judiciary nor are the enemies of the Majlis clerics. They are hostile to you because you have stood up for Islam. They are not because you are something or Majlis is something. Not at all! If Majlis were to their liking, it would be very good as it was and you saw. If government is to their liking, they will not hesitate to espouse it. However, the government that wants to raise voice against them, the Majlis that is opposed to them and the army that mounts opposition to them, they are opposed to them. Beware that if we do not close ranks and are not together, they will smash us. They will smash the Majlis, the government and

the clerics. All will be overwhelmed. Reason necessitates we tolerate the problems. People should put up with the difficulties. Our problems are less than those in time of the messenger of God. All that time the problems were graver and the responsibilities were heavier. They ate the water-skin to alleviate their hunger. They were in this situation. The Commander of the Faithful lived in worse conditions than we do and he was killed. Now the situation is such that we have to tolerate.

Unity in the face of lurking enemies of Islam

Our country has enemies: actually, they are not our enemies. They are enemies of Islam. Now our enemies, even the Iranian ones living abroad, are speaking against Islam. I have reiterated this fact in other places that in their gatherings they speak against Islam. Those who have fled the country and reside abroad are all like this. However, a group of us has remained here. Now what will happen if we start to grapple with each other? What will happen if the Majlis stands against the government or the government stands against Majlis? They are, God willing, not each other's opponents, but we should be more careful. The *ulama* in cities are aware that they should not fall for the complaints of people who come to them. They, also, should not talk about them lest the radios or other media take advantage of it. Do not speak like this. Do not discuss it in gatherings. Friday prayer leaders should not deal with these subjects in gatherings. If they can, they should resolve the problem; if not, they ought to keep it to themselves. Today we should tolerate and have patience. We should be patient. "*Preserve the way you have been commanded, only with those who have accompanied you.*"¹ This was what the holy prophet said: "*The Hud Chapter made me old.*"² It was because "*those who have accompanied you.*" could not persevere. We should preserve. We should be patient.

May God grant success to all! What you noted I am also aware that these subjects have to be inquired. Nevertheless, it should not be the case that every day you bring a minister, make him sit, wrangle with him and weaken the government. Act in a way that the government is not undermined. Plans are underway to enfeeble all of you. This attempt is not aimed at you but at all. Do not imagine that you weaken the government. No! If you weaken the government, you have enfeebled yourselves. This is a prelude to that ulterior purpose. At present, a line is at work to sap your strength. You should be greatly careful. Open your eyes. The nation should open its eyes and protect

¹ *Surah Hud* 11:112.

² *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

this government, this Majlis and this Islamic Republic. People should protect these bodies. Bazar should protect them. A certain gentleman says that people should not pay taxes writes tax should not be collected. You see how unaware! Today we spend several hundred million tomans a day on war. Can this exorbitant amount be provided by the Imam's share? Can we bring people and take the Imam's share by force? The Imam's share can only meet the needs of theological seminaries, and no more. If there is some excess, it will be given to the government. One suddenly announces that the government should not collect taxes and we should collect the Imam's share. How? Where can we collect this amount from the Imam's share? Where can we find the Imam's share and the share of *sadat* (descendents of the holy prophet) to administer the government, the country and the numerous personnel whose cost of living is staggering? Well, the gentlemen just make offhand remarks. One goes and talks with them and they come to believe. So are the other gentlemen. They believe because of their sound essence. The gentlemen should regard anyone making a remark has evil intention and aims to achieve an ulterior purpose. Today when corruption is rampant, it is not right to view things optimistically, imagining that everyone talking is telling the truth. Many came to talk with me. Once, one of the *munafiqin* who had religious looks and carried a gun came to visit me in Najaf for a month or so. Everyday he spoke and I listened. He had brought a recommendation letter from the late Mr. Taliqani¹ and other marked *ulama* whom he had deceived. I saw he was a fervent Muslim. I felt I was as devoted to Islam as he was. I suspected him and did not reply him. He said they wanted to launch armed struggle. I told him they could not and should not get themselves killed. However, I did not give any more reply. Since then, they schemed for this work. They are still at the scene and have not left. Obviously, they cannot do any harm, yet they can go to the gentlemen in Qum, Isfahan or Shiraz to do something and kick up a fuss. Who is now more prone to fall into their trap? Should they attack the clerics? No. Should they attack the Majlis? No. The government should be targeted. Now the government is more vulnerable. They instigate the Majlis, the clerics, bazaar and all others to attack the government. When they are through with the government, they will come to you, then to the president and, I don't know, to the Majlis, etc. Not all these attacks are aimed at the government but at Islam. I mentioned these things to make the gentlemen more careful and to fulfill my duty. I hope God will grant all of us success in struggling together to remove the difficulties. Right,

¹ Sayyid Mahmud Taliqani, one of the militant clerics and the Friday prayer leader of Tehran in post-revolution period. He passed away in Shahrivar 1359 AHS.

if complaints were lodged, we should embark on eliminating them, not turning to the government and *Majlis* to enfeeble them or deal with individuals. This was a subject that I touched on and hope will impress the gentlemen.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Permission

Time: [Azar 26, 1362 AHS / Rbi al-Awwal 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hasan Husayni

In His Most Exalted Name

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Hasan Husayni—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs collect the religious dues, spend a third of Imam's share (peace be upon him) and a half of the sadat share on prescribed, related cases, and return the rest to me for the promotion of the pure word of Islam.

“And I advise him to what our pious predecessors have advised - to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly affairs.”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Time: Morning, December 19, 1983 [Azar 28, 1362 AHS / Safar 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of agriculture and role of Constitution *Jihad*

Addressee: Abdullah Nuri (Imam's representative in Constiution *Jihad*), members of the Central Council of Constitution *Jihad*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I appreciate the efforts of Construction *Jihad* in villages and warfronts. I have repeatedly highlighted the services rendered by *jihad* in warfronts. The efforts made by *jihad* across the country have been remarkable and generally acknowledged. Note all your works should be for God. Ask reward from God, not the government and people. We should act in a way that He is satisfied.

As regards the budget of *jihad*, God willing when the minister is appointed, the necessary revision will be undertaken. I also recommend the government to pay more attention to the deprived. Service in villages is valuable. In the past, the villages were totally neglected and no fundamental work had been done for them, and even nowadays it it was not for the support of people, the government would not be able to attend to all villages. Today, thank God the situation of villages is improving due to the efforts of our youths.

Iran is a country whose agriculture should be the foundation for all other developments. Those who argue that through agriculture the country cannot be self-sufficient, they are not fully aware. The villagers try not to migrate to cities and stay in their villages. They do not want to live like the affluent city dwellers. Therefore, they had better remain in their villages. God willing, the government will take care of their situation. I hope construction *jihad* can remove the deprivations in villages gradually. *Jihad* has acted efficiently. When you close ranks, God willing all works can be managed competently.

If you are together, certainly the problems will be settled. Strive to carry out good and excellent works for Islam and Muslims and save the oppressed from oppression and trouble. My representative will stay in *jihad* and continue with his works.

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

Speech

Time: Afternoon, December 22, 1983 [Dey 1, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Blessings of Muhammad (peace be upon him) birth and appointment as prophet

Occasion: Birth anniversary of holy Prophet (s) and Imam Jafar Sadiq (a)

Audience: Officials of Islamic Republic and civil and military authorities¹ as well as people from all satratums

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Secrets of birth and appointment of Muhammad as prophet

Reciprocally, I congratulate the audience, the entire world Muslims and oppressed people of the world on the great feast, the blessed feast of the birth anniversary of the holy prophet of Islam and his grand son Imam Sadiq (peace be upon him).

I should say that the dimensions of this birthday, which was followed by blessings and culminated in appointment of Muhammad as prophet and the

¹ Khamenei, Sayyid Ali (President), Hashemi Rafsanjani Akbar (Majlis Speaker); Musawi Ardebili, Sayyid Abdul-Karim (Chief of Justice); Musawi Mir, Husayn (Prime Minister); Mahdawi Kani, Muhammad-Rida; Falsafi Muhammad Taqi; members of the Guardian Council, members of the Cabinet; Prosecutor General; members of the Supreme Judicial Council, Administrative Justice Tribunal; Inspectorate Organization; Chief of Armed Forces Staff and commanders of the air and naval armed forces; heads of police headquarters and gendarmerie and Supreme Council of Sepah-e Pasdaran; members of Jamiat al-Sadiq (a); Majlis deputies; Society of Teachers of Qum Theological Seminary; members of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters and University Jihad; revolution and army prosecutor generals; Imam's representatives in Islamic Revolution organizations of Martyrs Foundation; Mustazafan Foundation; Khordad 15 Foundation; Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee; Housing Foundation of Islamic Revolution; Managing Director and Council of Superintendents and officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization; War Propaganda Headquarters; Islamic Republic News Agency; print media officials; Central Bank Governor; foreign guests participating in the conference investigating Saddam's crimes; spokesman to Iraqi Supreme Council Revolution; members of the Consultation Office and Supreme Defense Council; Hajj and Endowment Organization; Headquarters for Holding Friday Prayer; Managing Director of Red Crescent Societ; ideo-political members of the military and Law Enforcement Forces; Council of Superintendents of non-Iranian Theology Students; directors of Statistics Center.

descent of the divine revelation on the blessed heart of that master, have not yet become clear for humankind.

The one whom the holy Quran sought has not been discovered, as it should by the far-sighted people of the end of time. When one notices the amount that has been discovered and compares it with the pre-Islam sciences, philosophy and social justices, he will realize that this same amount has brought about developments which are unprecedented in the world, and is unrivalled. In mystical journey, you notice what has prevailed in pre-Islam period and post-Islam period and what changes have been introduced by the teachings of the sacred Islam and the holy Quran.

While in pre-Islam period, there were great men such as Aristotle and his likes, but when one deliberates on their works, it becomes clear that they never smack of what is there in the Quran. Take the verses quoted in narrations handed down to us regarding the far-sighted people of the end of time such as the Chapter Hamd and six verses of Chapter Hadid for instance. I cannot imagine that the truth of these verses can be discovered by man, neither present day man nor the future ones the way it should be. Of course, many interpretations have so far been made thereof and many valuable research works have been conducted, but the horizon of the Qura'n goes beyond these attempts. Take the holy verse "*He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward.*"¹ One might imagine that the beginning of creation is Allah and end of it is Allah, that He is the outward according to His signs and inward in accordance to His Names. However, this is not basically the case in point as others and we have understood. The question is beyond these ones. "*He is the outward*" negates the original appearance for other than Him. Appearance belongs to Him only. This is the fact of the matter. However, it is difficult to understand that appearance belongs to Him and that the universe and the entire existence are His manifestations. The term "with you" in the phrase "*He is along with you*" as cited in narrations signifies that He is with us. He is here and we are here. Philosophers interpret this as the company of guidance but does this guardianship solve the dilemma? Is it like the association in cause and effect? Is it like the association of manifestation and the possessor of manifestation? This is not the case. The far-sighted men at the end of time have understood the question better than others as far as the depth of their understanding is concerned.

Hadrat Baqer (peace be upon him) has been quoted as saying that "I deduce all laws, rules and truths from "samad" (free from want)."² This

¹ Surah al-Hadid 57: 3.

² Tafsir al-Burhan, vol. 4, p. 526.

expression is noteworthy. Obviously, we can also understand the principles of knowledge, but his point goes beyond these definitions. Anyhow, it is of utmost regret for human beings who do not want to know, who fail to proceed with the track of knowledge and who have not taken steps towards knowledge of the book of God. They have not established relationship with the source of revelation to receive the interpretation from the source of revelation. That relationship only existed between the messenger of God and God and by the same token between prophet and a select few. Such is the case with regard to the philosophical questions. When you study the philosophy of Aristotle, which is perhaps the best kind of philosophy in pre-Islam era, you easily notice that it is very different for Islamic philosophy. Although his philosophy is very valuable and Avicenna has described Aristotle logic as impregnable, when comparing it with the Islamic philosophy we understand that they are worlds apart.

The Quran deals with all aspects of human life such as moral, educational and other issues. It attends to all needs and aspects of human beings, which are limitless, and all can avail of this great table in proportion to their capacity. Unfortunately, people do not make great use of this table, and all prophets from Adam to the last prophet did not accomplish the purpose they had. Although every form of perfection in the world stems from them, they could not achieve the purpose.

Those falsely claim to be follower of Moses and Jesus Christ

The point that I want to mention is that there are some famous religions namely Judaism, Christianity and Islam among human beings. If we look at the person who brought the religion-Moses, and his living conditions The quality of his invitation and his fight against tyrants and then go to the followers of Moses who claim to be his ummah we understand that Moses fought against tyranny but those people are very tyrants themselves and at the same time proclaim to be followers of Moses. The voice of Israel quotes the admonitions of Moses, but what is Israel like? How is its situation? Those who attribute themselves to Moses know about the living condition of Moses who was a shepherd with stick. History has recorded his status as a shepherd. In that position, he set out to combat the biggest power of the time. He displayed no interest in temporal matters. Now we see how those who consider themselves to descend from Moses are attached to the world. Most of the US wealth is in their hands; the material power of the US is in their hands; they say they believe in the religion of Moses. Worse than them are the followers of Jesus Christ. Everyone has said indeed truly that Jesus Christ

was a spiritual, divine person with no interest in material things. Quoting those who consider themselves his followers, Jesus Christ paid no attention to material issues; he was a spiritual person in all sense of the word and Spirit of God in the full sense of the term. Now let us focus on his adherents. Who are his followers now? All the corruptions, in fact half of the corruption now prevailing in the world, are being spread by the followers of Jesus Christ (peace be upon him). I mean those who claim to be his followers. Now they are preparing themselves for birth anniversary of Jesus Christ. Who are they? They are the ones who are opposed to Jesus Christ and to God of Jesus Christ. They do not believe in Jesus Christ but cling themselves to him. The other half of the world belongs to those who claim that they are struggling for the masses of people and the oppressed ones. They claim they want to put an end to bullying in the world, and want people to enjoy equal facilities. When one studies these people, one finds that Kremlin is worth than the White House. Lenin treated people in that manner, and Stalin treated people that way. They are also going the same way. Their claim fails to match their deeds.

When we look at ourselves, we are the same. While Muslims and the heads of Islamic states claim to be Muslim and follower of the prophet of Islam, we see there is no similarity and no relationship between these heads of states and Islam. Claims are numerous. Claims are there. The manners and deeds of the prophet should be emulated. What the life style of prophet was like and what your lifestyles are like. How do you live among people? How did the prophet treat the oppressed people? How do you deal with the oppressed people? How did the prophet treat the arrogant powers? How do you who are petty arrogant powers deal with the arrogant powers? How was the superficial situation of the prophet's life? What about you? Merely claiming to be follower is not sufficient. Heads of Islamic states are all like this. Prophet advised Muslims to be united. You disperse them. The holy Quran says "*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*"¹ You have clung to the cable of the US and Soviet Union. Claims are many. I do not say that we, in Iran, are followers in the true sense of the word. We claim that we are interested in emulating the prophet. We intend on following him. You who claim to be followers remember God says in Quran that you should not treat them in the same way. "*As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities.*"² Right, who are your patrons now? Whom do you have relationship with now? Well, one group is

¹ Surah Al-e Imran, 3: 103.

² Surah al-Baqarah 2: 257.

associated with that side and the other group with this side. Iran which wants to side with any of them comes under a lot of pressure from you. You exert pressure on us so that we be in this camp or that one.

Supporting the aggressor in the name of peace and human rights!

The day when, God forbid, Iran sides with one camp, problems will be settled. What is Iran's sin for which Saddam attacks in that brutal way and commit those crimes against us but suffered slap on the face? He later wants to find another way. By the time, he was launching attack and claimed that he wanted to destroy the Magi he acted that way. We are all Magi. The entire Iran is Magi. All Persian-speaking people are Magi. By the time he had power, he was like this. The day when he suffered a slap from Muslims, he began asserting that "we are all Muslims, why are we at war with each other?" Let us compare his statements in these two situations. At first, he said all Iranians were Magi, which he wanted to invade Iran and do such and such, that part of Iran was the land of Arabs that he wanted to annex the Arab parts of Iran. He also changed the spelling of Ahwaz. When they were attacking, they told those things. Today when they have suffered defeat, they claim to be peace lovers in an attempt to find an opportunity to attack again. They constantly call for peace, peace and peace. These international bodies do not sit and ask him why he did so if he was peace loving. Why did he attack so that he would now call for peace? When there is an explosion, somewhere Saddam tries to retaliate by bombs a city like Ilam or other places. These making big claims—whom all the oppressed people of the world hate—and the human rights organizations say that Saddam should hold the right to retaliate. What situation the world is undergoing?

The Muslims who claim to be follower of the holy prophet and the Quran should know what the Quran says and what they do. They see all these troubles are brought against us for the sake of the US and still claim to be Muslim. Is it enough just to profess Islam and then do everything to endear them to the US? They are offering their oil and everything belonging to their people to the US. Their apathetic poor people are being trampled under the oppression of governments, which claim to be Muslim. Does anyone become a Muslim just by claiming? They say they are Muslim and seek unity. Iran has declared Unity Week and they say Iran is creating discord. Some of their radios said Iran was creating discord. Iran has designated unity week and say Iran is creating discord. Iran calls on one billion Muslims to get together and not let these big powers transgress on the rights of people. At every corner, they press Iran so as not to make this

argument known to the world. Finally, neither those who claim to be followers of Moses are correct in their claims nor those who claim to be followers of Jesus Christ. In addition, those claiming to follow the prophet of Islam are not sincere. These are merely claims. One should see their action. Those who claim to be followers of Moses should see how Moses acted. They have been recorded in history; the Quran has proofs; the history helps; and the Torah has recorded many facts. Now you should see how your deeds compare. Your deeds provide good evidence. Those who claim to be followers of Jesus Christ know that history has recorded his deeds and with some deviation, all people know about his deeds. Those who claim to be atheistic definitely know nothing. Those who claim to support the nations and masses, hit, destroy and kill whenever they find the opportunity. They have done what you see in Afghanistan. Those who claim to be Muslim act similarly. They have access to the history of Islam, the life-style of our prophet, the holy Quran and everything they need but their deeds are against Islam. Their deeds are not like those of ordinary people. The heads of Muslim states and Islamic governments are opposed to Islam. This differs from the deeds done by some people in contrast to what Islam has prescribed. The governments are at the helm and their acts are against the Islamic rules, the life-style of prophet of Islam and deeds of the household of Islam. Our world today is like this. There are many claimants but the truth is what we see and you see. It is not clear when a universal revolution will occur. Of course, the universal revolution will be launched by the Imam of the Age (peace be upon him). Yet we are responsible. It is true that he will come to put the world in order, but we are obliged to struggle to muster all our forces to prevent such problems.

Advice to the Islamic governments

The Iranian people, all speakers and we have always advised the Islamic governments to come together and be united. We do not want to invade or occupy any country's territory. We just want to safeguard our rights and have always been true to our word. From the very beginning, our word has been the same. Neither at that time did we talk of Arabs against Iranians or leveled other accusations like some Arab leaders, nor do we say such things today and not even in the future. Our word is the same: Muslims should be united to get rid and curtail the hands of wolves lurking to rip them apart. They say it is not possible, but Iran did it. Iran with a small population and lacking in any organized force took to the streets, removed the arrogant powers, and curtailed the influence of the US, Soviet Union and all others.

Why do they say it is impossible? When nations want, it will not be impossible. We believe that before any social uprising the governments should set aside their differences, make friends with each other and in the summit of presidents settle their own problems. Every country can hold its own positions, but in issues affecting the general interests of Islam in areas where all have attacked Islam we have to present a united front to keep them at bay. This is easy. It is not something impossible. If all get united, they will go aside and no longer interfere. They make use of your weakness, your lack of knowledge and your ignorance. In time of Muhammad-Rida they exploited the weakness of this poor man. They uttered one word and he was humble. They did not mean to come and deploy forces. They had so frightened him that he believed if he said one word against the US, it would do such and such. Iran said and nothing happened.

I do not say we did not suffer loss. However, is not safeguarding the human and Islamic values worth everything even one's life? Our prophet preserved Islam with martyrs. This is true of other prophet. Life-style of prophets and prominent men has been like this. They fought against arrogant powers even though they were killed or offered martyrs. It is valuable for man to stand against oppression and oppressor, clenches his fist and strikes on their mouth, and prevents oppression from being spread. This is valuable. We are duty bound gentlemen! It is not such that when we wait for reappearance of the Imam of the Time (peace be upon him), we should sit at home, twiddle our thumbs or pray for his reappearance. His reappearance should be hastened through your struggle. You should provide the groundwork for his reappearance. To prepare the ground is achieved by bringing Muslims together and get them united. God willing, he will reappear. I hope God almighty draws our hearts towards Him and favors us with a breeze of the knowledge of the Quran, acquaints Muslims with their duty and leaders of Muslims with their divine duty and destroy those who are against Islam and Muslims.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Permission

Time: December 27, 1983 [Dey 6, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Husayni Ashtiyani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dey 6, 1362 AHS

Rabial-Awwal, 1404 AH

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

And then, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayni Ashtiyani—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs, collect religious dues, and spend the poor-rates and expiation alms or religiously-prescribed cases. He is also authorized to economically spend from the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him), for his own sustenance; spend the extra third on prescribed cases, give half of the *sadat* share to the noble sadats (may God increase their numbers) and return what has remained of both shares to me to be spent on promotion of Islam.

“And I advise him (may God assist him) to what our pious predecessors have: to keep company of piety and to evade carnal caution in all circumstances.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and all believers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: December 29, 1983 [Dey 8, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and punishment abatement

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, Mahdi Qadi

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Highness Great Leader and Founder of Islamic Republic of Iran Imam Khomeini, May your presence last long,

Respectfully, you are notified that following your sacred order dated 19/3/1362, AHS on investigation into the situation of prisoners of Islamic Revolution courts a delegation was dispatched to different provinces and cities and the following decisions were adopted for their release or reduction of prison terms. Your Eminence is requested to confirm the bellow:

Line	City Name	Applicants for Release	Applicants for Extenuation
1.	Tehran	300	200
2.	Kurdistan	30	10
3.	Urumiyah	50	65
	Total	380	275

Muhammad Muhammadi Golani, Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, Muhammad Qadi]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 8, 1362 AHS

¹ According to duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Decree

Time: December 30, 1983 [Dey 9, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission to reinvestigate tazirat (punishment below the full amount prescribed by law) bill

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President)

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

Your Highness dear Leader of Revolution Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long,

The tazirat bill which has been signed by the Guardian Council as token of its non-objection and communicated to the executive has now been questioned for fear that some of its articles may contradict the holy Sharia. Considering that the article 94 of the Constitution is not fully clear in relation to the bill in the present condition, your eminence is kindly requested to order the Guardian Council to study the likelihood of the said bill's contradictory articles within a week and communicate the result for necessary action, thus removing any misgiving in conformity of the performance of organizations to the Constitution. Please communicate your noble view.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
President of Islamic Republic of Iran
8/10/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are authorized to notify the respected members of the Guardian Council to study the case within one week up to maximum 10 days and communicate the result to the Majlis.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
9/10/1362 AHS

Message

Time: January 2, 1984 [Dey 12, 1362 AHS / Rabial-Awwal 28, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegraph of congratulation on the arrival of the New Year

Addressee: Ahmad Sokotoreh (President of Guinea)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Ahmad Sokotoreh the popular and revolutionary President of Guinea,

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's congratulatory telegraph on the arrival of the New Year with gratitude. I implore God Almighty to grant dignity to Islam and Muslims and salvation to deprived and oppressed people of the world from the domination of arrogant powers. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1404 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, January 2, 1984 [Dey 12, 1362 AHS Rabial-Awwal 28, 1404]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Unity and perseverance for pursuing goals; significance of elections

Audience: Habibullah Asgarawlati, Said Amani, Muhsin Labbani, Rokhsifat, Abul-Fadl Haydari, Shafiq

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Need for cooperation of bazaar with government

What we all should note is that today most of the governments are on bad terms with us. We should, therefore, get united and be on good terms with one another. If bazaar fails to side with the Islamic Republic, the republic will suffer defeat. Today we need unity. Today we should be together. If we are not united, we will be destroyed. All powers have felt that Islam is detrimental to them. They declare outright declared that they are opposed to the Islam we have presented to the world. They want a Saudi-style Islam. The *munafiqin* also say the Islam that orders cutting of hand is not Islam despite the fact that it has been expressly mentioned in the Quran. Of course, we have the problem of high prices and shortage, which weigh heavily on the civil servants, but we should to lerate. If today our complaints find their way into bazaar, Majlis and government and these complaints turn into differences, we are all accountable. If today Islam is slapped, it will not be able to regain its vigor. For the sake of Islam we should set aside some of our differences.

I who am around 85 years old with great deal of weakness suffer inconvenience and exhaustion more than you. If we are to withdraw, I am the one to retreat. However, we all have entered an arena that we will suffer defeat if we withdraw one-step. Of course, no one can insult you and the likes of you. If in a newspaper or in Majlis you are insulted, you should not leave the scene. Essentially, in order to beat you there are certain groups that intentionally create troubles for you. One should stand firm. The holy prophet suffered troubles and adversities more than any one else, but he stood to the end and fulfilled his duty. So were the Immaculate Imams (peace be upon them), but they also stood. There was a good reason behind their imprisonment. They were incarcerated because they stood against those who rose up against Islam. We who are committed to Islam, seek the growth of Islam, plan to transform the world and the nations should not leave the scene

by the lies and slanders and insults leveled against us. Contention will of course make the situation even worse because it causes you waste a lot of time replying the newspapers and the Majlis. In brotherly and calm tone, works will come to a good end. If one did bad thing to us and we treat him in most appropriate manner, the story will not end up in quarrel. You have a great share in the revolution. So does in post-revolution period. If bazaar failed to accompany, the revolution would not emerge triumphant. Therefore, be ready to run the risk of such issues. One who has a constructive initiative should not expect all to concur with it. This will not be feasible. There were people who did not approve of the Commander of the Faithful to the end of his life. If one wants to serve Islam, one should not expect all to accept him. One who wants to work for God should anticipate imprisonment, exile, disgrace and other thing. If you are insulted, you should accept for the sake of God and do good deeds. We should not forget that we all have accomplished such a big task. Now we should expect insult from the east and west and different forms of corruption from local elements. A number corrupt people want to pit the bazaar against the government and the government against bazaar. I tell everyone who comes here the things I am telling you now. I hope that you will be on good terms with each other and will be successful.

Necessity for participation in elections

Today the crucial issue is the election. You should pay heed to the election. In early days of the Constitutional Movement, bazaar guilds had their representatives and elections were to some extent in the hands of people. Later on, those who were corrupt acted in a way that they gradually sideline the religious people from the Majlis. These people withdraw without the slightest resistance. Then you saw what they did to the Majlis: they did whatever they wished. If in the next Majlis we withdraw a step, they will sideline in the near future. We should not sulk and rather struggle so that bazaar would introduce representatives for the elections. We should not imitate a certain group to try to follow in their footsteps. We would rather try to find out who in, for instance, Tehran is competent, well-aware of present circumstances, religious, and devoted to serving Islam. We should choose individuals who are qualified from every respect. If others nominated competent candidates, cast your vote for them. Otherwise, do not do so. Bazaar is independent. They can choose honestly, whoever they deem competent. If we show negligence in elections, certainly our opponents will damage us through the Majlis. It should be known that being merely a

Muslim is of no avail. The candidate should recognize the Islamic Republic and be aware of the concerns of the time. Try to choose the likes of the late Mudarres. Of course, the likes of Mudarres cannot be found so soon. Perhaps there might exist individuals like Mudarres. Those whom you choose should be able to realize the issues. Do not elect individuals who are frightened if the Soviet Union, the US, or any other power browbeats. Choose those who stand and resist. Awaken the bazaar to send good individuals to Majlis in Tehran and other places so that our future Majlis would be better than the present one. The current Majlis is of course good. I wish you would be successful. I hope you will be soldiers for Islam.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Statements

Time: Morning, January 2, 1984 [Dey 12, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1404]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for independence of Sepah and showing no leaning toward political currents

Audience: Fadlullah Mahallati (Imam Khomeini's representative in *Sepah-e Pasdaran*); Muhaqqiq (the Imam's representative in Isfahan's *Sepah-e Pasdaran*); Rida Seyfullahi (Commander of Isfahan's *Sepah-e Pasdaran*)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Isfahan has good and religious people. The gentlemen going there should be careful not toward tilt toward anyone and try to keep *Sepah* independent. Of course, treat all with sincerity. Try not to transmit the difference of opinion that exists everywhere to *Sepah*. Your main concern should be the war. Try to hearten the people. I hope you are successful to do the works in an efficient manner.

Speech

Time: Morning, January 3, 1984 [Dey 13, 1362 AHS / Rabial-Awwal 29, 1404]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Duties of governors and lieutenant governors in Islamic government-significance of elections

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq Nuri (Interior Minister); Abdullah Nuri (the Imam's representative in Construction *Jihad*), governors and district governors from across the country; members of the Islamic associations of villagers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Behavior of Qajar and Pahlavi governments with people

I would like to thank all the gentlemen for coming here. I implore God Almighty to grant success to all the gentlemen to serve Islam, Muslims and their country. Perhaps no one among you has experienced the Qajar time. If there are, they are few in number. Moreover, very few may have experienced the early days of the Pahlavi dynasty. You observed the end of the dynasty, which had undergone tremendous change as compared to its early days. The fiber of government at that time and the texture of those who were engaged in government organizations ranging from the governors or district-governors and others was a special structure suiting the monarchical machinery. It was not possible for a district-governor to sit beside common people, farmers, or people from bazaar in a ceremony or gathering. Things were very different then. If we compare the government agents of that time, even the governor of a small town with our current president or prime minister we see that they are poles apart in every respect. The former group had very strange and complicated rules for meeting and socializing with people. When a government agent of low rank wanted to go somewhere, his attendants would push people aside to make way for him. In addition, you can guess how a minister or a prime minister would treat people. Before their fellow citizens, they should show pomp and pageantry, but displayed weakness and humiliation before outsiders. They used to humiliate, insult, harass and take advantage of their subordinates, but were meek and humble before an ambassador.

Popularity of officials in the Islamic system

Today, we see that governors from across the country, as stated by the gentleman, and district-governors, farmers and some ordinary people sit in

one place. If the prime minister and the interior minister who are here and the president and others were also here, they would also sit among them. If one comes from outside it is difficult to find out who the minister, the governor, the district-governor or the simple man is. This is what is found in our narrations to the effect that if one entered the mosque of the Messenger of Allah where the prophet was sitting with his companions no one could distinguish between the prophet and his companion. One had to ask which one of them was the prophet. In the past however, it was clear. Anyone entering a session could easily find who the government agent was. It was because he was sitting very proudly in a prominent place. People would understand he must have been the authority. However, the messenger of God who was also the head of the vast Islamic government used to sit among the ordinary people. If an Arab came to Medina, the center of his government, he would see a number of people sitting in circle talking to each other. It was not possible to distinguish who the leader or the subordinate was. This was the situation of life. The Holy Prophet intended to teach us to act like this, and make us understand our duty. I hope that the moral and spiritual aspects of you governors, district-governors and all other officials of the Islamic government are like your unaffected immaculate appearance. When the Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him) had been informed that an ankle-ring had been taken from the leg of a Jewish or Nazarene woman, the Imam is quoted as saying that if one dies of grief he is not to be blemed.¹ He became uneasy in the face of oppression. You are all in the presence of God, wherever you are. Your hearts are in the presence of God, your arms, your eyes and your everything is in presence of God and God is present everywhere.

Setting religious leaders as model in treating people

Try to treat the servants of God in the way your Imams did, your prophet did and other prophets did. Do not imagine that someone who is president, prime minister, minister, Majlis speaker, governor-general, governor or district-governor has attained something important. The most important thing is satisfaction of God, which can be secure through satisfying the servants of God. You who deal with people should win their satisfaction. These very people in the street, the very dear farmers and civil servants and those who toil in factories are the source of honor of a nation and guarantee victory of a nation. They are our benefactors. We should feel this sense in our heart to

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27 (on *Jihad*).

treat our benefactors in a way that wins satisfaction of God. One who is governor of somewhere should not imagine that plume himself on people as did the governors in the former regime. The difference between the Islamic Republic and monarchical regime is that the former is from people and that the Islamic Republic is indebted to this very common people in the country. The monarchy believed that it did not need people and that they could do the works and people should be under their domination and thus treated people that way. Treat the servants of God well as the victory we have achieved is due to their struggles.

Preserving the victory is more difficult than securing it

Know that preservation of a victory is more difficult than securing that victory. Conquest of a country is easier than preserving it. Now we are in the difficult stage of preserving the Islamic Republic establishment. The first stage that marked the primary victory has been left behind and, thank God, you emerged victorious. However, maintaining of the victory and the subsequent achievements are more difficult than the victory itself. All of you should struggle to preserve what you have achieved. It is no mean feat and has cost you dearly. It is not something insignificant that you have achieved. From spiritual aspects, I and the likes of me cannot reckon what spiritual achievements have the people gained. The Almighty God can only reckon this. Looked at from superficial aspects, what has today been achieved by Islam and Iran is that which had not been realized for Iran in the course of history. Iran had many bullies but they were weak persons bowing down before other governments, particularly in the recent century. The older the monarchy became the weaker it grew to the extent that a British ambassador at that time and American ambassador at the present time controlled the destiny of the country. The destiny of our country was in the hands of foreigners. What have you achieved is the power to exercise self-determination. You curtailed the influence of the US, the Soviet Union, England and other countries and expelled them. This is not something insignificant you have achieved. It is a great accomplishment whose preservation is more difficult than the achievement itself. Those who suffered defeat at your hands will not sit idly. They plan to avenge their defeat. If they want to avenge their defeat, as is their approach, they will do so through you. They struggle to bring about your defeat at your own hands. This is very important and you should be careful about it. The early signs of our defeat appear when those people working on farmlands are persuaded by the agents of our enemies to show laxity in agriculture, which is a top priority for a

country like Iran, and the people working in factories are encouraged to slacken.

Religious duty in elections

Since it is time to talk about our duty in elections, I should say that for those intent on defeating the revolution Majlis is of crucial importance. Majlis is not something to be trifled with. It holds pride of place in our country. A good Majlis can rectify and improve everything while a bad one can worsen all affairs. As a result, those who ruled over the country in the past did their utmost to take hold of the Majlis. When the Constitutional Movement was launched and the Majlis was formed, they strived to get control of it. At that time as they could not force people, they along with their agents or local chiefs use various tricks to deceive people. When Rida Khan came to power, everything was in the hands of the king. These last days were also the same. Everywhere the governors had been ordered to rig the ballots and declare certain people winner. They were told to force the votes out of people. Failing that, they could change the ballot boxes or misread the ballots. Everything was in their hands. Since people had been disappointed, they had retreated and the way was now open. One of the important ploys by which they did their job was to disappoint the different layers of people in the country. People had come to believe they were not able to do anything. They tried to disappoint people from making any effort. "We are unable to do things; everything has to come from the west; we have such neighbors" were the common mottos at that time. They made efforts in this direction, and if some people occasionally stood up, through their agents in the Majlis they would crush them. Failing this opponent will be killed. They disappointed people from doing anything. Physicians would be dispirited from treating appendicitis. This was painful. Whenever I think of this treatment, I feel dejected. In time of Muhammad-Rida, physicians were brought from abroad to operate appendicitis. This meant to suppress the esteemed doctors of the country. Experts were brought from abroad. The army had to have American advisors. On the other hand, if it were at that time advisors would come from somewhere else. Experts were brought for us. For our factories, experts were sent to prevent us from understanding. Military advisor came to prevent the army men from understanding. Experts did not come to train them; they came to stop them from learning.

People determine the destiny of elections

Today the country is in your own hands and you have no longer any superior to boss you around. Thank God, we have no one from abroad to dictate to us. No power in Iran can today impose something on us. Today you should sit and do your own work. Election should not be like in the past when orders came from the center to the effect that certain people were to be representatives. No one has the right to make such dictations. Election is in the hand of people. The president and prime minister are equal in terms of election with the subject working on the farm or the worker in bazaar. The president has one vote, prime minister one vote and that farmer in the remotest part of the country one vote. Their votes are the same. All are responsible. In distinguishing between good and bad, do not rely on the words of others unless they are people whom you completely trust. I draw the attention of people and you gentlemen who will be in charge of the elections in the future that if a deviation is found in any of you, which may harm this republic, you will be held accountable. If any damage is inflicted on Islam, you are to blame. Moreover, if your faults are uncovered, you will not be forgiven and will be prosecuted. Without regard to the dictates from above you should hold the elections. No one has the right to dictate anything in the elections. There is no objection in giving order as far as good performance of the elections is concerned. The interior Minister can, of course, give orders for the elections to be held in a right, Islamic manner. However, if someone from above wants to dictate certain people should become representative, such a thing does not exist in Islam and Iran. I make such a warning because coming generations in Iran should know that this is the way to be done. Today we do not have anyone to dictate. One might propose and people are free to choose. Let us suppose that all those at the helm suggest that certain people become representative but their proposal is not correct in your opinion. It is not permissible to you to obey. You should come to this realization that a certain candidate is a good person so that you can vote.

Majlis and commissions Need experts as well as pundits

Mere fact that one is a very good man, says one's prayer on time and performs night prayer is not sufficient for representing people in the Majlis. Majlis needs political persons, economists, public officials and persons aware of the world situation. Majlis deputies should also be committed to Islam and favor the Islamic Republic. At the same time, he/she should perform prayer. Everything should be found in a Majlis. In the Majlis commissions different

subjects ranging from military topics, agricultural and economic questions to other subjects are debated. One should be aware of them.

Those accepted in these commissions should be persons versed in economics, agriculture, administrative affairs and world problems. Majlis has to steer a country against which all other countries have lined up. It is not to run a country in isolation. Nowadays Iran has stood against the world: the whole world on the one side and Iran on the other side. Iran is alone against a world full of aggressors. All want to attack us. You want to have a Majlis which bravely whitstands against these aggressors. The Majlis should appoint a government that can defend the attacks launched in the world and he pressures exerted by the world. This stems from Majlis. The government is made out of Majlis. You need such a Majlis. You should resist for preservation of yourselves and for preservation of dear Islam for which you have offered so much blood. Note that you should preserve this. To preserve means that you who are agents should efficiently perform without regard for anyone and in conformity with the Sharia, Islam, and interests of the country. People are all free. As pointed out earlier, there is no difference between the president, prime minister, interior minister and the farmer in the remotest part of the country in being obliged to choose the ones they deem to be useful for the country.

Freedom in choosing and learning about candidates

Bazaar should know for itself. Factories should know for themselves. No one should be impressed by others. However, if there are reliable people who know the candidates and testify that certain people are good, from various aspects, then it is no problem if others vote for them and take the reliable people's word for it. It is not however sound for one to follow others blindly. There is not such a thing in Islam and should not exist in Islamic Republic as well. You governors and district-governors and the respected persons directing these Islamic associations across the country are obliged to give care to this matter so that it will be accomplished well. Beware lest a fraud would, God forbid, come about. Be careful so that no frond or rigging can God find its way into into elections. Beware lest some people run for elections. You will see many of such cases. These are your duty to perform. People are also duty bound to participate in the elections. They should not retreat. Participation is an obligation. It is preservation of Islam. Retreating is opposed to obligation; it is against the interests of Islam.

The pious one who imagines he is doing an Islamic practice by refusing to interfere in Islamic affairs, he is treating against Islam. If God forbid such

an individual is there, the one who withdraws by observing a wrong act done by somebody or group, he acts against the interests of Islam. This practice was also observable in early days of Islam. In time of Immaculate Imams such things were being done. Right, such things have existed, but they did not withdraw. They were engaged in their own activities. I advise people to participate in the elections and you should know competent individuals for this post. Hand over the fate of your country to those who are useful for your country from political, economic and all other aspects. If you show negligence and no one knows, God is there and God knows and sees. You are in God's presence wherever you are. All creatures of God are in God's presence everywhere they are. Supposing that I did a wrong thing, it does not mean that Islam has done it. You should work for Islam. You should not concern yourselves with what a certain person has done. Well, let him do bad thing, but you should do good for Islam so that the bad one becomes good by following you.

Do not retreat. The *ulama* should not withdraw. Of course, people involved should be knowledgeable no matter which part of this system they come from. All their responsibility aspects should be good. At any rate, I pray for you to be successful and sanctioned. The things that should be taken as obligations, you should act efficiently and people should participate efficiently. If people are not present and God forbid any harm is inflicted on Islam, we are responsible. God willing, God will make you successful!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, January 7, 1984 [Dey 17, 1362 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Role of the radio and television in promoting Islam and the image of Iran and the need to improve their programs

Audience: Members of the Council of Superintendents of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of paying attention to quality and content the radio and television programs

From the very early days following victory of the revolution when the job was entrusted with the gentlemen I have always insisted that the issues raised in the radio and television should themselves promote Islam. At the outset, it was messy, in fact deplorable. When Qutbzadeh¹ was in charge of the organization, I advised him not to broadcast some kinds of music, and that if they could not distinguish between good and bad they had to forgo the whole thing. It is not acceptable to do an unlawful act to show something. He either could not or did not want. It was not done. Later other individuals came. I told them repeatedly that this was the way things should be done. The content and quality of programs should project the image of the Islamic Republic. There were defects in the content. Now it has improved. Still it is not desirable. Some issues that are necessary are aired insufficiently if not rarely. Some others that are not much necessary are repeated on many occasions. The situation should improve such that this defect can be removed. Likewise, some of the plays shown on TV such as passion plays are trite. It annoys me whenever I turn on the television, because most their normal plays are good, but their passion plays are trite. In brief, one becomes disgusted with them. Maybe there is a group among people who favors this type of play, but in my opinion, showing those programs on TV at this time and in this situation is beneath Islamic Republic's dignity. Essential issues should be aired. News items of the world are not collected efficiently. News reports are aired repeatedly. Their time is being wasted on repetitions such as who met whom and who talked to whom and said such and such. This is

¹ Sadiq Qutbzadeh, former superintendent of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization.

denigrating. These matters should be somewhat improved gradually now that the gentlemen are in control of the organization. This was about this aspect of television.

Rejecting the unfounded allegations against the son of Imam

Regarding the individuals working there, I should say that trustable individuals should be employed. These individuals should not make remarks abroad that run counter to trusteeship. For instance, a gentleman came here talking about the people who formerly worked in the radio and television. I saw they opposed the Constitution and brought about a situation to disturb things there. I do not say they intentionally did it, yet the situation was brought about. Subsequently, I told the gentlemen to dismiss them. Some said, "it is not advisable to dismiss them; they should be asked to resign." They were stopped to resign. Then a gentleman came to me and told me why I had told them to resign. I did not remember. I told him I do not remember. I don't remember what I told him. As I heard later, that gentlemen left and joined a party or somewhere. I was told this and I do not know whether it was true or not. Later they made telephone calls saying that Ahmad¹ had told them lies. You see, they presented my household in this way saying Ahmad was telling them lies about what I had said. Accused him of such blatant lie that all of you, Mr. Khomeini, and all the people would easily notice. Well, for what reason did they make such allegations? They did so to disparage Ahmad who has no post or position. They wanted to demean here with such issues. Well, I do not know what the situation is and whether it has been a mistake or so. I expect the gentlemen to speak thoughtfully. It should not be such that, for instance, they harbor something in their mind or have a problem and then suddenly say Ahmad has told a lie quoting Khomeini while this is not the case. You know, Mr. President knows and let me say he knows that I wanted them to be dismissed. Of course, I did not ask them to resign. I said, "Dismiss them," because they acted in contrast to the law. The condition there was such that the situation would be disturbed. Then the gentlemen said this is not good. Mr. Ardebili² said this is not good. The gentlemen should resign. I also said this is better.

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, son of Imam Khomeini.

² Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili.

Need for preserving Islamic standards and prestige of individuals in the radio and television

Of course, I expect the gentlemen working in the radio and television not to deal with matters inspired by personal incentives. The issues should be treated based on the interests of our government and our country. For example, someone may be angry with a certain person, and then he goes and presents a distorted image of him on the radio and television. This treatment runs counter to the interests of the country. We should treat the issues with Islamic principles. We should develop Islamic ethics. We should never try to put down people, unduly magnify some or denigrate others. We should not be engaged in such matters. We should go beyond such concepts. Those who are in charge of the radio and television are trustees of the Islamic country. The radio and television differ from other places and a ministry. Here, the problems rapidly spread all over the world, and can provide a good pretext for those wanting to kick up a fuss. We should make sure that Islamic rules are closely observed here.

Let me repeat it that some music is still broadcast. The authorities on music should see if they cannot delete the music of a film, they reject the entire film.

[Mr. Muhammad Hashemi (managing director of the radio and television): Do you mean obscene music?]

Exactly! If it is an unlawful music!

Those dealing with war are not objectionable.

[Mr. Muhammad Hashemi: Anthems?]

Yes, there is no objection to them, but sometimes there are obscene songs.

[Mr. Hashemi: If you have some specific cases in mind, identify them.]

I cannot say. I cannot listen to radio all the time to see what it airs and which part is such and such. You gentlemen and the ones versed in the business should screen them out. No doubt, they can do this job. When they want to give something to be broadcast, they can screen out those parts; otherwise the whole thing should be scrapped.

Need for improving religious plays

You should be careful lest their plays be obscene. Sometimes, they are constructive and good. Predominantly, I think the plays made in Iran by them are good. However, the parts that, I do not know, deal with passion plays and panegyric are, in my opinion, trite. If others like, I have no objection. It seems so to me.

Anyway, to put it generally, the radio and television are like a corporation that deal with the world, not simply with Iran and us. It can present Iran to the world as a good or bad country. It can give excuse to the world or strip the world of any excuse. This is the function of this agency. You know everyone a radio in Iran. One cannot say a family is poor and does not have a radio. Formerly, people did not listen to radio. I myself did not listen. Today, *ulama* listen, theology students listen, and the poor listen and country people listen to the radio. Moreover, people watch television wherever it is possible. Moreover, it is aired abroad. We should think out a way lest God forbid we may provide an excuse for others ourselves. We should struggle to rely on God and if anything happened, we will not be to blame. The most important thing is that tomorrow when we go to God, will be exonerated from blame. Cannot differs from do not. Making mistake is different from doing intentionally. We should act in a way that when we leave for the other world, we are not disgraceful. We should struggle not to be defeated there; our defeat here is not important. In my opinion, our defeat here is not something to worry about.

[Mr. Hashemi: God willing, we will not suffer defeat here as well.]

Revolution is not dependent on individuals

There is no defeat at work, God willing. Although I say there is no talk of such words, the issue is out of question. Let me tell you that sometimes some of the intimate friends' voice concern saying that if you aren't living what will happen. I said the revolution is moving on the right track; it no longer hinges on anyone. They thought that if they blast the Islamic Republic Party and kill those dear gentlemen, the revolution would be destroyed. They had said that only a couple of those gentlemen were left, and if the two were killed, the whole story would be over. Well, this argument stems from their lack of sound reason. Maybe their understanding is wrong. On the other hand, they might intentionally say such things to encourage the rogues to kill them as well. Anyhow, it is rolling on the right track and presented to the world. The world reckons with it. It is now being reckoned with by the world. The insults are indicative of the seriousness with which they are dealing with Iran. Why don't they abuse other places? Why are they only speaking ill of Iran? Is it only Iran that is engaged in terror. Is there no other places? Is Iran at top of all countries? Whatever is done wherever has been done by Iran! It is because they have been intimidated lest their call for Islam should be realized. They fear lest this voice should be raised in other countries. They are afraid of the Islam that destroys the bullies and let me say

the corrupt people and the debaucheries. Islam wants to destroy drinking. Well, they fear it. Many of them and their heads are used to drinking. Well, they want this Islam not to permeate other places. Even though it is established in Iran, they try to confine Islam to Iran. We want Islam to flourish in Iran. We do not want to lead a military expedition against any country. The entire world knows about it, even though they all deny that Iraq has attacked our country. Well, let us suppose Iran wants to sign the peace treaty. What should it do, how should it make peace and with who? Should it make peace with one who is trying to deceive the Kurds into colluding with him against Iran? However, he is telling a lie to the Kurds. He cannot get along with the Kurds. He wants to lure the Kurds into attacking us which will be very diastorous for them. Later on, he will deal them a deadly blow. He wants to do such a thing. The Kurds should be aware of the fact that Saddam does not befriend them. He is pretending to be sitting with the poor and treating them affectionately. Last night Baghdad radio said: See our dear leader in this troubled world visits the slum dwellers and the poor and eats along with them and talks to them with no one guarding him- no guards at all. Right, these are mere words. We know and they know...

Export of revolution through word and action

The world has gradually come to draw attention to Iran. These poor and oppressed people of the world have come to realize that the development in Iran has opened the way for everywhere to awaken. We want to export our revolution in this way. We are not at war with anyone nor do we want to launch a military expedition. We want to make the world understand that Islam is progressive using dialogue and good acts we do here. Islam is good for all oppressed people. This will be exported everywhere. Do those who proclaim to be penitent really want Islam to be implemented? They want religious limits to be enforced out of despair. He is this sort of man. He does not understand what he is saying. The world knows him. Does he really want Islam to be put into practice? Or does he want to swindle people by pretending to be like us. He wants Islam to cease to exist. They want to introduce their version of Islam. They want an Islam to suit the taste of the US. Anyhow, we should pay great heed to Islamize everything in the country, and really trust God. That is, in our heart! Our heart should be connected to God. If this is realized, we no longer fear anything. Finally, everyone dies. If once, let us supposed, they attackus and kill all of us, nothing will happen. It is no longer important. May God sanction all of us! I wish you success. I hope we are all successful in rendering service to these

poor social classes who have always been trampled by the bullies in the course of history. I hope they will succeed in improving their living standards. May God protect you and keep you healthy!

Statements

Time: Morning, January 10, 1984 [Dey 20, 1362 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need adapting court rulings to religious standards

Audience: Sayyid Jafar Karimi (Chief of the Supreme Court of Religious Judges)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The esteemed judges of the courts of the country should continue with their work diligently and be careful to adapt the verdicts to religious standards and legal rules. Protection of religious and legal rights of the clients should be observed with utmost caution.

Speech

Time: Morning, January 17, 1984 [Dey 27, 1362 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 13, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Comparing the role of people in former regimes and Islamic system; necessity of improving embassies

Audience: Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Foreign Minister); deputies, ambassadors and charge d'affairs of Islamic Republic of Iran in western and African countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The role of people in former regimes and Islamic system

When I compare the current officials of Iran whether inside or outside the country with those in the former times such as Qajar period—part of which I remember—of the Pahlavi period. I feel that a great development has taken place. That is, the power has been transferred from bullies to the people and those from the people. In the past, either people were not allowed to get involved in the affairs of the country or they retreated because of rampant corruption. For example, people were not aware of elections, which were their insepArable right or they did not care at all. Essentially, people paid no heed to these concepts because people were regarded as a plaything. In time of Qajar dynasty, a number of the khans or tribal chiefs who were landlords and influential had appropriated the power. In time of Rida Shah, the power was entirely in the hands of the Shah and his entourage; there was no opportunity for people. This is the way they treated elections that were the right of people. As regards other affairs, people did not consider themselves to have any right. In spite of the fact that something was their right, people did not basically interfere. A government official who was visiting a place could do whatever he wished or commit ever lkind of corruption, but people's voice get now here. On some occasions, the chancellor or prime minister bribed to come to power in those days. This trend was particularly prevalent in time of the Qajar dynasty. Every fief one was appointed. One was sent to Khorasan. Of course, he had to pay something in exchange for Khorasan. This implied that one could do anything in Khorasan in exchange for the bribe he was paying. Whatever people cried, there was no one to listen to their complaints. Today however I see that the situation has, thank God, undergone change. Today, the prime minister, president and, let me say, other officials and ministers are from people. These days the officials are not

from another class and actually, we have done a way with social classes and the bullies. They are all from among people—or president was a theology student, and other official is from bazaar, the other one was a businessperson. Everyone is like this. You have a similar background. This is obvious from one's appearance. At that time, you could guess from one's appearance, and it is the same story today. Some gentlemen are students of theology, men of knowledge and ambassador. Some gentlemen are also from this nation; they were either from bazaar or university students. This is the state of affairs.

Need for improvement of embassies

We should avail of the present situation when power is in the hand of the nation. We should make the most of the opportunity when people have taken control of the affairs and work for Islam and for our people. The situation has thoroughly changed for you. You had not seen or visited the embassies in those days. No would visit the embassy. Nevertheless, they are aware of the situation prevailing there. This gentleman, for instance, is aware of the situation at that time. The situation should undergo total change and some changes has taken place. This change should however be fundamental to serve as a tradition for the future generations. One, who establishes a good tradition, has the shares of the rewards forever, as pointed out in narrations. Improve the situation in the embassies so that one who visits them finds the difference between the present and former embassies. The embassies should even differ from those of Islamic states. These embassies are in no way comparable to those of the past. They are very different. You should try to bequeath a good tradition to your future generations. We are not merely responsible for the present; we are responsible forever. Now that we have gained an opportunity, our responsibility is for future terms. We should not be concerned for today and neglect whatever may come in the future. We should not only think of the present situation and totally disregard what might happen in the future. It should not be like this. The gentlemen and we have to improve the embassies dramatically so that no one can bring about changes in them immediately. You have to change embassies in every aspect, and reverse every aspect because I know in the past the direction was not right and there was much horse—trading which normally politicians are engaged before personal interests. Now when they come to visit, they should see they have entered an Islamic environment. They should enter the environment of the people of Islam and cannot do anything wrong here. In the past when an ambassador would arrive in Iran, the same officials who

were like wolves, tearing apart the nation, became meek and humble before him. It was because they did not rely on people. They relied on the monarch who was himself the agent of foreign powers or on the prime minister who was also the same. The chancellor was also the same. They relied on such people and for this reason, when an ambassador arrived in Iran, he did whatever he wished. History has it that British ambassador arrived in Iran, pushed the chancellor against the wall and beat him on the head complaining why he did not act as he wanted. An ambassador did it. Well, you know the ambassador and the president of a country and even king of England in an alien country cannot treat even an ordinary citizen of that country in such manner. In your case, you do not rely on a single person. You are the nation. You rely on the nation. When reliance is on the nation, one will no longer fear that if you do a certain thing, the ambassador may, let us suppose, report to the ministry to punish you. The ambassador himself cannot do it. This is the situation today.

You should avail of this opportunity and preserve this divine tradition handed down to us and we should set good example for future generation. I am assured that the situation is, God willing, good today. Of course, it is not completely satisfactory, yet you should work to make it hundred percent good. What counts is the future.

For future generations

The important thing is that government in Iran should be such that the next generation who come to power cannot change it at once. The people are willing for this. The government should make things in a way that when it is handed over to the future generation, they cannot do the converse. The president should behave in a way that when another one succeeds him cannot do the reverse. Others should be like this. Majlis should act in a way that when another Majlis takes over it cannot change the procedure set by the former. This is an obligation upon us. You are now obliged to make things in a way that when it is transferred to another one however bad he has to present him as good. Wherever you are, you should improve all moral, ideological, political and social aspects and whatever entrusted upon you. Likewise, in the past if one was good, one could not show one's good nature because the atmosphere had been made such that one who wanted to be religious, could not display in public. You should provide the environment in a way that if, God forbid, a bad man becomes ambassador or charge d'affairs and I do not know whatever, one cannot display that he is different from the prevailing environment. One has to change his conditions to suit yours. We

should always try to consider the future, not the present. We ought to think about our future, the future of Islam and our nation. All the wolves are hanging around to see the news to restore the previous situation. It is now incumbent upon us not to let such a thing happen and disturb the whole situation. Everything should remain in its place. If anyone dies, everything should remain in its place. You should preserve this state of affairs. This is something that is in my opinion important for ministries, for ambassadors and for all.

Duty of ambassadors and embassies

You who are residing abroad have a more difficult duty. Wherever you are in Islamic lands, their situation is not inconformity with ours. I hope the situation there would also be set aright. You should live in such a way that you are not impressed by them. Whoever comes should be impressed by you, not vice versa. That is, when one enters here, things should be so that his mind and heart are positively impressed and he comes to the realization that here is better than his country. It is very good if the writers, autors, let's say, employees and managers be like this. They should feel that this situation is much better than theris.

If this idea finds reality, you will gradually find a way with them and your revolution will be exported. We want it to be exported in this sense. We want our ambassadors in foreign countries to act in a way so that they can impress the ambassadors and government in that country. Our government should act in a way that impresses other countries. Our nation should act in a way that impresses other nations. I hope you work for God and this idea can be translated into action by you. I hope you will be able to establish a good tradition for the future generation and have a share of their rewards. It is very important that somebody is dead, but still has a share of the rewards of others. If you leave behind a good tradition, you will benefit from this situation. I hope that you will be successful and victorious and continue with your own works.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: 1984 [1362 AHS / 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Accepting the gift of a combatant and returning it as a gift

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Dorosti Thani

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

Dear Great Leader of Revolution Great Khomeini,

I beg God for your health and victory in the works and longevity for you. I hope that we will soon open the closed path to Karbala by the combatants in the warfronts of right against wrong and perform the congregational prayer in Karbala with you as the prayer leader. If you would like to know about the condition of your children, these lions of the day and mystics of the night, they are thank God in good health and are engaged in the bunkers in saying prayer for you, imploring God to grant you, the liberal man smashing the oppressors and supporting the oppressed, longevity to lead the ummah to the revolution of Mahdi (May God hasten his reappearance).

O, embodiment of religion and justice! O, rightful viceroy of the Imam of the Time (May God hastens his reappearance)! Enlighten the people on the schemes of criminals to keep the flag of Islam hoisting in the world thanks to the unity they have. I am writing this letter from a strong bunker that is the very mosque or prayer room, something that the infidels are deprived of. Dear Imam I kiss your blessed hand from afar. Dear Imam prays for me to get martyred or open the path leading to Karbala and return home victoriously. As long as Islam has these young ones, the tree of Islam will be irrigated by the blood of these youths. We pray God to keep you until the revolution of Mahdi (May God hastens his reappearance).

Dear Imam I request you to send me a letter in your own handwriting along with a picture. I know you will not break the heart of a young combatant. I wish to meet you, but I cannot meet you. My heart will take joy from the letter you will send me. I hope we combatants will be able to meet you.

O brothers who might find my letter, I swear you by the great God to submit my letter to the honorable father that is the Imam of the ummah. Dear Imam I send you 500 tomans to spend wherever you deem necessary. I look forward to meeting you either in Karbala or in Jamaran. If I cause you some

inconvenience, I hope you will forgive me, because I took your precious time. In the hope that you will not break the heart of a 16 year old boy! Hoping for victory of the army of right against wrong and longevity of the dear Imam and opening the path leading to Karbala!

Your humble child and lover,
HusaynAli Dorosti Thani]

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear son! I hope you will be healthy and happy and can perform your religious duties. Peace be upon you!

I accepted the sum of money and returned it to you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: January 21, 1984 [Bahman 1, 1362 AHS / Rabiath-Thani 17, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Husayni

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Haj Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Husayni—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs, collect the religious dues as well as the holy shares, and economically use part of them for his own sustenance. Moreover, from the remaining sum, he is authorized to spend a third of the holy share of the Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the sadat share on propagating the holy Shria and other relevant cases, and return the rest to me to be used for promoting the poor word of Islam.

“And I advise him to what our pious predecessors have to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be careful in religious and worldly affairs.” May God's peace be upon him and our believer brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Time: January 23, 1984 [Bahman 3, 1362 AHS / Rabiath-Thani 19, 1404]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Respecting the life and property of followers of other religions in the Islamic State

Questioner: Abu'l-Fadl Mir Muhammadi (Member of the Supreme Judicial Council)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini—may your presence last long,

I hereby request Your Eminence to answer the following query:

If non-Muslims living in Iran, whether followers of the divine religions or else, commit an offence such as theft, fornication, espionage, corruption and revolt against the state, which are punishable by lashing or fine, should they be punished like Muslims. Or should their punishment in cases such as espionage be conditioned on abandonment? Or is the punishment like the case when they turn into fighting spies like the infidels who fail to act according to conditions of dhimi (non-Muslim living under Islamic government) being treated (like the dhimi); that is, returning to safe place or option of the ruler between murder or ransom or esterqaf as your Excellency has question the choice in question eight of *Tahrir al-Wasilah* vol. 2, p. 503.

On behalf of Supreme Judicial Council

Abulfadl Mir Muhammadi
3/11/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

The said disbelievers are under the protection of Islam and the rules of Islam applies to them like other Muslims, with their blood and property being respected and no one has the right to transgress upon them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: January 24, 1984 [Bahman 4, 1362 AHS / Rabiath-Thani 20, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting amnesty to prisoners

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may your presence last long,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 305 convicts of Islamic Revolution courts in three cities deserving amnesty and sentence abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ According to the authorities and duties of leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran.

Statements

Time: Morning, January 28, 1984 [Bahman 8, 1362 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciating the services rendered by Musawi Tabrizi

Audience: Yusuf Sani (Chief Public Prosecutor); Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi (Chief Public Prosecutor of Revolution)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Musawi Tabrizi has rendered many services to the revolution and Islamic Republic. All his services whether in Azarbayjan or Tehran in combating the *munafiqin* as well as other anti-revolution elements are really appreciated. Now that according to the Constitution we can only have one public prosecutor, I hope he will serve the republic in another capacity.

Speech

Time: Morning, January 31, 1984 [Bahman 11, 1362 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyeh Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Vastness of divinely test and examination

Audience: Members of local Islamic councils in charge of distributing of goods in Tehran, staff of the center for telecommunications research

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All are subject to divine examination

I should appreciate the gentlemen who are here and pray for their success in serving the servants of God. I hope that God will grant you and other brothers' success to serve the country that has been deprived in the course of history. May God grant success to anyone in any place to render service.

I should say that you, we, and all people of the world and our Iranian brothers are exposed to examination. There is no wise mature person in the world exempt from divine examination. Today, I would like to talk about ourselves, the officials of our country and the respected people. The position and the responsibility of each person will serve as a basis for testing them. The examination for the esteemed president is his presidency, what he does in his capacity as president, his thoughts, ethics, deeds and whatever crosses his heart, etc. this is true for all officials and Majlis deputies. For them that seat in Majlis is the basis for their trial. Their thoughts, words and opinions as deputies will be examined. They are examined on whether the seat they have occupied an Islamic one and for Islam or not. The same place is their venue for examination. Likewise, the government's venue for examination is the very ministry, the place where the prime minister works. For people in different department the basis of trial is the same offices they work in. The army men undergo examination in terms of their power. Their source of examination is the very place where they are engaged in army activities. Our *Sepah-e Pasdaran* are examined in terms of the power in their hands in the same place they are working. Gun in their hands is an examination. All those who possess an instrument for rendering service are tested by the same instrument, thus reflecting our deeds in the next world. That gun reflects the deeds of the rifleman. The Majlis reflects the deeds of the deputies in the next world and the works you dear ones for which we appreciate you and I hope will be heeded by the almighty God and gain His approval. You are

liable to examination in the same place you are located and your deeds will be reflected. You should be careful because the reflection of your deeds may bring about shame and disgrace for you. Now, Iran and the Iranian people seem to be more liable to examination than any any other place. People of Iran destroyed a regime, notorious for its tyrannical rules, with the power of people and clenched fists and without any arms and just by cry. With those cries people curtailed the grip of the US and other powers. Today, your country is in your own hands. There is no one superior to you to govern you, no advisor from other countries and no foreign experts to dictate their opinions.

Public responsibility in serving the country and improving affairs

Everything is in your hands and you are responsible. In the former regime if people were asked, they would argue that they could do nothing as nothing was in their hands. Today when everything is in your hands, no exercise is acceptable from you. Everyone in every place whether a security guard working in a department, the one who is sitting at the table in an office to whom people refer, the one who is fighting a battle in warfront, the one engaged in serving behind the frontline, the one doing business in bazaar, the civil servants active in government departments, the farmers working on land, those serving in factories and all strata of people in this country question you about the fate of the country. No one should imagine that for instance one is working in bazaar and cannot do anything; the other is a junior civil servant, etc. There is no difference among you in this respect. Everyone will be tried based on what he has done in his work place. An employee doing a manial job is tried for the job he is engaged in. He is tried on how he does the job entrusted to him, how he deals with the customers and whether he has satanic or divine motivations. There is no exception in this matter. Prophets also undergo examination. Anyone setting foot in this world and being obliged to fulfill a duty will be subject to examination. One should not imagine that no one could see what one is doing. What you do will be reflected. God Almighty is present everywhere. The angles of God watch over this individual. We should think what we should do to fulfill our duties efficiently. We who are today responsible for the destiny of our country are responsible. There is no one who is not responsible. All are responsible. We should try to fulfil the responsibility devolved on us in a way that will save us from shame and disgrace before God and the prophets and will give us a sense of pride. Everyone should do his job well wherever one is working. You should do the right thing even though all people need in the

wrong direction. Everyone should think about themselves. Everyone is responsible for one's works. No one is responsible for what others do. You are entrusted with a job and are under watch, but no one can understand the depth of your works. However, God is present. Those rendering services in various places should notice that God almighty and His angles are watching their deeds. The waves emanating from your words and deeds will act as witness. You should notice that the responsibility is big. For example, those who are serving in warfronts are composed of different groups ranging from the military, gendarmerie, *pasdar*, *Basij*, tribal people and police. People from all walks of life are serving there. Ordinary people also flock to serve in the war theaters. They should watch out that here is their place of examination. Are those who are active and want to save their country and defend it in harmony or everyone wants to work for oneself. Are they working for God or for themselves? If they noticed that they were willing to take power and not the other one, they should know that Satan motivates their deeds. Their martyrdom brings them no reward. They should work for God. Working for God means that the one who serves in Sepah does not want everything for Sepah and the one who is in the military does not want everything for the military and so on and so forth. All should proceed for God and for protecting the people and the country. It should not make any difference who is doing something. What counts is the destination. Prophets were like this. Saints of God were like this. The work is for God and it is all the same whether you or I or others do it. If the army, Sepah, Basij and other armed forces share this mentality, they are victorious both in warfronts and proud before God Almighty. If you fail to maintain this attitude, wherever you go you will not succeed.

Participation in elections with divine intention

One who wants to participate in the elections and is nominated, the one who nominates one, the one who is engaged in electoral activity and the one who advertises for him and for others will undergo test by so doing. Do you who have run for the election have the power to serve the country efficiently and consider yourself being superior to others? Do you who nominate one as candidate consider others inefficient? Do you consider your candidate to be more efficient and better? Do you who are engaged in advertisement for election advertise for yourself or for Islam? If you wish to enter the Majlis and consider it a position, you are advertising for yourself that is advertisement for Satan. If you advertise to enter the Majlis to serve and think you can serve and should not sit aside and find one to be competent and

therefore should serve if this is the case, this is for God. Sometimes, one might have misgivings. Moreover, many times one makes mistakes in what he does. Since man loves one's self, one wants everything for oneself unless one has undergone austere practices to avoid selfishness. Since one has self-esteem many of the acts done by him or his affiliates such as children, brothers, family, etc., are considered good. If such deeds are done by others one views them as bad. It is because selfishness covers the reality and one cannot discern. One who intends to nominate a certain person should tell himself whether he was ready to nominate another more efficient person who was not on good terms with him. If one nominated him as well, it becomes clear that one is working for God and is not selfish. If this is not the case, know that the effort is motivated by Satan and not God. This practice is precise and remains hidden for man. The friends and brothers who are all responsible should give care in their works and ask why they are doing what they do. The one, who was charged with the responsibility to distribute goods or work in the councils, should ask him why he is there and he wants to do there. The one who is responsible in telecommunications, should ask why he is there and what intention he has. Moreover, the one who enters the *Majlis* should ask himself why he goes there and what his purpose is. Moreover, the one who works in the military should ask himself the same question.

Effort for independence of the country with divine intention

If you want your country to be independent and one in which others cannot interfere, you should begin from yourself. All the fears one has of the enemy is because one sees oneself. If one sees God and works for God, one will not fear, because he determines the destiny. Do not imagine that you can do anything yourself. You are the one who cannot sleep the night if a fly vexes you. You cannot take rest in the morning if a mosquito disturbs you. You are the one who are afraid of a spider if it attacks you. You are the one a sparrow takes something from you; you are not able to take it back. All is weakness and poverty. Everything is from Him. God has granted us this independence, and without his favor, we were unable to attain it. How could we overthrow such a regime, which was back by all big powers? Without God's favor, we did not have the means and power to do this. If it were not for God's favor, how could you expel the US from your country, the US that is devouring the world? I have heard the US president has said Iran belittled them. This is just a beginning. Iran will belittle them to the end. If it were not for God's favor, how could you curtail the grip of a power, which had advanced weaponry and had put down roots all over the world? This is the

power of God. This is God's favor. Do not be negligent of this. If it were not for God's favor, how is it that you alone cry neither east nor west in the world? You are actually making this call. There are others who make such claim but everybody knows the claim is not sincere. If it were not for God's favor, who could do such a thing that is unprecedented in the world? These are God's favors. Preserve these favors. In order to preserve these favors you should serve the country God has given you.

Need for relying on your power and losing hope in foreigners

Today our country needs many things. Others will not at all help you settle your problems. They act in contrast. You should resolve your problems by yourselves. Preserve the blessing you have found, the blessing of freedom and the blessing that no power can boss you around. This is a Divine blessing of which others are deprived, others are either. They are either under the yoke of the east or the west, but you are not like this. You have to preserve this situation. You are the only ones who have to this job. A country which has experienced a revolution and actually been born again is normally expected to be in such a state and have some disturbances. A revolution is characterized by disturbance, shortage and scarcity. Iran was unlike other countries undergoing revolutions in that it opened the doors to every one just after the victory of revolution. As soon as the revolution emerged victorious, people established a government, set up the Majlis and so and so immediately. Where could people do these things? God has granted these to favors you. A country that is now embroiled in war, not a war with a decaying government like that of Saddam's, but a war with all the powers that struggle to give him a helping hand and save him, but to no avail. You are entangled in such a war; you are fighting with the world. All propaganda operations are against you. All sorts of weapons are offered to him; all money goes to him; he is being equipped. You are however, alone. You are lonely and only trust God. It is God Who has protected you. Now, your responsibility is great.

Tolerating difficulties for safeguarding revolution and human values

If I say that the responsibility our country has to take on is greater than that of any other country is because God has favored Iran more than all others. Is there any other country, which can claim to be independent of the east and west and do away with them? Only you have done it. When you are the only one and know that revolutions are associated with shortage and trouble you have to make efforts if you want to be real human beings and

wish to preserve your human values. It is not possible to sit at home and preserve one's human values. Anyone who sits at home and is secluded will suffer setbacks. However, he cannot understand that he is not a human being any longer. You who want to mend your way, you have to take trouble. It is difficult to be proud in the world. You have to take a lot of trouble. It is not attainable without making effort. If you bow down to them, you will lose your destiny. In that case, you are not worth a penny. If you want to get rid of the domination of all and rely on your power, this is valuable- a human value, a human honor. To achieve this, you have to take trouble, experience high prices, shortages, war defense and martyrdom. It is because of the human value. This is what prophets struggled for. It is what for which Imam Husayn was martyred. If he thought it would be troublesome and his companions thought it would be difficult, they could not accomplish a revolution that has remained impressive up to the present day. When one acts for God, troubles will diminish. One sees there are youths, whom I meet on many occasions, coming here crying to help them join the battlefield. The day before yesterday a young man came to me and said two of his brothers had been killed and sought permission to go for war. I told him your brothers have gone and it is sufficient. He began weeping. Such a spirituality cannot be achieved unless by God's favors. This spirituality is a favor that is granted only by God. Those who are sitting aside, sleep, eat and lead an animal life and constantly nag at the country should come to their senses and wake up. Those who constantly nag, complaining that here is wrong and there is wrong do not understand what situation we are involved. They want to sleep at night and get up in the morning, seeing all organizations; the entire country and our agriculture and everything change for the better overnight. They do not know in which adverse conditions we are. We are at war and under economic embargos. In such a situation, the US is openly opposing us and wants to wage a war against us. However, we do not care at all about it. We should understand this is our situation today. There are many problems in such a situation and things cannot be remedied overnight. It can be but it calls for patience. That which has so far been accomplished is unprecedented in the world. If you study history, you will find that the situation in Iran has had no parallel except in case of the saints of God. We are now embroiled by these powers. We should end this war victoriously soon. To accomplish this end, our youths should go to the battlefields. Our youths should not imagine that everything has come to its end and go after their business. Never,. It has not been finished. The US is in pursuit of its plots. Now the US has come to the arena. The arena the US enters is not a right one. The US says these things

because of the forthcoming elections. However, we should notice that we are involved in a war that determines the destiny of the nation. We should finish it as soon as possible. This is feasible if our youths join the battlefields. They should not sit idly so that others decide for them. We are all responsible. I hope that God will grant you success and guide you in His cause. May God grant us success in saving and serving the nation, which has suffered at the hands of many during the course of history.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Decree

Time: February 5, 1984 [Bahman 16, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence abatement of prisoners

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, Mahdi Qadi

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long,

Your Excellency is notified that after issuance of the holy decree dated 19/3/1362 on attending to the situation of prisoners convicted by public and revolution courts delegations were sent to Sistan and Baluchestan, Fars, Lorestan, Bakhtaran, Isfahan and Ilam provinces to closely look into the condition of prisoners. We hereby request Your Eminence to agree with amnesty or sentence abatement of prisoners belonging to anti-revolution groups in the above-mentioned provinces.

Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani,
Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid
Muhammad Abtahi, Mahdi Qadi]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 16, 1362 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Message

Time: February 5, 1984 [Bahman 16, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Indra Gandhi (Prime Minister of India)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the merciful

Your Excellency Mrs. Indra Gandhi Prime Minister of India,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution in Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that this noble Islamic Revolution will serve as a model for other deprived and downtrodden nations so that they can free from the oppression and domination of the colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 16, 1362 AHS

Reply to a Query

Time: February 6, 1984 [Bahman 17, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Answer to a telephone query concerning the autopsy of martyrs of chemical bombardments in Austria

Questioner: Embassy of Islamic Republic of Iran in Austria

[17/11/1362 AHS—Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1404 AH—The Foreign Ministry is asked:

Iran's embassy in Austria is notified that in order to get a definitive answer about the victims of chemical bombardments, autopsy is a must. Should we prevent this?

[the Imam's reply:]

After postmortem examination, it is not known if they would give the correct answer. They might disprove the result, as they have so far done. Why should we let them toy with us?

Speech

Time: Morning, February 7, 1984 [Bahman 18, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Disasters befalling the country in time of Pahlavi dynasty; warning the regional countries about supporting Saddam

Audience: Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Foreign Minister); ambassadors and charge d'affairs of other countries to Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Calamities of the 50-year long Pahlavi rule

Reciprocally, I appreciate the gentlemen who have come here and who have expressed support, and beseech God Almighty to grant health and happiness to all Muslims and oppressed people of the world.

In 50 years of Pahlavi black rule, we witnessed many calamities. We experienced and some of you heard about them. In the beginning when Rida Khan came to power, he came with a hypocritical face and was able to win over the nation. If you want to fathom the depth of the crimes committed by Rida Khan against this nation, a voluminous book to be written by our scholars and presented to the public.

It is not possible to tell what Rida Khan did to us at that time in one or two sessions. He dealt with the clerics in a manner that put the Mongols to shame, did those oppressions to our women that you cannot bear to hear, treated our university in a way that set it back and ran our army in the 50 or so years in a way that our army became dependent. They destroyed our independence. None of us had freedom in this country. None of the social stratum was free. The clerics who wanted to ascend the pulpit to preach the people were banned. They closed the assemblies of clerics for preaching. He created disaster and troubles for this nation that are beyond description. After he was brought to power by the British government and removed from power, the allied governments imposed Muhammad-Rida on our nation. Muhammad-Rida treated us worse than his father did. He ruined the prestige of this nation and destroyed our Islamic prestige. He caused our honor to drift away. He made our university in a way that when students were graduated from university they were enemy of this nation and dependent on other countries particularly on the west. There were few exceptions. The works he did cunningly were more profound than those performed by Rida

Khan. The latter did things by bullying and the former by craft and hypocrisy, dissipating all the prestige of this nation. He donated our treasures and resources to his masters, particularly the US and corrupted our youths. Centers of fornication in this country were innumerable. Centers of corruption were so many that our youth were corrupted. They were themselves responsible for selling heroin, opium and other types of narcotics by which they corrupted our youths.

They did such that our nation was at its wit's end. Our nation could not tolerate any longer. God Almighty favored us and the nation launched a revolution and stood against all powers that supported Muhammad-Rida, particularly the US. Despite the fact that the nation did not possess anything but faith, they managed to remove Muhammad-Rida, and relieved the country from the domination of the US.

They restored the army that was directed by American advisors, had no relationship with the nation, and expelled the advisors. People closed a den of espionage that was used in the name of embassy whose documents have now been published in many volumes. They wanted to have a free, independent nation neither leaning on the east or the west.

Nation's Freedom-seeking and enemy's propaganda

Now the crime of our people is that they want to be free and real human beings, determining their own destiny. Now all excluding a few countries of the world have risen against a country whose people have risen up, want to be free, enforce Islamic laws in this country and practice their religion. You all know the extent of the propaganda carried out. You are inside Iran and hear the foreign propaganda. Foreign propaganda is such that perhaps any of you with wakeful conscience may feel uneasy. They say that in the streets children gunned down. The foreign say in their propaganda that people have no freedom in Iran. They say no free choice has found reality in Iran. They say the stifling atmosphere in Iran is unrivelled anywhere in the world. Wherever any corruption is carried out is attributed to Iran. Wherever people are at their wit's end and want to revolt against them as Iran did, their acts are attributed to Iran. They want to remove Iran from the face of the earth; they work to overthrow the Islamic Republic. They don't know that a nation which has revolted in the full sense of the term and is offering its blood cannot be treated like this.

Big powers should change their attitude; they should know that the world has changed. Today's world is not like the past. It is not like the past that Britain, Europe, US or the Soviet Union could rule over the world. The world

does not accept this mentality today. They should change their approach. The world does not accept two powers destroying the entire world. The world does not accept a minority devouring the entire world. They should revise their plans.

Imposing war on Iran

Our crime was that we wanted to be free. We want to manage our own life and destiny. We do not want to be in the custody of any government. To accomplish this end, they do whatever. On the one hand, they are carrying out extensive propaganda against us; on the other hand, they imposed a war on us—which that gentleman asked to finish. Each one of you gentlemen was present here at the outset of the war and witnessed how Iraq attacked Iran from the air, sea and land. Iraq occupied a large section of Khuzestan. Due to the provocations of the US, Saddam carried out this criminal act. Then Iran put up a fierce resistance and our youth drove them out of the country with the power of faith. Only small portion of our land is in their hands. Now the powers have assembled to keep him and save the non-human who has committed unthinkable crimes against his own people and his own *ulama* and our nation. They urge us to make peace. From the beginning, we had no war with anyone, yet we cannot make peace with Saddam.

Saddam is a criminal who does not honor any contract. He tore up the contract he had signed with the former government. He constantly changes his mind. He is not a man to make peace with. Do you think if we make peace with Saddam, he will continue with this peace? Never, He wants to equip and reinforces his troops to launch a new offensive. He is the one who has from the outset attack our Arab, Kurdish and Persian-populated cities with long-range missiles. Moreover, the bitter thing is that the missiles are from either the Soviet Union or the US. More deplorable is that the regional governments assist him.

A warning to the regional countries

We have repeatedly told the regional governments to close ranks so that we can all get rid of the clutches of superpowers. The oppressed people can no longer stay under the oppression of superpowers. Now in the US the American people do not accept the works their president is doing. Today the US people cannot tolerate them. The world has tilted towards rebellion. Today's world has undertaken many changes. The world does not accept from you to sit in your palaces and bring the world under torture and your domination. You should think out something for yourselves. Islamic

governments should think out a way for themselves. You who represent Islamic governments in Iran tell your countries to think out a way for themselves. Saddam is sure to go. Even if we do not touch Saddam, his people will drive him out. He is on the point of death. Think of the period after him.

We want peace. We want to live in peace with all nations in the world. We want to live peacefully with the entire world. We want to live among the people of the world, but they do not let us.

If Saddam had not attacked us, we would be unfriendly terms with Iraqi people now. Iraq is our brother. Today, the Iraqi people are our brothers. We are not in bad terms with the Iraqi people. Saddam threatens with attacking our cities. Well, you saw that in the past two days he hectored so much, threatening that he would hit our cities. He was supposed to hit yesterday but he did not. He said tonight, but he did not. It is not clear when he will attack. He will obviously receive a resounding slap on the face. Nevertheless, these Islamic countries should come to their senses and notice this point. They should not imagine keeping Saddam and getting rid of us is better for them. They had better keep Islam. We want Islam. Protect Islam so that you would be safe from all the evils of the east and west. I beseech the Almighty God to rescue all oppressed people of the world from the clutches of the tyrants, awaken the Islamic governments, relieve the Islamic peoples of these pressures and rid the oppressed peoples of the world from the grip of the oppressors.

I call on you gentlemen to inform your countries and governments that Iran is not like what they portray. Let them know that there is no suffocation in Iran and that we are not living in palaces and putting others under pressure. Iran is what you see. Its prime minister, foreign minister, president and Majlis Speaker are all ordinary people and friendly with people. Governments should befriend people and not put people under pressure. The world no longer tolerates this. One day an explosion will occur and destroy all. Then the poor people who are innocent will be destroyed as well. I implore God to grant health to the world and power and health to the innocent people of the world to live in peaceful co-existence.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: Morning, February 8, 1984 [Bahman 19, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The status martyrdom and martyrs before God

Addressee: Families of martyrs, those missing in action, disabled of the war and prisoners of war

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Think not of those who are slain in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord, they have provision

If this verse in the noble Quran was the only thing commending the high status of the martyrs in the cause of God, it still would be sufficient to convince some people to lay down their lives for safeguarding Islam and Islamic country. They were the people who sincerely offered everything they had to God Almighty in protecting the dignity of Islam and defending the Islamic Republic.

In this holy verse, there is no talk of life after this worldly existence because in the next world all creatures possess human soul with difference in stations of animal life and infra-animal life to human and ultra-human life. In fact, the great dignity bestowed upon the martyrs in the cause of Truth is a "life with God" and "enjoying the divine feast".

This life and feast cannot be described by broken pens such as mine. This life and feast differ from life in Paradise and its provisions. This is to gain a vision of His visage and attending His reception. Is this not what has been preserved for those possessing tranquil state of mind to which the following verse applies: "*Enter thou among my bondmen! 30. Enter thou My Garden!*" The salient example of the verse is the doyen of martyrs (peace be upon him). If it is, what tiding above this for the martyrs in the cause of Husayn's objective (peace be upon him) that is the very path of God to enter the Paradise resided by that honorable martyr in the cause of God? In the reception attended by the holy Imam, the martyrs are granted permission to enter. This reception is beyond all other receptions in the paradise or what you and me can imagine. Thank God, our martyrs who follow the doyen of martyrs and honorable martyr of Islam (peace be upon him) insured the Islamic Republic and secured the victory over the nemeis of Islam, the great

nation of Iran, other Islamic nations as well as all oppressed people of the world.

This is the reason why arrogant powers of the world have risen up with all sorts of plots and mischief against a small nation of 40 million people, which has soared up the high pinnacle of happiness in terms of spirituality and human values. These plots and propaganda trumpets of superpowers of the world and their affiliates is the biggest of values and loftiest of stations for a nation not experienced by any other nation. This value has been created by the high-ranking martyrs, the disabled of the war, and the honorable nation behind the frontlines. Blessed be the power of faith and the might in the arms of our youths from the quagmire and corruption center provided by the tyrannical Pahlavi regime, and reach the peak of grandeur and spirituality.

God's mercy be upon the noble martyrs and peace be upon the living martyrs who are the backbone of Islam and the gallant combatants of the military, Sepah, Basij, gendarmerie, police, tribal people and popular forces the reflection of whose power has shaken the superpowers' palaces. This is the same divine power and light that is "neither east nor west". May God perpetuate this light!

Greeting to the mothers, fathers, wives, children and relatives of martyrs, the disabled of war, the brave youths of warfronts and salutations to the war disabled, those missing in action and the dear prisoners of war who are the honor of Islam and their Islamic country. God's mercy be upon the pure laps that nurtured these lion-hearted youths. God's peace and greetings be on the grand prophets, particularly the master and seal of them who illuminated the world with the rays of divine revelation and to their eminent successor who awakened the negligent and unconscious ones. Salutation of all prophets and saints of God (peace be upon them) be to the last successor, the expecting Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 19, 1362 AHS

Message

Time: February 11, 1984 [Bahman 22, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Evaluating the condition of Iran, Islamic Revolution, war and social issues on the fifth victory anniversary of revolution

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

O, God! We humbly appreciate you for your boundless favors and blessings and for honoring us on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the victory. It is now five years since the oppressive hold of the monarchical regime and the world oppressors was broken. Calculations of the east and west and their westernized and easternized agents went wrong. Those who could only see the superficial aspect of things and were unaware of metaphysical power thought it was impossible for empty-handed people that did not have any kind of modern arms to overcome a 2500-year regime armed to the teeth with American, western and eastern weapons. Thereafter, their other calculations and ideas that each revolution should either tilt towards the west or east or that this nascent and unprecedented Islamic Revolution could not last more than a few months turned out to be wrong. Many months and years have elapsed and Iran has been able to regain peace. The revolution and Islamic establishment remained like an indestructible mountain, encountering the eastern and western world with divine power. By the will of God Almighty, Islamic nations and oppressed people of the world have turned their back on the atomic powers and turned to revolution and uprising against wrong and dictatorship in the garb of democracy, butchering in the guise of humanitarianism and plundering in the garment of socialism. This universal flood cannot be stopped by weapon and force. By God's special graces and benevolent attention of the Imam of the Age (May our souls be sacrificed for him) the power of Islam in Iran, with its rays traversing the world, has been felt by the satanic powers. In every nook and cranny in the world where the oppressed and plundered people rise up in revolt, the high-ranking officials of hellish powers accuse Iran of having a role in it or claim Iranian youths have masterminded it. The palaces belonging to superpowers such as the Whitehouse fence off security walls, with jet fighters flying over their ship and fleets. God Almighty has stripped them of peace, granting victory to fighters in His cause by instilling fear in

the heart of the enemy.¹ Rumormongers, who want to weaken the Islamic Revolution by their lies and undue accusations, strengthen the Iranian fighters with these rumors. Subsequently, the oppressed peoples of the world become morally strong. God strengthens His religion through the ill-wishers.

The world powers should realize that today is not like those days when the nations do not retreat, as did the governments in the past. Today it is the satanic power of the US and its accomplices that shut themselves in places, which are fenced off with walls if there is an explosion in corner of the world. While the Islamic Republic of Iran has had no role in any of the blasts, it has displayed the art of shattering the illusory gigantic idols, relieving the oppressed people of fear and intimidation and implanting the fear in the heart of the oppressors. This achievement by a nation with a small population and without much equipment is a miracle, which has occurred by divine power.

The US should know that hasty decisions, clumsy attempts, and the recent claim that Iran is on the list of countries advocating or involving in terrorist acts would not resolve any problem for it, nor provide a loophole for it. Presently, the oppressed world has been mobilized to curtail the grip of oppressors either in the form of uprising or revolution or other forms. No problem will be created for Iran either. After suffering defeat in Iran, the US using its western allies in Europe imposed an economic embargo against Iran, doing whatever they could. We warmly welcomed the sanctions. Directors of the Whitehouse should know that the world has changed and diabolic powers have been stripped of ancient and modern colonization weapons. The US policy makers should change their mode of thought and policies. They should not think that they are to run the entire world and that all countries are at their disposal with closed eyes and ears. They should know that cutting relations, economic sanctions and false lists would not force a country into a corner. Bringing Egypt in the organization of Islamic conference with those arrangements and collusions with Husayn, Hasan and Hosni will not resolve the complexes they have developed as the result of awakening of people and sparking their protests. It is not strange that the US and its servile agents turn no stone unturned for return of Egypt to the fold of Arabs. Deplorable and strange is the condition of Arab leaders with all those lengthy preparations, propaganda, secret and open shuttles, weird clamors and talks about plans raised in gatherings of kings, presidents senior leaders of Arab and non-Arab countries, perhaps those who did not know

¹ Inspired from the implication of the Verse 26 of Chapter *al-Ahzab*.

them expected that the forum was dedicated to discuss the problems brought about by superpowers for Islam and Muslims and oppressed people of the world, exploring the solution to the international predicaments. They assembled with those formalities and summed up the entire problems of Islam and Muslims in return of Egypt that entered into negotiation with Israel to the group of Arabs! That day Egypt was expelled because of signing the peace accord with the Zionists; today they brought it back because of stabilizing and identifying Israel! That day Egypt was dismissed because of turning its back on the demands of Arabs; today Egypt was welcomed because of kissing the US hands. That day Egypt was discharged due to treason to Palestinian cause; today Egypt was brought back for collective endorsement of that treason. More deplorable and more disgraceful is that Egypt nonchalantly rejected all conditions. One of the senior Cairo officials said Arab leaders should acknowledge their mistake! The predicaments of Lebanon, Afghanistan and other Arab nations were not problems for which the so-called heads of Islamic countries would spend their dear time! How can the oppressed and respected non-Arab, Arab and Muslim nations tolerate the shame that these are their leaders. It is not time for Islamic nations to rise up and humble their leaders before the dignity of Islam or treating them as Iran did. Are the so-called Islamic governments asleep and unaware that nowadays the situation of people is different from the past? Do not they want to understand that eyes and ears have opened and subterfuges of eastern and western mold have lost their force? Do not they know or see that Islamic Revolution has been exported or is on the verge of being exported and that with confirmation of God almighty the flag of Islam will be hoisted across the world in not too distant future by the Islamic nations as well as the oppressed people who thirst for Islamic justice? Therefore, would it not be better for governments to come to their senses and repent the cardinal sin they committed in Kazablanka and transgressed upon the dignity of Islam and Muslims, particularly the Arabs and left behind historical disgrace. Is not it better for them to return to the Almighty God lest His fire of wrath burn the good with the bad?

Now, at the beginning of the sixth year of victory, it is necessary to reiterate the points I have made time and again. *“And warn, for warning profiteth believers.”*¹

1- Now that, thank God, due to the favors of God Almighty and supplications of the Savior (May our souls be sacrificed for him) the Islamic

¹ Surah az-Zariyat 51: 55.

Republic is going ahead through the efforts of all social strata in a firm and resolute manner, I call on the honorable nation to be actively present in the scene, and spare no effort in helping the government, the warfronts and other fronts. Defense of Islam, Islamic country and Muslims' property and principles is a sufficiency obligation. Each one of us is obliged to, proportionate to what he has at his disposal, contributes to the warfronts and behind the frontline, as the latter also helps with defending the country. I appreciate the honorable Iranian people who steered the revolution to victory and are pushing it forward with their presence and unsparing sacrifices. I call on them to continue with their presence, and win God's contentment with this presence. I hope that will show this nation His favors and regard all people as strugglers in the cause of God, and give them a share of the rewards of companions of our prophet (peace be upon him) and the strugglers in early Islam.

2- My pen and words are inadequate to appreciate the self-sacrificing strugglers of Islam who through their sacrifices, efforts in the cause of goal, safeguarding the Islamic ideals and their remarkable victories on all fronts have brought honor and pride to the Islamic Revolution and saints of God. How can words or pens glorify the youths who because of their love of God and their enthusiasm to meet Him compete with each other in defending the truth and Islam, and are ready to lay down their lives like the great prophets and the doyen of self-sacrificing and oppressed people, in the cause of their holy goal and cry out the motto of—*Far be it from me to succumb to wretchedness*—proclaimed by that great man of history in their words and deeds throughout the country and the entire world. Which pen and word can praise the dear ones who transformed the fortifications of war to altar of prayer and ascending place towards God? Let us suppose the authors versed in employing their faculty of writing, painters and artists can depict a clear picture of the scenes of extraordinary bravery and audacity under the fire of the enemy's machineguns, their ingenious victories in the dark nights in the face of the perfidious enemy's missiles and bombers and their crossing of the winding routs blocked by barbed wires and mounting the lofty mountains and bringing out the enemies of God from concrete bunkers equipped with most sophisticated equipment. But how can they portray that mystical dimension and that divine spiritual manifestation that cause souls to fly towards it and picture the hearts thawed in the divine manifestations? Indeed, how do these westerners, easterners, westoxicated, eastoxicated, and nationalists justify or explain these self-sacrifices, which brim with spirituality, mystical spirit and divine love? Here action or audacity is irrelevant; what counts is the

incentive, spirit and divine direction. Love for real Beloved who assimilates everything and burns any incentive save love for Him. Which war, movement, revolution and revolt in the course of time and throughout creation have recorded soldiers as selfless as the Iranian ones? These soldiers are only found among the divine saints and those nurtured in their school, which has illuminated the children of this land, children who have been relieved of their self. Where in the world can one find mothers, fathers, wives, sisters, brothers and other relatives who take the lead to offer their children after already sacrificing a number of them? This is the true school of Quran, Islam and these are the children of this Quran and schools, and that is the founder of our school. Peace and greetings of God and His messengers on these mothers, fathers and these honored children. Salutations to the war disabled and those who sacrifice everything in the cause of goal.

3- O, dear ones of Islam and assets of the nation, Struggle to remove selfishness from your heart. We should know that existence is His manifestation and that body, soul spirit all emanate from Him. Endeavor to eliminate the veil of selfishness and see His beautiful image. At this stage all difficulties become easy and sufferings become pleasant, and sacrifice in His cause sweeter than honey, even greater than anything. Beware lest the vainness of courage, youthfulness and victory finds its way into your heart, as with their infiltration, everything you have built will collapse and the arch and porch of the ideals will crush. All valorous groups ranging from the military, Sepah, Basij as well as gendarmerie, disciplinary forces of Sepah, police, and tribal people to all others should struggle to become a single body. Avoid selfishness and attack the enemy like a single hand and united power, the goal of you should be defending Islam and the Islamic land. Victory of one layer should be the victory of other ones. Aim is what counts and not being member of Sepah, military or other valrous forces.

I forewarn the armed forces that if, God forbid, through the devils and the enemies of the revolution such things come about in future, be sure that you will be deprived of God's favors; you will suffer defeat in the battle against the enemies of Islam; you will be disgraced before the Islamic nations and suffer eternal shame. Above all, you will be expelled from the divine court and, God forbid, be forsaken in the Hereafter. My dear ones, the matter is important. It is the question of shame and dignity; happiness and depravation. Therefore, seriously avoid carnal passions as they have their roots in Satan. Shake hands of brotherhood and equality with one another. So far you have been integrated by the grace of God. Try to get closer and more

intimate. Consider Islam and the interests of your country and think of nothing else. May God be your helper!

4- Of the very important issues we will face in the near future is the second term of the Majlis. This issue is so sensitive and vital from various aspects that it is reasonable to talk about it at length. The respected speakers, whether Friday prayer leaders or pre-sermon speakers, should not any opportunity or in any gathering throughout the country, particularly in Friday prayer ceremonies highlight its different aspects and discuss how a change of direction can affect the destiny of our nation and Islam. Majlis is a venue on which the majority of important issues of our country directly or indirectly depend. Whatever befell this oppressed nation in the course of history from the constitutional movement to the last appointments in tyrannical monarchy were definitely stemmed from corrupt Majlis. People did not participate or insignificantly interfered in selecting the Majlis deputies. The clerics were totally banned from intervention. With the cunning and poisonous plots concocted by the west and implemented by treacherous or ignorant westernized and easternized intellectuals the clerics and religious people had come to believe that any intervention in elections amounted to a cardinal sin and supporting oppression and disbelief. The clerics were entirely removed from the scene and forced to seclude. The hands of bullies and westernized and easternized elements were untied, leading the country to where we all witnessed. Unfortunately, those rotten ideas are observed in a few clerics unaware of the world. However, if in every province or city a few right-minded clerics such as the late Mudarres had existed, the constitutional movement would have proceeded legitimately and correctly. Also, the Constitution and its amendment for which the late Haj Shaykh Fadlullah was martyred, would not have been exposed to western ideas or undergone other changes. Dear Islam and innocent Muslims would not have suffered those intolerable pains. Following expulsion of the clerics from the scene, the religious people ranging from cultural layers, workers, administrative clerks, workers in bazaar, etc. abstained from intervention or were ousted. Moreover, these events come about. Now, we should take lessons from the plots and corruption ensuing from the isolation of the religious people and from the slap given to Islam and Muslims. We should know and understand that the Islamic establishment and implementation of its divine commands as well as the interests of the people and Islamic country and its protection against pillage of foreigners depends on intervention of people from different strata of life, particularly the respected clerics and prominent maraja (religious authorities). If God forbid, any harm is inflicted on Islam and the

Islamic country as the result of non-intervention in destiny of the society, every single member of the nation will be responsible before the Almighty God. The future generations that may come under various forms of aggression will not forgive us. Therefore, one of our important religious and rational duties for preservation of Islam and interests of the country is presence in electoral constituencies and voting for competent representatives, from the clerics or else, aware of the world political issues and other things required by the country. As the Majlis needs *ulama'* and clergymen cognizant of religious and political rules of Islam, it also needs experts in various fields, which are required by the country. Today Majlis is faced with tumultuous world of industry and complex politics, western and eastern cultures and international scenes for survival. Such a Majlis should be packed with experts, scholars and people versed in every branch. Those who introduce candidates to the nation should bear in mind that each specialized field there should be several candidates. If they find out one is more competent than the candidate of their choice is in a different group, they should nominate him/her. The question of election is a divine question separating the clique-oriented from law-oriented candidates and believers and committed people from claimants. If those who run for the elections independently or represent a group do not consider themselves to be competent as a deputy and whose presence in the Majlis is not in the interests of their country should bear God in mind, give precedence to the satisfaction of God compared to theirs and not commit such an indecent offence. The clerics ranging from the Friday prayer and congregational leaders to other respected individuals notice that they should not evacuate their cities from those serving the nation and competent servants of God, as serving the people, satisfying their needs, and training them, which is the noble career of the clerics, is prior to anything else unless they know that their presence in the Majlis is more useful for serving Islam. Everyone should consider value to lie in service and not God forbid in acquisition of a position. You know that in the Islamic Republic posts, to obtain which people resort to legitimate or illegitimate means in other countries, are not important. These posts are of no value unless applied in the service of God and people. You are followers of that great man of history (peace be upon him) who made those statements with regard to government.

People across the country are free to choose their candidates. No one has the right to impose him or the candidates of certain groups. No official, party, group or person has the right to insult others, who are opposed to their views, or disclose the personal secrets of them. Obviously, anyone has the right to

properly advertise for himself or his candidates; no one can deny this right. Advertisement should of course comply with the rules set by the government. No one is religiously allowed to vote to anyone blindly. If all individuals and groups confirm competency of a person or persons but the voter finds a different viewpoint, it is not correct to follow them. One is responsible before God. If a group or person finds one to be competent and the voter is certain of this confirmation, one can vote to that person.

Briefly speaking, government is the government of Islam and people. Majlis is from people; vote is from people and no one is under the command of any official or officials. It is noteworthy that the respected residents of each constituency nominate certain individuals and carry out religiously and legally accepted election campaigns for them. For better and more vigorous elections, no constituency should nominate candidate for other constituencies, and confirm or reject the qualification of candidates. Intervention in elections of every constituency is vested in the constituency itself. The candidates of all constituencies had better exchange views on nominating their choice[s]. Having said that, all individuals are free to nominate their candidates if they are qualified.

5- The fiqh-oriented seminaries and universities are of special significance, because they are regarded as the raw material constituting the destiny of a nation and country. These two entities are the sources from which verities of Islam and political, social, economic, cultural and other issues of the country emanate. With this social class in good order, the power engine of a system will start to run. It is these two units whose correction will correct the country and, God forbid, their corruption triggers corruption of a nation. If schools and universities were active and upright, the former parliaments, governments and judiciary would not be so deplorable and the country and the innocent people would not experience those afflictions. If our nation wants not to be entangled in the clutches of aggressive powers and their affiliates' governments such as those in Qajar Dynasty and much worse ones in Pahlavi reign, they should endeavor to rectify these two entities. If theology students, men of letters, *ulama* and eminent maraja (religious authorities) as well as academic layers, university professors and students and scientists want their country not to be in the grips of world-devouring colonial and exploitative powers, they should strive for correct Islamic, national and revolutionary education of the nation. University students and theology students should make great efforts to build up themselves under the guidance of their professors, teachers and trainers; they should also seriously try to consolidate unity between the universities and Islamic sciences

schools. Because the enemies of the nation and country reaped many profits from disunity of the two and the country and Islam sustained tremendous losses. Today, learned men and teachers of Islamic sciences should preserve the way of their righteous predecessors and apply their thought for greater enrichment of fiqh, exegesis, philosophy and other Islamic sciences, guiding their students towards these divine purposes. University professors and scientists should also devote their time and energy to different scientific matters which the nation needs and lay the foundation of scientific and cultural independence, so that, God willing, after some time in light of their efforts, diligence and self-confidence they will be able to satisfy the scientific needs of students in a way that they are no longer needed to be sent abroad. This is something attainable. If it were not for the foreign and domestic propaganda of the agents of the west and those enamored by the west, this would have so far been materialized. However, westernized intellectuals, these flunkys fawning over Britain and France in the past and then the US did not let us realize our talents and disappointed our youths, inflicting those calamities on universities as we observed. Corruption overtook the Majlis, government and all parts of the country. Now, time is ripe to realize our abilities and foil the colonialist machinations. Our dear youths who are the assets of the country should know that going to western and eastern countries for learning their different sciences would stop them from the goal that is independence and freedom, and will make them more dependent. Our enemies who have fixed their covetous eyes on our country will never allow us to achieve independence and get rid of dependence. We should inculcate in ourselves that in the west they would do nothing except keeping us back from civilization and development. We all should know that our plundering enemies are harboring the idea of infiltrating our universities, even though in distant future and deviating our pure-hearted youths with their alluring fables and fabrications, thus opening their way for plundering and exploitation of our country. The professors committed to the interests of the country and the spirited and patriotic youths should watch out lest the opportunist-westernized elements interlope their ranks, gradually imposing the sinister intentions of world-devourers in graduation. If you observed the slightest deviation in the words and deeds of an individual, you should not regard it insignificant and immediately nip it in the bud. May God be your haven!

6- The judicial power, which is the refuge and shelter of the oppressed people, is an independent power and no authority is entitled to interfere in it. If there are those who unwittingly interfere in judicial matters, they should know that they have acted in contrast to the instructions of Sharia and the

Islamic Republic; if they do it deliberately, they are liable to prosecution and punishment. It is upon the government and executive power of the country to avert such aggression and violation anywhere by anyone. Those who refuse to attend the court after being summoned by judicial courts should be prosecuted and subjected to punishment. Those who violate the verdict of religious judges and resist them have acted in contrast to Islam and God's command and must be prosecuted. Those who grievances against a judge or protest the judge's verdict should refer to competent authorities; they should not do anything willfully; they should know that the verdicts issued by religious judges is binding as long as they have not been found contrary to Sharia by competent courts and authorities. Magazines, newspapers and the mass media apparatus should notice that debilitation of the judicial power is in contrast to Islamic standards. Any grievance a judge should be vented in the court in conformity with religious regulations. The plaintiff, whoever maybe, is not entitled to bring the case in the press, mass media or public venues and provide political atmosphere. Newspapers, magazines, radio and television should heed these questions and the corresponding matters. In brief, judgment, respect for judge and obeying their verdicts are issues of great concern in Islam. May God grant you success!

Furthermore, the judicial system and respected judges should notice that they are serving in the most sensitive position in the system. Try hard not to make a mistake. In case, you make a mistake, in no way feel ashamed to retract your verdict, as embarrassment before the Almighty God is graver than being ashamed of people. Try to deal with people with utmost care, kindness and firmness so that people will be pleased with you, as people's satisfaction brings God's gratification. The honorable judges should refrain from undue suspension and attend to the people's works as soon as possible.

7- Because Iran wants to implement progressive Islamic rules of which big powers are afraid and regional governments have an unfounded fear, it has come under attack of all bullies, who spare no propaganda or military campaign against our country. In this international climate, the nation and government should support each other with full force. Even though they might have brotherly complaints against each other, they should shake hands of brotherhood. The government is entirely at the service of the people. Moreover, the possible shortcomings are inevitable, since this fledgling establishment has not completely left behind its revolutionary state and is at war—a war with the world—devouring powers of the east and west which are confronting each other in every dimension. The resistance put up by the government in this hellish atmosphere is praiseworthy and appreciable. The

nation should fully support the government, remind the government of the deficiencies and cooperate with it to remove them. The government should also endeavor to eliminate the shortcomings. If the entire nation, all members of the government, the armed forces and tribal people fail to defend the country and Islam unanimously and concertedly and thus occasion some defeat, all will be responsible before God Almighty and the future generations and condemned by the oppressed people of the world. What was pointed out does not mean that constructive criticism and fatherly and brotherly warnings of the Majlis, which is entitled to do so, is objectionable. In fact, it is welcome. Whenever they see a deviation, they should protest and can go as far as impeachment.

8- The Iranian people and government and all Muslims committed to and aware of the interests of Islam and the world as well as the oppressed people aware of the world developments—these oppressed people of history—are disgruntled with some deeds of regional government and some other Islamic countries, considering their deeds contrary to the dignity of Islam and Islamic countries. The efforts of these countries in the form of conferences aim at nothing but opening a way for recognition of the usurper Israel and the influence of the US in the region and Islamic countries. They pave the way for the US to plunder the enormous treasures of Muslims, add fuel to the fire of war against the innocent Lebanese people and contribute to Saddam's aggression in the war he has imposed on Iran, thus help strengthen the pillars of the usurper government of Israel. These acts are all condemned. We denounce the Morocco conference in terms of its both venue and content. They chose a venue and appointed one as chairperson who shed the blood of people of Morocco at the same time when efforts were being made to accept the Camp David or Fahd peace accord. Wave of protest hit the entire cities of Morocco. Moreover, once more the host of theirs shed the blood of many innocent Muslims. Despite all the calamities and problems afflicting Arabs and other Muslims of the world, I propose that the *ulama* and intellectuals of all Islamic countries should chalk out a plan for greater contact with each other in an attempt to find a way for rescuing the Islamic countries from the clutches of superpowers of the west and east, relieve the heads of Islamic countries of the domination of world-devourers and resist colonization and exploitation. The plan should aim to awaken the deprived peoples. They should definitely believe that they will find the right path and emerge triumphant. I hope that God almighty and His servant will be satisfied with them, they will be honored in both worlds, and will be fondly remembered by future generations. No doubt the situation of the world is about to undergo

fundamental change. Today's world will not let two powers do whatever they wish and a few people in a country shape the destiny of a nation. The committed *ulama* and intellectuals had better get closer to nations and bring them into consideration prior to the general transformation and treat their people as prescribed by the holy Quran and tradition of the holy prophet (peace be upon him and his progeny). In this way, they can attract the attention of nations and remove or diminish the division emerging between the intellectuals of every society and the toiling poor masses of people. Today our people do not understand pseudo-intellectual speeches. One should express the people's pains in their own language. Only in such a condition will people support you, get rid themselves of abject subjection to superpowers and their affiliates, and find shelter in strong bastion of "*There is no god but Allah*". Exactly in this case will all Islamic nations shake hands of brotherhood and move towards honorable life, elevation and progression in their religion and world, thus taking pleasure that is hundred times as much as this anxious and unstable life. The groups of people who have been deceived by the propaganda ploys of the east or the west and have tilted towards the west or east are not fully aware of Islamic culture; or they will all openly embrace Islam. It is hoped that our intellectuals and those in all Islamic countries will express in a simple language the sense of self-reliance and resistance against superpowers for the people of Islamic countries and be sure that no one is inherently inclined to be dependent. We should struggle with all our power so that people get to know that it is possible to stand on our own feet, that we can defend our national and Islamic culture and prestige in the face of east and west and that we can defeat the material world and hoist the flag of *There is no god but Allah* and *Muhammad is His messenger* in the entire world.

9- Of the affairs we should give more care to is the welfare of prisoners whether those groups that have taken up arms against the Islamic Republic and murdered the innocent people in the street or those who corrupt the children of this land by selling and distributing narcotic drugs or other offenders. They are now held captives and live in bondage as the result of their own acts. Treat your captives, whether these one or prisoners of war kindly and brotherly. Transform the prisons into a school imparting ethical education as you have so far done so that the deviants and offender taste the sweetness of Islamic justice, turn to Islam and the Islamic establishment, repent truly and return to Islam and God Almighty who opens the door of mercy before the sinful ones with more ease. Even those who are subjected to divine punishment due to committing murder or other crimes should enjoy

the kindness of the officers up to the gallows and place to receive their punishment. The Supreme Judicial Council and the board investigating the condition of prisoners should speed up the process. Anyone who is entitled to receive from amnesty should be immediately introduced to be released from the prison and return to his normal life. I hope amnesty will bring them good and they will be active for their country.

10- I request all the Iranian expatriates who can serve the country and help the oppressed people, whether in other fields to spare a thought for a nation which has experienced pain, suffering and tyranny during the course of history and see if the clear, honorable Iranian conscience will allow them to reside abroad, serve the enemies of their mother land and religion, to hear the agonized cry of their compatriotes and co-religionists and stay in different at a time when the false propaganda of foreign radios and media which monarchists are all enemies of this nation, and the rumor—mongering of *munafiqin* and who think of nothing except their and the US interests, try to bring the country, like in the past regime, in to the fold of America Does your conscience allow you to serve the countries that are enemy of your country and your religion, and remain indifferent to the agonized cries of your compatriots? What you hear in the mass media apparatus of the foreigners is nothing but baseless propaganda. Come and closely see that your people and country have gained independence and curtailed the grip of the plunderers and taken their destiny in their own control. They have been relieved of political, military and cultural dependence and proceed towards economic self-sufficiency. Come and see the developments that all social strata have experienced. Come and see the services rendered to these deprived people of history in these few years. In spite of all troubles facing the government and people, such as the revolution itself its ramification, the flames of war kindled by the big and small powers, seditions and treasons of domestic groups and splinter groups, back-breaking pressures such as economic sanctions, propaganda operations of global mass media apparatus and influx of Iraqi and Afghan refugees, the government and people have managed to save the country from leaning towards the left or right. Therefore, come, serve your country, and fulfill your duty towards your country. If you believe in Islam, see what the manifestations of Islam today are and what they were in Pahlavi regime. If you are nationalist, see what power and fame Iran has today gained as the only country in the world standing against the US and Soviet Union. That is why almost all governments, powers and mass media are intent on containing this fame and influence. Come and see in what situation Iran is. In the former regime whose Shah, was a servant of the US

and had made the people dependent to the extent that they were held captive in the clutches of the US, many miseries and afflictions befell the nation. Obviously, I do not address those who plundered the country and stole its resources and fled and who are now twisting and turning in the wallow of sensuality and corruption. However, I am talking to noble people who have not lost their human conscience.

11- What I would like to tell the respected clerics and Friday and congregational prayer leaders are that the gentlemen have always been the pivot of unity of expression among people. As you know, today we stand in need of unity of expression more than any other time. Today when unclean hands are actively engaged in sowing discord and are afraid of the unity of expression among the nation and might impress the simple-minded people unaware of the world revolutions, you are the best segment of population to deal with such people. You can save them from ill-wishers and plotters through your enlightening speeches and remind them of the fact that they conducted the revolution and liberated themselves from the bondage of the US and other world-devourers and oppressions of the Pahlavi regime. Now, if they listen to the aspersions of the ill-wishers and insinuations of people affiliated to the US and others and, God forbid, discord creeps into their rank all the exhausting efforts and pure bloods of the martyrs will be wasted. Islam and Islamic countries as well as future generations will be held captive by the aliens and enemies of Islam and the country. Islam that was revived by you will suffer irreparable defeat for centuries to come and they will be condemned and called to account by God and the future generations.

And I tell the dear nation and the have masses of Iranian people that no revolution has been or will be conducted without martyrdom-seeking, self-sacrifice, hardship, high prices and temporary material pressures. In terms of its Islamic content which attracted the masses of Muslims, followed by other compatriots such as religion minorities or revolution surpasses all others in that it yielded high gains and a little loss. Thank God, through unity our nation secured a victory, which has shaken the world and traversed the globe. Now preservation of this honor calls for patience, endurance and struggle. You have so far, thank God, fulfilled your Islamic, national and patriotic duties in the most competent way. It is hoped that you will do it henceforth.

Let me tell that group of the educated people, intellectuals and scientists who are not afflicted with westernization or easternization and are not ready to sacrifice their Islamic, national and patriotic honor to cater to the whim of powerful people or for fleeting pleasures and passions that they should use their pen and word to promote Islam, their country and nation. Join hands with

the deprived masses of the people to preserve the freedom you have achieved from the clutches of east and west. Do not spare any efforts in rendering this service. This opportunity has not been provided for any nation in the world. One can say only few nations have benefited from this opportunity. I hope God will grant us success to find out our duty.

12- Let us raise our sinful hands towards the beneficent God and implore Him not to leave us to ourselves for a moment and shower His favors on the Muslims of the world and particularly the Iranian nation. We know that without the favors of that sacred existence we could not resist the criminals who keep the world under their satanic domination. God has preserved this country despite all the political, military, and economic and propaganda pressures. Grant us success to continue for your cause, for you and for Your innocent servants. Protect us from temptations.

O, God! Accept our martyrs who loved you and include them in the rank of your saints. Grant our living martyrs who went so far as to the frontier of martyrdom and lost their health in the cause of defending Islam and Your innocent servants the reward of the martyrs of the early days of Islam. Grant them their health. O, God! Help all our dear ones missing in action return to the affectionate lap of the nation and their dear families. O, God! Our prisoners of war have been captivated by the cruelest executioners of the time. Their resistance has amazed the world. Release them as soon as possible to serve you and your servants. Grant their respected families' patience, reward and health and forgiveness. Bestow prosperity, health and blessing upon the honorable Iranian nation. Grant the final victory to the dear combatants as soon as possible. Grant us pure intention and save us from the evil of Satan and tempting self.

Endless peace and greeting of God upon the grand prophets, particularly the most noble of them and the seal of them, and upon the Immaculate Imams, particularly the Imam of the Time (May our souls be sacrificed for him). God's peace and blessing be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Time: Morning, February 11, 1984 [Bahman 22, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Public duty of safeguarding Islam

Audience: Members of the Supreme Council of Sepah-e Pasdaran, the Imam's representative, the minister and commander of *Sepah-e Pasdaran*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safeguarding Islam is a collective duty

Unfortunately, Iraq is afflicted with a man who has gone mad. Since Saddam sees to be drowning, he wants to sink all others along with him including the people of Iraq. His last night madness was accomplished with due knowledge that it would not go unanswered. Unfortunately, the world speaks of human rights, but there is no action.

Anyone being engaged in a business would face problems. One who wants to avoid any problem should, like the dead, go to the cemetery or live in seclusion. If committed individuals are to withdraw, they are responsible. Those who have gird up their loin to preserve Islam should remain if all leave. God willing, you will be successful and sanctioned and act the way you have so far done. Now the onus is on us to safeguard Islam. Those who are opposed to Islam and Iran want to drive a wedge between the military, Sepah, people and others. We should not be negligent. We should trust God Almighty so that we can push forward and we will proceed.

Message

Time: February 13, 1984 [Bahman 24, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Pal Losoniz (President of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Pal Losoniz, President of Hungary,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that other deprived and colonized nations will be able to drive inspiration from this noble Islamic revolution to free themselves from domination world-devouring colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: February 13, 1984 [Bahman 24, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 24, 1362 AHS

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

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that this noble Islamic Revolution will initiate a movement in other Islamic nations that are under the domination of colonialists and their puppet governments, so that they can, with divine favors, liberate themselves as soon as possible. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: February 1984 [Bahman 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Trong Shin (President of Vietnam)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Trong Shin, President of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam,

I acknowledge the receipt of your message of congratulation on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that this noble Islamic revolution, which has relied on the deprived masses of people, will serve as a model for other deprived nations of the world so that through driving inspiration from its guidelines they can free themselves from the domination of world-devouring colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: February 15, 1984 [Bahman 26, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: An assassination attempt at Iran's ambassador to Damascus

Addressee: Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami (Iran's ambassador to Syria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami Esteemed Ambassador of Islamic Republic of Iran to Syria, may your blessings last,

I was touched by the terrible incident brought about against you by the agents of global imperialism.¹ God willing, you will soon recover your health and continue with your hard struggle in favor of the oppressed and innocent peoples of the world in the bunker of Islam and the revolution. All problems and hardships in the cause of God are sweet and easy for the children of Islam and Quran.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Explosion of a parcel bomb sent by agents of the Zionist regime causing injury of Iran's ambassador to Damascus.

Decree

Time: February 15, 1984 [Bahman 26, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1404]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence abatement

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, Mahdi Qadi (members of the delegation investigating into the situation of prisoners)

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Highness Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long,

You Eminence is notified that after issuance of the holy decree dated 19/3/1362 AHS about investigation into the situation of prisoners convicted in general and revolution courts, a delegation was sent to Kurdistan Province to constantly look into the situation of prisoners. Now Your Eminence is requested to agree with the release and sentence-reduction of prisoners belonging to anti-revolution groups in the following city:

Line	Name of the City	Request for release reduction	Request for sentence reduction	
1.	Sanandaj	32	8	
		Muhammad Sayyid Karimi, Mahdi Qadi]	Muhammadi Sayyid Muhammad	Gilani, Jafar Abtahi,

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
26/11/1362 AHS

Reply to a Query

Time: February 17, 1984 [Bahman 28, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Prohibiting dealing in opium and explaining where the verdict “corruption in the land” applies

Addressee: Supreme Court of Islamic Revolution

Honorable Supreme Judicial Council,

The question below was asked from Imam Khomeini, may his presence last long, due to difference of opinion of the judges of the Supreme Court and the answer is as follows:

Opium has benefits and legitimate consumption, but its transaction and any form of its transfer have been banned by the Islamic government, will the buyer and seller become owner of replacement and replaced? Does the prohibition by the Islamic government amount to banning the deal without making it illegal? Or does the prohibition make the deal illegal in which case seller is not the owner of the replaced and the ruler should act in accordance with the laws of “constipated by corrupt transaction” and reclaim its price on account of the owner being unknown?

Also, regarding smuggling of opium that has some legitimate benefits, at what stage the verdict “corruption in the land” is applicable?

Supreme Court of Islamic
Revolution
28/11/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

- 1- Government's ban should not be violated, but there is not a verdict in this case.
- 2- Corruption is applicable when distribution of addictive drugs afflicts many people, or is carried out with the intention or knowledge of doing so.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: February 19, 1984 [Bahman 30, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of Commander of Val-Fajr Operations

Addressee: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency, Hujjat al-Islam Hashemi Rafsanjani, may God Almighty assist you,

I appoint you as the commander of *wal-Fajr*¹ series of operation. I implore God Almighty to grant victory and success to forces of Islam over infidels.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 30, 1362 AHS

¹ Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani in memories written about this operation and published in early Azar 1374 AHS in newspapers has alluded to different cases such as meeting with Imam Khomeini prior to departing for operation zone and the Imam's saying the travel prayer. Before going to Khuzestan to command the operation, he wrote his will. The text of the will was published in the print media in Azar 1374 AHS.

Message

Time: February 21, 1984 [Esfand 2, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Ali Nasir Muhammad (President of South Yemen)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Esfand 2, 1362 AHS

Your Excellency Mr. Ali Nasir Muhammad Secretary General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that other deprived and chained Islamic nations can liberate themselves from the domination of the east and west and their mercenaries by driving inspiration from this noble Islamic revolution and the laws of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: February 21, 1984 [Esfand 2, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Lee Shian Nian (President of Republic of China)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Lee Shian Nian, President of the People's Republic of China,

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that other deprived and oppressed nations under the domination of eastern and western colonialists can also liberate themselves from the domination of arrogant powers by driving inspiration from this noble Islamic revolution, which is based on the life-giving school of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 2, 1362 AHS

Message

Time: February 21, 1984 [Esfand 2, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Erick Honker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Erick Honker, Secretary General of the Central Committee of Democratic Republic of Germany,

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. We all know oppressed and deprived people are many in number and living in depravity under the domination of colonial powers. It is hoped that this noble Islamic Revolution, which drives its main inspiration from Islam, can set a good example for deprived nations to free themselves.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 2, 1362 AHS

Message

Time: February 21, 1984 [Esfand 2, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Theodor Jikov (President of Bulgaria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Theodor Jivak, Head of the Governing Council of the People Republic of Bulgaria,

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that other deprived and oppressed nations of the world derive inspiration from the way the heroic Iranian nation dealt with colonialists, which itself stemmed from the revivifying school of Islam, to liberate themselves from their oppressive domination.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 2, 1362 AHS

Message

Time: February 21, 1984 [Esfand 2, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Jaivardoneh (President of Sri Lanka)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Esfand 2, 1362 AHS

Your Excellency Mr. Jaivardoneh President of Sri Lanka,

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that other deprived and oppressed nations of the world derive inspiration from the revolution that is founded on revivifying school Islam to liberate themselves from the domination of eastern and western colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: February 25, 1984 [Esfand 6, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Payment of service bonus to security forces of army joint staff

Addressee: Qasim-Ali Zahir-Nejad (joint chief of staff)

In His Most Exalted Name

It is agreed that you act according to the law.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
6/12/1362 AHS

¹ This decree was issued in response to a letter dated Esfand 6, 1362 AHS by Mr. Zahir-Nejad Joint Chief of Staff of the Army of Islamic Republic of Iran requisitioning payment of year-end service bonus to those serving in security jobs of joint staff and whose services have been effective and satisfactory.

Speech

Time: Morning, February 28, 1984 [Esfand 9, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyeh Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission and role of the radio and television; shattering the flimsy power of superpowers

Audience: Muhammad Hashemi (Managing Director of IRIB), managers and staff of IRIB

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of the radio and television in the Islamic establishment

I thank the respected friends present in this gathering and hope that all succeed in acting in compliance with God's gratification. As you said, this propaganda machinery was employed in the past to spread corruption. To transform it into an apparatus for presentation of healthy programs calls for great efforts. I appreciate the gentlemen for the struggles they have made to this end and thank God many improvements have been made. However, we should not be content with what we have achieved. We should endeavor to acquire what we do not have. We should not be impressed by any power and propaganda in the world. We should be independent in all affairs and do the works by ourselves. We should not expect foreigners to work for us. Foreigners all try to sabotage our plans; they will not work for us. Formerly, the situation was like this. However, they said they wanted to work for Iran and thus entrapped Iran and did what you saw.

The broadcaster service today increases your responsibility. Formerly, propaganda consisted of the fact that pulpiteers and *ulama* preached for a limited number in a mosque or the limited location they had. Today, this medium is spread across the country. I do not imagine there is anyone not having access to the radio; everybody manages to listen to the radio. Even those who are doing farming in the desert listen to radio. As you said, television coverage is increasing. Furthermore, these media, especially the radio, reach many outside the country. Therefore, they can deviate millions of people with a minor deviation and lead millions of peoples astray with a minor mistake. They can also guide millions and hundreds of millions of people if, God willing, they stick to the cause of guidance and Islam.

They, therefore, the media which we should not regard insignificant. They are the media by which many people inside and outside the country can

be corrected if they are correct or corrupted if they are corrupt. On the one hand, their responsibility is great and on the other of great value because they are means of guidance. These media are very important for Islam and Islamic Republic. Islam wants to employ these media greatly in the cause of Islam and make great propaganda in the cause of Islam. Voice of the Islamic Republic that reaches most of the countries should guide people and present Islam. Today all the groups abroad are using propaganda through the radio, television and the press against Islam. It is not the question of Iran. If it were simply the question of Iran, it would not be so important. They are confronting Islam, not Iran. They have realized that Iran wants to present the real image of Islam to others. It is different from what the westerners or the deviants have presented so far. They know Iran intends to implement in its true sense and present this real image to the outside world. This is a big threat for the big powers. As you see, they explicitly say Islam is a threat and they are right. It is a threat to corrupt people, plunderers, thieves and bullies. However, Islam wants such things not to prevail in the world. Islam wants all to live in peace and harmony. If we say we want to export Islam, it does not mean that we fly planes to attack other countries. We have neither said such a thing nor can we do it. However, what we can do is that we want to present Islam as it is employing the media we command such as the radio and television, the press and the groups going abroad. If it is presented as it is, all will accept. Man's nature is healthy and if something is suggested, one's nature will accept. Moreover, the powerful people are afraid of this concept. Therefore, we have a great duty. No only we alone but also all Muslims, no only you alone but also all social strata in Iran and abroad who are committed to Islam have a great duty. We have a great duty, that is presenting Islam to people, and the world as it is, as ordered by God Almighty and as provided in the narrations and the Quran. This can be more effective than thousands of tanks and artillery. That which is accomplished by guidance transforms people's heart. This art is what Islam and its laws can manage and not tanks and artillery. The latter cannot do anything. You see that despite the fact that big powers command those powers, they are suffering defeat in the world every day.

Shattering the grandeur and authority of powers in the world

Compare the situation of the US in the past with that in the present time, and that of England and other powers. In the past, the US fancied itself to be a master in Iran and other Islamic countries setting things right with a word. If, for instance, the king of a country and president of an Islamic country

wanted to visit the US, he had to make efforts for a long time to get permission. When he visited, it took quite some time to meet the president. This was the situation. It could do anything with just an order. Today, the US condition is such that they escaped from Lebanon despite the fact that most of Lebanon is in the US hands, its president sides with the US and many political groups favor the US, this small number of Muslims forced the US to flee albeit in the name of relocation. They called it relocation! This is escape. Why don't they use the correct name? After escaping, they started shelling people heavily from outside the borders. This shows the utmost desperation of a country to flee a country and bombard it from outside the borders. This is utmost desperation for the US. Although they have realized this issue, they do not want to admit it. Still they are making the old claims. The US president said: "We don't let the Strait of Hormoz be closed." He imagines that today is like the past to give permission and his permission is effective. Now it is the people of Lebanon that did not let you stay there. It is the people of Iran that did not let you stay here. It is the people of Iran that should give you permission. This biggest mistake is that they do not know who who they are dealing with. When they dealt with the governments and the nations did not get involved, they would push forward their works at the hands of governments, which were their servant, as is the case in many parts where governments are their servants and people are indifferent. However, where they deal with the people, they suffer defeat. In Lebanon, for instance, only part of the population is the field, and the rest of people are either on the US side, or indifferent, but this minority caused the US to flee the country despite the fact that the US president and other top officials always insisted on staying in Lebanon. Now, you see they escaped and called it relocation. Iran is different from Lebanon. In Iran the government, people and all strata are together. In Lebanon, government is opposed to the people. In Iran all strata of people are in accord with one another. No power can confront such a nation. Nations are standing; they are standing like Iran and they are sacrificing everything in the cause of Islam. No government can press a nation that is sacrificing everything in the cause of Islam and its youths are every day making sacrifice in the cause of Islam.

World oppressed and innocent people do not give in to oppression

Today the situation is different from those days. They should shake off those mistakes from their minds- the mistake that the present situation of the world is the same as that in the past, the mistake that confrontation with the nations is like the encounter with governments. They make these mistakes.

They might understand but do not want to admit it. From this aspect neither the Soviet Union, nor the US and other powers can confront the nations. They can confront the governments as they did in the past. From the beginning they planned to bring governments under their domination, used them as their servants, and did whatever they wanted through them. Today, however, the situation has changed. The world today has awakened. The oppressed people of the world be they in Latin America, the Soviet Union, Central America and other places have awakened. Oppressed people of the world do not accept those things they used to accept in the past. Today, powers should listen to nations. They do not understand that they should not sit and say they permit or not permit. These expressions of giving permission belong to those days, not the present day. The talk of military attacks or invading a country has lost its sense these days. You launched military attack and observed what happened. The Soviet Union carried out its military attack and is still continuing with it and sees what is happening. Although in Afghanistan only one group is fighting, the Soviet troops have been brought their knees. They should revise their opinion; they should understand that today differs from the past and people are different from governments.

Therefore, we should let people all over the world know that today the situation is different from the past. The oppressed people should rise up and take their revenge on the oppressors. This is attainable. Muslims should be united. Unfortunately, many of the Muslim rulers sabotage the plans. Muslims should close their ranks. If they do so, they will create an indomitable force, not comparable with any other power. One billion believing people differ from one billion disbelieving ones or 100 billion disbelieving people. You saw that a small population in Iran with no weapons but faith worked a miracle that has impressed the whole world. Therefore, you are in charge of broadcasting propaganda, those who preach to people, and the people who go to abroad should present Islam and argue that this is Islam. God willing, it will be welcomed.

People determine the fate of elections

Of things, I deem necessary to remind today, as it might be late tomorrow, is the question of elections. As I have said repeatedly and as others have also pointed out, no one has a monopoly over elections; neither the clerics, nor the political parties nor any other group. Election belongs to the entire people. People determine their own destiny. Election affects your destiny. As I have heard, some individuals have gone to universities and said that intervention in election amounts to intervention in politics and this is the

right of the mujtahids (religious authorities). Up to now, they said mujtahids should not interfere in politics because it was in sharp contrasts to their right. However, they suffered defeat there, and now say the opposite of their previous claims. The same motive gives rise to these statements. Moreover, their claim that election is a political issue and the political issues are the domain of the clerics is wrong. Election determines the fate of a nation. That is, the destiny of the destiny of this nation in both worlds depends on this election. The views of some mujtahids cannot replace the elections. Is it sensible to let a few hundred mujtahids in Qum and other cities decide and ignore the rest of people? This is a plot. For hundred years, they schemed by suggesting that clerics and religion are separate from politics and thus reaped many profits. We suffered greatly. We are still suffering from this mentality. Now they saw that plot was defeated and has concocted another one; that is, election is the right of mujtahids, election or involvement in politics is the right of mujtahids. The universities should know that in the same way that a mujtahid should interfere in his destiny, a young student should also interfere in his destiny. There is no difference between university students and theology students. All are together. This statement at the university is indicative of a plot aimed to disappoint the youths.

Enemy's new trick to disappoint the nation

Be vigilant! Be attentive! They want to do the job with their plots; they cannot do anything by military intervention; they want to do their work with mischief. At that time, their mischief was to suggest that politics was separate from religion, as a result of which we suffered loss and they reaped much profit. This plot has been defeated. Now they suggest that politics is the right of mujtahids; that is, only 500 people should interfere in the political affairs in Iran, with the rest going after their own business. This implies that people should get preoccupied with their own business and have nothing to do with social issues. Only a number of old mullas (clergymen) should interfere. This plot is worse than the previous one for Iran, because that plot brushed aside a number of the *ulama* though subsequently a large layer are also set aside, but this one brushes aside the entire people. They do not want to get mujtahids involved in politics; they want to destroy the mujtahids at the hands of people. Universities should notice that if there are individuals in universities engaged in mischief, they should not be deceived. The students should interfere in the election. The election determines the destiny of those who are there. It is the duty of the nation to interfere in something around which their destiny revolves. It is not the concern of one or

two layers; all should interfere. The mischief now in progress, as I have been told, aims to disappoint our youths. Thwart this mischief and actively participate in the election. You can either directly choose someone without consulting others, or side with a party whose words and candidates you prefer. Anyhow, we should never be negligent of the trick of these traitors. They are constantly brewing plots because they have received a blow from Islam which they will not forget any time soon. They want to retaliate, but know it is impossible to do it by force. It is just a bunch of hot air that they happen to say they want to do so by force or military attack. They know that these claims are just nonsense. If they want to do something, it can be done through the people, university, bazaar, workers, factories, and similar places. They want to hit where it hurts. If you want things for God or people or for your own life, you should notice and not be deceived by these words and actively participate in elections. I hope that you will be successful. I hope you will be healthy and happy and continue with your work, as it is an enormous and a very important task.

Saddam's false peace-loving claims

You see that today propaganda can do everything in the world. You see that Saddam has become so miserable, its propaganda is like that and other pro-Saddam propaganda is like that. That poor man has become so desperate goes begging here and there. He desperately sues for peace. He does not want to make peace. He wants to delude. He has become desperate and the mass media apparatus everywhere say Iran said so and Iraq said so. He is quoted in detail, and they also few words from others. Recently, the say now things have become critical and the US might interfere, doing such and such. This is just rhetoric. Saddam is at the end of his rope. Neither the US nor others can keep him. I hope that this cancerous tumor in the land of Muslims an that cancerous tumor in Israel will be uprooted and the people of Iraq can hold their destiny in their own hands and that the people of Iran can go ahead with power.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: February 29, 1984 [Esfand 10, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of victory anniversary of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Yotseh Danial (President of Mongolia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Esfand 10, 1362 AHS

Your Excellency Mr. Yotseh Danial President of Mongolia,

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory message of on the occasion of fifth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran with gratitude. It is hoped that other deprived and oppressed nations of the world derive inspiration from this revolution, which is founded on the love for Islam and the sacred rules of the holy Quran, to liberate themselves from the domination of arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: March 3, 1984 [Esfand 13, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty for prisoners

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may your presence last long,

Please find enclosed the list of 426 convicts of the Islamic Revolution Courts who, according to circular no. 1362/3/29 - 1/15595, deserve amnesty and sentence abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili—
Chief Justice

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

¹ According to duties and authorities of leader stipulated in article 110 of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution.

Speech

Time: Morning, March 3, 1984 [Esfand 13, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Importance of propaganda and need to respond to anti-Iranian propaganda in the world

Audience: Members of the Coordination Council of Islamic Propaganda Organization and *Fajr* Celebrations Board

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Importance of elections

I appreciate the remarkable works done by this organization and implore God Almighty to grant greater success to the gentlemen. What counts is that in such issues that deal with Islam all people participate. Today, people actively participate in every thing related to the Islamic Republic, because they see no separation between themselves and these organizations. We should preserve the people and people should be present at the scene. We are still mid-way through. We should do what Islam has demanded of us all, which is presenting it in its real form of the whole world. We have just started this and should continue with it.

Advertisement is one of the very important issues that stand on top of all affairs. Notice that the propaganda operations carried out in the world are all against us. It should be said that almost all those who are not against us are silent. Without exception all radios, the press and the interviews conducted abroad are all against the Islamic Republic and Islam. They do not want Islam and see Iran as the only country presenting Islam to the world. If Islam is presented to the world, people will accept it and their interests will be at stake. They oppose Iran for this reason, not because of its population or people. They oppose it because it has turned into an Islamic country. They not only did not oppose Iran in the time of Muhammad-Rida but also approved of it because at that time Iran was in their hands to their liking. However, an Iran that is not in their hand, is opposed to them, and refuses to carry out their desires, is not what they want. They are pounding Islam under the cover of Iran.

Poisonous propaganda against the Islamic Republic establishment

We should enhance our propaganda particularly outside the country. The government and people should augment the propaganda operations against the propaganda ploys carried out in the world. See in Fajr celebrations and on 22nd of Bahman when that massive population too; to the street. Some of the Iranians who did not turn out already fled the country. They employ a special approach. They call on people not to take to the street. Now if whatever number turns out they have nothing to do with it. Then they say no one turned out. This is their method- a sort of humiliating defeat, which has become repetitive. Just by saying, "do not turn out", it will not become clear who has come and who has not. It is impossible to find out who turned out and who has not. They do not say to take to the streets and line up in one side of the city to see who they are. Who are those who turn out? On the one hand, they say the entire Iran side with them. On the other hand, they argue that if people want to come out to the streets, they will be subject to prosecution. Right, If the entire Iran side with you how could anyone prosecute the people? The foreign mass media apparatus did not give the due coverage to 22nd of Bahman, which marked a massive show of people. Those who reside abroad and speak against us also did not say anything noticeable about the demonstration. As reported domestically, the turn out was eye catching. We saw the scenes. There was massive population. Some compared the turn out to the early gatherings during Ashura and those days. Nevertheless, it was not reflected in the world. This was what happened.

See the situation of war. Today, the situation of war is such that wherever the army of Islam, *Sepah-e Pasdaran* and *Basij* advance, they take prisoners of war. Lately, they have taken 2000 captives. There is no talk of it. On the other hand, they make a television show. Of course, they are professional in making such programs. Last night or the day before last, there was a TV program, well it seemed to be produced in London, and screened in some of the countries on the Persian Gulf, showing corps of Iranian troops scattering all over the desert with Iraqi soldiers rescuing at the scene. These poor Iraqis have been taken captive and the Iraqi army has been desperate and escapes when coming across four pasdars. Now, they screen such a film. This is the situation of propaganda in the world.

They carry out different sorts of anti-Islamic, anti-Iranian propaganda just because this Islamic Republic wants Islam. From all sides, they carry out propaganda. Moreover, as per war, our forces are advancing, have almost driven them out of our land, and are marching ahead now. The radios say, when they want to be fair, some Iranians say this and Iraqis say that, but it is

not clear what both sides says. When they receive a blow, they overreact and say Iraqis advanced and poured Iranians into the sea with many being drowned and others taken captive. They have taken eight-year-old captives. Iran sends eight-year-old children to war! This is the situation of propaganda! Our propaganda, however great, cannot cope with theirs. Well, they command all mass media apparatuses. Yet, we should make propaganda.

US, source of tension in the region

We should tell the people. I hope those who want to make propaganda will succeed to do so. I hope those who go abroad and those who speak on the radio and television can make the situation clear. What is their situation and what is ours? What do they say and what do we say? They are presenting Islam in a way that it appears that Islam seeks war. Islam has never encouraged war and we have never waged any war. They were the ones who imposed the war and we are defending. Saddam is given a two-month opportunity; they will again equip him to launch attack from a different place. We cannot let such a beast be on the loose, because it will do whatever it wants. Unless he is choked, the region will not be set right. Those who help him do not understand. The US deceives them and uses them as a plaything, the way he has treated Saddam so far. The power of these regional countries pale in comparison to the Iraqi power, but the US wants to afflict them and others as it afflicted Saddam. They should realize what their duty is towards Islam and Iran. They want to live after Saddam. We would like them to lead a correct life.

We wish to bring comfort to the people in the region and not trouble. However, we are banned from doing our work. If Iran is given a one-year opportunity, they will see that both the region will improve and the grip of powers will be curtailed, with every region leading a comfortable life. However, the US does not let. The US does whatever it wishes. I hope their grip will be curtailed and you all succeed in your services.

Now Iran is yours. All grips have been curtailed. You should build it by yourselves. Thank God, people are present at the scene efficiently. People are very good, but they should remain at the scene if they want to live an honorable life and be treated as a gentleman. Previously, they were not regarded as human beings. We were treated like other objects. We were like goods in their hands being sold to this or that. We were treated like this. Now, thank God, our country belongs to ourselves; it is for us and I hope you will succeed in serving Islam and Iran.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, March 4, 1984 [Esfand 14, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 30, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The important role of people in running the country; the importance of holding proper elections; the criteria of success

Audience: Ali-Akbar Natiq-Nuri (Interior Minister), governor-generals from across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Significance of people's role in running the country

I beseech the Almighty God to grant success to all the gentlemen and those serving this oppressed people for the sake of God. Regarding the story of governors and their subordinates, I would like to make two points. One is that the gentlemen are aware that as long as people are not present, neither the government nor governors can manage the affairs. That is, all government organizations cannot do anything without people. Therefore, all of us, you and those who work with you should struggle to win the people's satisfaction in all affairs. In the past people regarded neither the government nor elections and officials to be from them. Therefore, they did not participate in elections the way they should have unless when they were under pressure. People did not also cooperate with the government in removing difficulties. They were more inclined to attempt sabotage than cooperate with the government. Definitely, it is for people's presence and help that our government has been able to brave out the black-breaking problems facing the country since the victory of revolution. Today, people do not consider the government as being separate from them; they do not see elections as dictated ones. Today, people know that the government and election are from them.

Necessity for officials to serve people

You should strive to keep what is now in the mind of people who consider government and elections as from them. This mentality should not be eliminated from their mind. In the course of the service you render you should bear in mind God Almighty. You are responsible before God. Tomorrow, you will be questioned. If here you can, God forbid, do something and conceal it, your act will not be hidden before God and the

angles of God. One-day man will come to realize this. From this perspective, the weaker the people the greater you should heed them. but in the past regime, the big guns, tribal chiefs and reach people were held in greater respect. The weak, poor people were, on the other hand, totally ignored. You should do the converse. You should treat the weaker, oppressed and deprived people in more dignified manner than others. Treat all respectfully but these are heart-broken and downtrodden in the course of history. They have suffered much and rendered great services in the revolution. Today, they offer the youths. If the affluent class does any service, a few of them are involved in such matters. Therefore, we should protect this class of people for the sake of God and preservation of the prestige of the Islamic Republic. You should kindly treat all social classes in every actively. If any of them has a problem and comes to meet you, the secretary should not block his way, keep him waiting or kick him out. These are acts in contrast to God's satisfaction but were done in the past. You should do the converse. This is a question regarding the acts you do. You should notice that God is present everywhere and watches over all our deeds, which are recorded. Our acts are recorded befor God, and on the day of judggment will be unfolded to us. Therefore, I make this advice.

Advice on holding proper elections

I have another piece of advice regarding elections. No matter how properly you treat people. Some try to find fault with you. We should not heed their find-fauting. They were looking for faults from the begining are still doing so. When there was only talk of an election, they would start complaining that elections were not free and fair and people would not go to the polls. They will make such complaints in the future. We should neglect them. You ought to consider this fact that you are heard responsible for your own actions and those of your subordinates before God. No one in the election is superior to others; all members of the nation are equal in elections. There is no difference in election between one who performs a small thing and one who is at the helm of affairs. The former has one vote and the latter one vote as well. Both should be treated equally. Therefore, pay heed to handle the elections in a way that people would be pleased. The elections should not be organized in a way that is favored by supposedly the chiefs. We want the people. The people should be satisfied. People should feel that election has been handled in the way electoral law has provided and Islam had recommended. You have to act. Law is something that records and determines our duty. What counts is action. Your action should conform to

the law, and gain the satisfaction of people. It is necessary to be careful so that troublemakers cannot sabotage your plans. Of course, in time of elections a group of saboteurs will appear, disrupt the process, and make a fuss. Strongly stop such movements. Everyone should cast one's vote calmly and peacefully. You must not allow some to cause trouble in the polling stations or others to tell people to vote for this or that person. Every candidate has conducted advertisement within the limits set by law. The polling station is not the place to tell people who is good and who is bad. You have to stop anything like this so that hopefully we can have a proper election. I hope you will be successful in this attempt. People will also turn out in the election because people now consider the country to be theirs and know that the fate of the country rests with the election. They will not show any sign of apathy in the election. They do this for themselves. In the past people did not have any reason to take part in elections, because there was not a link between elections and people's interests. Today, however, there are not such arguments. People will participate and I hope they will turn out in greater numbers in this election. This is a divine, national and human duty, which we should fulfill. We all should participate in elections. You should make sure to hold a proper election. People will take part and cast their ballots. You have to embrace yourselves for complaints and criticism. It is obvious that some will make complaints. Obviously, not only you but also all will be subject to complaints of this nature: "It was not a real election and people did not turn out and did not do so and so." They will say such things, but we should go our own way.

Criteria of success

Another question is the issue of war. I would like to remind the gentlemen of one point which people should also know. The standard showing that our war is good or bad is the propaganda made abroad. Wherever greater propaganda is carried out against us, it becomes clear that in this part they have suffered greater damage. For instance, in places such as Khurramshahr, we had achieved greater victories in the course of war, but they carried out greater propaganda against us. When I study the case, I see that these days for more propaganda are made against us. Never did they cover our news at the top of their items. Now they have aired lies to the effect that the Iranians have been surrounded and many of them killed. On one occasion they quoted Iraq as saying, they had killed 30,000 Iranian forces. On another occasion the figures was reduced to 18,000. Today, they said 50,000. Well, tomorrow they might say 200,000. Whenever they suffer

greater defeat, they increase the volume of their propaganda against us. The greater the volume of their propaganda, the greater our victory has been. This is the standard, which the people should notice. Whenever they raise a tumult and talk more about our defeats, know that we have achieved great victories there. Now that the situation in battlefield has become sensitive, they have become confused to the point that once they might announce that no war has occurred in Iraq. Iraqi radio announced that they fought in Iran and all the dead bodies of Iranians lie scattered in Iran. The next day they may forget what they had announced and report that they drove out the Iranians from Iraq. Once again, they announce that the bodies of Iranian forces have been left in Iraq or Iranians have been surrendered, the Iraqi forces poured them into the sea, and that since they did not know how to swim they were drowned. Some simple-minded people might happen to accept these fabrications. Do not believe! This is not the case. The victory we have now achieved is greater than those up to the present time. As pointed out by some gentlemen, the tactic employed in this case were very complicated and in which there are many lessons to be learned by those who want to go to war. Anyhow, we should note that people should not be impressed by their propaganda and imagine that there might be something that they make such statements. When there is something, they increase the propagnnda. When great damage is inflicted on them, they intensify their propaganda war. It is now clear that the US has sustained great damages from this war. You see what it is doing here, in the Persian Gulf and other places. The US is raise in tumult, announcing it will not let such and such things occur. They make such claims, which are of no use. Such is the case in France, England and elsewhere. Since they suffer the burden of war and see things are not getting along as they planned, they augment their propaganda operations on the supposition that we are araid of their threats. Right, we saw that the US can do nothing. In Lebanon, despite the fact that a large number of Lebanese people were not involved—many of them including the government sided with the US—that situation was so hazardous that none of them could stay there. France is also finding an excuse to escape. Well, we know them; their ballyhoo is more than their action. Colonization was primarily founded on making fuss as a means of pushing forward their programs. They advance their interests threat. For example, if there was an issue in contention in the Majlis—at the time when the late Mudarres was Tehran's representative—and they wanted something from Iran, in case of any laxity or hesitation, a British ship would sail towards our country and it was enough for them to withdraw. Russia had once given an ultimatum and its army had been

mobilized to enter Iran. They wanted to get a concession from the Majlis. No one dared to speak. The late Mudarres attended the Majlis and said, “now that we are supposed to die, why should we commit suicide. Let them kill us.” Others also accepted and voted against the bill. Nothing happened. They always make fuss directly or through their servants to force us retreat. I hope this war will soon come to an end and God willing in favor of Islam.

Need for presence of forces in the war zones

Another question that I would like to highlight is that the New Year is approaching. I expect the gentlemen and all to think a moment about the people and the mothers whose youths have been martyred or disabled in the war theater. I have been told that the Basij forces want to be here during the holidays. Right, You are performing a great act of worship now. If you leave the warfronts now, what do you want to do? Do you have any New Year festivities? You are entangled there and poisonous bombs are being poured on your head. What does celebration mean in these conditions? Do you want to evacuate the warfronts for festivities? Keep the battlefield strong. Your festivity is when you strengthen the battlefield, drive the enemy out, and achieve the final victory. God willing, many New Years will come and you will compensate. May God grant you all great reward!

Simple-minded reformists

Another thing I would like to point out is that some persons who seem not to be prejudiced and sound to be religious talk about making peace. They call for peace and ask for how long the youths should be killed.

These gentlemen are short-sighted. They do not notice that in the present situation if we accepted the peace proposal and sat at the table with Saddam—he at one side and our president at the other side—what the world would tell us. What would Islam tell us? What would Iraq tell us? What would Iran tell us? Shall we give opportunity to one who has afflicted us for four or five years and carried out whatever he wished against us and make peace with him? If he has not done something, it is because he has not been able to. He has done everything possible and will do so in future. Shall we tell him right! Gentleman! Go back to your country and we go after our own business. This does not comply with Islamic dignity and human honor. It is not possible to make such a statement. The gentlemen are mistaken. They imagine that now that we have offered our youths—I know we have suffered greatly—we had better come to terms with Saddam. Is this an honorable peace with one who will later stab us more fiercely from behind? Is this

peace rational? Strangely, some gentlemen say if they had occupied part of our country they would have defended the country to a man. Right, Islam is opposed to this nationalism. Do we consider Islam less than our nation and country? We are doing everything for Islam. We do not consider the Iraqi people to be separate from us. This is a country in which many of our *ulama* and Iranian nationals are living now. We are not separate. When we are not separate, should we think it is right to be killed to a man for the sake of our land? The one who said why offering so many youths argues that when they were in our soil we were ready to be killed to a man. Now that they have withdrawn—they have not yet retreated—why should our youths be killed? Let us sit and talk for peace, an honorable peace. Is this honorable, is this not against the view of Islam to offer our youth for land but if we offer our youth for our religion it is objectionable? We are now fighting for our religion; we do not fight for land. When the war comes to an end, we will openly welcome the Iraqi people, and will not be at war with them any longer. Our war is a war between Islam and blasphemy, not a war between one country and another. It is between Islam and disbelief. If we retreat today, we have caused Islam to suffer defeat. Today we cannot withdraw. Today we cannot make peace with them. On the one hand, they call for peace and on the other commit those crimes. They are not peace loving; they are only lying. Let us suppose that they happen to come to their senses, but no one accepts from us or our president to sit at the negotiation table and sign the peace deal with a criminal who has committed so many crimes. Does the world accept it from us? Suppose that big powers say “very good, thank God you won the war” —it is their victory—what do the nations tell us? What does Islam tell us? What do the prophet of Islam and Imam of the Time tell us? Well, we are responsible. Therefore, the gentlemen had better think and then talk. First think and then raise voice. I hope that you will be successful in all affairs. We are not expecting the east and west to help us. We seek help from God who has so far granted us help. We have so far seen the result. I hope from now onward we further experience God’s help if we also serve Islam and God. “*If you help God, God will also help you.*”¹

May God’s peace and mercy be upon you!

¹ *Surah Muhammad 47: 7.*

Decree

Time: March 6, 1984 [Esfand 16, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreeing with a circular on amnesty of the convicts and prisoners

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

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Founder of Islamic Republic of Iran, may your presence last long,

This letter is a request from you to grant amnesty on the occasion of the New Year.

All those who have been convicted by the general, revolution and army courts to taziri punishments such as fine, imprisonment or exile and their convictions have become definitive up to 29th of Esfand, are entitled to the amnesty of the great leader on the occasion of sixth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution as explained below on the condition that they are not villains. Their villainy will be decided by the public prosecutor executing the verdict.

(In continuation of the letter, the proposed cases along with the relevant criteria and conditions have been cited in nine articles and concluded as follows:)

Communication of this order by the mass media is regarded as official circular. Public prosecutor's offices are obliged to enforce the amnesty's regulations with regard to those who enjoy conditions provided in articles 3 and 4, part A and para 7, part A and B of this command up to the end of Esfand 1362, sending the result to the amnesty department as soon as possible.

Chief justice,
Musawi Ardebili, 15/12/1362 AHS]

Abdul-Karim

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
16/12/1362 AHS

¹ According to duties and authorities of leaderp stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Statements

Time: Morning, March 6, 1984 [Esfand 16, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: According needs of the deprived people

Audience: Sayyid Hashem Rasul Mahallati (the Imam'a representative in Housing Foundation); supervisors and clerics of the Housing Foundation departments in provincial centers

I hope with the efforts of you, the all staff of the foundation, our deprived and oppressed people, who had been enslaved by khans or tribal chiefs and capitalists throughout history, can have their own dwelling. The Islamic government is also obliged to render the necessary assistance to you. God willing, our people who had been deprived of their rights can enjoy everything through hard work and effort. You are not giving services to one generation: future generation will also avail of these services. Always try to bear the deprived in mind and consider God in doing whatever you do. God willing, you will be successful and sanctioned!

Statements

Time: Morning, March 10, 1984 [Esfand 20, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1404 AH]

Place: Tehran, Jamaran

Subject: Public effort to give expression to Islam

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Khatami (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance); Mahmud Borujerdi (Deputy Culture and Islamic Guidance Minister); cultural representatives of the ministry abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I hope you can show the image of Islam as it is. Today governments want to present a repulsive image of Iran to the world. The mass media and other organizations internationally bring up the issue of human rights, claim Bahais have no freedom in Iran or they are imprisoned for Bahaism when they see victory of Iran or when they see the oppression of Iraq against us. They even say pregnant women are killed in the streets. Let them say whatever they wish, but you should know that the deprived people of the world not affiliated to governments' side with us. Islam will open up its way and presents its genuine picture to all. We should also make efforts as much as we can to take step towards realization of Islam. I hope all, particularly the Islamic Guidance Ministry make greater efforts to guide all. God willing, you will be successful in serving the country that was even culturally backward, as no one took a step for guidance and improvement.

Power of Attorney

Time: March 16, 1984 [Esfand 26, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1404]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Granting proxy for donating inheritance share to the poor

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Pasandideh, may your blessing endure,

Considering that the lands, water and desert of Khomein are the share of paternal inheritance of you, me and the late Aqa Sayyid Nur ad-Din Hindi¹ (peace be upon him) and his heirs decide to parcel off the land or take any other measure regarding the water and the above-said land, you are hereby granted proxy and the right to give power of attorney to others to take action in any way you deem advisable to parcel off, sell, divide, cede, lease or any other measure with the right of waiving even loss in transaction and receiving the sums. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1404 AH

In His Most Exalted Name

Let me not leave it concealed that I transferred my right to those who have built a house or want to do so from among the poor and destitute people.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's brother.

Decree

Time: March 17, 1984 [Esfand 27, 1362 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1404]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long, Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully,

Enclosed please find the list of 58 convicts of the Islamic Revolution courts in 14 cities, and 128 convicts of public and revolution prosecutor's offices who according to circular no. 1362/3/9 - 1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council, were suggested by the Amnesty Department as being eligible for amnesty and and sentence-abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
27/12/1362 AHS

Letter

Time: March 19, 1984 [Esfand 29, 1362 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determining the state of intelligence forces up to the formation of Information Ministry

Addressee: Muhsin Ridai (Commander-in-chief of Sepah-e Pasdaran)

In His Most Exalted Name

The intelligence works have to be carried out in their previous manner up to the formation of Information Ministry and the intelligence agents should actively carry on with their jobs in their relative organizations.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 29, 1362 AHS

¹ Imam Khomeini's letter was issued in response to requisition dated 27/12/1362 AHS by Mr. Muhsin Rida'i Commander-in-chief of Islamic Revolution Sepah-e Pasdaran and the stress laid by martyr Mahallati. In his letter, while referring to the importance of concentrating intelligence works in the warfronts to confront the Baathist-Zionist enemies, and considering that at the same time formation of Information Ministry was on the government's agenda, he has sought Imam's permission in this regard.

Reply to a query

Time: 1984 [1362 AHS / 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to query about dissipation claimant's property by defendant; demanding damages caused by suing

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

1- In cases in which claimant to a property is known or unknown and the claimant fears lest throughout the trial the defendant dissipate and destroy the property of the plaintiff or make it unfit for use or sale, can he/she call for attachment of the known property or other property of the claimant or not?]

In His Most Exalted Name

In both cases if there is evidence or proof showing the claimant to be in the right and that the defendant is indulged in squandering the original property or going bankrupt there is no objection to secure the aforesaid, but by setting condition on the claimant to the effect that by securing the property any loss is inflicted on the defendant, the former would recompense.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

[2- Does the one who has become the winning party in a trial but has suffered damages and sustained expenses in the way of restoring his/her right can demand the damages from the convict who has caused the damages or not?]

In His Most Exalted Name

He/she is not entitled to sue for damages.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Televised Message

Time: Morning, March 21, 1984 [Farvardin 1, 1363 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A radio and television message on the occasion of the New Year

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In hope of hoisting the banner of Islam in the world

I implore God Almighty to bless this New Year for Muslims of the world, particularly our dear people by the grace of the *Wali-e Amr* (peace be upon him). Congratulations on this great victory of Islam over blasphemy and on this great struggle of our strugglers in the cause of Islam! God willing, this day of the festivity is happy to all. It is hoped that God almighty will lead this nation to victory as He has so far done by His special favor. I hope God will bestow His blessings upon the martyrs, who have lost their lives for this victory and this Year will be blessed for the whole nation, particularly the family of martyrs, those wounded in action, the disabled, those missing in action, their families and all the strugglers from any stratum. I hope by the grace of God Almighty and the favors of *vali-e-amr* (peace be upon him)—May our souls be sacrificed for him—this nation obtains whatever it has asked from God and wish God will curtail the grip of the oppressors from this country. This festive occasion and New Year will be the dawn of fulfillment of the request of this nation from God, a request that conforms to the will of God. I hope people will proceed with the same vigor—as they have done so far and curtailed the grip of the oppressors—and vitality and be able to protect the country. I hope the flag of Islam will be hoisted over the world Muslims and the grip of tyrants will be curtailed from Islamic countries and this nation succeed in acting to gratify God Almighty.

Understanding of the men of knowledge of feasts

Of course, the feasts prescribed by Islam have been differently treated in accordance with different views of different schools. The understanding of the men of knowledge of feast widely differs from what others have. After men of knowledge suffer those pains in the holy month of Ramadan, the feast is

their day of gaining proximity to God. For other than You what appearance is conceivable that cannot be conceived for You?¹ They consider everything from Him and felicitate the day because after the austere practices, it is the day to enter the Proximity of God. After they lost their self in the Feast of Sacrifice, men of knowledge prepare for the meeting. This meeting comes about after they sacrificed their self and whatever is dear to them in the cause of God. Then arrives the day of meeting. On Friday when Muslims assemble, they get prepared for meeting God. Therefore, their understanding of feast is different from ours. We hope that like the saints of God we can attend one of those manifestations and a beam of that knowledge starts shining in our hearts.

I hope in the same way that our youths underwent change and traversed the 100 year long path overnight, our nation also undergo transformation. Thank God a breeze of this understanding had been blowing through this country. Therefore, the victories we have achieved were not attainable by an empty-handed, 40-million nation. These are victories Islam has brought and God Almighty has favored us. no matter what the east and west may say, we will continue with our own way. I hope we can reach the destination. They are, of course, angry because of losing their interests in this country. They fear lest their interests be curtailed in other countries. That is why they are always engaged in hatching plots against us. Expectantly, God Almighty will foil all their plots. I hope by the grace of the Savior (peace be upon him)- May our souls be sacrificed for him- this country will grow into an advanced country from ethical, religious, spiritual and material aspects. Thank God, every day we pass is better than the previous day. I hope that this year is better than the previous years and that God grant success to all to appreciate His blessings and know that everything is from Him. If one sees everything from Him, one will no longer feel upset. This feeling appears when people think these things belong to them. We become sad about the loss of our dear ones because we consider them from us. We should consider things from God and see things as blessings bestowed upon us by God and taken away by Him. Martyrs are guests of God. If we really appreciate these concepts in our heart, it will be feast for martyrs, for those wounded in action and for those offering their dear ones in the cause of God, because these dear ones are the dear ones of God; they are all from Him.

¹ *Maafatih al-Jinan*, practices of the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah, *Arafah* Supplication.

International bodies back Saddam's crimes

I hope that this feeling and faith appear in us and be strengthened. I hope that these Muslims will come to their senses. You see that while Saddam committed those crimes, we were the one to be condemned rather than condemning the one who showered chemical bombs on Muslims, Arabs, non-Arabs, Persians and all. This is to be condemned. However, the international agencies hesitate to blame Saddam and say it was not clear whether they were Iraqi bombs and condemn us instead. And while the United Nation is following up the issue, they immediately condemn Iran for violating human rights. This is a plot to cover Saddam's crimes. However, we trust God Almighty. I hope the New Year is a blessed year for the country and for Muslims. I hope God Almighty will grant us success to serve Him. When we are at His service, we fear nothing. I hope this year is blessed for all classes of the nation and all those under the shadow of Islamic Republic as well as all oppressed people of the world.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: March 27, 1984 [Farvardin 7, 1363 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Nee for active cooperation between public prosecutor and Sepah in intelligence affairs

Addressee: Islamic Revolution Public Prosecutor of Tehran, commander-in-chief of Sepah

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Imam Khomeini,

With greetings, as your Eminence ordered in the recent letter, Sepah brothers in intelligence unit and political and security studies section are actively continuing with their work. However, in order to mobilize all the resources of the Islamic Republic to combat the anti-revolutionaries, it is necessary for an Islamic Revolution public prosecutor of Tehran to resume its cooperation, which was completely cut two or three months ago, with Sepah as before. As specified by the law passed by the Majlis, intelligence work (at least up to formation of Information Ministry) should continue as in the past. Your Eminence is therefore requested to issue the relevant orders in this regard.

With apology
Muhsin Ridai

In His Most Exalted Name

Up to the formation of Information Ministry, Tehran Islamic Revolution public prosecutor is required to be actively engaged in cooperation with *Sepah-e Pasdaran* in the area of intelligence affairs as in the past so that God willing the root of anti-revolutionaries would be cut altogether. It is hoped that at this sensitive juncture differences are avoided and view the works of republic as your own.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 7, 1363 AHS

Decree

Time: April 5, 1984 [Farvardin 16, 1363 AHS / Rajab 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 222 convicts of the Islamic Revolution courts in three cities 61 convicts of the revolution courts in two cities who were found to deserve amnesty and sentence abatement according to circular no. 1362/3/29 - 1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council and the suggestion of Amnesty Department respectively.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili-
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
16/1/1363 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Letter

Time: April 5, 1984 [Farvardin 16, 1363 AHS / Rajab 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Formation of delegation to investigate the lawsuits of Mustadafan Foundation

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, May his presence last long,

After greetings, Your Eminence is requested to give your opinion on the attached viewpoints of the religious judge and prosecutor based in *Mustadafan* Foundation in a bid to remove any ambiguity and violation of the rule of *wali-e amr* and the leader.

Yusuf Sani
Prosecutor General
25/12/1362 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Prime Minister,

Managing director of Mustazafan Foundation is obliged to appoint a well-informed reliable delegation to investigate the request of the head of Islamic Revolution Public Prosecutor's Office based in Mustazafan Foundation to discern the said subjects.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
16/1/1363 AHS

Speech

Time: Morning, April 8, 1984 [Farvardin 19, 1363 AHS / Rajab 6, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Role of women in society

Addressee: Women members of Qum Islamic schools and Narmak *Jami* Mosque

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Oppressions of Pahlavi regime against Iranian women

I appreciate the sisters and respected women for coming to this assembly to let me highlight some of the problems befalling our sisters in the former period and touch on the role of women in the course of 100-odd year history of Iran. In time of the arrogant Pahlavi regime, the respected ladies underwent more oppression than the men. The Iranian women who felt bound to the act according to the rules of Islam and observe the dress code of Islam were subjected to different forms of oppression in the reign of Rida Shah and Muhammad-Rida. I remember the time of Rida Shah, and it is good you do not remember, because what better the women is beyond description. The suffered by this class of the nation on those days is inexpressible. The pressure exerted on them and the afflictions they endured in time of the corrupt Shah are immeasurable. In time of Muhammad-Rida, the situation degenerated and corruption deepend compared to the reign Rida Shah. The latter employed coercion, bullying and forcing women to remove their veil. The former targeted the women's chastity. He destroyed everything in Iran, one being the chastity of Iranian women. Employing a special scheme, they worked to lead the society to corruption and strip it from chastity. Thank God Iranian women resisted. Excluding a group of them who were women of their own persuasion, westernized and suiting the regime, other sisters put up resistance. Therefore, Islam was revived in Iran. The service Islam has done and will do to women is so valuable that we cannot describe. If it were not for this revolution and the transformation-taking place in Iran, there would remain nothing of Islamic ethics in Iran after a few more years.

Superior role of women in recent movements in Iran

Thank God, the problem is over now. The situation is such that women work shoulder to shoulder with other brothers in acquisition of knowledge, mysticism, philosophy and all branches of the sciences and industry. At that

time, it was said that half of the population of Iran were behind the curtain and they could do nothing. Actually, they did not want ladies to do anything, because they had even deprived men of active works. Actually, they intended to bring women into society in the manner of themselves, their friends and companions so as to lead the society to corruption. However, God had ordained otherwise. You ladies are today a source of pride because you are as active as your brothers, who in the seminaries are in pursuit of learning, teaching and other Islamic activities. I hope you are even more active than them. Definitely, you should try to do the opposite of what was prevalent during the former regime. They wanted to replace Islamic ethics by European one. You should do the converse so that some of those credulous people who still might be found in Iran be impressed by you and follow your lead.

The role of women in society—as much as I remember, and history has recorded—in several movements, which took place in Iran, such as the tobacco movement, the constitutional movement and Khurdad 15 event was more or less equal to that of men. They were present in the arena, and due to their presence the men who were uncertain became resolute and the determined men become more so. What you witnessed, the role of women was greater than men in the Islamic Revolution. You were active and make men active as well. The pride you created is greatly appreciable.

Necessity for women's presence in different arenas

You should be present in all arenas as much as permitted by Islam such as election that is today a practice to be carried out. It is the talk of the day in Iran. Women should be as active as men in the elections because there is no difference between men and women in determining their destiny. Iran's destiny is the destiny of all. The extent Islam served you it did not serve men. Islam protected you and you should reciprocally serve Islam. Islam did not serve men that much; it protected you and you should reciprocally safeguard Islam. One of the ways of safeguarding Islam is taking part in this election, which will lead to the second demo of Majlis. Know that election is among affairs that play an important role in determining your destiny. It is the highest of roles. The election should decide on all affairs of the country both inside and outside of the country. Therefore, you women should have a very active role so that God forbid Majlis is gradually pushed towards the east or west due to presence of some incompetent elements, as it was the case in the former regime. In such circumstances, all of you will undergo the affliction we experienced in the past.

Thank God, the Majlis to be set up today will hopefully be better than the first one because all strata are active. Those who have surveyed these issues say that people are present in the arena and voice their opinion. You all should be present and voice your opinion, you should have a say in political affairs because political issues are not exclusive to a certain class, in the same way as know lodge is not exclusive to a a single class. As men have to interfere in pololitical affairs and safeguard their own society, women also havee to interfere in social and political activities along with men. Of course, they should observe what Islam has ordered, which is fortunately the case in Iran.

Despairing enemies by active participation in elections

I hope that the Majlis will be a good one, a Majlis in which the entire people participate freely and do not care about what others may say about them later. Those who are our enemy are today active to spoil the Majlis. There is activity inside and outside the country and you should be actively present and massively turn out in the election polls to foil their activities. I hope the Majlis will be a good one. By the presence of the *ulama*, lawyers and the Guardian Council lawyers, our heart is at ease. In the Majlis, no bill will be passed against the interests of Islam and Muslims. If a mistake creeps into the Majlis, the esteemed Guardian Council should act with utmost power and independence, as it has done so far, push forward the nation, government and the country. I hope that the war would come to an end in favor of Iran and those who are grappling in the world to keep Saddam in power will fail. I hope they cannot keep this criminal in place and the war will come to a good end. All of you and we should be engaged in activity to advance this country in terms of spirituality and material perspective. I hope we can Islamize this country efficiently so that it can serve as a model for all Islamic countries. You know that the group who came to investigate into the big crimes committed by Saddam who has threatened humanity produced a report. However, those who should have condemned Saddam did not do so. It would be expedient for them not to have sent the team, as this caught them out. Those who claim that they are independent and upholder of human rights were unmasked and could not condemn Iraq due to the considerations they had to observe with regard to east and west. They made a general statement and condemned the use of chemical weapons without citing the user. They should not have taken this measure. We will ourselves oust the Baath Party and Saddam and liable the Iraqi people from the bondage of this wicked men with strong fists and without committing that type of crimes.

I beseech God almighty to grant success to you women and sisters to be assiduous in knowledge, action and moral purification. As knowledge alone is not useful, blind purification alone is not useful as well. Knowledge and purification of the self together elevate man to the station of humanity. I implore God almighty to make you ladies, the other sisters across the country as well the brothers successful in giving reality to knowledge and action along with Islamic ethics, and implementing Islam in Iran as prescribed by the almighty God.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: April 16, 1984 [Farvardin 27, 1363 AHS / Rajab 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission to finance construction of a seminary

Addressee: Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Respectfully, your Eminence is notified that Iran Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Mines is a private economic organization which does not government budget. The chamber's function is to give consultation to managers of industries and business, issue cards, and act as an intermediary between the private sector and government. The current officials feel honored that by Your Eminence's order and recommendation of martyr Beheshti they have been in charge of this organization from the very outset of the Islamic Revolution's victory. In pursuance of the principle of wilayat-e-faqih and in a bid to Islamize economy of this land, the chamber has so far made great efforts. It is hoped that their efforts to realize the sublime goals of the Islamic Revolution are so that they can win the special favors of the Imam of the Age (May our souls be sacrificed for him) and that through newer responsibilities entrusted with them by the great Imam, they will be able to receive more honor. Now that Ayatullah Imami Kashani is going to establish a school for education of female students of theology in the vicinity of Shahid Mutahhari Theology School, which is estimated to cost about 25 million tomans, the chamber has been requested to provide for the cost of the said construction. In the past, the chamber has offered aids to Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee and the Committee for Victims of War-torn Areas upon orders of that grand leader. If the Imam deems it expedient, the chamber is honored to fulfill its duty and pay for the cost of the said building. His Eminence's agreement to this request is a great honor granted to this chamber, also heartening its servants in fulfillment of the duties undertaken in the cause of perpetuation of the revolution. We beseech God almighty to perpetuate the shadow of that luminous leader over the Islamic ummah. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Iran Chamber of Commerce,
Industries and Mines—20/1/1363
AHS]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

There is no objection in case the act is not against *Shariah* and the law.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
27/1/1363 AHS

Message

Time: April 27, 1984 [Ordibehesht 7, 1363 AHS / Rajab 25, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Complimenting personality of Martyr Shahabadi¹

Addressee: Iranian nation

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

I express my condolence with great regret and sorrow to the Imam of the Time (May our souls be sacrificed for him) on the martyrdom of esteemed Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Mahdi Shahabadi. Congratulations to the Imam of the Time on such selfless devotees in the cause of the dear Islam, who through their martyrdom have brought honor and dignity to the great people of Iran and especially the esteemed clerics. In addition to being a noble struggler and sincere servant for Islam for which he ascended the heaven, this dear martyr was the brave son of our reverend Shaykh² to whom I am truly indebted for spiritual existence, which is beyond my ability to thank. I implore God Almighty to grant mercy and His proximity to this auspicious martyr and other martyrs in the cause of Islam and patience and enormous reward to his honorable family of Shahabadi, may their blessings last long.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Honorable Martyr Mahdi Shahabadi, the militant clergyman and Tehran's representative in the second term of Majlis was martyred by a shrapnel on Majnoon Island in Ordibehesht 6, 1363 while inspecting the warfronts.

² Mr. Mirza Muhammad Ali Shahabadi, father of martyr Mahdi Shahabadi, was among the pious mystics under whose guidance Imam Khomeini learned a lot.

Speech

Time: Morning, April 29, 1984 [Ordibehesht 9, 1363 AHS / Rajab 27, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Impediments to realization of Islam in the society

Occasion: Appointment to prophetic mission of the holy prophet (s)

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President); Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Majlis Speaker); Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice); Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister); a group of clerics and civil and military officials

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Troubles of prophet and Imams in establishing Islamic government

Reciprocally, I congratulate this auspicious feast to the audience and to all Muslims and oppressed people of the world. It is impossible to discuss what little we have understood from the issues surrounding the mission of prophet and their various dimensions in such sessions. What is the essence of the prophetic mission? What is revelation? How is the quality of revelation sent down? These questions will remain a secret. What we can understand from this mission are the blessings emanating for this phenomenon. Unfortunately, due to all troubles, which the prophet faced, and the battles that raged on throughout his stay in Medina, he could neither introduce his ideal form of government, nor present the knowledge he wished to the humankind. Only Quran was presented. Obviously, it contains everything. However, due to the complications he could not implement his preaching nor could he establish the government of his liking. Even in Hijaz, he could not do it due to the oppositions raised. After him, the Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him) suffered even more. We have to be greatly sorry that the Commander of the Faithful was not allowed to establish his ideal government. He was embroiled in battles brought about by those who laid claim to Islam, opposed him in the name of Islam, crushed him in the name of Islam, and sapped his progress in the name of the holy Quran. If the trick employed by Muawiyeh and Amr As and the sanctimonious people had not banned him from breaking the trick, the destiny of Islam was far different from what it is today. Perhaps the events befallen Imam Hasan (peace be upon him) and the tragic events afflicting Imam Husayn in Karbala would not have occurred. The blame lies at the door of those affecting piety in Nahravan, whom may God curse from beginning to the end. If in time of the prophet those afflictions had allowed him to establish the government he

desired, these disasters would not have happened. But ill-wishers did not let it go the way desired by the holy prophet. A group rose in enmity in the name of Islam and a number of stupid persons surrounding him fastened the hands of the Commander of the Faithful in the name of the Quran. This is an eternal cause of sorrow for all Muslims. If from the outset what the prophet desired had been realized, and subsequently what the Commander of the Faithful desired had been realized these problems would not have come about. However, divine providence has so ordained. If we want to lament those calamities, we will lose touch with our own problems, which are similar to those in early days of Islam. Today, we are also embroiled in the same troubles. We are grappling with the same problems in a different context. The scope of the problems has widened because of the prevailing situation in the world. If that day the messenger (peace be upon him) and the Commander of the Faithful (peace be upon him) were afflicted and confined in a limited way—despite this their light has illuminated the world—in today's world Islam has been afflicted with more complicated troubles. They did not let an Islamic government to materialize under the guise of Islam. Today, we are also suffering similarly and in the name of Islam, the opponents want to withhold efforts to establish Islamic government. One group consists of the heedless and ignorant persons and the other comprises infamous and shameless scholars. The holy prophet has been quoted as saying that two groups broke my back: notorious scholars and ignorant persons pretending sanctity. I don't know from which group Islam has suffered more: the infamous scholar or the sanctimonious ignorants? At any rate, Islam has suffered from the two groups. This condition prevailed at that time and will persist to the end. Even in time of the Promised Savior, as put in some narrations, the *ulama* (Muslim scholars) excommunicate him. This is the affliction prevailing in the world. From the very beginning, satan told God or, I should say, threatened God that he would not let this matter to find reality, and has been very successful. Today we should see what kind of problems beset us.

Tricks of the enemies to create discords

We should not think that the grip of big powers has been curtailed from here. The people of Iran should notice that the plots are in progress. Now you can see that in the very elections that were held with so much freedom and with people's massive turn out, there are both domestic and international hands to create discord among the gentlemen involved in the election. However, it is hoped that in the second term people will also participate and

fulfill their divine duty. Do not imagine that foreigners and their agents inside the country stage a coup. They will not, because they cannot! A country whose people are prepared for martyrdom will not allow the enemy to enter such fields. Nevertheless, they will erode us from within. One of the cases now underway is that the enemy is diligently hatching plots to create discord among the winners and the losers of the election. By such evil terms as winning and losing or victory and defeat they want to create discord among our nation. I fear that the election which should cause people to close their ranks and strengthen their unity be a source of discord. This is one of the tricks of Satan and will be done by the devils. If one means to work for God, this is a decision he himself has made. If one wins, one should not apply the term winning, because it is a service devolved upon him/her and the trouble involved is much greater. If a person is not elected this term, he should not think that he has been brushed aside and this is disgrace for him. There is no talk of winning or losing. We should call it service, and it makes no difference whether one serves in this capacity or somewhere else. Iran should be vigilant that there are hands at work to create difference even within homes among the family members. We should take lessons from history. Similar events were repeated in time of the constitutional movement. Those who did not want Iran to flourish and wanted dictatorship to continue introduced difference among individuals, groups and parties. Those who witnessed the events at that time said in a house there was discord between brothers with each other and with their parents. One group sided with dictatorship and the other favored constitutional movement. This difference forestalled the constitutional movement which failed to be realized as desired by Muslim *ulama*. These differences triggered a group of the westernized individuals to occupy the posts under the guise of constitutionalists and impose despotism on the people in the guise of constitutionalism and you saw what took place. Today is similar to the same day. If people are not aware, if *ulama* of Islam fail to wake up and are neglectful, if the *ulama* from Qum, teachers of Qum, theology students of Qum, *ulama* of Tehran, the militant clerics of Tehran, the *ulama* of the entire cities and clerics of all cities and people are not wakeful, the enemy works to give rise to a situation prevalent in time of the constitutional movement. Know that the responsibility lies with all of us.

Post and chairmanship beside the point in Islam

The seat of Majlis is not the end in Islam; a high position is not an end either. To become the president or a minister is not also the end. If one

assumes these things to be ends in themselves, he has not understood Islam. You are the follower of the leader who said this rule was not worth a pair of worn-out shoes unless used to establish the truth. You who want to uphold the truth and push forward Islam can do so whether in the Majlis, school or other places. It should make no difference where you work. You should be careful lest the troubles of those days afflict us as well. Hopefully we will not experience them. Beware, or tomorrow the world mass media will say Iran is in total disorder or that it is their turn now. Never, they should bury this wish to the tomb. What I am notifying does not signify that we are now afflicted by such events; we always want to prevent corruption they want to create. Let them know that nothing of this sort has happened in Iran. In Iran an elections has been held, a free election that is unprecedented in the world. It is not the case they think that now the time has arrived for them to reap any benefit. Never will such opportunity be provided for them. They will never be given this chance. There is nothing wrong. I beware people lest such things may happen. Otherwise this, there is no cause of worry. In any case, I should admonish the gentlemen who participated in the elections to continue to do so with utmost sincerity of intention and never get annoyed that they have not won and another one has won. You are all brothers and friends. There should be no talk of whether this friend is in the Majlis or that one or me. The people should not take these seriously, as it is the case, God willing. I hope that in the coming term when elections should kick off in a few days with the diligence of the gentlemen who are in charge such as the interior minister and the guardian council it would soon start so that our Majlis would not be closed even for one day. Mr. Imami now gave me the good news that such a thing will happen. I hope that the people of Iran go to the polls, as they did in the first term, and cast their votes. People should appreciate this freedom because they are not influenced by anyone. No one across the world has bound anyone to vote in favor of this or that, nor even to vote, but has reminded people of their religious duty.

Don't get impressed by the enemy's insinuations

Whatever we say is just to remind people of their religious duty. We do not oblige them. They are religiously obliged to preserve the Islamic Republic. To preserve the republic they should be present in the arena and avoid discord. Preservation means that the one who has won should not boast about it and the one who has lost should not think he has lost everything. There is no such thing at work. There is nothing to be happy or unhappy. There is only Islam. Islam is in your hands and you wanted to serve Islam in

that capacity but opportunity has not been provided. Now you can serve in other places. You wanted to serve in the Majlis but it was not possible. No matter, you can serve in the government, in a different post, in school and get engaged in teaching. I request the people not be impressed by the elements working to sow discord among them. You are all brothers in faith and should live brotherly. The cases such as mistake or fraud will be investigated and the Guardian Council will either nullify the votes of some ballot boxes or the whole election. This is common everywhere. Moreover, not that much important. I hope that the gentlemen will enter with utmost sincerity this time as well and cast their votes. We should follow the prophetic mission whose light has pervaded the world and struggle to protect the efforts of prophets who could not accomplish it the way they desired. We should not let the efforts, so far made in Iran, go to waste. Iran has achieved its power and is now focus of attention in the world. What has today engaged the attention of the world is the Islamic Revolution. They are afraid because if Islam is realized, all their dreams will vanish. Perhaps you know that peace-lovers have now come together. The American president has gone to China and they sing songs for each other. This one sings for that one and that one sings for this, and with all talk about peace and rapport. "We want our youths live in rapport and peace"! The situation of the world has so changed that they want that sort of peace in the world and we who really seek peace are thus denied. They do not let us achieve peace. Therefore, we should pay heed to these developments. We should seek to preserve the nation. I hope we will rescue Iraq from the clutches of the Baath Party in the same way that we liberated Iran from the evil of the monarchy. May God grant you and us success to serve! May God be your support and makes Iranian and Iraqi people victorious!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Letter

Time: May 1, 1984 [Ordibehesht 11, 1363 AHS / Rajab 29, 1404, AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Asking to be sent the front lines

Addressee: Said Pursiraj

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Great Leader of Islamic Revolution and captain of the ship of the deprived, Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long,

Dear Imam, I am Said Pursiraj, son of Kazim, and live in Shoshtar. I would like to put forward a question in the hope that you will give me the answer. I apologize for taking your blessed and precious time.

Dear Imam, I am 19 year old and was born into a religious family. From the start of the war, if God accepts, I have participated in the fronts of right against wrong on several occasions. The last time I had my leg was cut from below the knee in the operation code named “*wal-Fajr*”. However, since during the course of the war, I have lost many friends and the fire of enthusiasm for going to the battlefield has made me restless. Some time ago, they sent me to the battlefields to recite prayers. However, despite my repeated requests they did not let me join other brothers in the front lines. I am now losing my patience out of uneasiness. I decided to raise the question with you commander-in-chief of the armed forces. My only worry is that I see every day my friends are being martyred. By losing so many of my friends, I fear lest I should die in bed. I love martyrdom and struggle to join my martyred friends. I hope to give me the advisable answer.

Meanwhile, dear Imam, if the frontline is in the form of defense and I can do something, I can participate. If I participate and get killed, will I be a martyr or not? Finally, I hope you will not mind answering with your blessed handwriting in brief. God willing, in answer to the letter, give us a piece of advice.

The lover who will never forget you to the last drop of his blood and one whose heart beats for you forever!

Your true lover
Said Pursiraj
1/2/1363 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear son, I implore the Beneficent God to associate you with the martyrs of Islam. You who have lost your health in the cause of Islam are unnumbered among the martyrs. You have fulfilled your duty to dear Islam. Don't be upset because you cannot go to warfront. I hope God will protect you. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 11, 1363 AHS

Permission

Time: May 1, 1984 [Ordibehesht 11, 1363 AHS / Rajab 29, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abdul-Khaliq Shujai Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Aqa Shaykh Abdul-Khaliq Shujai Shirazi—may your blessings last long—who has devoted a part of his noble life to acquisition of religious sciences is authorized on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs and, holy shares, and economically use for the share of Imam (peace be upon him) for his own expenses. He is authorized to spend one third of the excess and half of the share of *sadat* on the prescribed religious cases and return the rest to me to be spent on promoting the noble word of Islam. And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and after-world affairs have admonished us. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 29, 1404 AH

Permission

Time: May 5, 1984 [Ordibehesht 15, 1363 AHS / Shaban 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Jawad Arsanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise is to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace be upon Muhammad, the noblest human being, and his pure progeny.

And then, Haj Sayyid Muhammad Jawad Arsanjani—may his blessings last long—who enjoys lofty stations in knowledge, action and piety is authorized on my behalf to take charge of all financial as well as religious affairs in the prescribed manner, and collect all religious dues such as akhmas, zakat, expiation alms, and the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) from which he can economically for his own sustenance. It is hoped that the believers will refer to him in religious affairs and avail themselves of his vast knowledge... May God's peace and mercy be upon you!—
Muhammad Kazim al-Namazi]

[Permission and consent of the late Ayatullah with regard to the said affairs in the text to Mr. Haj Sayyid Jawad—may his success endure—is very opportunity and justified. I also certify.

Bahauddin Mahallati]

In His Most Exalted Name

The cited Mr.—May his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf in the said affairs.

Muhsin al-Tabatabai (Hakim)
Shawwal 12, 1373 AH]

In His Most Exalted Name

As has been written, he is also authorized on my behalf. God willing, he is successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 3, 1404 AHS

Decree

Time: May 5, 1984 [Ordibehesht 15, 1363 AHS / Shaban 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 150 convicts of the Islamic Revolution courts in six cities and 29 convicts of the revolution and general courts in two cities who according to circular no. 1362/3/29-1/15595 and the suggestion of Amnesty Department deserve amnesty and sentence-abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili,
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
15/2/1363 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Message

Time: May 12, 1984 [Ordibehesht 22, 1363 AHS / Shaban 10, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Characteristics of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (*Majlis*) in the Islamic Republic

Addressee: Representative in the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Majlis is at the top of all organizations of the Islamic Republic and enjoys special characteristics the most important of which is Islamic-national nature. It is Islamic because under the aegis of the Guardian Council it makes every effort to pass the laws, which are not against the sacred rules of Islam. It is national because it has emerged from within the nation and the east and west and their affiliates have no say in its destiny. Today, Majlis is the real house of the nation. Contrary to the time of the arrogant powers, particularly the tyrannical Pahlavi regime, it is constituted on the votes of the masses of people committed to Islam and the unclean grasp of the governments, arrogant powers and tribal chiefs as well as westernized and easternized people are short of it. Today, the government that is trusted by the Majlis is the true government of the oppressed who are inheritors of the earth. May God preserved the great blessing of Islam, independence and freedom for the oppressed people of Iran and liberate other oppressed peoples from the bondage of tyrants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Ordibehesht 22, 1363 AHS /
Shaban 10, 1404 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, May 13, 1984 [Ordibehesht 23, 1363 AHS / Shaban 11, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Methods of Islamic invitation

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (Friday prayer leader of Tehran and President); participants in the second international congress (Friday and congregational prayer leaders from Iran and different countries of the world)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Attention to the life-style of prophet and Immaculate Imams (a)

In advance, I should thank the gentlemen who have come from remote places to their country which has been subject to oppression throughout history and suffered pains and martyrdom for this sacred purpose. I implore God Almighty to grant ever-greater success to all for great Islamic ideals. In the gatherings of the respected Friday and congregational prayer leaders from different countries in Iran the Muslims predicaments and the solutions to be adopted have been sufficiently treated. No more things have remained to be told. Let me draw your attention to one point regarding the life-style of the holy prophet and Immaculate Imams of Muslims. The holy prophet invited people by divine revelation at the time when he was alone and had no companies except one or two persons. He did not wait for the number of his followers to increase. He did not wait for multitudes of people accompany him. He began his call from the beginning, inviting people to embrace Islam and find the right path. When he entered Medina and established the government, he did not wait to gain great power. He carried out his invitation more widely and made people aware of their personal, social and political duties. Quranic invitations both in holy Mecca and in Medina were not personal invitation between individual and God almighty. It can be said that without exception, God's invitations even in things that are individual's personal duties - personal relationships between man and God - carry social and political sense. After the messenger of God (peace be upon him and his progeny), we observe that in times the Imams of the Muslims (peace be upon them) were under hard pressure of Bani Umayyah and Bani Abbas, yet they communicated their subjects to people as much as possible. Even in their supplications if you study the supplications of Imam Sajjad and other Immaculate Imams, you see that they brim with advice to prepare people for higher stations, which are beyond the grasp of ordinary people. Invitation to

monotheism, purification of the self, detachment the world and confiding God Almighty did not meant that people should retire at home, overlook the interests of Muslims, and devote all their time to reciting prayers or supplications. As you see, the Imams (a) were not like this. While the holy prophet fulfilled his personal duties and confided God, he established government and sent delegations to all parts of the world to invite people to the faith. He was not supposed to retire to the seclusion of home, only to retire prayers. Of course, herecited prayers, but even than recitation was for self-discipline. He said prayer, but the prayer was meant for self-discipline, mending the people's way and mobilizing people to put up resistance. All the supplications uttered through his tongue and by Imams of Muslims are calling people to spirituality, thereby improving the Muslims' problems. Unfortunately, the interests of Islam and Islamic subjects undergone distortion were distorted especially by Bani Abbas in the early days of Islam.

Quran not restricted to personal issues

The holy Quran that is in the hand of Muslims has remained intact as of the early days of Islam. No a single word has been added or deleted from it. When one studies the Quran with awareness, one will see that the invitation was not exclusively meant for people to sit at home, recite prayers and confide to with God. The invitation aimed at society, politics and statecraft. All these concepts are acts of worship, which are not separate from politics and social expediencies. In Islam all, the works one has been invited to carries devotional aspect. Even working in factories, on the farm, at school carries the connotation of act of worship in the context of Islamic expediency. However, Islamic expediencies as prescribed by the holy Quoran were not observed because they found it in contrast to their desires for power. From the beginning, what they saw in the Quran running counter to their interests, they interpreted the Quran to comply with their liking because they could not make any changes in the Quran itself. They interpreted crookedly. They forced the clerics affiliated to them to make a crooked interpretation of the verses, and tamper with the Quran. However, thank God, the Quran remained intact among the Muslims and they could not make attention in the Quran. If they had been able, they would have done so. One of them who wanted to take out a letter of the Quran, an Arab drew his sword and said: "We answer with this sword." Muslim did not let the glorious Quran undergo any change. It is the same Quran that was revealed to the messenger of God. Therefore, we have such a Book

containing personal, social and political expediencies as well as statecraft, no to mention other things. Obviously, there are interpretations handed down from interpreters and we cannot willfully interpret the Quran. We should take the Quran through revelation and those affiliated to the Quranic revelation. Thank God, we are rich in this respect. However, the deviations taken place among the powerful people from beginning to the present time and are being afflicted with, these are the deviations that the gentlemen see in contrast to the holy Quran invite to discord, separation. The holy Quran says; “*Cling to the rope of God and don't get dispersed.*” They call for discord.

Sowing discord among Muslims, conspiracy of enemies of Quran and sunnah

We should not expect the US and the Soviet Union not to act against the Quran. They intend to pound the Quran and Islam. If they strike Iran, they do not do so because it is Iran but because Iran favors Islam. Their preachers, radios and the press present a tarnished image of Iran, but it is not because of Iran. If Iran takes a step towards the US or the Soviet Union, all will praise Iran. However, since it moves in contrast to their path, almost all mass media act against Iran and at times explicitly says Islam in Iran is threatening. As you see they assert this unequivocally. Their agents who cannot openly express that Islam is a threat, say Iran is against Islam. You *ulama* who have come from around the world should cling to the tradition of the holy prophet and Immaculate Imams of Islam. Even when their hands were tied and they could not raise voice against the policy of the ruling government they invited people with their supplications. They recited prayer and thereby invited people. Any time they found some opportunity, they made the invitation open. We should cling to them and to the holy Quran. The holy Quran drives Muslims to unity and shunning difference as discord would weaken them. Unfortunately, some clerics affiliated to Islamic states work to debilitate Muslims. They cannot attack Islam at an Islamic center; they attack Iran that wants to implement Islam. The judge in Hijaz or Egypt or elsewhere invites in contrast to the holy Quran not in explicit manner, but implicitly, thus separating Muslims. This judge is an oppressive judge. You should suppress them. You who return to your countries should highlight these in Friday prayer sermons and the supplications you recite. As sermons carried political connotation in early days of Islam and Friday prayer was a political gathering, your sermons are also political. Friday prayer is a purely political act of worship. Unfortunately, one sees in places that in Friday prayer

ceremonies there is no talk of matters dealing with the needs of Muslims. The Friday prayers should be performed in the manner of early days of Islam, when mosques, gatherings and prayers had political aspects. Troops would be mobilized and sent to the battle from the mosques. Political issues were hammered out in the mosque. Mosque was a place where political issues were discussed. Unfortunately, we turned mosques to places very remote from the interests of Muslims. The plans charted against us were put into operation at our own hands. Moreover, all of us witnessed what happened to Muslims. Today, however, Muslims should waken up. When they see their government acts against Islam, they can expressly raise voice. If they could not, they can oppose the oppressors, aggressors and opponents of Islam by supplication and in sermons. Enrich the sermons and do not simply recite a few supplications and prayer, as it has so far been the case.

Commitment to Islam and cooperation of people, source of power of religious *ulama*

You are strong. People accompany you. People do not cooperate with tyrant governments. People accompany the *ulama*. You are strong. Every one of you in your own capacity commands the same power, as do the Iranian clerics here. They acted against a power unrivalled in the region, a power which none of the regional powers could cope with. These very people in the street, farmers and workers were awakened due to the Islamic teachings imparted by the Islamic *ulama*. They launched an attack against such a power and drove him out. You also can. Do not expect the governments to work for you. They work for themselves. You should strengthen Islam. You should present Islamic interests and people's social interests in your countries in Friday prayer sermons for which Friday prayer has been set up, and in your supplications, pilgrimage to holy places and whatever activity. Don't touch on private matters; highlight social issues. If you dealt with such questions and they banned you from performing your prayer, you should not object. People will react. If a government closes down your Friday prayer because of your Friday prayer sermons, they will confront the people's reaction. This is what we want. Do not wait for a day when you command an army and, I do not know, find weapons. You do not want to wage a war; you want to project the interests of Muslims. Do not wait for a time when you gain power and then challenge. You should challenge so that you can gain power. Iran did the same. Iran objected and gained power. Iran did not wait for gaining power. If Iran wanted to wait for such a day, the opportunity would never be provided for it. In the face of the power

possessed by Muhammad-Rida and the support he received from all, the Iranian *ulama* did not sit to grow in number and then rise up. Muslim *ulama* in Iran first invited the people and at every opportunity whether on the pulpit, down the pulpit or in the mosque bravely invited people and gradually gained power. You should also do the same. You can. If you think you cannot, know that you will not. Inject in yourself that you can and know that you will be able to do. Any action is first motivated by thought. Every action is accomplished first by contemplation around the job. If we are weak in spirit, we cannot do anything. Strengthen your spirit and your heart and trust God. There are numerous supplications inviting people to rely on God because He is the center of power. All these invitations have been made to drive man not to resort to other than God, to instill in him a sense of power and to make him realize he has a great supporter that is God. One who trusts God, why should he fear anything? If you work for God, is there any reason to fear any power? Are you afraid to be martyred? Is martyrdom scary? Are you afraid to be imprisoned? Is imprisonment in the cause of God frightening? Are you afraid to be tortured? Is torture in the cause of God hard? Iran sustained all sorts of afflictions in the cause of God but did not relinquish. The clerics mobilized the people and transformed them. Today, everyone from a kid just beginning to speak to the old man who has lost several children speak against big powers and rise up against them with one voice. Do not say we cannot! Never think that you cannot. Always think you can. Always think God is with you. Always think Islam is your dignity and you should strengthen this Islam.

Preservation of Islam, duty of all Muslims

If you display laxity, big powers will destroy Islam because they know if Islam emerges in the region, they will have no chance to exercise domination. Unfortunately, some regional *ulama* did not understand and regional rulers will not understand. Constantly Iran is being portrayed as a big threat. It is inculcated that if Iran gains power, it will pose a serious threat. Yes, it is a big threat but not for Muslims but for the US and the Soviet Union. It is mercy for Muslims. Definitely you have been told in the mass media that there is absolutely no security in Iran, that people including small children and pregnant women are gunned down in the street, but you visited the prisons and perhaps you have been to the warfronts too and saw that our battlefields are like mosques in the battlefields here is more remembrance of God than in mosques. Today, our fronts are more. Battle with the likes of Saddam is an act of worship. Depict the situation of Iran to

people outside of Iran and invite people to rise up as Iran did. Tell them what the situation is in Iran. They say that in prisons Middle Age tortures are being practiced. Well, the US should make such claims. Thee US that is torturing the world and that is destroying the world by worse than Middle Age tortures and the Soviet Union complain that Iran is exercising divine punishments and Middle Age tortures. They consider Islam obsolete. Muslims should wake up and know what they are doing and what they will do. It is a religious obligation upon Muslims to preserve Islam and not sit so that others preserve it for them. Others will not do so. Superpowers have girded up their loins against Islam, so have other shallow powers. The Egyptian government has invited Arabs to form a united front against Iran, does it really mean Iran? Is Iran the threat? Is it Iran or Islam that threatens them? The invitation to get united against Iran translates into a consensus against Islam. It is because they consider Islam to be against their interests.

Superpowers false support for human rights

The Friday prayer and congregational leaders and Islamic *ulama* across the world should notice that today all powers have risen against Islam, not Iran! Notice that our duty is great at this juncture. If they find the opportunity and if your attention is diminished, they will eradicate Islam today. Today differs from yesterday. Yesterday they had not come to realize the power of Islam; today they have realized that when the voice of Islam stated to be heard in Iran, its reverberations were felt even in the US. They have understood this. Today their interests are at stake. We have no doubt in it, because they want to occupy the Persian Gulf as well and pump the oils, but Islam is hindering them. The US wants to impose its power on all parts of the world. From the other side, there is Soviet Union. God knows, if these two powers were not against each other what might have happened to the world. Those who speak about human rights, peace and rapport and the like- you know, everybody knows, they themselves know they are telling lies because they want to attract the attention of people to themselves and distract it from their rival. Neither the Soviet Union nor the US seeks the interests of people. Both of them pursue their own interests. That which wants the interests of people is Islam. That which has invalidated racial discrimination is Islam. That which draws no distinction among races is Islam, which calls all to piety. The criterion is piety, not color, race, country or any other things. They want Islam not to be in force. They want to keep other races under their own domination and Islam rejects this approach. They want to discern the interests of Islam and Muslims and act accordingly, but Islam raises voice as

they guarantee their own interests by doing so. We openly announce that Iran and Islam are opposed to the interests of the US and the Soviet Union, the interests to which they imagine Iran should succumb. We retain our independence and freedom and hope that rays of the independence and freedom reach the entire world and the world-oppressed people will be liberated from the domination of arrogant powers. This is something that should be accomplished by *ulama* of Islam.

I implore God almighty to grant happiness and health to all Muslims of the world. We even beseech God to grant happiness to the oppressed people although they may not be Muslim and rescue them from the domination of arrogant powers. I hope God almighty will sanction the *ulama* of Islam to think of Islamic interests and do not fear anyone save God almighty. Do not see anyone to possess power, as all power comes from Him and everything is from him. All and we are nothing.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Permission

Time: May 14, 1984 [Ordibehesht 24, 1363 AHS / Shaban 12, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ali Tarafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Aqa Shaykh Ali Tarafi—may your blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to collect religious dues and use one third of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) for his own expenses and also for promotion of the holy *Shariah*. He is authorized to spend half of the share of *sadat* for the needy *sadats*, and send remaining two thirds of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the share of *sadat* to me to be spent for promoting the pure word of Islam.

And I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—to keep company of piety and observe caution.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: May 15, 1984 [Ordibehesht 25, 1363 AHS / Shaban 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Lofty standing of the Guardian Council and consequences of weakening it

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

As it is observed, after the first round of the elections of the second term of Majlis, some individuals who have not found the view of the esteemed Guardian Council on invalidating or confirming some constituencies to be in accord with their liking have embarked on rumor-mongering and try to weaken or, God forbid, affront the esteemed members of the Guardian Council—may God assist them—who safeguard the interests of Islam and Muslims. They have also distributed leaflets, delivered speeches in different gatherings or written articles in the press unaware that these acts and poisoning the atmosphere in the second term of the Majlis and just a few years after revolution can bring about grave consequences. It is hoped that these acts are innocuous and are not meant to lead to those consequences.

It is unlikely that at the outset of the constitutional movement in the first term of Majlis the *fuqaha* supervising the laws were treated as they are today. At that time, they were gradually pushed out of Majlis, and we all know that what they did to the nation afterwards.

I give warning to the gentlemen that weakening and insulting the *fuqaha* of the Guardian Council is dangerous to the country and Islam. Deviation always creeps into a regime gradually, and topples it at the end. All are emphatically required to heed the interests of Islam and Muslims and respect the laws however opposed to our personal view and taste and to remain loyal to the fledgling Islamic Republic that is target of the powers and superpowers.

Finally, I should say that I have assigned the prominent *fuqaha* of the Guardian Council with understanding and consider respect to them and their position to be necessary. I hope that such treatments are not repeated. I remind the Guardian Council to be firm in its work and act resolutely and carefully and to rely on God almighty. I implore God Almighty to favor and bless this dear nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time: Morning, May 15, 1984 [Ordibehesht 25, 1363 AHS / Shaban 13, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Highlighting economic problems of the country; resistance against problems

Audience: Namazi (Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs); Abbas-Ali Zali (Agriculture Minister); Bijan Zanganeh (Minister of Construction *Jihad*); Muhsin Nurbakhsh (Governor of the Central Bank); staff of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs and banks; farmers from across the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Need for attention to agriculture

I appreciate all the gentlemen who have come here to meet each other closely. I hope that all of you everywhere, in each capacity and each part of this land will be successful in serving this country, which is under the attack of all powers. Let me first make a few words about agriculture. Farmers in any country like ours have a crucial role. Iran is an agricultural country; it has vast areas of land, sufficient amount of water and abundant supply of men power. If we fail to become self-sufficient in agricultural activities and have to stretch our hands before powers and, to put it differently, beg them and let us suppose, give them money as well, still we are dependent. Our dear farmers can rescue Iran from dependence in this dimension and should consider this attempt a religious practice. Agriculture is an act of worship. Islam attaches so much importance to it that some of the Immaculate Imams (a) inspected agricultural lands and at times did farming themselves. Therefore, we should strengthen this dimension. Government should strengthen it and the farmers make their efforts to support agriculture. If in time of Shah you worked despairingly yesterday it was because you saw, the product of your labor was used up for some deviant purposes. Today, it is not the case; today you work for Islam. You perform act of worship for God.

Therefore, I request all farmers to try hard and save us from extending our hands before others.

Importance of improving the country's banking system

The question of banks is one of the important concerns and if usury is not eliminated from banks, the holy verse of the Quran, which says "those who gain unlawful profits have actually waged a war against God and the

prophet”, and numerous narrations to this effect will apply to us. The expression not usurer wages a war against God and the prophet has been rarely used in other places. In addition, we have numerous authentic narrations in this regard. Some of these narrations described usury in term not being used for any other subject. Gaining one cent of unlawful profit has been described as worse than 70 cases of incest with one’s sister or aunt. If usury prevails in a country such as ours in banks, in trade and among people, we cannot say our republic is Islamic or the content of the republic is Islamic. Therefore, experts and *ulama* take great care to save us from this trouble. The people should note that they confront something about which the holy Quran calls declaration of war with God and His messenger. If banking prevails in the sense practiced in other countries, business, industries and other activities of people will suffer. They will sit at home, as their money works for them, while money should not work. Therefore, rectifying the banking system is one of the very important measures, as is the correction of economy, tax and the like.

Those in charge of affairs should be committed to Islam. The Majlis and the Guardian Council should do the tasks delegated to them by the law. After these two stages, the executive has to play its part, which is very important. A law might be very efficient but when it comes to the hand of the executive, it may be poorly enforced. This process is often practiced. Formerly, law would be laid down competently but when it was handed over to a number of traitors to execute, they acted in accordance with his own mentality. When the higher echelon was offered some bribe, there was no longer any objection. Today you should be committed to Islam now that all laws have been transformed to comply with Islamic laws. If you want to resist the big powers that have fixed their covetous eyes on your country and openly express their sinister aims, those who want to enact the laws whether in the finance ministry, in the bank, justice department or other places should be committed to Islam, and know that if we fail in any of these areas, this sense of failure will gradually take over other places, and God forbid a time may come when the whole country is in disorder. The day when the financial, banking, agricultural and other conditions are in disorder, that day they can reach their goals. You see that today almost all governments are opposed to us because you want to act in accordance with Islam. Your country wants to put Islam into practice and they see this process runs counter to their purposes. Elimination of usury means that if it is expanded and goes beyond our borders, the bankers and those who want to consume the people’s

property and dissipate them will see their hands curtailed and are therefore opposed to this process.

Resistance against problems

We should go the straight path. Narrations have quoted the holy prophet as saying that a verse of chapter Hood of the Quran made him old. The holy verse reads; “*Preserve as you have been ordered, and those with you who repent their past should do so.*” It means that the prophet has to preserve in the issues ordered to him, and those who accompany the prophet and believe in him should preserve. It is because of this verse in the Hood Chapter that prophet says, “*This Chapter made me old.*”¹ Conquering a country is relatively easier than preserving it. You have shaken hands with one another. I hope God will sanction all and curtail oppression and the grip of oppressors and foreigners from your country. Today neither the west nor east can interfere in Iran. However, in the previous regime, the country itself was not taken into consideration, and only interests of foreigners were deemed important. Today when you are in power and the country and its interests belong to you and your brothers if you want them not to infiltrate, you should keep up resistance and persevere. Steadfastness signifies that everyone in any capacity should act efficiently in his position. Our *pasdars* and army in battlefields should display their resistance by directing and advancing the war competently. Farmer’s steadfastness does not mean he should fight; a farmer’s resistance is to show progress in agriculture. Banker’s perseverance is to act well. Resistance of the individual working in financial department is to act sociably and not make people discontent. People are the very people who shook hands with one another, liberated this country, and transformed it into an Islamic one. The deviants plan to cause discontent. Sometimes they may, through their own elements, try to create discontent in banks, financial institutions and other places. They may have no personal interest in doing so, but their aim is creating discontent. Through infiltrating the financial institutions, banks and other departments, which are scattered, all over the country these people may intend to restore the former state. They want to infiltrate among you and create discontent through insinuating some to levy more taxes than what is due on people. Of course, the employees will not do so, but they should be vigilant. You should be careful to treat the client in a way that he/she returns with pleasure. It is not like in the past to beat the people on the head to make them contented. Today no one can strike the

¹ Surah Hud 11: 112.

people on the head to yield in to what they desired. Today people have become alert and will not succumb to such treatments, but this way you only create discontent. We should try to be those addressed in this verse *“Preserve as you have been ordered and those with you who repent their past should do so.”* The prophet said, *“My beard turned gray over tis verse. I become old because of this verse.”* It means that the prophets and those with him were ordered to preserve. You are the companions now. You should resist and continue with the battle you have waged with all the countries and powers opposing Islam. To persist means that everyone everywhere does one’s job well. One should not be concerned as to whether others do their job well or not. One should do one’s work well. Obviously, one should advise others or enjoins good deeds and forbid the evil acts. But you cannot evade your responsibility just because some one has done something wrong. If the entire world goes the opposite direction and you are alone, you should not do the wrong thing. Know that all the social strata should do tasks delegated to them in an efficient manner. This alone is challenging those who want to transgress upon this country. God Almighty will accompany you. When you are at the service of Islam, the service of God Almighty, God Almighty will accompany and sanction you. I hope you will always be sanctioned and successful.

Disappointing enemies by active participation in elections

Let me say a few words about the election that is coming in the next few days. One of the important events we are today confronted with is the story of the elections. Many abroad are waiting to see the failure of this election. In leaflets, etc. people were urged not to participate in the elections, but they did thank God. People should also attend the coming elections. People have to prove the big powers, who claim that the nation has turned his back to Islam and Islamic issues, wrong. They have to know this is not the case in Iran. Suppose we are bad, but Islam is good; every one accepts Islam. This is an Islamic duty to preserve the Islamic Republic. If Majlis is hurt, Islam will suffer damage. If Majlis is strong because of the support of the nation, it can efficiently fulfill its duties in relation to the world standing against Iran. To do so calls for strength; this strength in turn depends on your votes. Today is not like the past when a list was prepared and sent everywhere, ordering that the list should be voted and others rejected. It is not also possible to send a number of agents at the voting polls and do whatever they wished. Today you are the ones who exercise authority. No one has the right to strip you of this authority. If you can discern, so much the better; if you cannot, consult

the religious upright people and seek their help and then act. I hope the people will continue resistance in the same way that they have so far risen to protect Islam and put up resistance for protection of Islam. Make the prophet happy. I hope God will grant you success and remain at the service of Islam, curtailing the hands of the traitors. I hope the war will end in your final victory and the hands of those who want to harm Iran with this war will be curtailed.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Speech

Time: Morning, May 20, 1984 [Ordibehesht 30, 1363 AHS / Shaban 18, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Resolve and preservice by relying on divine sanctions

Audience: Muhsin Ridai (Commander-in-chief of Sepah-e Pasdaran); Ali Sayyid Shirazi (Commander of the army); Muhammad-Ali Rahmani (Commander of Basij Mustadafan); commanders and officials of the joint bases of army and *Sepah-e Pasdaran*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Complimenting the proud deeds of Muslim combatants

I feel proud to see that the personnels and commanders of the military and Sepah are united. I never forget you. In time of the materialization of prayers, I pray for you.

Be strong and brave and don't let in fear of the commotions in the world. Such things had also been experienced in early days of Islam. These tumults and fuss raised by the opponents of Islam also existed in early days of Islam. Such practices were initiated in time of the holy prophet and after him. Yet God has ordered us to tread on the straight path and preserve.¹ If we preserve, we will have divine assistance on our side. Since your support is God Almighty, you are not afraid of anything. Others are backed by Satan and move with his guidance. You who are moving with divine power are strong.

Being few in number is no problem. Unwavering faith is what counts. Thank God, you and Sepah and other organizations in the battlefields are all brave and since you are backed by faith, you should not fear anything and you don't. The stories I have heard from battlefields, from our friends in warfronts and the manner of their confiding with God Almighty in the bunkers are a source of honor. Beware that after Islam up to the present day no such army and Sepah have existed to turn their bunkers into mosque. It is only you who have done such a thing. You are proud before God, who will give you power. As the holy prophet with small number of followers but with divine sanction, advanced his purposes and impressed the world, you who are the followers of that reverend man will be victorious, as you have now impressed the world.

¹ Reference to verse 112 of *Surah Hud* and verse 15 of *Surah adh-Shawra*.

Today the reflection of your power is reverberating the White House and Kremlin.¹ All powers are afraid of you now. You should not be scared of anyone. All powers have been shaken by the power of Islam. Your actions have caused them to shiver with fear. Don't be afraid of any power.

When God is with you, everything is with you. You have God even though you do not have the support of the east and west. This is an honor for you. It is an honor for Islam not to be tilted towards the east or the west but the straight path. Your path is the path of God. In the path of God, there is no objection to martyrdom or disability and no other such troubles. This is something the saints of God from the outset of creation and the grand prophets in the course of history have been afflicted with but have not feared. They have advanced. You are now so powerful that your cry is resonating in the world. Today, all are afraid of you, while you are not afraid of anyone. Stay united and a single hand and call all to unity. Thank God, unity has been achieved; preserve this unity.

As long as you keep your unity, God will be with you. "*God's hand is with community and solidarity.*"² Be sure that one whom God accompanies is victorious whether one is martyred or survives. Whether we achieve martyrdom or are victorious, we are triumphant in both cases.

May God grant you power and health! God's peace and blessing is upon you. Give my regards to all those in the battlefield and tell them what I can do is to pray and I pray for all of them. May God protect you God willing!

¹ Kremlin Palace in the seat of the Soviet government.

² *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

Letter

Time: May 26, 1984 [Khurdad 5, 1363 AHS / Shaban 24, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Moral-mystical pieces of advice

Addressee: Fatimah Tabatabai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Fati who demanded me mystical letter

Demanded Soloman Throne from an ant

She seems not to have heard "*ma arafnaka*"

Jabriel demanded him divine blowing

Finally, after insistence you urged me to write a few line parrot-fashion of what my heart is unaware and to which I am strange. This is at a time when languor of old age has made me forget whatever knowledge I had, however superficial, and the unutterable, inexplicable troubles have added to it. Let me quote the date of this piece of writing so as to become clear when started wrting so as notto turn down your request: Sunday Shaban 24, 1404 AH—Khordad 5, 1363 AHS Let the readers study the situation of the world and Iran on this date.

Where do I begin? I had better begin with the human nature. "*So set thy purpose (O Muhammad) for religion as a man by nature upright the nature (framed) of Allah, in which He hath created man. There is no altering (the laws of) Allah's creation. That is the right religion, but most men know not.*"

¹ Here the verse is concerned with human nature though this is peculiar to creation that "*The seven heavens and the earth and all that is therein praise Him, and there is not a thing but hymneth his praise; but ye understand not their praise.*"² Everybody recites:

We are hearing, seeing and alert, we are silent towards you the aliens³

Let us now cast a look at theoretical mysticism of human beings and say: In his nature and creation, man is unlikely to give attention or feel attached to

¹ *Surah ar-Rum* 30:30.

² *Surah Isra'* 17: 44.

³ *Mathnawi Manawi*, Book three, 1019/433.

anything other than absolute perfection. All souls and hearts look to Him and seek none save Him. They will not seek any other but Him and sing His praises; they cannot eulogize others as praising everything is meant to praise Him. As long as the praise is surrounded in veil, he/she imagines to be praising others. This also applies to the wisdom, which is in veil.

One who seeks perfection, whatever it might be, loves absolute perfection not relative one. Every limited has some shortcomings and human nature hates imperfection. A seeker of knowledge seeks absolute knowledge and loves the absolute knowledge. Such is the case with seeker of power and any other perfection. Naturally, man loves absolute perfection. Whatever man seeks in limited perfections is its perfect form not imperfect ones which nature dislikes. The luminous and dark veils trip man up. Poets and panegyrists imagine to be admiring a certain powerful Emir or scholarly *faqih*. However, they eulogize and admire power and knowledge not in the limited sense although they may imagine them to be limited. *“There is no alteration in this nature.”*¹

As long as man is in veil, preoccupied with the self, and has not shattered the veils, even the veil of light, one's nature is covered. Leaving this abode calls for multiplied force and guidance of God Almighty. In the Holy ShAbaniyeh Supplications one reads: *“O, God! Bestow upon me complete tearing away (from attachments) to attend to thou. Kindle the eye of our hearts by the Radiance (luminosity) of seeing You so that the eyes of heart rends the curtains of light, reaches the mine of majesty and grandeur and our worlds would belong to the respect of Your holiness (sanctity).”*

This perfect rending requires leaving your own abode and that of relatives, forgetting everyone and everything, joining Him and separating from anyone except Him. It is a divine gift granted to sincere saints after ecstasy obtained from His Majesty that is followed from the slightest favor of Him. Unless the eyes of the heart are not lightened up by the light of His glance, the veils of light will not be rent and as long as these veils linger, there is no way to the mine of majesty. The spirits of attachment cannot comprehend the respect of sanctity nor can they attain to the stage of annihilation of attributes.² *“Then he drew nigh and came down.”*³ Lesser stage of this nature is absolute annihilation and absolute attachment.

Sufi! Enjoy yourself in the way of love

¹ Surah ar-Rum 30: 30.

² Stage and station of annihilation of attributes that is achieved prior to annihilation of essence and absolute annihilation.

³ Surah an-Najm 53: 8.

The promise you have made should be fulfilled

As long as you have not abandoned the self, meeting a sweat heart is a dream

One should be annihilated in the cause of the Friend

The secret murmur of the Truth with His special servant will be realized only after unconsciousness and relinquishing the self.¹

My daughter, Preoccupation with sciences and knowledge, even mysticism and monotheism if it is for accumulation of terminologies, as is the case, and for the sake of the sciences will not get the spiritual wayfarer close to destination if it does not keep him distant. *“Knowledge is the greatest of veils.”* If he to motivate one seeks the Truth-, something that rarely occurs- this will serve as torchlight and light of guidance. *“Knowledge is a light God will implant in the heart of whoever He wishes.”*² To reach part of it calls for purification, cleansing and edification: purifying the self and cleansing the heart from other than Him. The next stage is edification from moral imperfection riding of which calls for great endeavor, the other stage is purifying the action from what is opposed to His satisfaction, and taking care of good practices such as obligatory acts that are on top, recommended ones as much as possible and to the extent that does not trigger man self-love and self-conceit.

My daughter, Self-conceit and self-admiration results from utmost ignorance of one’s inferiority and immensity of creation. If a little bit thought is given to magnificence of creation as much as man has so far done despite all the advancement in sciences man has become only partially aware of, one will discover one’s inferiority and that of all the solar system and galaxies and realizes the majesty of their Creator and feels ashamed of self-conceit, egotism and self-admiration. In the story of Solomon the prophet (peace be upon him) we read when he crosses the desert of Naml: *“Till, when they reached the Valley of the Ants, an ant exclaimed: O ants! Enter your dwellings lest Solomon and his armies crush you, unperceiving.”*³ The ant describes Solomon and his entourage as unperceiving. The hoopoe tells him: *“I have found out (a thing) that thou apprehendest not.”*⁴ The blind-hearted

¹ And when Moses came to Our appointed tryst and his Lord had spoken unto him, he said: My Lord! Show me (Thy self), that I may gaze upon Thee. He said: Thou wilt not see Me, but gaze upon the mountain! If it stand still in its place, then thou wilt see Me. And when his Lord revealed (His) glory to the mountain He sent it crashing down. And Moses fell down senseless. And when he woke he said: Glory unto Thee! I turn unto Thee repentant, and I am the first of (true) believers.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 1, 17/225.

³ *Surah an-Naml* 27: 18.

⁴ *Surah an-Naml* 27: 22.

cannot tolerate the speech of the ant and hoopoe, let alone the speech of the particles of existence and whatever in the sky and on the earth whose Creator says: "The seven heavens and the earth and all that is therein praise Him, and there is not a thing but hymneth his praise; but ye understand not their praise. Lo! He is ever Clement, Forgiving."¹

Man who considers himself to be the axis of creation—although the perfect man is—might not be so in the sight of other creatures. Unrefined man is not such as the verse of the Quran says; "*The likeness of those who are entrusted with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books.*"² This is concerned with scholarly growth minus purification. This state has been described in the following verse: "*not. These are as the cattle nay, but they are worse!*"

My daughter, Prophets were delegated to bring man spiritual growth and rid them of veils. It is a pity that the sworn Satan through this affiliates did not let prophets realize what they wanted. "*He said: Then, by Thy might, I surely will beguile them every one.*"³ We are all in slumber and entangled in veils. "*People are in sleep and when they die they become awakened.*"⁴ It appears that hell has surrounded us and veil of nature blocks man from intuition and feeling. "*Lo! Hell verily will encompass the disbelievers.*"⁵ Disbelief has many stages of which self-conceit, attachment to the world, contemplating other than Him are just some. If we study the first *Surah* of the Quran wisely and with an eye other than the animal vision and reach him without dark and luminous veils, springs of knowledge will flow into our hearts. Unfortunately, we are unaware of its initiation. There is no news of the one who came to realize.⁶

I, the unaware, empty-handed way farer tell my daughter to contemplate in the holy Quran—this source of divine blessings. Although mere reciting it that is a letter from the Beloved to the veiled hearer brings pleasant effects, reflection on it would elevate man to higher and loftier stations. "*Will they then not meditate on the Quran, or are there locks on the hearts?*"⁷ As long as these locks are not untied and crushed, meditation will not bring the result it is expected of. After the big swear, God almighty says: "*That (this) is indeed a noble Quran. In a Book kept hidden. Which none toucheth save the*

¹ *Surah Isra' 17: 44.*

² *Surah Jumuah 62: 5.*

³ *Surah Sad 38: 82.*

⁴ *Bihar al-Anwar, 18/43:4.*

⁵ *Surah Ankabut 29: 54.*

⁶ *Kulliyat-e Sadi: 30, Dibacheh-ye Gulestan.*

⁷ *Surah Muhammad 47: 24.*

*purified,*¹ Their ringleaders are those about whom the holy verse Tathir has been sent down for them.

You should not be disappointed as despair is one of the big locks. As much as possible, you should struggle to remove the veils and break the locks to reach the limpid water and source of light. When still young, struggle to improve practice, purify the heart, break the locks and remove the veils, as thousands of young people who are close to the celestial horizon will succeed while an old person will not.

If satanic bonds and locks are neglected in youthful days, they will take root and grow stronger day after day.

The tree now has taken root can be plucked out by person's force

If the day passes by it age cannot rend it apart from the root

Of the tricks of Satan and the more dangerous self is that it promises correction in the old days and postpones edification and repentance towards Allah for a day when the tree of corruption and the ZaQum tree (a tree in hell for the people of hell to eat its bitter fruits) grow strong and the will for purification weakens if not dead.

Let us not move away from Quran. In this conversation between the lover and the beloved and the dialog between lover and Beloved lie secrets which no one can decipher except man and his Beloved. Perhaps the interrupted letters in some chapters such as "*alam*", "*sad*", "*yas*" are of this nature and many of the holy verses for which externalists, philosophers, gnostics and mystics present their own interpretation. This is of the same kind. Although each group reaps benefit as much as its capacity or imagines to do so and a portion of these secrets are revealed to them through household of revelation from the bubbling spring of revelation, others will benefit from it as much as their capacity. It appears that most of the invocations and supplications have been selected for this purpose. What we find from the supplications and invocations of Immaculate Imams (peace upon them) are found less in narrations that are mostly in common language. However, language of the Quran is different, a language with which every scholar and interpretive considers to be familiar but is not. The holy Quran is among the Books whose disciplines are unprecedented and conceiving its various disciplines is more difficult than their verification. Many a time with philosophical argument and mystical viewpoint one can demonstrate a subject but may fail to conceive it. Conception of the bearing of the contingent on sempiternal cited in the Quran in different expressions and the

¹ Surah Waqiah 56: 77-79.

quality of association(company) of Truth with people that some say to be “self-existent company” the conception of which is a riddle for the as well as the emergence of the Truth in people and presence of creation in Truth and His propinquity, the glorified and the sublime, from the jugular vein to the creatures and contents of the following verses: “Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth.”¹ “He is the First and the Last, and the Outward and the Inward.”² “There is no secret conference of three.”³ “Thy only we worship and thy only we seek for help.”⁴ I do not think the concepts of these and corresponding verses have been appreciated by anyone except by the addressee and the close friends nurtured in this school being versed in such matters. Finding a way into an aperture of it calls for efforts of creatures in purification. Alas the life of this broken pen rolled by and:
Nothing was gained of school debates

But heart-rending words after all those uproars

Today, there is no news of youth that is the spring of finding. I see the former findings but a handful of words and advice you and other youth who seek knowledge that you and all creatures that are His manifestation and appearance strive to find a ray of Him, annihilate in it, and reach from non-existence to absolute existence.

So I become non-existent like an organ I am told verily all return to Him

My daughter, The world and whatever in it is hell the end of which is manifested at the end of the course; what is beyond the world to the end of the stages is paradise, appearing at the end of the journey after removing the veil of nature and you, we and all either move towards the abyss of the hell or paradise and the assembly of angles.

A narration has it that once the holy prophet (peace be upon him and his progeny) was sitting among his companions. Suddenly a horrible sound came. What was the sound, asked one? “A stone on the edge of hell hit the abyss of hell after falling 70 years ago.”⁵ The wise people said: “In that state, I heard a 70 year old heathen man just died and reached the bottom of hell.”⁶ We are all on the road and the path moves through hell.⁷ Its inner aspect is revealed in the next world. Here every man has a path exclusive to him/her and is in the process of travel either in the straight that leads to heaven or

¹ Surah Nur 24: 35.

² Surah Hadid 57: 3.

³ Surah Mujadalah 58: 7.

⁴ Surah Fatihah 1: 5.

⁵ *Ilm al-Yaqin* 1002:2, Masnad Ahmad 371:2.

⁶ *Al-Futuhah al-Malakiyah* 298:1; *Ilm al-Yaqin* 1002:2.

⁷ *Ilm al-Yaqin* 967:2.

higher stations or devious path tilting to left or right both of which lead to hell. We seek the beneficent God to grant us the straight path. *“Guide us on the straight path, the way of those to whom thou have given blessing and not the way of those whom you have shown wrath.”*¹ That deviation from one way and “not the devious” is the deviation from the other side. These facts will become fully apparent in Resurrection.

The path leading to hell whose darkness has been precisely and minutely described in the runner side of the direct path in this world. This dark and narrow road is very difficult for the laggards like us to traverse. Those who kept on the path without straying all will say, *“We crossed hell, while it was cold.”*² Everyone is rewarded proportionate to his strive on this path and the same path will be reflected in the next world.

Put aside false satanic prides and hopes and strive in action, edification, and education for departure is close. Any day that passes by and one is negligent will be late. Do not relate why you are not prepared. *“Look at the word and not the speaker.”*³ Whatever I am, I am for myself as is the case with all others. Hell and Paradise of everyone is the result of their actions. Whatever we harvest we reap.

The mold and nature of man tends towards resistance and goodness. Love of goodness is in our nature. We lead the nature astray, spread the veils and weave the webs around ourselves.

The devotees who are on the path all seek the spring of life all
They quest for right but not know it they seek Euphrates in water

Last night you asked me about the titles of mystical books my daughter. Try to eliminate egotism, not collect books. Suppose you bring some books from the market to home, more than from one place to another, make your self a repository of terms and jargons, present whatever knowledge you have in meetings and gatherings, enchant the audience, with your knowledge, add to your burden through traps of Satan and the tempting self which is more evil than Satan, become the life and soul of parties by the tricks of Satan, and, God forbid, where overtaken by the vanity of knowledge or mystics, do you think in such cases you have added or removed from the veils? God the glorified has brought the holy verse: *“The likeness of those who are entrusted with the Law of Moses, yet apply it not, is as the likeness of the ass carrying books.”*⁴ to waken up the *ulama* and so that they know that

¹ Surah Fatihah 1: 7-5.

² *Ilm al-Yaqin* 971: 2.

³ *Qur'ar al-Hikam* and *Durr al-Kalam* 11/394:1.

⁴ Surah Jumuah 62: 5.

accumulation of sciences, even science of religious and monotheism will not reduce egotism but, on the contrary, may increase it, leading one from minor egoism to major one. I do not mean to escape knowledge, mysticism and philosophy and lead a life of ignorance, as this is deviation. I want you to struggle and strive to make your incentive divine and for Friend and if you prove it is for God and training His servants and not for hypocrisy and ostentation in which case you will, God forbid, be classified in the category of evil *ulama* whose stink makes the people of hell feel uneasy.¹

Those who found Him and nurtured His love have no incentive save Him and with this incentive all their acts will become divine. War, peace, fighting and everything that you can imagine "*the strike that Ali (a) inflicted on Amr ibn Abdejad on the day of Khandaq is superior to the worship of jinn and human.*"² even if they result in a great victory will not bring any virtue without divine intention. It should not be imagined that the position of the Immaculate Imams, particularly the commander of the faithful Ali (peace be upon him and his household) ends in here. The pen does not dare proceed, and the tongue is unable to describe. What can we say with the veiled ones? What do we, veiled ones, say and what do we know to say? What is there is not expressible and goes beyond the horizon of our existence. It is hoped that the remembrance of the Beloved and His remembrance affects our heart and soul however no news of it is obtained just like the illiterate lover who looks at the letter of the Beloved and is merely content with knowing that this is the Beloved's letter. It is like a distressed Persian-speaker who does not know Arabic, but because of inner intimacy with it recites the Quran and drives an ecstasy thousands of times greater than that experienced by those versed in diacritical marks and literary excellence and eloquence of the Quran occupy himself and that of philosopher and mystic concerned with rational and aptitudinal issues and is heedless of the Beloved, for philosophical and mystical books are concerned with the contents of the book and have nothing to do with its speaker.

My daughter, Subject matter of philosophy is absolute existence, ranging from the almighty God to the last stages of existence. The subject of knowledge of mysticism and practical mysticism is absolute existence or let us say God almighty, not being concerned with any other discussion except God almighty and His manifestation that is not separate from Him. If a book or mystic discusses something other than God, neither the book nor the speaker is respectively mysticism and mystic. If a philosophy looks at

¹ Reference to a narration from the holy Prophet (peace be upon him and his progeny)

² *Bihar al-Anwar* 2-1:39.

existence as it is and discusses it, his view is divinely oriented and his discussion mystical. All of these is different from mystical verve which is beyond the scope of the present discussion and others are estranged from it let alone moral intuition and thereafter non-existence amid being drowned in existence. *“Put out the light as morning appeared.”*¹

My daughter, I heard you say: I fear lest I should regret during examination because I did not work during holidays.” This regret and the likes of it, whatever they maybe, are easy and ephemeral. That regret is permanent and eternal that when you come to your senses you would notice that you see everything save Him and that day curtains cannot be pulled aside nor veils could be removed.

Commander of the Faithful in Komeil Supplication recites *“O, my Beloved, Master, Lord and Nurisher! Supposing I put up with your chastisement, how can I endure being away from thy?”*² I, the blind-hearted, could not recite this item and some other items of this noble invocation seriously, yet I read it through the tongue of Ali (peace be upon him) and I don't know what is it that is more difficult than God's chastisement in hell. The chastisement that *“(It is) the fire of Allah, kindled, which leapeth up over the hearts (of men)”*³ appears to be the very *“fire of God”* that burns the hearts. Perhaps this chastisement is superior to the chastisement of hell. We, blind-hearted, cannot perceive and acknowledge these ultra-human concepts. Let us leave them for those conversant with these concepts, those who are few in number.

Mostly, philosophical books, particularly from Muslim theosophists and those of the mystics have each their own impact. The former acquaints man with metaphysics however in panoramic picture and the latter, particularly some of them such as *“Manazil as-Sairin”*⁴ and *“Misbah as-Sharayi”*⁵

¹ The last item “Narration of Truth” has been quoted from Kumayl Bin Ziyad who asked Imam Ali (a): “What is the truth? Since he made a number of questions and received the answers, he got the point and said: “Put out the light as morning dawned.” *Jami al-Asrar wa Manba al-Anwar*: 29.

² *Iqbal al-Amal*: 708.

³ *Surah Humazah* 104: 6-7.

⁴ The book entitled *“Manazil al-Sa'irin”* is a book dealing with mysticism and practical spiritual journey by Khwajah Abdullah Ansari (481-396). The book contains two important annotations by Mulla Abd ar-Razzaq Kashani and Anif ad-Din Talmasani both of which have been published.

⁵ *Misbah al-Sharayi* and *Miftah al-Haqiqah* is a book treating disciplines, homilies and ethics consisting of 100 chapters each beginning with the phrase “Imam Sadiq—peace be upon him—said”.

appearing to have been written by a mystic quoting Imam Sadiq (a). These books prepare hearts for reaching the Beloved. More exhilarating than all are the supplications and prayers left by Imams of Muslims who are leaders, not guides, carrying one towards the destination. They hold the hand of the truth-seeking men and take him towards Him. What a pity that we are interdicted and miles away from them.

My daughter, if you are not of the mystics, try not to reject the mystical stations of mystics and the righteous ones and do not consider antagonism with them as a religious duty. Much of what they have said has been reiterated the holy Quran in an esoteric and implicit language and in more openly supplications and prayers of Immaculate Imams. Since we ignorant ones are deprived from them, we show hostility to them. It has been said that Sadr al-Muteallehin saw a person howling imprecations against him in the vicinity of the holy Shrine of Hadrat Masomeh (peace be upon her) and asked: why are you cursing Sadra? The man replied: "He maintains the unity of self-existent." Sadra said; Then curse him! If this episode is a story, it speaks of a reality, painful reality which I have heard or experienced in our own time.

I do not want to clean the claimants, as "*Many a time when clerical robes deserve fire.*" I want you not to deny the original concept and spirituality, the same spirituality expounded in the Book and tradition and which the opponents have either ignored or justified simplicity. I tell you that the first step is to be relieved of the thick veil of denial that hampers any growth and positive step. This step is not perfection, yet opens the way towards perfection, as "*yaqzah*" (literally meaning vigilance and consciousness and in mystical parlance) which is regarded as the first stage in the journey of way farers cannot be counted as a stage but preliminary step opening the way for the spiritual wayfarer to enter the stages of the spiritual journey.¹ Anyhow, one cannot find a way towards the truth by way of negation.

Those who deny the stations of mystics and stages of wayfarers do not attribute whatever they do not know to their ignorance and deny it because they are self-conceited and selfish so that their self-centeredness and selfishness would not be impaired. "*Mother of idols is the idol of self.*"² As long as this big idol and strong Satan is not removed there is no way towards Him the glorified. Alas! It is too difficult to break this idol and tame this devil? An Immaculate Imam has been quoted as saying: "*My Satan*

¹ *Sharh-e Manazil al-Sa'irin*, Abdul-Razzaq Kashani: 34.

² *Mathnawi Manawi*, First Book, 49.

*embraced the faith through my effort.”*¹ It is clear from this quotation that anyone however great has a Satan and that the saints of God have succeeded in bridling it and even making a believer out of them.

Do you know what Satan did to our grandfather, Adam, God’s chosen one? Satan pulled him down from the vicinity of the Truth and after Satan’s temptation and approaching the tree, maybe the self or some of its manifestations, came the command “*fall down,*”² initiating all corruptions and enmities. Adam (peace be upon him) repented with the aid of God Almighty. God made Adam His chosen one. You and I who are afflicted with the satanic tree should repent and implore God the glorified in private and openly to help us in whatever manner He wishes and we can repent so that we can benefit from human blessings. This cannot be achieved unless by effort and abandonment of the tree of Satan with all its branches, leaves and roots scattered in our existence, gaining firmer and wider with every day passing.

By attachment to the evil tree and its branches and roots one can undoubtedly not find a way towards destination. Eblis (Devil in Islam) made this very threat and was successful. Excluding a rare number of the righteous servants and saints nearest to God, no one can escape the tricks of Satan and evil self embodying Eblis. If one can, one cannot escape all the branches and its precise and very complex roots unless by God’s help, as He liberated the chosen one of God, but there is a way for us to acquire that capacity.

The holy verse in this regard is worthy of contemplation where it says: “*Then Adam received from his Lord words (of revelation), and He relented toward him.*”³ It has not said ... It appears that he has received the words by journey towards Him even though if it said ... Acceptance would not be possible minus journey towards perfection. One should also reflect on another verse about the same story where it says: “*And when they tasted of the tree.*”⁴ It appears that the practice has not been anything more than taste and savor, but since it has been done by the chosen one it has brought about those problems. Outcome! We should now study our condition that we have indeed been grafted with all the branches, leaves and roots of this tree.

¹ *Ilm al-Yaqin* 282:1 and *Kanz al-Ammal* 1243/247:1. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him and his progeny) has been quoted as saying that every one of you has a Satan. The prophet was asked: Do you also have a Satan? The Prophet replied: I also have, but my Satan embraced me through my effort.”

² *Surah al-Baqarah* 2: 36.

³ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2: 37.

⁴ *Surah al-Araf* 7: 22.

My daughter! Plagues on the way are many. Each outward and inward member of ours has its pests each of which being veils. Unless we do not pass these veils we cannot reach the first stage of the spiritual journey towards God. I who am afflicted and my body and soul is Satan's plaything allude to some calamities of tongue, this small member that the unruly tongue endangers the whole body. When it is the Satan's plaything and his pawn, it ruins soul, spirit and heart.

Do not neglect this great enemy of humanity and spirituality. When you are at parties with friends enumerate the big sins of this small member as much as you can. See what it does with one hour of your life that should be devoted to winning God's gratification and what calamities it brings about. One of these pests is speaking behind the back of brothers and sisters. See with whose prestige you are playing and what secrets of the Muslims you are revealing and what prestige you impair and characters you break? Then calculate this satanic party and see in one year what you have done in this commonplace thing and what you will do in 50-60 years to come and what calamities you may cause for yourself. But you do not take it into account. This understatement is a trick of Satan against which may God protect us by His favor.

My daughter! A cursory look at what has been handed down about backbiting and harassing believers, finding fault with them, uncovering their secret and slandering them trembles the hearts not sealed by Satan, and makes life bitter for man. Now, due to the love I have for you and Ahmad, I recommend you to keep away from satanic plagues, particularly the many pests of tongue and endeavor harness it. Obviously, it is difficult at the beginning, but by resolution and reflection on the consequences, it will become easy. Take lessons from how the holy Quran has described the person who divulges the secrets of others where it says; "*And spy not, neither backbite one another. Would one of you love to eat the flesh of his dead brother?*"¹ Perhaps narrations speak of the limbo form of the action and maybe the narration quoted from Master of Monotheists in the many advices he has given to Nouf al-Bakali allude to this very sense. According to one probability, the narration reads that Nouf sought some advice from the Commander of the Faithful and he said; "*Shun backbiting which is the food of the dogs of hell. Then the Imam observed; O, Nouf! One who eats the flesh of people by backbiting tells a lie to be a legitimate child.*"² The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him and his progeny) has been quoted as saying that

¹ Surah al-Hujurat 49:12.

² Bihar al-Anwar 13/248:72.

*“Does anything other than what their tongue has harvested throw people in the fire on the Day of Judgment?”*¹ From this narration and numerous others it is understood that hell is the inner form of our deeds.

O, God! Save us, this family and the families related to us from the satanic plagues and do not classify us in the category of those who have tortured Muslims by their tongue and deeds.

I wrote these few pages at the request of Fati. I admit that I could not escape the tricks of Satan and hope Fati who enjoys the gift of youthfulness finds this success. Greetings upon the righteous servants of God!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 12, 1403 AHS

¹ *Usul al-Kafi* 4/115:2.

Decree

Time: May 27, 1984 [Khurdad 6, 1363 AHS / Shaban 25, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 421 convicts of the Islamic Revolution courts in 10 cities and 32 convicts of the revolution courts in two cities, who were found to deserve amnesty and sentence abatement according to circular no. 1362/3/29-1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council and the suggestion Amnesty Department respectively.

Abul-Karim Musawi Ardebili
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khurdad 6, 1363 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Message

Time: May 28, 1984 [Khurdad 7, 1363 AHS / Shaban 26, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission and duty of MPs and determining priorities of the second term of Majlis

Occasion: Inauguration of the second term of Majlis

Addressee: Members of Majlis

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

By the favors of God almighty the glorified and sanction of the Promised Mahdi (May our souls be sacrificed for him) the sacred Islamic Consultative Assembly has just started its second term. This state of affairs comes at a time when, thank God the Islamic Republic enjoys the full support of the dear Iranian nation, which is present in the arena. The nation has left behind the problems of the revolution one after the other to a great extent, its sacred pillars have been established, and has been able to attract the hearts of the believers and oppressed people of the world. The enormous wave of Islam has shaken the oppressed people across the world and despite the predictions and wishes of superpowers and their affiliates are continuing with its proud path. Fearless of the teeth and paws of superpowers and clamor of mass media affiliated with the east and west, the wave of Islam has remained firm and driven out the straws and dregs like surging flood. *“Then, as for the foam, it passeth away as scum upon the banks, while, as for that which is of use to mankind, it remaineth in the earth.”*¹ By the will of the omnipotent God, in a short span of time after the victory of revolution Iran has become one of the most powerful Islamic countries in cultural, political, social, economic and military dimensions. We consider these successes and victories to emanate from the source of absolute power, blessings of the great Islam, faith in the omnipotent God and following the sacred laws of Islam. We consider ourselves insignificant and are honored that God has bestowed His special favors upon this oppressed nation and saved it from the vortent of destructions. We hope that by continued commitment of the people to Islam and efforts of all organizations of Islamic Republic of Iran these favors will become permanent and that we will enjoy the good prayers of the Imam of the Time (May God hasten his reappearance). Here it is necessary to

¹ Surah ar-Rad, Part of Verse 17.

appreciate the efforts and struggles of the respected representative of the Majlis. Despite all the difficulties, sabotages and lack of coordination, they succeeded in accomplishing important tasks and never deflected from the straight path of Islam. They stood against the deviants and accomplished their important works proudly in the first term of the Majlis and amid the atmosphere of sedition and riot that were inevitable in an enormous independent revolution such as the Islamic revolution in Iran. This Majlis should be regarded as an exemplary one because in the time of revolutionary penetration of pervert hypocrites in key positions, their ascent to top posts, and lack of actual experience in complicated issues it managed to achieve remarkable successes through effort, diligence commitment to the Islamic Republic, and moving towards Islamization of laws and working for the oppressed people. Let us beseech the sacred position of divinity to bestow mercy upon the innocent martyrs offered in the cause of Islam and upon their esteemed families. *“May God grant them good spiritual reward through Islam!”*

And as we are going to inaugurate the second term Majlis enjoys the unsparing support of the revolutionary nation who is committed to Islam and the Islamic Republic. The respected MPs have encountered many difficulties gained much experience during the first term of the Majlis, and are familiar with many of the so-called political convolutions, plots and plays. They have undergone sacrifices and witnessed the selflessness of the grand Iranian nation as of the outset of the revolution up to the present day. They have experienced these hardships whether during the tyrannical monarchical regime which subjected the brave nation's women, men, young, and old to collective martyrdom or after the victory when they encountered the treasons and crimes of the hypocritical groups and splinter groups affecting Islam, nationalism and supporting the masses of people while mercilessly butchering the weaker toiling classes. They also witnessed the war being imposed by eastern and western superpowers and their reactionary affiliates who burnt and ruined the tillage and generation of this justice-seeking Muslim nation, martyring the dear youths who defended the ideals of Islam and the holy Quran with advanced weaponry offered by the east and west as well as chemical weapons. Now that they have witnessed all these processes, they should give careful attention to the fact that they have undertaken a very great and fateful responsibility.

In this blessed month of Shaban and the auspicious birth anniversary of the Promised Savior (may our souls be sacrificed for him) who is ordained to dispense justice in the east and west and to redress the grievances of the

oppressed and innocent peoples of the world, I humbly request the representatives and all the innocent people of Iran to accomplish the responsibilities they have undertaken competently in this turbulent and mischievous age marking the rule of jungle and succeed in this great strive and enter the holy presence of the Truth proudly and with honor.

Let me give some brotherly and sincere admonitions to the honorable deputies, may God protect them, in the hope that they will be useful. *“And warn, for warning profiteth believers.”*¹

1-That which is above all warnings and by achieving it everything will improve and happiness will prevail is that we should instill in our veiled and diseased hearts that the universe from the highest to the lowest level are the manifestation of the Truth, the glorified and sublime, and in His control. No one from the celestial spirits, the prominent prophets and Immaculate Imams to wretched and vicious persons and wherever you search have nothing by themselves; in fact, there is nothing excluding those coming into existence by His brilliant manifestation. This warning is what secures the heart. *“Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest!”*² With this belief, fears from other than Him will depart from hearts and hopes in other than Him will die away from hearts. O, God! Although we are far from You and bound in the chains of the self, beg You to take our hands through Your saints and relieve us of our self so that we do not see other than You, do not fear other than You, do not have trust in other than you and do not rely on other than you. O, God! We are indebted to you for the victories in warfronts, behind the frontlines and in national and government organizations. If it were not for your special favor and the ray of your mercy over this weak nation, they had been suppressed at the very first breathes. The wolves around the world show their teeth to this nation, the plots hatched by east and west aim to overthrow Islam and the Islamic Republic in integrated form, wide and long international human rights, and security organizations together with mass media directed by left and right have risen in one voice to confront this nation. The so-called Islamic governments in collusion with the usurper Israel and its master and bigger usurper, the US, have been mobilized to topple the Islamic Republic. However, it was Your great favor that our Majlis, people and government have stood like a gigantic and indestructible dam and conveyed the voice of Islam to the world awakened the oppressed people beside the White House and Kremlin and every nook and cranny in the world to move and shout in the hope that Muslims and oppressed people

¹ Surah az-Zariyat 51: 55.

² Surah ar-Rad, Part of Verse 28.

of the world would rise up and take revenge on arrogant powers and preparing the ground for reappearance of the offspring of Muhammad (peace be upon him and his progeny).

2- As this Islamic Revolution is not an ordinary revolution and not dependent on either the western or eastern blocks, it has its special features. It has stood against the two blocks by traversing the straight path and crying "neither east nor west." It has not been afraid of any of these illusory powers and this has helped the nation achieve miraculous victories. Although this treatment brought with it countless plots and conspiracies, the nation did not more back in any stage.

The Majlis stemming from this revolutionary nation is not an ordinary parliament: it is a special phenomenon with special features. One can rightly claim that under the blue sky it is the sole parliament resting on the million-strong vote of people, being set up with independent and direct vote of people remote from influence of khans (tribal chiefs), capitalists, landlords and the so-called political collusions and devious activities, not to mention the bullying of the monarchical regime and its affiliates. Naturally, the responsibilities of such a Majlis are weighty: responsibility of encountering with the politics played by the west and its capitalist wing as well as the authoritarian rule of the east and its communist pole. It is a Majlis that should put into practice the "neither east nor west" policy and bring to the fore the political, social, economic and cultural commands of Islam that had been pushed into oblivion and remained isolated for centuries. Such a Majlis command extraordinary mental power to discern the complex issues in the world and to adopt decisive decision without being tilted to the atheist and capitalist poles. It requires such a power, a power that enables it to proceed fearlessly towards the right even if all the world would move towards wrong. Such a Majlis needs committed experts and professional for its different commissions. For consulting in every field, particularly in foreign policy as well as economic policy, which is today of prominent importance, invite wise, experienced people. Since all seek to promote Islamic laws and render service to servants of God almighty, Majlis should be delighted at seeking assistance from outside of the Majlis.

3- Although the respected first Majlis performed very valuable works and managed to fulfill its duties using great efforts and with difficulty, the density of post-revolution problems and treasons of the former regime were so great that the current Majlis has to cope with many problems such as resolving big economic problems, curbing inflation, finding a solution for housing and land problem, and attending to the needs of deprived and low-

income layers such as the esteemed employees working in governmental organizations with low salaries. These hard-working civil servants do not predominantly have a second income and are indeed among deprived people. Settlement of agricultural problems, as the most important affairs of the country, is vested with the government with backing of Majlis. In all these affairs, what is necessary to be done without negligence is the agreement of laws related to these affairs and other affairs of the country with the sacred laws of Islam including the primary and secondary laws. If, God forbid, a minor deviation from the sacred Sharia creeps in this Majlis, it will become an evil tradition to be followed by other evil acts. The burden of all and those who commit these sins will be suldered by them. If, God willing, activities of the respected deputies aim at improving the country and providing welfare of the deprived conform to Islamic standards, its spiritual reward like that of anyone acting accordingly goes to those laying the foundation for this practice. One should not imagine that serving the deprived people even illegally is not objectionable. This is a deviation and treason to Islam and Islamic Republic and to the deprived people who will suffer the fire of hell as the result of the illegitimate property, usurpation and doing injustice to others. I don't think such problems would happen in a country that has sacrificed everything for Islam and implementation of Islamic laws. The Majlis deputies should struggle not to pass bills countering canon and the Constitutional law, because voting against divinely laws is itself a sin and undoubtedly, the esteemed Guardian Council would reject it, thus the works would be procrastinated.

4- You and we know that the Majlis has great and delicate duties. In this country, people have risen for Islam and Islamic government, implementation of the brilliant laws of the holy Quran and curtailing oppression and injustice in any form and have sent you to the Majlis. The Majlis should reflect your words and deeds, disposition and mentality. Since all these will spread the country and other countries even all over the world through radio and television waves or other media. I feel duty-bound to touch on some of these issues. These are affairs Islam, Islamic ethics, human values and committed Muslim nations expect of them in particular and the public in general.

A) Regarding the manner of treating each other in the Majlis and discussions between proponents and opponents, the deputies are expected to observe Islamic etiquettes in conversations with the intention of finding the truth and a solution in friendly and amicable atmosphere-like scholarly debates in seminaries which aim to discover the truth without imposing

ideas. This treatment serves the gentlemen to find the truth better and easier. However, dispute in state of anger and resentment keeps one aloof from reality. Since the debates aim at finding ways forever better service to Islam, the country and the people, peaceful debates are counted as devotions and acts of worship. It is therefore necessary to avoid what counters God's gratification. The Majlis should strive to find proper ways and serve to teach the audience Islamic ethics and human manners. This is an act of worship in itself. If God forbid in this sacred place certain people plan to develop private motive and impose ideas and settlement of accounts, it will naturally lead to dishonor of a Muslim and exchange of unsuitable words, keeping one aloof from the course leading to the truth. This is against the duty of a deputy. At times, dissemination of obscenities in a vast environment is a cardinal sin. I hope that God grants you success in turning the Majlis to a temple glorified from acts and words reminiscing the days of the arrogant powers just as our dear combatants transformed bunkers into mosque and temple, thus producing a model Majlis to be followed by Majlis in other Islamic countries.

B) As regards the quality of treatment with the government, ministers and other staf, there is no doubt that the Majlis supervises all affairs of the country. It is the right of the deputies to prevent any deviation or violation they observe being practiced by ministers and organizations by the rule of law, even to the point of interpellation of the government. There is however, difference between supervision and impeachment and between faultfinding and vengeance. Anyone consulting his conscience comes to realize the difference. With some contemplation on one's state, one will find if summoning the minister is for God and interests of Islam and the country, with no other intention interfering except guidance and withholding deviation and protecting the interests of the nation or being influenced by carnal passions such as ostentation, flaunting and such carnal and satanic tricks. The touchstone(benchmark) to differentiate divine standard from satanic one is that after consulting one's self, one comes to realize if what one has done has been inspired by carnal self and if his dear friend had committed the offence done by one whom he has summoned, would he treat him as he did others or not. This is the meaning of regulations, rules and the straight path, which brim with human values. May God guide us towards it and help us!

Another stage is that supposing no intention but seeking the truth and preventing deviation is at work, one can differentiate between the divine and carnal criteria by quality of fulfillment of duty and pronouncement of the problem. The former requires that claims to be proved through sound reasoning and conclusive evidence and snides, insulting remark and faul

behavior be avoided. Otherwise, one should know that hand of Satan, tempting self is at work, and that the speaker is a plaything of carnal passions.

Respected representatives and honored brothers and sisters, the subject is very important. The honor and prestige of a Muslim or a human being is at work. Many a time with one deviation one honorable man might be ruined in society and the dignity of a man might be impaired. If you observed a deviation, firstly embark on investigation without clamor. After it was clear out of question, sit to talk to the person prior to raising the issue in the Majlis. Settle the problem with him/her as much as possible in a personal manner. If this does not work, summon him/her to the relevant commission and settle by arbitration of friends. If it is not resolved and the person in question insists on acting contrary to the interests of Islam, the country and the nation, preservation of public interests and Islam is superior to preservation of personal interests whoever one might be. In this case, present the subject without the slightest insult and using logic and cogent argument. You should give him respite to defend himself in a peaceful environment free from tension. At the present, the Majlis should act according to whatever legal and legitimate duty it has without the slightest insult. We all should know that a convict we should all know that no one is allowed to verbally or physically torment a person even a convict who has committed the gravest crime and is going towards the gallows, beyond the religiously defined punishment. The one who does so is himself an oppressor and liable to punishment.

C) Worthy of note is the pre-agenda sermons. The speaker may occasionally imagine he can speak unconditionally and unrestrainedly about anyone whether present or absent, supposedly attacking anyone with no divine, religious and moral standard and even no religious responsibility. At times, sermons are regrettable, going beyond normal limit in insulting a Muslim and believer, or tainting the prestige of people. Occasionally, such people put together figures and subjects corner irrespective of being correct or corrupt and play with the prestige of government and people and even Majlis. They view the Majlis as they did the Majlis in the former regime causing the Muslims across the country to either turn away from or insult it. The gentlemen know that Majlis is the product of long years of pain and suffering and respected blood of hundreds of thousands of martyrs and disabled to materialize the brilliant laws of Islam and transformation from arrogant regime to a divine-Islamic one. Majlis deputies should enjoy high and noble Islamic ethics and consider the great God present and supervising

their words and deeds, and shun behaviors and words reminiscent of arrogant regimes. If, God forbid, one goes beyond the religious limits whether in pre-agenda sermons or other debates and conversations, others should not forget the great obligation of forbidding evil deeds so that God forbid the rights, principles and prestige of people would not be impaired at a venue meant to protect the interests of Islam, Muslims and the country. The esteemed deputies should impart the noble human and Islamic ethics in their treatments and sermons, which are widely distributed, and acquaint people with the nature of healthy treatment with each other. This in itself is a great service to Islam, Muslims and humanity. Although I did not like to discuss these matters openly, I was moved by religious obligation and the fact that I wish the sanctity of the honorable Majlis and the respected deputies to be observed to serve as a model for parliaments of the world and those of Iran's future.

It is worthy of note that if one is attacked in the Majlis or outside the venue while not being present to defend oneself, one should be permitted to defend oneself in the Majlis or if it is not legally possible to be present in the Majlis, radio, television and the press should shoulder this heavy duty so that the right of an innocent one is not trampled on and his personality is not damaged impaired unreasonably. The Majlis deputies and the Majlis Speaker should serve as a guide to this end. With their commitment and the responsibility they shoulder, they should give this right to absentees so that no right would be spoiled and Majlis that is to protect the interests of the country and the people would oppress no one. If an accusation is leveled against government authorities or others, one has the right to lodge a complaint with the judiciary, which will investigate the case, prosecute the violator, and punish him/her. If a ministry or organization is subjected to accusation, the right to defend lies with the minister or chief of the organization, they are entitled to complain, and the judiciary will follow up the case. In brief, in any way possible such un-Islamic practices should be prevented. Obviously, it does not mean that Majlis should relinquish its legal and legitimate right, but that the respected deputies are free within the framework of law and Sharia and no one can deny them their legal rights.

D) Today, the principal concern of the country is war and defense of Islam and the Islamic country. Any arrow released from very direction towards Iran target the Islamic nature of Iran. Any voice being raised by anyone or radio wave in any corner of the world aims at weakening, insulting and humiliating Iran. Whatever takes place in our country is reversely reflected in the world. The so-called human rights organizations, Security Council, Amnesty International and others have exerted all their energy to

condemn Islam and Iran. Those pretending to love peace and detest human rights struggle to foment the fire of sedition and war everywhere, particularly in Iran. They unsparingly supply the enemies of Islam with weapons of mass destruction and chemical bombs. Thanks a million that God almighty favored this nation by introducing a transformation in them, making them a united entity. By relying on divine power this nation has stood against all and is not afraid of their tumult and commotion. They get prepared for defending Islamic ideals more resolutely than ever before. At this time, the duty of all particularly the honorable clerics, the esteemed Majlis and government and chiefs of armed forces is sensitive and heavy. They are the guardians of this unity and solidarity and can save Islam and the country from these sorrowful seditions through their good deeds. No doubt, unity and solidarity of deputies themselves are the highest priorities. Every group should support the others. Today, given the present approach of the world towards Iran, difference and discord among any layer or a layer with another that might pervade the layers of people are deadly poisons pushing the very person or group, the country, the nation and even the great Islam to the verge of destruction. In this time and condition, there is no sin or crime graver than this. The prominent *ulama* and Friday prayer leaders- the likes of whom God may increase- should note that sometimes one sentence or one interview or one sermon can bring Iran under fire; lead to a disaster within the country; cause difference and discord; weaken the military, Sepah and other armed forces, or create discord between Sepah and the military which may, God forbid, cause the several-year-long efforts of gentlemen go to waste. This state of affairs might dishearten the government that is willing to serve. With the government suffering defeat, the pillars of Islamic Republic would begin tottering. The honorable deputies of the second term of Majlis who have just started to serve Islam and the Islamic Republic are required to help the government given the current situation of the country, growing economic and military pressures, unbearable troubles encountered by the government, the enormous expenditure caused by the war and its consequences, the problem of war refugees, Afghan and Iraqi guests who are great in number, the war ravages and the corruption of all sorts inherited from the former regime and many other back-breaking problems. With your help the government can settle the problems one after the other. While keeping your right of supervision and preventing deviations, in the present conditions assess the questions altogether and if something appears to be undue in your view bear in mind the existing situation and evaluate the problems and see if you were the government how you would be able to overcome the current problems.

Know that overall, the government has been able to serve so far in an extraordinary manner. The remaining shortcomings are inevitable. To put it briefly, it is necessary for all to support each other to bring the event under control. With the performance of the government in this brief period and its valuable services across the country, it should be said that it has been a successful government. It should be given the opportunity to find greater success. The government should be assisted in shortcomings and failures by intellectual and practical contributions. The country belongs to all and by relying on the eternal power and with the help of all one can overcome any problem, God willing.

E) The respected deputies who, through God's assistance and the votes of deprived masses, have been given the chance to serve the dear Islam and the esteemed nation are expected to stick the truth and regulations in all activities and votes as the sign of gratitude to God Almighty. For example, regarding the credentials that are debated consider what gratifies God and is necessitated by reality without political inclinations and considerations of friendship and enmity and the political aspects prevailing in the world. Consider this approach in all your deeds and words in your tenure to render valuable service. Beware not to subject yourself to the wrath of Creator to gratify the created. In fact, you should be the ones who execute the divine justice. This attitude is pleasant by all but is more pleasant to be done by those occupying sensitive posts. You respected deputies can render valuable service to God and the Creator with one vote of yours and vice versa. You can remove one big threat from the country and Islam and vice versa. Sticking to the right cause and acting accordingly is freethinking and remembrance of God, which lead to the peace of heart and mind.

F) If you want to bravely stand against the wrong and defend the right, if you want the superpowers with their advanced weapons, and devils with their plots not to impress you and cause you leave the scene, try to get used to living a simple life and shun attachment to property, wealth and name and fame. Great men who have rendered great services to their nations had simple life-styles and were disinterested in wrongly glitter. Those who have been and are entrapped by venal passions succumb to any wretchedness and abjection to attain to or preserve these animal desires. They are humble before force and satanic powers and oppressive to the weak masses of people. However, the pious people are totally different. Because by aristocratic life styles and consumerism one cannot preserve human-Islamic values. The Iranian youths, women and men brought up under arrogant powers' education could never challenge the arrogant power. However, when

they were transformed by the powerful hand of God the glorified into revolutionary ones being remote from satanic likings, they were able to crush that great power. The criminal hands that led our youths to debauchery centers in the former regime and reduced the liberal men into puppets, intended to make people indifferent to various treason committed in the country and whatever befalling the country and its recourses. They wanted people not to object to being affected by chains of colonialism. Today, the active layers in warfronts and behind the frontlines comprise of the deprived and plain living classes. Among them, there is no trace of those attached to the worldly allurements.

May God rid us of all satanic bonds so that we can carry this divine trust to the destination and hand it over to the proprietor of the trust- the Promised Mahdi- (May our souls be sacrificed for him). I implore God almighty to grant happiness and health to the esteemed deputies of the first term of the Majlis, who were not afraid of problems and strived to implement the Islamic rules. It is hoped that the deputies of the second term enjoy success and power to make decision to attain the sacred Islamic ideals. Let us pray God to protect the Muslims of the world against the evil of superpowers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: May 28, 1984 [Khurdad 7, 1363 AHS / Shaban 26, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence abatement of prisoners

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani; Sayyid Jafar Karimi; Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi; Mahdi Qadi (members of the delegation investigating the affairs of prisons)

In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, your Eminence are notified that following your blessed order dated 19/3/1362 AHS calling for investigation into the condition of prisoners of general and Islamic Revolution courts, a delegation was sent to the provinces of East Azarbayjan, Kurdistan, Khuzestan, Yazd and Kerman and conducted careful investigation into their conditions, adopting the following decisions on release and sentence abatement of prisoners. Your Eminence is requested to confirm the decisions.

Muhammadi Gilani, Muhammad;
Karimi, Sayyid Jafar; Abtahi,
Sayyid Mahmud; Qadi, Mahdi

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khurdad 7, 1363 AHS

Message

Time: May 29, 1984 [Khurdad 8, 1363 AHS / Shaban 27, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan (UAE's Head of State)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-e Nahyan (UAE's Head of State),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the arrival of the Holy Month of Ramadan with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on the arrival of the holy month. I implore God Almighty to grant all Islamic nations victory over the enemies of Islam, dignity and happiness.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 27, 1404 AH

Speech

Time: Morning, May 30, 1984 [Khurdad 9, 1363 AHS / Shaban 28, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The root cause of difference and the need for the nation to be vigilant about discord

Occasion: Arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

Audience: Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (temporary Speaker of Majlis), deputies of the first and second terms of Majlis - members of the Guardian Council's central board of election supervisors

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Discord-provoking; weapon of devils

In advance I should appreciate the gentlemen for coming here. What I can do is to pray for your success and I beseech God Almighty to grant you all success in serving Islam. Most issues have been addressed in such gathering, in the Majlis and other places. A question I have in mind and consider necessary to address to the nation deals with the Guardian Council. I feel a sense of threat and uneasiness about it. In the past, some people had spoken ill of the Guardian Council. I felt it my duty to settle the problem somehow. I was afraid of the incipient differences. Nevertheless, the same advice I gave to stop the differences were used by some mysterious hands to create new differences. Some days ago, a communiqué was brought here. I read it. It was unsigned. Undoubtedly, this statement had been issued by either a stupid person, a mischievous man, an ignorant friend or a diabolical person. The matter I had written about the Guardian Council was printed on the page and below was a repulsive remark saying these gentlemen are such and such. There were also the names of esteemed and committed people some of whom I know were active, suffered, torture, imprisonment and beatings for the revolution. What concerns me is that there is a devil for deviating any course of the action. I believe Satan threatened God that he would not let the servants worship Him. When he was expelled from paradise, he said, "You cannot see people who are interested in you, except who are pure." Everything smacking of difference unquestionably originates from Satan who is a sworn enemy to deviate us. All my fear is that in the holy month of Ramadan, the month of purification of the self and a month when God has invited to His banquet, we treat the host in a way that withdraws His favors. Speakers in assemblies, pulpiteers, men of letters,

Friday preachers and those who make pre-sermon speeches know that what worries me is to see difference emerging in this country. That day I said a word to eliminate the difference, but certain elements gave rise to questions that triggered difference. Today, I announce that the gentlemen who ascend the pulpit and preach in this holy month or later events, particularly the holy month know that Islam wants them to be unified. Even if someone has been removed from a high position—which is not the case—one should not displease God Almighty with themselves, just because they have not been successful in a case. If you want real victory, always bear in mind the gratification of God. See yourselves as servants of God and contents yourselves with whatever happens of you, as was the case with the pure servants of God and honorable saints of God. The more the Doyen of Martyrs approached the afternoon of the day of Ashura, as pointed out by narrations, and his youths were destroyed one after the other, the more his face kindled.¹ It was because he observed that he was drawing near to the goal. When we all want to serve this country, want former issues not to restore and want not to be captive in the hands of American advisors or Russian bullies, we should be unified. This is the way if we want to be like this, like the masses of people. The people are like this and the leaders should follow suit.

Heeding words and deeds prevents differences

At times, if not all times, I fear lest people should go to Paradise and we go to hell. I am fazed by the fear that people in Paradise overlook us in Paradise and we are embarrassed. They acted for God's gratification and brought you gentlemen to the seat of parliament and now bring others to the seat. They work for God. If we go astray and difference emerges among us due to our words, I fear tomorrow we would be in hell and they enjoy blessings. Then they tell us, "We came to Paradise on account of you, why are you in hell?" This embarrassment one would suffer that day is more intense than that fire. Majlis deputies should not imagine that they are speaking simply in Majlis and Friday prayer leaders should not think they address a confined place. Today limits have been removed and walls collapsed. If yesterday one spoke in an assembly or the place where Friday and congregational prayer ceremonies were held addressing a limited number of people, today this not the case. This is more serious particularly in Iran, whose Majlis is covered directly. The sermons of the Friday prayer are also

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 6, p. 154, Narration 9 (quoted from *Maani al-Akhbar*).

reflected everywhere. Occasionally, I hear some news reports from foreign, which are later aired by our own radios. They report faster than we do. In such an environment, our responsibility is heavy. If deviation is found, this deviation is not limited; it will permeate everywhere. If God forbid difference emerges within you, undoubtedly this difference will culminate in defeat. The enemy has stood behind the doors of Iran—they are watchful. These commotions are nothing to be afraid of. These are nothing. That the US wants to send troops to this or that place is just rhetoric. Their principal plan is to do something within the country. The US knows it cannot invade Iran and do something by force. They know it themselves. They have announced that they do not want American marines to be killed in the Persian Gulf. They raise such outcry to drive us out of the scene. There is no ground to fear such things. What is fearsome is that their agents who are still living in Iran trigger difference by these mischievous acts and introduce two groups: one group pulling towards the east one towards the west. They intend to sow discord among *ulama* in cities, dividing them into two groups. Difference of *ulama* triggers difference of the nation. If *ulama* who are influenced in cities and whom people look to, openly dispute with others of the same ilk, this will divide the two cities. If difference of taste leads to difference to be dealt with in Friday and congregational prayer ceremonies and public places, it cannot be a difference like that between Jane and Doe. It is a difference that would divide the city into two parts: one lining this side and the other arraying in the opposite side. This will grow gradually. Our enemies are very patient. They chalk out their plan today to reap it 50 years later. This petty difference moves gradually turning to uncontrollable corruption. A day will then come when the country is prepared for explosion from within. We should not be negligent of this and their agents.

Need for vigilance of the nation against discord

Those who issue these declarations weaken others. One issues a statement insulting and slandering the other. Those who are sound should not imagine such acts are a service these people are doing. They are doing treason to the entire nation and Islam. If they are from among the devils, the nation should be vigilant and keep his eyes and ears open. They are most likely to be from among the devils. Now that all are our enemy, we should be our own enemy. Internal enmity among us contributes to our main enemy to overcome the two, blackening everyone's day. Today, Islam has found a situation in the world that if it, God forbid, suffers defeat; it cannot recover for many years. Big powers have come to realize the power of Islam and

know that they should destroy it. Even those who rule in the name of Islam in Islamic countries are afraid the Islam in Iran. They consider Iran's Islam to be different; it is indeed different. We should open our eyes and ears lest we should destroy Islam with our own hands. Islam came here with the hand of our nation and made us proud in the world. The situation has changed so much that the US is withdrawing from Lebanon just because some threatened it there. They are afraid of suicide attacks and blame Iran for such moves. However, they should realize that Muslims of the world have been awakened, as have been non-Muslims. In fact, the weaker or oppressed people have been awakened. Everyone in one's place wants to challenge the aggressors. They have cordoned off the White House and with each day passing tighten the security because they are afraid of Islam, which they want to destroy. They cannot, but they might do it with your hands. Pulpiteers should be vigilant. If they make a single word regarding the former election even though right to give rise to differences, they are responsible before God almighty. Islam will call them to task. Friday preachers should also beware of this. Those who make speech prior to performance of Friday prayer should be aware. The *ulama* everywhere should know that today we need to act according to the words of God almighty wholeheartedly where it says in the Quran: "*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*"¹

Strive to purify and edify the self

The holy month of Ramadan is before us. One of the blessings God has granted you deputies is that the Majlis was inaugurated in the holy month of Shaban and at the beginning of the month of Ramadan it is in operation. This is one of the big blessings God has bestowed upon us. God almighty has invited you in the month of Ramadan to His banquet. As you see fasting is God's banquet; it is not like our parties with those formalities and lavish meals. It is a reception in which one should abstain from desires. Notice that one should perform the rituals in the holy month of Ramadan, particularly its mental rites. One should not be merely engaged in praying—prayer in its real sense is of importance. Remembering God in the real sense of the word is what brings tranquility to the heart. "*Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest!*"² Remembrance of God means considering God present everywhere. In the holy month of Ramadan, one should be preoccupied with remembrance of God and His blessings and thank God for His favors.

¹ *Surah Al-e Imran*, 3:103.

² *Surah ar-Rad* 13; 28.

Remember God so that He will help you succeed and curtail those hands which intend to sow discord among you.

Above all is that one should rectify oneself in the month of Ramadan. We need to purify and refine the self to the last day of our life. Prophets were also in need of this. Grand prophets were also the same, but they had realized their needs and subsequently acted to fulfill their needs. However, since we are veiled, we could not understand our duty and did not fulfill our duties. I hope that this holy month of Ramadan would be a blessing for you. Blessing means that you should plan to act according to the duties God has set for us. Pray in this holy month so that God almighty would make you successful in acting according to His gratification in the service you have undertaken. Ask God not to deprive us of His favors. Appreciate the value of this banquet. This banquet has many delicate and subtle points, which we should appreciate. The supplications handed down to us for the holy month of Ramadan and the month of Shaban is our guide to destination. According to our Shaykh¹ (peace be upon him), these are the ascending Quran. He described the supplication as ascending Quran and the revealed Quran as the descended one. Anyhow, there are delicate points in these supplications that are unprecedented. Pay heed to them. These supplications can move man. The holy month can make man succeed in many tasks. It can discipline man in a way that one can control one's passions up to the next month, if not to the end, enabling one not to violate that which gratifies God. I hope that we are all successful in reaching the end of this holy month with remembrance of God and attention to God almighty so that God almighty would grant us a gift in the feast of Ramadan: our complete independence and perfect freedom have been insured and so does the Islamic Republic.

O, God! We are weak servants. We are servants who have nothing. We are nothing. If we do wrong, we are ignorant. Forgive us. Cause us enter this holy month while we have secured your gratification. O, God! Make us efficient to enter the banquet you have invited to act the way pleases you. O, God! Strengthen Iran that has been subjected to attacks from all sides because of siding with Islam.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

¹ The great mystic Mirza Muhammad Ali Shahabadi, Imam Khomeini's mentor in mysticism.

Decree

Time: June 1, 1984 [Khurdad 11, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 1, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Please find enclosed the list of 38 convicted by Islamic Revolution courts in the cities of Qazvin and Gorgan for their involvement in anti-revolution acts and who in implementation of circular no. 1362/3/29-1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council deserve amnesty and sentence abatement. It should be mentioned that religious judge, public prosecutor, assistant prosecutor, prison supervisor, relevant prison superintendent and the local intelligence department jointly proposed the amnesty and sentence abatement of the previously mentioned. The Copy of the list and their written view is attached.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
11/3/1363 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Reply to a query

Time: June 2, 1984 [Khurdad 12, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Banning the use of the Imam's share (peace be upon him) for election campaign

Addressee: A number of believers

In His Most Exalted Name

Some say that Your Eminence have allowed a part of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) to be spent on election campaign; is this true?

A number of the believers

In His Most Exalted Name

The subject is in no way correct. In case anyone has, God forbid, spent the shares or religious dues on such affairs he should return them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: June 2, 1984 [Khurdad 12, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadhan

Addressee: Rashid Bin Said (Vice Emir and Parliament Speaker of Dubai)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Rashid Bin Said (Vice Emir and Parliament Speaker of Dubai),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and Muslim people of your country on this occasion and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 2, 1404 AH

Message

Time: June 2, 1984 [Khurdad 12, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamd Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamd Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the arrival of the Holy Month of Ramadan and extend my appreciation. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and Muslim people of your country on this occasion and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 2, 1404 AH

Message

Time: June 2, 1984 [Khurdad 12, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory telegraph on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 2, 1404 AH

Your Excellency Mr. Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (President of the Maldives),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and Muslim people of your country on this occasion and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to Islamic nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: June 14, 1984 [Khurdad 24, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi

In His Most Exalted Name

Ramadan 14, 1404 AH

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

And then, Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, collect religious dues, spend half of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) on prescribed cases and send the other half to me for the pure word of Islam.

“And I advise him, to what our pious predecessors have, to keep company of piety, to evade the carnal desires, to be cautious in worldly and religious affairs and not forget me in his benevolent prayers as I will not forget him.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and other believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Time: June 19, 1984 [Khurdad 29, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 19, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Providing the expenses of the Supervisory Council of non-Iranian theology students

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister); Hasan-Ali Ibrahimi (Secretary of the Supervisory Council of non-Iranian theology students)

[In response to letter dated 5/3/1363 AHS by the secretary of the Supervisory Council of non-Iranian theology students to prime minister calling for provision of part of the expenses of non-Iranian theology students in Qum Seminary from the incomes of an industrial factory located in Najafabad, Isfahan, which according to note 82 run by the government, the Prime Minister, Mr. Musawi, wrote the letter, "Brother Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Aqa Khomeini, if it is accepted by the lofty position of *wilayat-e faqih* from religious point of view, I agree and God willing it will be useful." 6/3/1363 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

In case of according with the religious criteria, I agree with it.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 19, 1404 AH

Message

Time: June 27, 1984 [Tir 6, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of Fitr

Addressee: Shaykh Rashid Bin Said Al-e Maktum (Vice-Head of State and Prime Minister of UAE)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Shaykh Rashid bin Said Al-e Maktum (Vice-Head of State and Prime Minister of UAE),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of Fitr with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, the Muslim people of your country and all Muslims on this great Islamic feast and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to all. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ramadan 27, 1404 AH
Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Time: June 27, 1984 [Tir 6, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of Fitr

Addressee: Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamd Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamd Al-e Thani (Emir of Qatar),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of Fitr with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you, and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to all. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 27, 1404 AH

Reply to a query

Time: June 28, 1984 [Tir 7, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Procedural uniformity and balancing punishment against the crime

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, may your presence endure,

By virtue of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the gentlemen appointed for the position of judgment are not absolute Mujtahid and have no judgment experience and occasionally lack taste or talent, in deciding on punishment in cases Sharia has not provided rules, proportion between crime and punishment is not observed and in similar cases, for which procedural uniformity seems necessary, there are wide differences, which can result in dispute and tension. To avoid the present state of affairs, there seems to no solution in sight except persons sitting and considering suitable punishments in the form of articles and from the outset give permission for judgment on the condition that they should act according to the punishments determined. Is this practice permissible in your view or not? Please give your thought on this. May God give you long life!

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

In the present conditions, a number of *fuqaha* should study the cited cases and give their opinion. There is no objection, but it should be done temporarily so that God willing the situation of judgment improves.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 7, 1363 AHS

Reply to a query

Time: June 28, 1984 [Tir 7, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Violation of traffic laws and customs regulations

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Great Leader of Revolution and Found of the Islamic Republic of Iran Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long,

Are statutory offences such as violating traffic laws, customs regulations, administrative rules, etc. considered violation in rights of God and should the defendant be present in the law court during the trial? Please give your blessed opinion in this regard.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili]

In His Most Exalted Name

The cases cited above are not rights of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 7, 1363 AHS

Message

Time: June 29, 1984 [Tir 8, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 29, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of *Fitr*

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi (President of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Muammar Qadhdhafi (President of Libya),

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of *Fitr* with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to all Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 29, 1404 AH

Message

Time: June 29, 1984 [Tir 8, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 27, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to a telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of Fitr

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegraph congratulating the auspicious Feast of Fitr Festivity with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim people of your country on this great Islamic feast and implore God Almighty to grant happiness and dignity to all Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 29, 1404 AH

Decree

Time: June 30, 1984 [Tir 9, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 30, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence abatement of prisoners

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Sayyid Jafar Karimi, Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, Mahdi Qadi (members of Board of Prisoners' Amnesty)

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Great Leader of Revolution and Found of the Islamic Republic of Iran Imam Khomeini, may your presence last long,

Respectfully, you are notified that following your sacred order dated 19/3/1362 AHS regarding investigation into the situation of prisoners convicted by revolution and general courts, we sent a delegation to Gilan Province to constantly look into the condition of prisoners. Your Eminence is requested to agree with amnesty or sentence abatement of the following prisoners belonging to anti-revolution groups:

Line	City Name	Request for Release	Request for Sentence abatement
1	Gilan	249	278
		Muhammad Sayyid Muhammad Qadi]	Muhammadi Jafar Karimi, Abtahi, Sayyid Muhammad Gilani, Sayyid Muhammad

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 9, 1363 AHS

¹ According to duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Decree

Time: July 1, 1984 [Tir 10, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 251 convicts of the Islamic Revolution courts in nine cities and 18 convicts who according to circular no. 1362/3/29-1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council and the proposal of the found to deserve amnesty and sentence abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili,
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this. I hope you will be sanctioned.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
10/4/1363 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Speech

Time: Morning, July 1, 1984 [Tir 10, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1404 AH]

Place: Husayniyyah Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Absence of self-purification the cause of troubles and warmongering

Audience: Officials of Islamic Republic, civil and military authorities¹ and people from different walks of life

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Real guest in God's banquet

I wish God bless this auspicious feast for Muslims, our country and people and hope He will treat us based on His favor. We were not good guests for God Almighty. God invited us to banquet; He was a great host and we were not good guests. What can we say in the face of this great divine

¹ Sayyid Ali Khomeini; Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Majlis Speaker); Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini; Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice); Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister); Imami Kashani (head of the Administrative Tribunal); Qasim Ali Zahirnejad (Joint Chief of Staff); Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi; representatives of Experts Assembly; members of the constitutional Guardian Council; Supreme Judicial Council; Cabinet Ministers, Majlis deputies, Society of Teachers of Qom Theological Seminary, Friday prayer leaders of provincial centers, chiefs of Inspectorate Organization, Administrative Tribunal, Joint Chief of Staff of the ground, naval and air forces, members of Supreme Council of Sepah-e Pasharan, Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution and University Jihads, Society of Militant Clerics and Preachers of Tehran, Superintendent Council and Managing Director and officials of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting Organization, chiefs of Police Station, Traffic Organization, Gendarmerie, Islamic Revolution Comite, Governor General's Office, municipality and governor's office of Tehran, prosecutor general's office and revolutionary court of army and disciplinary court of judges, ideo-political department of the disciplinary and military forces, Martyrs' Foundation, Khordad 15 Foundation, Mutadafan Foundation, Islamic Propagation Office of Qom, Islamic Propagation Organization and War Propaganda Headquarters, Islamic Republic News Agency, Consulting Office of Supreme Defense Council, Headquarters for holding Friday prayer in Tehran, central secretariat of Friday prayer leaders, Endowment and *Haji* and charity organization, Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee, Committee dealing with affairs pertaining to Tehran Guild (trade affairs), Housing Foundation, Seven-man Delegation for Transfer of Land, Chamber of Commerce, university deans and chancellors of Imam Sadiq (*a*) University and Azad Islamic University, Red Crescent Society, Islamic Republic Aviation, Headquarters for Support of War-Torn regions, Reconstruction Headquarters, Governors' General across the country, print media managers, foreign reporters, members of the Supreme Assembly of Islamic Revolution of Iraq, ambassadors and charge d'Affairs of foreign countries, officials in charge of Holy Shrine of Imam Rida (*a*), Headquarters for election of president and central electoral supervision board, Central Bank and Environment Protection Organization.

blessing of inviting nations to His banquet with all His Names? How can we be gratitude with this blessing? We know that we are nothing and that He is everything. However, He bestows His special favor and calls Himself the host and we the guests. God has either elevated us to the level we should be deserving of this banquet with His grace or has sent down His favor as He has done with regard to the Quran in the month of Ramadan. The Quran is a revealed scripture that came down the holy month of Ramadan, after crossing veils of light, to the blessed heart of the messenger of God and descended one more so as to become utterable. The quality of the revelation of Quran is an important theological problem. The nature of receiving the Quran through divine revelation from the angel represented for this act is also another important subject that is beyond the reach of our comprehension. However, what we know of ourselves is that we are not good guests for God. If guests of God consist of the messenger of God and Immaculate Imams, who are we? The reception God accord to them is not accessible to us. Yet, we rely on His favor. Whatever our failure, we want our gift from Him: treating us with His favor not justice. I hope God will grant success to this nation who has become prepared to serve Muslims and Islam to manage the ordeal: serving Islam and the God's servants.

Nations are suffering at the hands of powers

Servants of God today are in the grip of those who are tyrannically supervising them. People are all entangled in the claws of these powers which consider themselves be reformers. What can we do with the situation prevailing in the world today? What can we do about the way big powers treat human beings, and worse about the passive condition of some governments? It is a disaster for Muslims who are afflicted with such governments which are quite passive. It is a disaster for the world that some oppress the people in the name of peace and supporting the masses. Those who wrongly call themselves followers of Jesus Christ and claim that Jesus had said, "*if one slapped you on one side of your face, offer him the other side*" but this is a lie, because Jesus, a grand prophet of God would never make such an inaccurate remark. If Jesus the opportunity, he would have dealt with his own people in the manner Mussas dealt with Pharaohs . But he did not have respite. Nevertheless, those who say to be followers of Jesus Christ they act worse than the communists who do not believe in God. It cannot be said which one is worse than the other. All are worse than each other. They attribute this false statement to Jesus Christ. Yet, those who say to be supporter of such an idea how they slap on the face of people. How are

the people entangled in them? Those are the Christians and these are the Muslims who are under the domination of their governments and their governments passively look to big powers.

Absence of self purification the cause of oppression and subjunction

If Muslims had collectively entered God's banquet in this very holy month of Ramadan and purified their selves, it would not have been possible to bow to oppression. To succumb to oppression equals committing oppression. Both have their roots in absence of self-purification. "*He is successful who growth; and remembereth the name of his Lord, so prayeth.*"¹ Purification, remembering the Names of God and prayer are stages to which if we had reached, we would not have been so passive in giving in to oppression and committing oppression. The reason is that we have not been edified; governments have not been purified nor will they be purified unless God favors them. They are oppressive. The nations which have not undergone edification shoulder the burden of oppression. Nations cannot produce any excuse to justify their submission to oppression. Iran stripped them of any excuse. The power Iran shattered is not found in other governments. First, people underwent mental transformation and then they did what the world witnessed. The country that is now in your hand is a country that brought about such a development with spiritual evolution. However preservation of this development is more important than the development itself. All should strive to preserve this development. They wanted to lead our youths to the debauchery centers and alienate so as to rule over this country but God Almighty favored the youth. They move out of that situation and went into the bunkers; they rid themselves of those corruptions and went into temples of worship that is the bunkers which are divine temples. Those who find fault with us as to why we refuse to compromise with these corrupt powers; they don't know the attitude of the prophets of God. These critics view things from material perspective. How did prophets deal with oppressors? Do they know or do they feign ignorance? Compromise with oppression is doing injustice to the oppressed. Compromise with superpowers is to do oppression to humanity. Those who call on us to compromise are either ignorant or mercenaries. Compromise with oppression signifies untying the hands of the oppressor to commit injustice. This runs counter to the opinion of the entire world. The grand prophets struggle as much as they could to obliterate oppression from man's

¹ Surah A'ala 87: 14-15.

life, using preaching, admonition, enjoining to good deeds and forbidding evil acts, etc. *“He revealed iron, wherein is mighty power and (many) uses for mankind.”*¹ Cauterizing is the last remedy. After preaching fails and advice does not work, one may use cauterization as the last cure. Sword is the last solution.

Islamic government to incur loss in warmongering

While the land of Islam, the Islamic Iran and its officials constantly declare that they want to be on friendly terms with these Islamic governments and extend the hand of fraternity to nations and that if this finds reality, no longer will any oppression be wreaked on Islamic countries by big powers, the governments have not been purified, they have not entered the fasting month and Allah’s banquet and fan the flame of war. They don’t know that extension of this war will ruin them. One who is used a medium life style should be afraid of war. Our pasdars who are leading a normal life do not fear war. Our army men who live a life of ordinary people are not afraid of war. War will not bring him any loss. Those who have palaces and live in luxury are the ones who are scared of war. It is they who will suffer loss. We have prepared ourselves to remove oppression as far as we can through advice, through friendship with our neighbors and Islamic countries, through love, through friendship and fraternity. Our officials constantly make such remarks. However, since these countries have not been admitted to God’s banquet and there is a curtain over their hearts, being *“deaf, dumb, blind, therefore they have no sense,”*² they ruin themselves at their own hands. Man is responsible for any corruption befalling him. All are things accomplished by man. Whatever corruptions befalling man are due to corrupt people, corrupt governments and evil souls. Things that befall us in the next world are also brought about by us. Paradise flourishes by your deeds and hell is also a blaze by our acts. We are now on the straight path, the path whose one end is the world and the other end is the hereafter. We are now moving on the path and if the veil is removed, then we see the path leading to hell which crosses the bottomless pit. The flames of fire have surrounded this path. This is the world. Corruption that is the very fire has surrounded you who should cross this corruption and emerge unscathed. Prophets cross. The fire does not affect them as it did not affect prophet Ibrahim, for whom the fire was cold. Believers also cross safely; they are in danger but will not suffer. This is the reflection of this world. There is no other thing. It is

¹ Surah al-Hadid 57: 25.

² Surah al-Baqarah 2: 171.

whatever is here. All the things happening in the next world are the reflections of what comes about in this world. Now we are moving on the path that moves through hell. The path is free from fire for grand prophets and saints: hell turns cold. It is safe for believers to cross, but others will be overwhelmed by fire. "Lo! Hell is all around the disbelievers." However, we cannot perceive. That eye is closed now. That veil is there. When the veil is removed, one who is from people of hell finds himself in hell and the people of Paradise finds themselves in Paradise. The purgatory state is also Paradise for the former and hell for the latter. Tomb is a pit full of holes of hell or gardens of Paradise. When man leaves this bodily prison another layer will be pushed aside. When that layer is shown, it is all over. We should think of it today.

Recommendation and advice to countries supporting Saddam

If there is self-purification, one will not fear war nor will one turn down peace: one will fear nothing. But when self-purification is absent, one argues: "If we don't wage a war, perhaps the enemy will do such and such." The warmongering you observe in the region today is the result of this approach and emanates from carnal passion. Carnal desires drive one to attack a country and burn the region. One is burnt in one's sensual desires in this very world. Again we advise the regional countries- we should advise each other- to desert this beast. He will not mend his way. It is impossible for him to mend his way. Deserve him and do not embroil yourselves in something to be avoided. We advise you; we wish you well. We never attacked Iraq; at present we are also defending. If we give him a one-day opportunity, he will disturb Iran. We are now defending ourselves and the Iraqi people. People of Iraq and we are not two. They are our brothers. We are defending a nation that has been entangled; this nation's army has been afflicted, its administrative personnel and all others have been afflicted with a hellish party. The reports coming from there give one the shivers. What difficulty are they involved in? What is regrettable is that among all Muslim countries a deviant wearing a turban on the head foment such things. That is, they are hostile to Islam. Take that court clergyman. He knows if Islam takes over he will suffer greatly. If this class goes corrupt, it will corrupt the entire world.

We should strive so that what has happened in Iran can continue. The development emerging in our youths should take place in all. When I think of these *pasdars*, the gendarmerie forces and the army who are serving Islam in the intense heat of Khuzestan, I feel ashamed. I think what we are and what they are. They have been to some extent refined, but we are still at the end of

the line. I implore God to deal with us with His favor and have mercy upon us and to save us from the quagmire we are entangled in- the quagmire of our self and our deeds. May God grant success to you all to serve this nation, to the nation to serve the government and to all of us to serve Islam! May our strive be directed at elimination of oppression from the oppressed and curtailment of the hands of the arrogant powers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Message

Time: July 2, 1984 [Tir 11, 1363 AH / Shawwal 2, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing condolences on the occasion of departure of Mr. Sayyid Jamal ad-Din Khui

Addressee: Abul-Qasim Khui (of prominent religious authorities)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ayatullah Khui, may your blessing last long,

With great regret and sorrow, I express my condolences to you and the esteemed family on the disaster and implore God Almighty to grant peace to that respected deceased and patience and spiritual reward to you and the family. I earnestly implore God to punish the enemies of Islam and sacred theological seminaries disgrace them in the world and the hereafter, restore the majesty of holy seminaries of Najaf and other sacred schools by destroying the Iraqi Baath Aflaq Party and rescue the prominent *ulama* and noble people of Iraq from the clutches of Saddam and his supporters.

I request you and other *ulama* and other learned men of Najaf and respected residents of Iraq to pray for victory of the army of Islam over the deceived army of Aflaqi disbelievers under the luminous canopy of the Immaculate Imams (peace be upon them), particularly the master of the Imams (Peace be upon him). May God's peace and mercy be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 2, 1404 AH

Permission

Time: July 2, 1984 [Tir 11, 1363 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Husayn Sharifi

In His Most Exalted Name

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Sharifi—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, collect religious, spend one third of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the share of honorable *sadat* on prescribed cases and send the rest to me for the promotion of the pure word of Islam. As regards other dues such as poor-rates, atonement, and expiation alms, he is authorized to spend them on prescribed religious cases.

And I advise him—what to our pious predecessors have—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in worldly and religious affairs.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 2, 1404 AH

Permission

Time: July 8, 1984 [Tir 17, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 8, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Arif Husayn Husayni

In His Most Exalted Name

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

And then, Sayyid al-Alam and Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Aqa Sayyid—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs whose incumbency hinges on permission of qualified *wali-e faqih* in time of major occultation. He is also authorized to collect religious dues and the holy share, use half of the latter for his own expenses and other religiously prescribed cases, and return the other half to me to be spent on promoting the pure word of Islam.

And I advise him—to what our pious predecessors have—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and religious affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 8, 1404 AH

Permission

Time: July 8, 1984 [Tir 17, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 8, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Haydar Shah Qizilbash

In His Most Exalted Name

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam and Imad al-Alam Mr. Aqa Shaykh Haydar Shah Qezelbash - may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, collect religious dues, use one third of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the share of sadat for his expenses and that of honorable *sadat* and send the rest to me for promotion of the pure word of Islam.

May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 8, 1404 AH

Decree

Time: July 14, 1984 [Tir 23, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of representative in ideo-political organization of gendarmerie

Addressee: Ali Akbar Ashtiyani

In he Name of the Most Exalted

Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Ali Akbar Ashtiyani- may your blessings last long,

You are hereby appointed as head of the ideo-political organization of gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic¹ so that God willing you can remove the needs and fulfill the entrusted functions in good order in accordance with the provided rules and in harmony with the ideo-political department of army and police. Obviously, all members of the gendarmerie will impart the necessary cooperation and coordination with you. I implore God almighty to grant you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
23/4/1363 AHS

¹ Prior to merging disciplinary forces, which took place after the demise of Imam Khomeini, disciplinary affairs inside the country were performed by three organizations: gendarmerie (responsible for border and rural areas), Shahr bani (responsible for order in cities) and Islamic Revolution Committee.

Decree

Time: July 16, 1984 [Tir 25, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty of prisoners

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

In His Most Exalted Name

His Holiness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 185 the Islamic Revolution courts in seven cities and 19 convicts of revolutionary courts who according to circular no. 1362/3/29-1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council and the suggestion of the Amnesty Department were found to deserve amnesty and sentence abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili,
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
11/3/1363 AHS

¹ According to the duties and authorities of the leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution.

Letter

Time: July 17, 1984 [Tir, 26, 1363 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Moral-ethical advice

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the merciful

This is a letter from a sick old father who has brought his life to an end with a handful of words and concepts, wasted his life in his own shell, and is now looking remorsefully at the past to a young man who has time enough to contemplate on relieving his self from attachment to the world which is a trap spread by the evil Iblis.

My son! Attachment to and detachment from with the world and its ups and downs passes by quickly and we all will be crushed under the wheels of time. From observing and studying the condition of different layers I arrived at the conclusion that the powerful and rich people suffer greater inner and mental pains than other layers and the wishes and dreams they have not been able to realize are very painful and heart-rendering. At the time we are living and the world is in the grips of these two powerful poles, the pain and sufferings afflicting the heads of these countries and the unbearable worries of either of these two poles against the other are not comparable to the pains and troubles of middle class and even poor layers. Their competition is not a practical one but a tragic one breaking their back. It is as if there is a marauding wolf with open mouth and sharp fangs in front of each, waiting to hurt. This pain of competition prevails in all layers ranging from the rich and powerful ones to other classes, but the more one goes up the more the pain and suffering of competition. What brings peace and tranquility to the hearts is detachment from the world and its allurements which is achieved by incessant remembrance of God almighty. Those who seek supremacy in any way possible whether in the sciences, even divine ones, or in power, fame and wealth, they struggle to increase their pain. Those detached from material bounds who have been able to free themselves to some extent from traps of Satan, live in bliss and happiness even in this world.

In those days marking the reign of Rida Khan Pahlavi who had exerted the unendurable pressure on the clerics to change their grab and when the clerics and theological schools were anxious- I beg God not to repeat such days for theology seminaries- I saw a relatively righteous Shaykh near a

bakery eating a piece of bread, murmuring: "I was told to remove the turban and I took it off and gave it to another to make two shirt for himself. Now, I am eating my bread and am full now; by night God is great."

My son! If I say I barter away such a state with all worldly positions, you should believe. But such states are far from the likes of me who are entangled in traps of Satan and the evil self.

My son! I am far gone. *"When the son of Adam grows old two traits undergo rejuvenation in him: greed and cherishing wishes."*¹ However, you enjoy the gift of youthfulness and power of will. It is hoped that you can transverse the path of pious people. What I said does not mean that you should withdraw yourself from rendering service to society and live in seclusion and be a burden on people, as this practice is the feature of ignorant virtuous people or hypocritical sheikhs. The life-style of grand prophets (peace be upon them all) and Immaculate Imams (a) who are the quintessence of mystics treasuring immediate communication with the divine and those delivered from any bonds and chains and those affiliated to the divinely presence have been in rising with full force against arrogant governments and the Pharaohs of the time, suffering pains and making endeavors in implementing justice in the world teach us lessons. If we open our esoteric eyes and ears, this intuition will open our way. *"One who rises in the morning and fails to attend to the needs of Muslims is not a Muslim."*²

My son! Neither seclusion of Sufis is the cause of joining the Truth, nor entering the society and forming a government causes detachment from the Truth. The main criterion is intention of our deeds. Many a time a pious man is entrapped by Iblis who keeps man away from Truth and entangle man in polytheism by way of self-conceit, selfishness, egotism and self-admiration and contempt of the people of God, hidden polytheism and the like. Many a time a ruler who is inspired by divine intentions will get to the source of proximity to the Truth such as the prophet David and Solomon (peace be upon them) and above all the prophet of Islam (peace be upon him and his progeny) and his rightful successor Ali ibn Abitalib (peace be upon him) and the Promised Mahdi (May our souls be sacrificed for him) in time of his universal rule. The criterion for mysticism and failure is intention. The more the intention closer to the light of nature and the more they are remote from veils, even the veil of light, the closer to the source of light to the extent that a word about attachment is also disbelief.

¹ Bihar al-Anwar 22:70 / below hadith 11.

² Al-Kafi 2:1/163.

My son, Do not shrink from human responsibility, as serving the Truth finds reality in serving the people. Invasion of Satan in this arena is not less than its foray among the officials. Do not grapple to gain position whether spiritual and material under the excuse of approaching divinely knowledge or serving the people. Attention, to position let alone effort to attain it is from Satan. Listen to the sole admonition of God wholeheartedly, accept it with full force and traverse that line: *“One who rises in the morning and fails to attend to the needs of Muslims is not a Muslim.”*¹

The criterion at the beginning of the journey is rising for Allah both in personal and social activities. Try to be successful in the first step as it is easier and more successful to do in time of youth. Don't wait until you grow old like your father in that case you will mark either time or retreat. This calls for watchfulness and computation. If inspired by divine intention one gains the kingdom of jinn and men one is a mystic and pious man in the world. If however, the intention is satanic and selfish, whatever one attains, even a rosary, one will be detached from God to that proportion.

My son, Study the holy chapter Hashr in the Quran as it contains the treasures of knowledge and education, and it is worth for human beings to contemplate them for a lifetime and with divine help prepare his journey provision. Particularly read the last verses where we read: *“O ye who believe! Observe your duty to Allah. And let every soul look to that which it sendeth on before for the morrow. And observe your duty to Allah! Lo! Allah is informed of what ye do.”*² In this literally small and virtually great verse, there are constructive and alerting implications some of which will be touched below:

1- It can be addressed to those who command the first stage of faith such as the faith of the public. In this likelihood, command for observing *taqwa* is to command for the first stage of it that is the public *taqwa*, which urges people to avoid raising voice against superficial divinely rules and deal with practices performed by man's organs. As such, the sentence *“And let every soul look to that which it sendeth on before for the morrow”* cautions us outcome of our deeds, bearing witness that what we act appears in suitable form in the other creation. There are many verses and narrations to support the argument. Contemplation on this verse is sufficient for conscious hearts and in fact awakens the talented hearts. It might even open the way for other stages and higher stations. The verse apparently shows that commanding for *taqwa* in repeated form aim to underscore its purport although there are other

¹ *Al-Kafi* 2:1/163.

² *Surah Hashr* 59: 18.

possibilities. Where it says “*And observe your duty to Allah! Lo! Allah is informed of what ye do.*” is a fresh caution reminding that your action will not remain hidden in God’s presence, as the entire world is the presence of Truth.

2- The verse might be an address to those who have developed the faith in their hearts. Many a time when one apparently professes faith and the beliefs, but one’s heart is unaware of it. One might well know and believe in the five pillars, yet this knowledge and faith might have not penetrated one’s heart. Excluding the elites among believers, others might be like this. The sins committed by some believers originate from this mentality. If heart is aware of and believes in the Day of Judgment, committing sins and disobeying is highly unlikely. One whose heart believes that there is no god but Allah will not be inclined to other than the Truth and will not praise others, and is not afraid of other than Him.

My son, At times, I see that you are edgy and upset by unfounded accusations and unfair and false rumors. Firstly, I should say as long as one is alive, moves and you are viewed as one to produce some impact, criticism, accusation, and rumor against you are inevitable. Animosity, expectations and jealousy are to be found in abundance. One who is active, even if not totally for God, one will not be immune from the harm brought by ill-wishers. I knew a pious man of letters behind whom all spoke well but as soon, as he became conspicuous, however insignificant, in terms of worldly positions, he was subjected to accusations, harassment, jealousy and rancor which lasted until the end of his lifetime.

Secondly, you should know that faith in unity of God and unity of the Beloved and unity of the Effective has not reached your heart the way it should, strive to bring unity that is the loftiest of terms from intellect to heart. The pleasure of intellect comes from the decisive logical belief and if this result of the reasoning is not carried to heart by strive and inculcation, its use and impact will be insignificant. Many a time some of those versed in intellectual argument and philosophical reasoning are entrapped by Iblis and he evil self. Those disposed to rationalistic argument walk with a wooden foot. This argumentative and rationalistic step transforms to spiritual and devotional step when it reaches the heart from the horizon of intellect and when hearts comes to believe in what the argument has demonstrated logically.

My son, Strive to rely on God and not to consider any other than Him as active. The general practicing Muslims perform prayer several times a day. Prayer is replete with monotheism and divinely knowledge. They repeat the

verse “*Thy alone we worship and Thy alone we seek help*” in several occasions in a day. They consider worship to be exclusive to God in word and seek help only from Him. However, excluding the believers and chosen servants of God, others bow down before any scientist, powerful and rich people. At times, the homage paid to other than the Beloved for the purpose of attaining the satanic goals is greater than what they render to God. They are negligent of the power of God.

According to the likelihood that the addressee might be those receiving faith in their hearts, commanding them to *taqwa* (piety) far differs from the first likelihood. This piety is not meant to keep away from indecent practices but from heeding others, from seeking and servitude to other than the Truth, from accommodating other than Him the glorified in one’s heart and from relying and trusting other than God. What you see we bad people are afflicted by and what causes you and I to fear rumors and lies and fear of death and riding of nature and putting off the garment is of this type, which we should shun. In this case, by “*And let every soul look to that which it sendeth on before for the morrow*” is meant heart-related actions which have a form in the celestial world and another form beyond that world. God is omniscient to our thoughts and mind.

This does not mean giving up all activities and living and leave a life of indolence, keeping away from everyone and everything in seclusion. This is against divine tradition and life-style of grand prophets and Immaculate Imams. They made all efforts requisite for divine and human purposes, but not like we blind-hearted people who turn to means independently. In fact they considered everything at this station that is their ordinary stations to be from Him the glorified; they saw seeking assistance from everything to be seeking help from the source of creation. There is one difference between them and others. You, I, and the likes of us are neglectful of God because of heeding the people and seeking help from them. However, men of God seek help from Him. In fact, in its form seeking assistance is something to be done through the means, the events come from Him. However, we don’t see the events in this light. Such events, however unpleasant in our eye, are pleasant to them.

My son, For us who are lagging behind the pious people, one point is pleasant and that is something that in my opinion interferes in making man who is determined to develop into a real human being. We should note that the source causing us to feel good from praise and feel uneasy from criticism and rumor is the love of the self that is the biggest trap of the cursed Iblis. We like others to praise us even at the expense of presenting our good deeds

and illusory good acts hundreds of times as much as they are or doors of criticism, however right, remain closed to us or is turned into panegyricism. We get depressed by criticism, not because it is not unfair, and we are happy with complaints, not because I deserve them, but because they criticize and compliment my "self". It is the self that rules over us here, there and everywhere. If you want to discover the truth of this matter if an act that is done by you is done exactly and more efficiently by others, particularly by your boon companion, and eulogists begin to praise him is unpleasant for you and above all, if his defects are praised in which case know than Satan and the more evil than him is at work.

My son, how good it is to inculcate the idea that praise of the admirer might lead you to destruction and keep you remote from self-purification. The evil impact of praise in our polluted self is the source of adversities and remaining remote from the sacred presence of God the glorified for those who possess weak self. Perhaps faultfinding and rumor mongering would be useful for curing our self's defects, as it is. It is like painful surgery that causes our health to improve. Those who keep us remote from proximity to the Truth are friends who show enmity to us by their friendship. Those who think by finding fault, insult and spread of rumor show enmity to us are enemies who correct us good by their acts if we are competent; they do friendship to us by their enmity.

If we come to believe this fact and satanic and selfish tricks permit us see the reality as it is, you and I will be so inconvenient at the praise and eulogy of the eulogists that we are today edgy about the enemy's faultfinding and rumor mongering of ill-wishers. We would welcome the fault finding in the same way that we do about the praise of the eulogist and idle talk of the panegyrist. If what was pointed out finds a way into the heart, one will not feel uneasy with unpleasant things and lies and heart will find rest. Feelings of discomfit predominantly stem from selfishness. May God save us from it!

3- Another possibility is that it might have been addressed to the people of faith from among special men of knowledge and those enamored by the position of divinity and lovers of the beautiful beauty who see the creatures as manifestation of the Truth through the eye of heart and inner knowledge, observing the light of God in all visible signs. They have perceived the holy verse "*God is the light of the sky and the earth*"¹ through intuitive observation and heart journey.

¹ Surah Nur 24: 35.

By this possibility, commanding *taqwa* to this group of the lovers and elites is utterly different from that of others. *Taqwa* might be observed by observation of multiplicity and visible and hidden intuition and *taqwa* in the sense of attention to other than Him although in the form of attention to Truth through people. “*I saw nothing unless prior to it, along with it and after it I saw God.*”¹ This state is the ordinary position of pure saints of God. Here, there is talk of “*shaei*”. *Taqwa* might be by observation of “*God is the light of the sky and the earth*”, *taqwa* by observation of “*He is with us*”² and “*I turned to the One who has created the sky and the earth*”.³ It might be *taqwa* from manifestation of beauty of the Truth in perfect man and the like that deal with observation of the truth in people. In this manner, we ordered to observe what we offered for tomorrow carries the same states of the observation of Truth in people and unity in multiplicity that finds expression in its suitable form in the other world.

4- It is likely that it is addressed to those from among the pure saints who have gone beyond the observation of Truth in people and beauty of the unity in present multiplicity and there is no dust of people in the mirror of their observation having been rid of the hidden polytheism at this stage, but who have attached their heart to manifestation of the Names of God and are enamored lovers of the Names and heavenly manifestations have annihilated them from other than God and see nothing by manifestations of the Names. In this likelihood, command to *taqwa* signifies abstaining from heavenly multiplicity, sustaining and compassionate manifestations and other Names of Allah. It appears that He calls out at them from beginning to the end there is not more than one manifestation and that other items undergo changes because of this one only. When this stage is complete, there will be no witness, observation and thing to watch. It is the stage of annihilation in Him absolutely. “*He is not except Him.*”

5- The most comprehensive possibilities is that any word such as “*amino*”, “*attaqo*”, “*onzoro*”, “*ma qaddamat*” and so on and so forth are taken to bear their absolute meaning and all are stages of those verities and words are title of the subject for unlimited and absolute meaning. If there are other possibilities, they are included in this one and are different stages of it. Therefore, any group of and class of the believers are included in the real meaning and are instances of absolute title. This opens the way for understanding of reports collating (comparing) verses with one group of one

¹ *Ilm al-Yaqin* 1:49.

² *Surah al-Hadid*, Part of Verse 4.

³ *Surah al-Anam* 3: 79.

person. However, we imagine being exclusive. It is not the case but is the remembrance of instance or instances. The way it was pointed out, from the possibilities way for understanding the holy verse “*And be not ye as those who forgot Allah, therefore He caused them to forget their souls. Such are the evil doers*”¹ that is followed by the holy verse coming before. According to possibilities of the verses coming before are suitable for the possibilities of different stages and unified truth that is not a place to describe. Nevertheless, I content myself with citing a point. The point is that forgetfulness of Truth triggers forgetfulness of the self, whether forgetfulness is in the sense of oblivion or in the sense of Abandonment. In both senses, there is breaking warning. What necessitates forgetfulness of God almighty is that one should forget one’s self. One can say God causes one to forget one’s self. This is applicable to all former stages. In the stage of action, one who forgets God and His presence will be afflicted by forgetfulness of one’s self. One will forget his servitude to God and led to forgetfulness from the position of servitude. One who does not know what one is, who one is, what duty one has and what one’s destiny is Satan will incarnate in him, taking the place of his self. Satan is the factor responsible for rebellion and if it does not come to its sense and fails to return to God and is thus transferred from this world in this state of rebellion, perhaps he will turn into the Satan rejected by God.

In its other sense, which means Abandonment it, is more painful because if Abandonment of obeying God and Abandonment of the Truth causes the Truth to Abandon him and leave him to oneself and withhold His favors, one will undoubtedly led to wretchedness in this world and the hereafter. In the holy supplications handed down by the Immaculate Imams, we see prayer for leaving our work to our self has been stressed, because they knew the offshoot of this disaster and we are negligent of it.

My son, do not neglect sins however small they might seem to you. “*See whom you have disobeyed.*”² With such perspective, all sins are big and cardinal. Do not be proud of anything and never forget the almighty God who sustains everything. If His merciful favors are withheld from the beings across the universe for a moment, there will remain no trace of the grand prophets and His intimate angels. The entire universe is His manifestation of compassion. His merciful compassion constantly sustains the order of existence though our words are inadequate to describe this. “*There is no repetition in God’s manifestation.*” Sometimes, this is interpreted as constipation of grace by way of continuous process. Anyhow, do not forget

¹ Surah Hashr 59: 19.

² Bihar al-Anwar 74:77/3.

His presence and do not be proud of His mercy, as you should not be despaired. Do not be proud of the intercession of the intercessors (peace be upon them), as this practice is associated with divinely standards and we are unaware of them. Study of the supplications of the Immaculate Imams (peace be upon them) and their plaintive invocations out of fear of the Truth and His punishment should be on top of your thought and behavior. Carnal passions and the Satan of the carnal soul lead us to pride and to destruction thereby.

My son, Never seek the acquisition of the worldly gains, even though the legitimate ones. Love of the world, even legitimate one, is the foremost mistake ¹ because it is a great veil and pushes man to the world of forbidden acts. You are young and with the power of youth God has granted, you can cur the first step towards deviation and do not let other steps to be taken. Every step one takes is followed by other steps and any sin, however small, leads one to bigger sins in a way that cardinal sins would seem insignificant to us. In fact, some persons pride each other for committing some cardinal sins. At times, due to intensity of the darkness and worldly veils, what is forbidden seems to be permitted and what is permitted appears to be forbidden.

I implore God Almighty - Glorified be His Name - to open up the eye of your heart to His beautiful beauty and remove the veils from your eyes and save you of the satanic and human bounds so as not to regret your past like your old father, tie your heart to the truth so as not to fear any happening and do not rely on others to be relieved of secret and open polytheism.

The corollary of this verse up to the end Surah very eloquent matters are treated and I have neither the energy nor the opportunity to deal with them.

O, God! Make Ahmad laudable before you, keep Fati remote from fire, change Hasan for the best and bring Yaser to prosperity. Nurture this family who are attributed to the Household of the Immaculate Imam (peace be upon them) in view of Your special favors and protect them from inward and outward devils and bestow the bliss of the two worlds on them. Let me conclude my advice by articulating the need for serving the relatives, particularly your mother to whom we are indebted. Strive to win her gratification. All praise is due to Allah first and last and greetings to the Messenger of Allah and his pure progeny and curse upon their enemies!

¹ The implication comes from a narration by Imam Sajjad (peace be upon him) who said: "Love of the world is on top of all mistakes." Similar narration has been quoted from Imam Sadeq (peace be upon him) who said: "On top of the wrongs of the world is the love of the world." *al-Kafi* 2: 1/315.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 17, 1404 AH / Tir 26,

1363 AHS

Letter

Time: 1984 [1363 AHS / 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Islamic Republic of Iran's policy of not attacking civilian targets

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi (Libyan President)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Colonel Muammar Qadhdhafi, leader of the Arab Republic of Libya,

After greetings, I acknowledge the receipt of your letter calling for an end to attack cities. I deem it necessary to notify that attack on non-military areas has never been what we desired. We do not want civilian areas to be subjected to attacks. However, it is nearly four years that we are subjected to Iraqi missile attacks and have tolerated them. Islamic Republic of Iran officials have no choice but retaliation contrary to their intention. Despite commanding all sort of power to retaliate, as soon as the UN called for halt to the attacks, government of Islamic Republic of Iran accepted stopping attack on residential areas. However, in this span of time cases of violation by Iraq has been repeatedly observed, as confirmed by informed and impartial observers. Government of Islamic Republic of Iran is suffering from continuation of this state of affairs. It accepted the proposal of the US Secretary General on ceasing to hit civilian areas but Iraq evades the proposal and persists in attacking civilian targets.

At present, as declared time and again by the officials of Islamic Republic, the moment Iraq stops attacking civilian areas, Iran will stop retaliation most happily. Rest assured that your proposal is welcomed and our government accepts it.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a query

Time: July 30, 1984 [Mordad 8, 1363 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Authority of prosecutor general to ban verdict in case of discerning travail

Addressee: Yusuf Sanii (Prosecutor General)

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

After greetings, in cases when a minister or the highest official discerns travail in implementation of a verdict, do you permit the prosecutor general to ban the enforcement by carefully observing the religious standards? Command belongs to you!

Yusuf Sanii
Prosecutor General]

In His Most Exalted Name

In cases when the official discerns an offence, the prosecutor general can ban the implementation of the verdict at the discretion and ratification of the majority members of the Supreme Judicial Council.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: July 30, 1984 [Mordad 8, 1363 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Hasan Ahmadi Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 1, 1404 AH

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Ahmadi Yazdi—may his blessings last long—who has devoted some time of his noble life to acquisition of religious sciences is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, collect religious dues, economically use part of them for his own expenses, spend third of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the share of *sadat* on prescribed religious cases and send the rest to me for promoting the pure word of Islam.

“And I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—to what our pious predecessors have—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and religious affairs.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: July 30, 1984 [Mordad 8, 1363 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mahdi Mutamidi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 1, 1404 AH

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

And then, Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahdi Mutamidi—may his blessings last long—is authorized on my behalf to take charge of financial affairs, collect religious dues, spend one third of the holy share of Imam (peace be upon him) and half of the share of *sadat* on prescribed religious cases and send the remaining part to me for promotion of the pure word of Islam.

“And I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—to what our pious predecessors have—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and religious affairs.” May God's peace and mercy be upon him and our believing brothers!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: August 1, 1984 [Mordad 10, 1363 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission to use urban lands and assets plundered by the Pahlavi Dynasty for housing for the deprived

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai (Superintendent of Mustazafan Foundation)

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

After greeting, the Supreme Leader is notified that the principal goal of the Mustazafan Foundation mentioned in the command dated Esfand 14, 1357 is to use the moveable and immoveable properties such as the lands and real estates of the foundation to provide housing, employment and land for the destitute of every class. In implementation of this command although the foundation has been relatively successful, it has encountered numerous problems. One of the serious problems which hinders providing housing for the poor is the issue of urban lands which belong to the foundation. Therefore, considering the current housing problems which heavily bear on poor social classes, and whose tackling you mentioned as one of the major tasks of the government and Majlis in your inaugural message to the second Majlis, you are requested to permit the foundation use its urban lands, and other potential resources such as jewels, carpets, small gardens for that purpose. The lands, which according to your state decree were put at the disposal of the foundation as assets of the detested Pahlavi Dynasty and their affiliates, are now claimed by urban land organization.

It is hoped that by the graces of God Almighty and commands of that honorable leader in this respect to the concerned ministries and organizations, this foundation would be successful in meeting the sublime purposes of the leader for provision of the housing of Mustazafin.

Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai
Superintendent of Mustazafan
Foundation
27/4/1363 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are authorized about what belongs to the Pahlavi family and their agents.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Time: August 1, 1984 [Mordad 10, 1363 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 3, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Use of assets of Mustazafan Foundation for building an Islamic teachings center for women

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

After greeting, do you allow 50 million tumans from the properties of the Mustadafan Foundation to be spent for construction of Islamic teachings center in Qum? In case of agreement, action will be taken.

Mir Husayn Musawi
6/5/1363 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are permitted to use from confiscated properties of the Pahlavi Dynasty.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 10, 1363 AH

Decree

Time: August 5, 1984 [Mordad 14, 1363 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 7, 1404 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amnesty and sentence abatement of prisoners

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Highness Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

Respectfully, please find enclosed the list of 422 convicts of the Islamic Revolution courts in seven cities who according to circular no. 29/3/1362-1/15595 of the Supreme Judicial Council were found to deserve amnesty and sentence abatement.

Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili
Chief Justice]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree with this.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
14/5/1363 AHS

¹ According to duties and authorities of leader stipulated in article 110 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.